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Parallelism in Verbal Art and Performance

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Parallelism in Verbal Art and Performance

Frog and Lotte Tarkka, *Special Editors*

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Editor's Column

With this volume, "Parallelism in Verbal Art and Performance," prepared under the direction of guest editors Frog and Lotte Tarkka, *Oral Tradition* accommodates a baker's dozen plus one explorations into a technique for holding in poetic consciousness two or more complementaries of several different orders. The standard *modus operandi* of this column is to introduce by way of brief summaries, specific articles and how they stand in relation to one another. Frog and Lotte Tarkka's nearly exhaustive "Introduction," however, relieves me of the task, and affords me the opportunity to reflect on one aspect of the poetic experience that parallelism conjures: the apperceptive stilling of the successive advance of time, or in the words of Octavio Paz, the perception of "the present, the source of presences." How metering suspends the three dimensional fracturing of time and returns us to the experience of its elasticity, when: "the doors of perception open slightly and the other time appears, the real one we were searching for without knowing it: the present, the presence." For the full text of Octavio Paz's 1990 Nobel Prize acceptance speech, "La búsqueda del presente" ("In Search of the Present"), see https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1990/paz-lecture-s.html.

Now, poaching Frog's correspondence about the volume, the organization of these fourteen essays concerning different orders of parallelism reflects five touchstones, arranged by emphasis and approach: Meaning (Fox, Tarkka, Hull); Relation to verse (Kartinen—repetition; Kallio—melody; Fabb—cognitive processes); Formal Typology (of verses—Holm and Saarinen, beyond verse—Frog I); Specific Traditions and Types (Stepanova, Cruz, Turpin); and, finally, Theorizing Parallelism and Embodied Performance (Lindfors, Frog II). It is, nonetheless, useful to review the scope of the languages of the poetic traditions reviewed: San Juan Quiahje Chatino, an Otomanguan language spoken in the highlands of Oaxaca, Mexico (Cruz); Western Sumatran Minangkabau, Ipili, Mongolian, Toraja, and Asmat (Fabb); Rotense, Tetun, and Atoni, (Fox); Finno-Karelian languages (Frog I); as well as Danish, English, Khanty, Lithuanian, and Old High German (Frog II); Zhuang, a form of Tai-Kadai spoken in the highlands of Western Guangxi, Southern China (Holm); Ch'orti', a Mayan language spoken in southern Guatemala (Hull); Bandanese (*tur wandan*), spoken in two villages in the Kei Islands (Kartinen); British and American English (Lindfors); the Ingrian dialect of Finnish, and the closely related Finnish languages Izhorian and Karelian (Kallio); Karelian (Stepanova); Arandic, a Pama-Nyugan language spoken in Central Australia (Turpin); and, finally, Karelian (Tarkka).

This issue of *Oral Tradition* appears in virtual space thanks to the combined efforts of the staff of the Center for Studies in Oral Tradition—Mark Jarvis, Hannah Lenon, Lauren Anderson, Vida Bonney, Elise Broaddus, Katy Chenoweth, Emily Horn, Jennifer Spitulnik, Evelyn Yamoah, and Professor Sean Gurd. 2017 witnessed a profound reshaping of the human resources that manage the affairs of the Center for Studies in Oral Tradition. A new fiscal regime entailed the separation of Mark Jarvis, Hannah Lenon, and Jennifer Spitulnik from the Center on the last day of the month of June. Their absence, the loss of their intellectual contributions and collegiality profoundly affect accomplishing the work of the Center. I wish them continued success in all of their endeavors. Research Assistants Lauren Anderson, Vida Bonney, and Emily Horn have taken

on new challenges that augur much success. Professor Sean Gurd's ambitious research agenda now requires his full attention. The absence of his advice and good work is sorely felt, yet I feel certain that the loss incurred by the Center will be amply compensated by the questions his research poses to Classical Studies and the rewards to be had in answering them.

Finally, as is customary, I want to recognize the colleagues who referee submissions for *Oral Tradition*—they deserve special recognition and *kudos*, even in their anonymity. Their expertise and judgment informs every editorial decision and I am deeply appreciative of having their guidance. With their invaluable counsel all of us working on the journal can continue aspiring to the standards of scholarship established by the founding editor, John Miles Foley. Professor Foley worked tirelessly to ensure that *Oral Tradition* offer a venue for sustained and serious discussion of humanity's verbal arts, and 31 years on, his efforts continue to bear fruit. This endeavor has been generously supported by the College of Arts & Science of the University of Missouri, and I recognize and express my sincere appreciation to Dean Patricia Okker for continuing to sustain the endorsement.

In closing, let me encourage you to contribute to the dialogue about the world's oral traditions, and to that end, invite you to share your insights with the readers of *Oral Tradition*. Evaluation of submissions is made by the double-blind review process: specialist and generalist referees report on the quality of submissions and their reports are dispositive for the decision to accept, return for revision, or decline a submission. The decision is generally reported to prospective authors within a trimester of receipt of a submission. Published online and in open access format, *Oral Tradition* is consulted by more than 20,000 readers in 200 countries and territories.

John Zemke
Editor, *Oral Tradition*

Parallelism in Verbal Art and Performance: An Introduction

Frog, in collaboration with Lotte Tarkka

Parallelism¹ has been considered a fundamental feature of artistic expression. Robert Lowth (1753:180) coined the term *parallelismus membrorum* (“parallelism of members”) to describe a variety of different types of equivalence or resemblance that he observed between verses in Biblical Hebrew. Lowth’s study is in many respects the foundation of research on parallelism,² although his terminology only began to spread across the nineteenth century. The concept expanded considerably during the twentieth century, especially through the far-reaching influences of Roman Jakobson. From early in his career, Jakobson looked at parallelism as an abstract text-structuring principle of “le rapprochement de deux unités” (Jakobson 1977 [1919]: 25) (“the bringing together of two units;” translations following a citation are by the present authors), later referred to in English as “recurrent returns” (1981 [1966]:98). Jakobson saw parallelism not only at the level of words, syntax, or meanings of verses as discussed by Lowth, but also at the level of sounds and rhythms within and across verses as well as in larger, complex structures. The breadth of Jakobson’s perspective allowed textual parallelism to connect fluidly with parallelism in music and other forms of expression. His views are the foundation for advancing the concept from language to a general semiotic phenomenon—a phenomenon observable within and across all sorts of media. Parallelism has become a central term and concept on discussions of literature, poetics, and beyond, and yet the phenomenon is so basic, so pervasive, that it is challenging to pin down.

The discourse surrounding parallelism has constructed the ways we think about the concept. Recognizing what has happened in that discourse can make it easier to make sense of the different ways the concept is handled. Nigel Fabb recently observed that parallelism “has remained undertheorized.”³ Across the past century, research on parallelism has developed considerably, but James J. Fox describes this research as developing “in silos:” it builds up in towers of discussion on parallelism in a particular culture, language group, or field of research

¹This introduction draws on the structure and examples of the introduction to the working papers of the 2014 seminar-workshop, “A Preface to Parallelism” (Frog 2014).

²For a valuable review of discussions of parallelism in Classical Hebrew and a contextualization of Lowth in that history, see Kugel (1981).

³Personal comment when discussing parallelism at the conference *Frontiers in Comparative Metrics 2*, 19th-20th April 2014, Tallinn, Estonia.

with little dialogue between them.⁴ The analytical definition of the broader concept does not seem to have advanced significantly beyond Jakobson's "recurrent returns." Since Jakobson's time, more attention has been given to how parallelism functions in discourse, its relationship to text cohesion, how parallelism is perceived, and the meanings or connotations it may carry. Developments in research have not fed back into definitions of the broader concept. Rather than a shared analytical definition, we each tend to develop a familiar and often intuitive understanding of parallelism related to the research materials with which we work and discussions associated with them. Perspectives on parallelism in a particular language or tradition can be quite sophisticated but cannot be applied elsewhere without modification (see for example the contributions of HOLM and SAARINEN; references to articles in this special issue are indicated by placing authors' names in small capitals), while more abstract definitions often narrowly concern linguistic parallelism (for example Fabb 2015:140). We each engage with other research where it connects with our own while what is beyond that horizon easily remains invisible to us. When we go beyond the comfort zone of the familiar, the variety of approaches to parallelism can be dizzying and the concept can easily appear amorphous, leaving it bewilderingly unclear where "parallelism" ends and "not parallelism" begins.

We do not presume to describe and define parallelism comprehensively here, nor even to offer a full survey of the diversity of its forms and uses. This introduction is instead intended to familiarize the reader with some of the topics and themes that are found across the contributions to this volume, as well as with some of the significant questions concerning parallelism that connect and relate the articles to one another. It surveys some of the basic ground covered in this special issue as a preliminary frame of reference with which the articles can be approached and deliberated. More generally, this introduction brings into dialogue the variety of phenomena addressed as parallelism in their multitude of forms as a way to stimulate thinking about parallelism as a phenomenon and how to relate the diverse insights and perspectives brought together here.

What Makes Parallelism Parallelism?

The modern study of parallelism ultimately develops from Lowth's (1753) pioneering work in Biblical poetics. He established *parallelismus* as a term for the poetic structuring of phraseology and meanings of verses and clauses in a way comparable to rhyme, alliteration, or metered rhythms. What made Lowth's study ground-breaking was that he broke from Classical theories of meter and rhetoric; he insisted that biblical discourse had to be approached on its own terms, arguing that it was poetry not based on sounds and syllables but on a metrics of meanings. Parallelism, he proposed, is a valid verse-structuring mechanism in biblical discourse comparable to counting syllables and their quantities in Greek and Latin. He subjected verse and clause parallelism to detailed analytical consideration and established a typology of three varieties: *parallelismus synonymus* (1753:180) ("synonymic parallelism"), *parallelismus*

⁴This statement was in the prelude to Fox's keynote lecture at the seminar-workshop in 2014; he did not include it his paper published in this issue.

antitheticus (189) (“antithetical parallelism”), and *parallelismus syntheticus* (191) (“synthetic parallelism”). He later also referred to the third of these in English as “constructive” parallelism, describing what would now be called syntactic parallelism (1778:xvii). Lowth founded parallelism as a principle of poetics.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, parallelism came into focus as a structuring principle of phrases, clauses, and verses in an ever-increasing number of traditions. It became recognized as “widespread in the languages of the world” (Jakobson 1981 [1966]:98), which Fox (1977:69-70) considers to “suggest it is a phenomenon of near universal significance.” Verse parallelism remains at the center of discussions and many researchers define parallelism strictly in terms of verse or clause parallelism.⁵ The density of verse parallelism in a tradition can vary considerably and it is exceptional that parallelism uniformly structures all verses. Where the particular “similarities between successive verbal sequences are compulsory or enjoy a high preference,” this is described as *canonical parallelism* (Jakobson 1981 [1966]:98), a term often used with specific reference to semantic parallelism. Discussions can foreground dyadic structures to the point of seeming to eclipse alternatives,⁶ but such views are linked to certain traditions and discussions rather than being uniform across parallelism research.⁷

Rather than remaining limited to language and verses, parallelism has been extended to the full spectrum of expression. This development tends to be traced back to Gerard Manley Hopkins’ statement that “The artificial part of poetry, perhaps we shall be right to say all artifice, reduces itself to the *principle of parallelism*” (Hopkins 1959 [1865]:84, emphasis added). However, responsibility for paving the trail in current scholarship belongs to Jakobson, who based his approach to poetry on “the obvious fact that on every level of language the essence of poetic artifice consists in recurrent returns” (Jakobson 1981 [1966]:98).⁸ Like Hopkins, Jakobson saw parallelism at every level of a text. Nevertheless, he was working within the paradigms of his time and focused on expression as a linguistic text-script, even if his approach was oriented to looking at parallelism as a fundamental semiotic phenomenon that could also encompass parallelism across media. As research attention shifted from text to performance, the same principle could be extended to parallelism between word and gesture or action. Once parallelism is lifted from something that happens specifically in language to an abstract type of relation, it

⁵The difference between “poetry” and “prose” concerns the degree to which verse structure is formalized and periodic rather than whether it is organized into sections that can be called “verses” (Hymes 1977; Fabb 2015:20; Frog 2017:14-18). This was already apparent to Classical rhetoricians, who observed that *contra nihil quod est prorsa scriptum non redigi possit in quaedam versiculorum genera uel in membra* (Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* IX.iv.lii) (“certainly there is nothing written in prose that cannot be reduced to some sort of verses or indeed parts of verses”).

⁶See for example James J. Fox’s classic review (1977:77-80) and Barbara Johnstone’s response to dyadic parallelism perceived as the hegemonic norm (1991:21-32); regular dyadic structuring can even be found as imposed editorially on a text, misrepresenting it (Carrasco and Hull 2015:2, 5).

⁷For example, the illusion that semantic parallelism is regularly dyadic is absent from the discussion of so-called Kalevala-meter poetry and its relatives in Finnic languages because the number of parallel members in a group clearly varies.

⁸Jakobson seems only to have learned of Hopkins’ similar views after beginning to develop his own (Fox 1977:59).

becomes possible to consider parallelism between texts, between performances, or between text and perceived reality. In verbal art, parallelism tends to be thought of first in terms of paired verses that say the same thing in different ways, but the patterns described as parallelism echo outward in all directions, begging the question of what precisely unites this diversity of uses—and whether they are united at all.

In broad terms, parallelism refers to a perceivable quality of sameness in two or more commensurate units of expression so that those units refer to one another as members of a parallel group (see also Cureton 1992:263). It involves one or more types of repetition but is normally (but not always: see Fabb 2015:140) distinguished from exact repetition by entailing difference as well as sameness. Unlike deictic words such as *it*, *this* or *that*, which refer to a preceding stretch of text, parallelism has a formal aspect that allows it to become perceivable without such explicit terms: a parallel member of a group is recognized in part through a formal equivalence to the preceding member as a unit of utterance, whether it is a verse line, hemistich, or stanza, or a clause or phrase in a form of discourse that lacks recurrent meter. The deixis or indexicality of parallel members creates formal relations between signs and qualifies as a type of syntax (Morris 1971 [1938]:22; Du Bois 2014:387-400). Recognizing and interpreting those relations relies on perception.

The quality of sameness of parallel members may be at the surface level of signs in formal features such as recurrent sounds, vocabulary, syntax, morphology, or metrical and rhythmic structure. It may also center at the level of semantics, images, or symbols that are communicated through those signs. Sameness at this level of meaning or content is normally accompanied by some type of formal sameness that makes the parallelism more observable. The “recurrent returns” are perceived as linking parallel members to one another, a perception that invites mapping the elements of each parallel member onto the other(s). This mapping brings organized alignments and oppositions into focus, whether foregrounding sameness or difference, and whether operating at a purely formal level of sounds and structures, at the level of meanings and mediated symbols, or some combination thereof. In practice, the relations between members can be organized in countless ways that all fall under the ægis of parallelism.

***Parallelismus Synonymus*—Semantic Parallelism**

Semantic parallelism refers to two or more commensurable units that express “the same thing.” Such parallelism is often structured at a lexical and phrasal level. In other words, each word in a verse corresponds to a word in the parallel verse, as in the Zhuang epic poetry discussed by DAVID HOLM: “sam gaiq sam vuengz ciq / sei q gaiq sei q vuengz caux” (“three worlds three kings establish / four worlds four kings create”) (HOLM).⁹ The lexical structuring of parallelism leads the couplet to reduce semantically to “three//four worlds three//four kings establish//create.” Correspondence may only be required in semantically significant elements while other particles of speech are handled more flexibly, like the conjunction *ma* (“and”) in

⁹Semantically parallel elements are underlined in relevant examples for ready identification, using different types of underlining to differentiate distinct parallelisms where these are relevant to a particular example.

Rotenese ritual poetry discussed by FOX: “Faik esa matetuk / Ma ledo esa matemak” (“On one determined day / And at one appropriate time”) (FOX). The poetic form may allow ellipsis in parallel verses, as in Finno-Karelian Kalevala-meter poetry discussed by JUKKA SAARINEN: “Laski virkkuo vitsalla / Helähytti helmi-vyöllä” (“Hit the horse with a rod / clouted with a beaded belt”) (SAARINEN). In this case, the horse being struck need not be mentioned in the parallel verse. Meter is a factor in kalevalaic ellipsis. Each verse must be formed of eight positions, which normally means eight syllables; the longer the words, the fewer can fit in the verse, so ellipsis can have a metrical motivation. Periodic meter does not apply to the Ch’orti’ Maya ritual discourse discussed by KERRY HULL. Parallel verses thus do not necessarily match the main verse’s length: “Ink’ajti ubriyador uyespejir o’k, / uyespesir ak’ab” (“I ask for the shininess of the mirror of your eyes, / the mirror of your hands”) (HULL, ex. 5, ll. 5-6). Canonical parallelism is a social practice, a tradition, and each tradition develops its own conventions for what recurs in parallel members and how those members are structured in relation to the poetic form.

Semantic parallelism as a phenomenon is not restricted to verse units as wholes. It can occur with units of larger scope, such as the couplet (SAARINEN, §3, and see below), or with units of smaller scope. Especially with these smaller units, it is more apparent that parallelism is built into the syntax of how language is used. Rather than a whole verse, Old Germanic poetics commonly employed half-line parallelism: a noun phrase forming a half line would semantically parallel a preceding noun or noun phrase. This poetry was based on alliteration linking half-lines of a verse, and half-line parallelism with a phrase in a preceding verse was a device used in producing alliteration, as in the following Old Norse example: “Þá gengu regin qll / á røkstóla // ginnheilög goð / ok um þat gættusk” (*Völuspá* 23.1-4) (“Then went all the gods / to the judgment seats // magic-holy powers / and on that considered”). Here, the parallel member “magic-holy gods” repeats the grammatical subject “all the gods” while being syntactically dislocated from the half-lines surrounding it (but alliterating with *gættusk*). Such parallelisms may be in complex arrangements, such as the chiasmic structure in these Old English verses: “þa nædran sceop / nergend user // frea ælmihtig / fagum wyrme” (*Genesis* 903-04) (“then made the viper / our Savior // Almighty Lord / the colorful worm”). In other poetics, this type of parallelism may be less flexible. In Kalevala-meter poetry, parallelism below the level of a line only occurs within a verse; the parallel members will not be separated and the longer member will almost invariably be second: “oi emoni kantajani” (“oh mother.mine, bearer.mine”). EILA STEPANOVA addresses such parallel units as pleonasm, a term for verbal redundancy from classical rhetoric. She observes that the parallel members of pleonasm in Karelian lament, which are organized through alliteration without a periodic meter, are also always adjacent but the longer member always comes first: “armahilla ilmoilla šiätelijä aikojainen” (“dear.PL world.PL establisher maker.DIM” [PL = plural, DIM = diminutive]) (STEPANOVA, ex. 5.i).

Pleonastically paired nouns or verbs have deep roots in Uralic languages with correspondents in Russian, such as the verb-pair formula *žil-był* (“lived-was”) for beginning folktales (Tkachenko 1979:*passim*). In Khanty, for example, it is easily found in non-poetic contexts with both nouns, as in “łs’lal jeklal pärkatəs” (“he shook off snow, ice”), and verbs, as in “χäs’ lelajat jis’lajat” (“they were almost eaten, drunk”) (Schulze 1988:137). The same device is also used quite naturally in English scientific prose, as in “Canonical parallelism is a social

practice, a tradition” (above). Many rhetorical figures are built on parallel constructions. A merism, for instance, is comprised of (normally) two nouns referring to a third broader category of which both are metonymic (Watkins 1995:15), like Bandanese *sotong gurita* (“squid octopus”), which is used to describe someone who avoids confrontations and conceals his or her intentions (KAARTINEN). When recognized among units of this scope, “parallelism” rapidly begins to populate even the most casual discourse (Du Bois 2014:359-63, 368, 370-92).

Semantic parallelism between minimal units like *emoni//kantajani* (“mother.mine// bearer.mine”) requires lexical variation or it would be full repetition. At the level of full verses, lexical repetition can be combined with variation, as in the Ch’orti’ Maya and Zhuang examples above. In Khanty poetry, it is common for only a single lexical element to vary: “*naŋ ārən śat āt xotat, / naŋ mońseŋ śat āt xotat*” (“may your song end there, / may your tale end there”) (Austerlitz 1958:48). Lexical repetition makes parallelism more salient while highlighting the variation. In her discussion of this phenomenon in Chatino ritual discourse, HILARIA CRUZ refers to a repeating verbal sequence with a variable slot as the “frame,” such as *naŋ X śat āt xotat* in this Khanty example; she describes the slot X as the “focus,” which gets completed with a series of alternating elements like *ārən//mońseŋ* above. Rotenese ritual discourse and Kalevala-meter epic are at the opposite end of the spectrum: in Rotenese, the frequency of lexical repetition in parallel verses is low in comparison to Khanty or Chatino poetries, while in Kalevala-meter epic it is generally avoided in semantically parallel verses. Verse parallelism is organized in series in Rotenese and kalevalaic poetries, while elsewhere an additional verse or verses may be interspersed between parallel lines or even advance to complex patterns, for example in Khanty (Austerlitz 1958:47-48) or Zhuang epic (HOLM, type D). In each tradition, parallelism is organized in relation to conventions of the poetry, which reciprocally structure expectations about how lexical repetition is perceived.

Variations on Semantic Parallelism: Analogical, Additive, and Macro-Parallelism

Not all forms of semantic parallelism conform to element-to-element sameness of meaning in paired phrases. Wolfgang Steinitz (1934:92-174) coined analogical parallelism to distinguish parallelism based on metaphorical or other equivalence from semantic parallelism in which a single propositional unit is expressed with alternative words. For example, in the Kalevala-metric couplet “*kynsin kylmähän kivvehen / hampahin vesi-hakohon*” (“By the nails into a cold stone / By the teeth into a water-log”) (FROG_I, ex. 4), the pair *kynsi : hammas* (“nail : tooth”) are not semantic equivalents. They may be interpretable as a merism like English *tooth and nail*, but combination with the alliterating counterparts *kivi : hako* (“stone : log”) inclines the two clauses to be perceived as symbolically equivalent references to “the same thing” without reducing to a single semantic unit “nail//tooth into a stone//log.” Where parallelism advances to units larger than a single verse, such as in couplet parallelism (SAARINEN) or ABAB parallelism (HOLM), it is commonly analogical, as in this example from Zhuang epic:

Baz vuengz baenz baz vuengz	Only the wife of a king can be the wife of a king,
Boux biengz lawz ndaej ciemq	How can a subject of the realm usurp [this position]?

Byacoeg vanz byacoeg	Only a green bamboo carp returns to a green bamboo carp,
Byandoek lawz ndaej ciemq	How can a pond-corner fish usurp [its place]?

(HOLM)

Steinitz’s distinction concerns the variety of sameness. It was developed through the study of Kalevala-meter poetry, in which analogical parallelism is organized with the same element-to-element correspondence as in full semantic parallelism. This formal convention is not required in all poetries. Although Steinitz’s distinction works well for certain cases, he did not fully take into account nuances of poetic diction, in which meanings can be flexed (see below). There is no clear-cut line between semantic and analogical parallelism, which is on a spectrum with a broad swath of grey through the middle (Sarv 2017:78-79).

Whereas elements can be omitted from parallel members through ellipsis, some traditions allow elements to be added in the progression of a series. Karelian laments are composed in units referred to as “strings” rather than verses because they are much longer sequences of text than in most poetries. Here, the combination of difference with sameness in semantically parallel units includes what STEPANOVA describes as “additive parallelism.” As a result, not only does parallelism prolong expression of the semantic unit; it also produces a slow informational progression.¹⁰ Because of the verbal variation and complex poetic circumlocutions of this poetry, additive parallelism becomes more evident when the parallel strings are reduced to their semantic content:

<u>Father, come</u>	<u>a last time</u>	<u>and unbraided the bride’s hair</u>	
Father, come	with luck	<u>and unbraided the bride’s hair</u>	
<u>Father, let’s go</u>	into the yard	<u>to unbraided the bride’s hair</u>	<u>a last time</u>

(See STEPANOVA, ex. 8 for full text)

Additive parallelism is observable in a variety of forms. One strategy for this is to use the same verbal frame in multiple verses while changing the semantic unit that is the slot-filler or focus (CRUZ). For example, in the Arandic poetry discussed by MYFANY TURPIN, the couplet “Namaywengkel rnternep-ernem / Taty-tatyel rnternep-ernem” (“Spirit women are piercing the air / With a dancing stick, piercing the air”) (TURPIN, ex. 17), repetition of *rnternep-ernem* (“are piercing the air”) at the end of each line reinforces apprehending these lines as parallel members of a group. As wholes, the lines “say the same thing” as alternate and complementary representations of a symbolic action, first mentioning who is dancing, then mentioning that she is dancing with a stick. Both refer to “the same thing” or represent a common referent, but rather than a mere redundancy, additive parallelism enriches meanings and brings about qualitative rather than quantitative informational surplus.

Parallelisms may be organized into a hierarchy or with parallel members of significantly greater scope than a single verse. In Chatino prayers discussed by CRUZ, parallel groups can form a larger parallel series, which becomes salient through lexical repetition linking the recurrent frames of the different groups. In the following example, repetition of the pronoun *no⁴*

¹⁰ See also James L. Kugel (1981:45-48) on “compensation” and “ballasting,” in his discussions about biblical parallelism.

(“those who”) links a parallel group of four verses with a subsequent parallel group of three verses:

<u>No⁴ yqu²</u>	<u>Those who survived</u>
<u>No⁴ ndlu³</u>	<u>Those who thrived</u>
<u>No⁴ suq³</u>	<u>Those who matured</u>
<u>No⁴ sen³</u>	<u>Those who multiplied</u>
<u>No⁴ ya⁴².tykwi⁴</u>	<u>Those who lived entirely</u>
<u>No⁴ ya⁴².nyj⁴</u>	<u>Those who lived directly</u>
<u>No⁴ ya⁴².ykwa⁴</u>	<u>Those who lived evenly</u>

(CRUZ, ex. 3, Text I, ll. 4-10)

The long strings of Karelian laments facilitate additive parallelism in each member, because, adapting the terminology of CRUZ, the number of semantically parallel elements with varied phraseology in the string become a frame against which additive information becomes a focus “Father, come//go X unbraid the bride’s hair.” In contrast, Chatino verses are quite short, limiting the scope of the frame so that difference in additive parallelism between parallel verses would be less pronounced and the verse group would still yield a fairly rapid informational progression. In the Arandic poetry above, prolongation is accomplished through repetition of the same couplet multiple times. In Chatino prayers, a unit is first established through semantic parallelism and its duration, which makes a difference in the focus between parallel groups more salient even with a minimal frame like *no⁴ X* (“those who X”). Additive parallelism occurs as an informational progression from one parallel group to the next as parallelism at a higher level in the structural hierarchy. The distinction between equivalence and additive information is not always clear. In this case, the physical and moral fullness of the ancestor’s lives is an explicit elaboration at the level of propositional information. However, we cannot assume that stating the ancestors lived “long//well” is *not* semantically parallel in the same way as “survived//thrived” simply because the parallel members are at a different structural level. Strategies and conventions for organizing and interpreting parallel groups within a hierarchy may vary considerably.

A hierarchical structure may combine semantic parallelism and analogical parallelism. Analogical parallelism is often used for lists in a series of complementary information, and each of those units may also be expressed through semantic parallelism, as in the following Rotenese example:

<u>Tane leu Tuda Meda</u>	<u>They plant at Tuda Meda</u>
<u>Ma sele leu Do Lasi</u>	<u>And they sow at Do Lasi</u>
<u>Tane leu Teke Dua</u>	<u>They plant at Teke Dua</u>
<u>Ma sele leu Finga Telu</u>	<u>And they sow at Finga Telu</u>
<u>Tane leu Tanga Loi</u>	<u>They plant at Tanga Loi</u>
<u>Ma sele leu Oe Mau</u>	<u>And they sow at Oe Mau</u>

(FOX)

A hierarchy can also be organized formally in the commensurability of members of a parallel group. A common three-part structure in Kalevala-metric poetry presents parallelism between two half-lines followed by a semantically equivalent full line, a structure marked by lexical repetition, which is otherwise avoided. Within this pattern, the two half-lines are formally commensurate units that together form a unit commensurate with the full line: “Kutšuu rujot, kutšuu rammät / Kutšuu veri-sogiat” (SKVR II 224.9-10) (“Invites the crippled, invites the lame / Invites the blood-blind”).

The potential for parallelisms within parallelisms grows as the scope of parallel units increases. Greg Urban (1986:26-29) coined the term *macro-parallelism* to refer to parallelism between longer sequences of text. In the following example from Kalevala-meter epic, *vesi* (“water”) and *tuli* (“fire”) vary as possible causes of death in the recurring eight-line sequence made up of four pairs of parallel verses:

<u>Tuonen tytöt sanoo</u>	<u>Death’s daughters say</u>
<u>Lapset kalman kalkehtiu</u>	<u>children of death ramble</u>
<u>“Kyllä tunnen valehtelian</u>	<u>“Sure I recognize a liar</u>
<u>Ymmärrän kielastajan</u>	<u>realize a cheater</u>
<u>Kun ois <u>vesi</u> tuottan Tuonelaah</u>	<u>when <u>water</u> would have brought to Death</u>
<u>Vesi soattan Manalle</u>	<u><u>water</u> got to Mana</u>
<u>Vesi voatteskin valuis</u>	<u><u>water</u> would flow from your clothes</u>
<u>Hurmehin huraelis”</u>	<u>would roll with gore”</u>
[. . .]	
<u>Tuonen tytöt sanoo</u>	<u>Death’s daughters say</u>
<u>Lapset kalman kalkehtiu</u>	<u>children of death ramble</u>
<u>“Kyllä tunnen valehtelian</u>	<u>“Sure I recognize a liar</u>
<u>Ymmärrän kielastajan</u>	<u>realize a cheater</u>
<u>Kuin ois <u>tuli</u> tuottan Tuonelaah</u>	<u>when <u>fire</u> would have brought to Death</u>
<u>Tuli soattan Manalle</u>	<u><u>fire</u> got to Mana</u>
<u>Tuli voatteiskin valuis</u>	<u><u>fire</u> would flow from your clothes</u>
<u>Hurmehin huraelis”</u>	<u>would roll with gore”</u>

(SKVR I₁ 361.22-27, 41-48, punctuation removed)

Parallelism separated across a stretch of text becomes more salient by greater density of recurrent language and syntax. Two individual verses must therefore normally be in closer proximity to be perceived as parallel members of a group than two series of verses in macro-parallelism (FROG_i). The complexity of parallelism in these different types of units may be approached as purely formal. However, NIGEL FABB discusses the operation of parallelism at a cognitive level, addressing the significance of the line as a unit and the processing of such units. Parallelism of greater scope and complexity seems unlikely to be processed in the same way as parallelism at the level of verse units (FABB, §4).

***Parallelismus Syntheticus*—Structural and Grammatical Parallelism**

Whereas semantic parallelism is defined in terms of meanings, other varieties of parallelism are defined in terms of form. The most prominent of these today is *grammatical parallelism*, parallelism based on language grammar. Attention to grammatical parallelism was greatly stimulated by Jakobson’s influential article “Grammatical Parallelism and its Russian Facet” (1981 [1966]). *Syntactic parallelism* is sometimes used interchangeably with the term grammatical parallelism, although it may also be distinguished as a subcategory based on syntax and as opposed to *morphological parallelism* as recurrence of a morphological pattern (Johnstone 1991:55-62). Grammatical parallelism is often an integrated part of semantic parallelism (Kugel 1981:49), as seen in many of the examples above. In his discussion of Zhuang epic, HOLM considers as “semi-parallel” those verses that present the same essential idea but deviate from a strict correspondence between each element in parallel verses. He describes the combined use of semi-parallel verses with structurally parallel couplets as “augmented parallel couplets.” In the following example, variation in the first couplet is in parallel verbs for drinking and the object being drunk from. The third verse is connected to this by opening with *boh raeuz* (“our father”) but presents a third statement of weakness comparable to examples of additive parallelism above. In this case, the additive verse is marked by a change in syntax:

<u>Boh raeuz</u> gwn raemx lwt	<u>Our father</u> drinks water from a small bamboo cup
<u>Boh raeuz</u> swd raemx rɔng	<u>Our father</u> sips water through a rolled-up leaf.
<u>Boh raeuz</u> fuz mbouj hwnj	<u>Our father</u> even if supported cannot stand up

(HOLM)

As seen in examples of analogical parallelism above, grammatically parallel verses may be similar in meaning without a full convergence of expressing precisely the same thing. However, a series of information structured through grammatical parallelism does not necessarily form analogical parallelism. The following kalevalaic description is organized in a “chain” (Krohn 1918 I:79; Steinitz 1934:120-22) or “terrace” (Austerlitz 1958:63-69) structure, using the last word of one verse at the beginning of the next (anadiplosis), but no line is analogically equivalent to the next:

Jo tuli <u>tulini</u> koski	Already came <u>a fiery</u> rapids
Kosell’ <u>on tulini</u> korko	<u>On</u> the rapids <u>is a fiery</u> shoal
Koroll’ <u>on tulini</u> koivu	<u>On</u> the shoal <u>is a fiery</u> birch
Koivuss’ <u>on tulini</u> kokko	In the birch <u>is a fiery</u> eagle

(FROG₁, ex. 8)

Formally-based parallelism may also manifest through meter and rhythm, which can become particularly salient in meters that regulate syllables. In the following Kalevala-metric example, the first couplet is grammatically and metrically parallel while the third line is metrically parallel only, but the recurrent form and lexical repetition reinforce cohesion of the series:

<u>Laulo leppäseñ</u> venehen	[He] sang a boat of <u>alder wood</u>
<u>Laulo leppäsen</u> isännäñ	<u>Sang</u> a master of <u>alder wood</u>
Melañ <u>leppäsen</u> kätehe	An oar of <u>alder wood</u> in his hand

(FROG_I, ex. 15)

More generally, periodic meter itself manifests parallelism between units in the same meter. This purely formal parallelism makes a series of verses into a parallel group organized as a unit distinguishable from preceding and following discourse. Such an observation might seem self-evident in the context of a performance where para-linguistic features would reinforce distinctions from surrounding expressions. In written text, we recognize the organization of verses into metrical groups visually. As with the examples above, editorial practice of presenting how verse appears on the page makes clear transitions from prose to verse. A reader of a medieval prosimetric manuscript, on the other hand, may depend on recognizing metrical rhythms as forming groups of verses within a text completely written as prose.

Structural parallelism can easily operate quite subtly and even be almost subliminal in relation to the organizing principles of the discourse. Grammatical parallelism is often unnoticed when integrated with semantic parallelism and it is deviation rather than parallelism that becomes marked, as in the Zhuang epic example above. In metered poetry, grammatical and metrical parallelism easily converge. Grammatical parallelism is a common packaging for complementary units of information, as in the following Old Norse example where grammatical and rhythmic parallelism unite: “unz fyr útan kom / iotna heima // oc fyr innan kom / ása garða” (*Þrymskviða* 5.3-6) (“until (he) came out from / the worlds of giants // and came into / the realm of the gods”). Grammatical parallelism is no less common outside of poetry. Students are recommended to use it in writing rather than bouncing between active and passive constructions; it is even an emergent feature of co-produced conversation (Sakita 2006:487-92). Grammatical parallelism is a strikingly pervasive device for structuring discourse. This pervasiveness is instructive for reflexive views on how parallelism may be perceived: the presence or lack of grammatical parallelism may be perceived as sounding better or worse, compelling or ineffective, but we tend not to be objectively conscious of the parallelism as such in the flow of oral or written discourse.

***Parallelismus Antitheticus*—Contrastive Parallelism**

Today, “semantic parallelism” normally refers to what Lowth described as *parallelismus synonymus*, parallelism of semantic equivalence or identity, whereas semantic relations that foreground difference are distinguished with another term: here, contrastive parallelism, also called, following Lowth, *parallelismus antitheticus* (“antithetical parallelism”). The terms “negative parallelism” or “negative analogy” are also common, sometimes restricted parallelism with use of negations. Contrastive parallelism may be formed in a single couplet, as in the song of couplets *Ei se suu laulais, / vain suru laulaa* (“The mouth wouldn’t sing, / but the sorrow sings”) analyzed by LOTTE TARKKA. However, contrastive parallelism is formed from a minimum of two semantic units, each of which becomes open to prolongation or elaboration

through semantic parallelism. Such elaboration produces complexity within a hierarchy of parallelisms.

Parallelism with negation is prominent in North Russian *bylina* poetry. A common structure is of two equivalent negative statements followed by a third, positive statement:

<u>Ne krasno solnyško porospeklo</u>	<u>It was not the dear sun that began to shine</u>
<u>Ne mlad li svetel mesjac prosvetil</u>	<u>It was not the clear moon that began to glow</u>
A pokazalsja vo Care-grade	Rather appeared in Cargrad
Saryj kazak Il'ja Muromec	The old cossak Ilya Muromec

(Harvilahti 1985:102, italic and punctuation removed)

Felix Oinas (1985 [1976]:78) reveals that parallelism organized around negation exhibits a three-part structure in Kalevala-meter poetry. This structure is made up of (a) an initial statement or question, (b) its negation, and (c) a positive solution. The following example illustrates that each of the three component parts may be expanded through semantic parallelism:

(a) <u>Kuuli miehen itkövängi,</u> <u>Urohon ulizovangi;</u> Läks' itkuo perustamahan:	She heard <u>a man weeping,</u> <u>An old man lamenting;</u> She went to check the weeping:
(b) <u>Ei ole itku lapšen itku</u> <u>Eig' ole itku naizen itku,</u>	<u>The weeping is no child's weeping,</u> <u>The weeping is no woman's weeping,</u>
(c) <u>Itku on parđasuun urohon,</u> <u>Jouhileuvan juorotannan.</u> (SKVR I ₁ 13.84-90)	It is <u>the weeping of a bearded man,</u> <u>The wailing¹¹ of someone with a beard.</u> (Oinas 1985 [1976]:80)

The three-part structure with internal parallelism presents a complex rhetorical figure. Oinas observed that the structure could vary by the omission of element (a). In that case, the figure presents only a contrastive parallel structure, in which the two contrasted elements could both still be extended through subordinate parallel structures. It is also possible to find examples lacking (c) (FROG_I, ex. 6) or in which the order of (b) and (c) are regularly reversed:

(c) <u>Kutšuu rujot, kutšuu rammat,</u> <u>Kutšuu verisogiat,</u>	<u>Invites the crippled, invites the lame,</u> <u>Invites the blood-blind,</u>
(b) Van ei kutsu Lemmingäistä,	Just doesn't invite Lemminkäinen, (SKVR II 224.9-11)

Contrasts may be structured without negation, as in this Kalevala-metric example where the opening couplet presents a primary claim followed by a contrasting claim:

¹¹ Oinas translates "lamentation," but lament is a vernacular emic category of performance designated by a different word.

<u>Pihall’ oñ veret paremmat</u>	<u>In the yard is blood better</u>
<u>Kagaroill’ on kaunehemmat</u>	<u>In the manure more beautiful</u>
Pessüt penkit hierelömmä	Scrubbed benches we would spoil.
Hüväñ tuvañ turmelomma	The good room we would ruin

(FROGI, ex. 10)

Contrastive parallelism is inherently more complex than semantic parallelism and this complexity seems to incline toward the generation of more complicated structures than normally exhibited by semantic parallelism. In Karelian lament, for example, an extended parallel series of contrastive claims can be framed by parallel expressions of the same primary claim both before and following that series (STEPANOVA, ex. 10). Contrastive parallelism may also be within a parallelism hierarchy. The poem discussed by TARKKA is organized as a parallel series of negative parallelism couplets beginning with “Ei se suu laulais, / vain suru laulaa” (“The mouth wouldn’t sing, / but the sorrow sings”). Contrastive parallelism is formally different than semantic parallelism, but no less dynamic in its potential variety of uses.

Phonic Parallelism

Jakobson’s (1981 [1966]:98) view that rhyme and alliteration are forms of parallelism as “recurrent returns” to certain sounds may seem peculiar to those who have looked little beyond semantic and grammatical verse parallelism. However, the study of parallelism in semantics and structures distinguished through Lowth’s (1753) three categories blossomed in an environment where the patterning of meanings was seen as analogous to the patterning of sounds in poetry. Already a century earlier, Hebrew poetry was described as organized through rhythms “non in sono, nisi fortuito, sed in sensu; idem vel simile, diversa phrase reduplicans” (Mede 1653:114) (“not in sound, except by chance, but in sense; reduplicating the same or resemblant [sense] with diverse phrases”). Lowth’s description of parallelism was thus described in French as an *espèce de rime* (“species of rhyme”) and a *rime du sens* (“rhyme of sense”) (des Champs 1754:269). This term was carried into Latin, translated as *rhythmus sensus* in contrast to a *rhythmus soni* (Ullholm/Aurivillius 1758:8; Porthan 1766:22). *Gedankenreim* (“thought rhyme”) as well as *Gedankenrhythmus* (“thought rhythm”) later became common terms for semantic parallelism in German. Jakobson merely returned parallelism to recurrence of sounds, unifying discussions that had become separated across the centuries. “Recurrent returns” at the level of sounds can be collectively referred to as phonic parallelism. Treating different types of phonic parallelism as “parallelism” contextualizes them as different types of a much broader phenomenon. The utility of addressing something as a form of phonic parallelism rather than alliteration is dependent on the aims of a particular investigation or the concerns of a particular discussion.

Semantic parallelism and phonic parallelism both concern “recurrent returns” of sameness combined with difference of signs in a sequence of text. In Saussurian terms, a word is a sign made up of a signifier, that which has meaning, and its signified, that which it means (Saussure 1967 [1916]:97-100). Semantic parallelism is based on “recurrent returns” at the level of signifieds with variation in signifiers, saying the same thing with different signs. Phonic

parallelism is based on “recurrent returns” at the level of signifiers, elements of which recur in a noticeable way linking different signs. “Recurrent returns” at the level of phonic texture generally receive less attention in discussions of parallelism, but they provide a useful frame of comparison for considering how other types of parallelism operate; they are also relevant for considering parallelism as a broader semiotic phenomenon.

Phonic parallelism is most familiar as a poetic text-structuring principle of rhyme, “recurrent returns” in the endings of words or syllables, and alliteration, “recurrent returns” in the beginnings of words or (sometimes only stressed) syllables. Rather than meanings, these patterns connect sequences of utterance. When such phonic recurrence is canonical, it may be integrated into a periodic meter, such as end-rhyme in countless European poetries or alliteration connecting half-lines in Old Germanic verse. Metricalized alliteration is in fact rare in the world’s poetries (Fabb 2015:124). For example, it is a fundamental feature of Kalevala-meter poetry no less than semantic parallelism (SAARINEN), yet it is not connected to particular metrical positions nor required in every verse. Conventional line-internal use of phonic patterning enhances the perceivability of verses as units and the distinction of those units from one another. Like semantic parallelism, phonic parallelism can be a device that helps demarcate poetic units in the place of a regular metrical form, as in Karelian laments (STEPANOVA). Phonic patterning can also be more complex than recurrence of a single sound, such as Finnish vowel rhyme, in which the same sequence of vowels is repeated in series irrespective of surrounding consonants (Sykäri 2017:140). Welsh *cynghanedd* involves parallelism between sequences of consonants, as within each line of the couplet: “Dilwch yw dy degwch di / Darn fel haul, dyrnfol heli” (“unpolluted is your beauty, a fragment of the sun, gauntlet of the salt sea”), where the parallel pattern is d l ch d : d g ch d / d r n f l h l : d r n f l h l (Fabb 2015:167). In Turkic and Mongolian oral poetries, recurrent sounds at the onsets and endings of verses create links between lines even though this patterning is not regular (Harvilahti 2003:81-82; Reichl 2017:43-44). In Arandic song-poetry, such patterns may be constructed by adding sounds to the beginnings or endings of verses so that each verse in a couplet is repeated with a phonic variation, and those variations link across the repetition of each verse in a quatrain structure (TURPIN, §2.1).

Phonic patterns are most salient when parallel members are in close proximity, such as within a verse, across adjacent verses, or patterned in a tight verse group. Salience is reinforced by predictability, which can allow the distance between parallel members to be increased. In Old English, a rhetorical device is the so-called “echo-word” (Beatty 1934:*passim*) or “responion” (Foley 1990:340), a parallel phonetic sequence of a syllable or more that may be separated from its counterpart by several lines. This device easily goes unnoticed before it has been pointed out, after which, the more times it is observed, the more easily and automatically it is perceived.

What acts as correspondence in phonic parallelism is language-dependent. Alliteration in Germanic languages is based on onset consonants and all vowels alliterate with one another (Sievers 1893:36-37), while in neighboring Finnic languages alliteration should ideally include both the consonant and the following vowel (Krikmann 2015:16-17). Categories of equivalence may also be historically based. In the example of *cynghanedd* above, /l/ and /g/ alliterate in the pattern d l ch d : d g ch d. In Zhuang, some formally distinct phonemes are perceived as rhyming

because the conventions of language use have been carried through phonological changes from Proto-Thai (HOLM). Phonic parallelism, organizing the sounds of words, is found in no less a variety of forms than semantic parallelism, organizing meanings.

Phonic parallelism operates at the level of verse texture and extends beyond the phonemes of language to the melodies and rhythms with which language is realized. In many traditions, “recurrent returns” at the level of melodic phrases play a crucial role in the salience of verses as units of utterance. They produce a “metered frame” that distinguishes the units from one another while inviting their correlation through formal equivalence as metered units for the assessment of sameness and difference (FROG; see also Silverstein 1984:83). As KATI KALLIO discusses, the relationship between melodic units and parallel verses may be quite diverse. A semantically parallel group may be extended or truncated to coincide with a series of melodic units. Conversely, the prolongation of semantic content through parallelism may be independent of melodic structures so that “recurrent returns” of multi-verse melodic sequences do not relate to semantic groupings of verses. TURPIN shows the importance of attending to melodic structures by illustrating that the potential combinations of sameness and difference that constitute parallelism in Arandic women’s ritual poetry extend to melody and rhythm: lines that appear in a text-script as repetition are perceived as parallel in performance because they vary in tempo or melody.

Melodic and rhythmic structures that mediate language make metered units of utterance salient as comparable and simultaneously have the potential to create the tension of difference between units that are otherwise inclined toward full identity. Melody and rhythm are beyond reconstruction for many historical traditions, such as Old English and Old Norse poetries, yet the oral poetry adapted to text-scripts was initially received aurally, and the potential for strategies operating at the level of acoustic texture is thus relevant and cannot be simply rejected and ignored as “unknowable” (see also Gunnell 2016:94, 102, 109-10). It is important to acknowledge parallelism at the level of sounds because sounds operate subtly in the background of many other types of parallelism, especially, as TURPIN stresses, where several different types of parallelism combine in complex ways.

Parallelism, Language and the Lexicon

When first approaching a tradition from the outside, we intuitively consider vocabulary and its semantics according to words’ use in the language more generally, or, in cases of more unusual words, in relation to etymology. However, this may not give an accurate view of how language was perceived by people fluent in the traditional idiom. The linguistic idiom of a tradition can be described as a *register*,¹² a term that is particularly valuable when vocabulary and syntax deviate considerably from conversational speech. Formal principles for structuring discourse shape a register in a “symbiotic” relationship (Foley 1999:66-83). In a form of verbal art where one or more varieties of parallelism are canonical, parallelism requires performers to

¹² On “register” see, for example, Halliday (1978:31-35, espec.); Foley (1995:49-53, 82-92, 110-15, 150-75); Agha (2001 and 2007:154-89); Frog (2015).

“say the same thing” with different words, and the register evolves in ways that allow them to do so—at least for those things conventionally addressed in the verbal art. Recognizing what happens to language in a register structured by parallelism is thus significant to approaching the tradition.

The expansion and maintenance of alternative but equivalent vocabulary to “say the same thing” works in relation to the type or types of parallelism used and how they operate. Verbal art structured through dyadic parallelism requires two equivalent words, one for each verse, like Rotenese *inak* (“woman”) paired with *fetok* (“girl”) or Zhuang *ciq* (“establish”) paired with *caux* (“create”). Where parallel groups form a longer series, the number of corresponding terms needed is increased, although the range of vocabulary that is affected may differ. In Chatino prayers, there is a recurrent frame forming verses of a parallel group of which only the focus varies, and thus expansion of vocabulary is connected with the semantic element of the focus. In kalevalaic epic, all semantic elements should have parallels in the preceding semantically or analogically parallel verse, even if some of the elements in the preceding verse undergo ellipsis. Metrical conventions of phonic parallelism can have a particularly pronounced impact on a register. A whole set of vocabulary becomes required to say something as simple as “man” or “woman” beginning with whatever sound is required by the verse, for example to meet alliteration in Old Germanic or Finnic Kalevala-meter poetries. Old Germanic verse is accentual, so it is sufficient to have a set of equivalent words beginning with different sounds without concern for how many syllables they have. Kalevala-meter has a syllabic rhythm, which means that words must have the right number of syllables to fit in a verse: it is not enough to simply have a set of equivalent words that begin with different sounds; ideally, there should also be options with the same alliterative sound but different numbers of syllables. These metrical conditions are augmented by the prominence of semantic parallelism, “saying the same thing” with different patterns of alliteration. This difference in metrical conditions and the prominence of semantic parallelism in Finnic alliterative poetry produce several times more equivalence vocabulary for semantic units than is found in Old Germanic verse (see Roper 2012:85-86).

Features like parallelism structure the lexicon and words’ semantics. The use of vocabulary to “say the same thing” allows so-called “archaisms” on-going relevance and currency in a register of verbal art although the words have become exceptional for other ways of speaking (see also Foley 1996:33-37; HULL). A large portion of vocabulary may also be used freely in other contexts, but the meanings of the words have been “flexed,” “bent,” “stretched,” or “subordinated” to the needs of the register. In Middle English alliterative poetry, a word like *tolc* (literally “translator”) was thus simply the poetic word alliterating in /t/ used to say “man” without additional connotations (Roper 2012:89 *et passim*), and in Old Norse court poetry common nouns for sounds like *dynr* (“din”) and *gnýr* (“roar”) could mean “battle” (Egilsson and Jónsson 1931:s.vv.). We tend to discuss distinctive uses of vocabulary in a tradition of verbal art as “poetic,” but the way of speaking is the natural way of speaking to the performance context no less than another register is natural to casual conversation (Foley 1996:25). Rather than simply flexing meaning, canonical parallelism also causes a pair or series of words regularly used to “say the same thing” to evolve into a formula, into a unit of language more complex than a dictionary headword that expresses a single unit of meaning (Wray 2008:11-21). For example, the Rotenese words *inak* (“woman”) and *fetok* (“girl”) have not simply flexed in meaning to be

semantically equivalent (*inak* : *fetok*); the pair has evolved into a formula *inak//fetok* that, even if the words are spread across verses, communicates a single, consistent unit of meaning: “female person” (see also Fox 2016:xi *et passim*; CRUZ). The formula *inak//fetok* is semantically transparent, whereas other formulaic pairs are idiomatic, like *tua bou//neka hade* (“syrup vat//rice basket”) (Fox 2014:205 and 201-05). As FABB points out, the unit of meaning may be distinct from the words that form it, like Nahuatl *b’iineem* (“walking”) and *chakaneem* (“crawling”) that form a canonical pair *b’iineem//chakaneem* (“daily activities”). Such lexical pairs can establish semantic pairs which may remain intact although the words of the pair undergo renewal as a socio-historical process (Fox 2014:378; see also FOX). The semantic relationship between terms may be hierarchical, so that one phrase carries meaning that additional phrases merely echo and prolong (Steinitz 1934:136; Anttonen 1994:123). Kalevalaic *vitsa* : *helmi-vyö* (“rod : beaded-belt”) may present such a hierarchy, varying the object with which the horse is struck according to the required alliteration (SAARINEN).

The evolution of a register of verbal art is not constrained by boundaries of language and dialect. Performers capitalize on the full spectrum of linguistic resources available to them in order to have different words for “the same thing.” They may draw from different dialects (Foley 1996:25-37; Fox 2014:374-79) or, in multilingual environments, from other languages. Thus Spanish vocabulary has been assimilated into ritual discourse in Cho’rti’ (HULL) and Chatino (CRUZ), Malay words get used in Bandanese (KAARTINEN), Chinese in Zhuang epic (HOLM), Russian in Karelian lament (STEPANOVA), and such developments appear quite dynamic in multilingual environments of Australia (TURPIN). The assimilation of vocabulary associated with a different language can involve affixes or other adaptations, naturalizing it to the register (HULL, ex. 17; STEPANOVA, ex. 3-4). The outcomes of these processes get discussed in terms of loanwords, but they are best seen as the exploitation of vocabularies linked to different ways of speaking,¹³ and how or whether such vocabularies are exploited reflects language ideologies of the register’s users. Thus, the assimilation of Spanish vocabulary into Cho’rti’ ritual discourse is an indicator of how ritual specialists perceived Spanish language and their own register of ritual speech (HULL). It is no less informative about ideologies that the rich diction of Old Norse poetries lacks any evidence that poets drew on vocabularies of Celtic, Finnic, or Sámi languages. Instead, poetic vocabulary seems to have been generated on the basis of analogy within the language, such as the set of noise-words that could carry different alliterations: *brymr*, *glymr*, *hlymr*, and *rymr* (Egilsson and Jónsson 1931:s.vv.). HULL observes that assimilation of words into canonical parallelism involves what he calls “semantic transference,” flexing or subordinating the semantics of the new term to the vernacular meaning of the parallel pair. It is not uncommon in canonical parallelism that one term of a pair be semantically opaque or generated like the Norse noise-words. Peter Metcalf (1989:40-44) describes such pairings as “blind dyads,” where one word carries meaning while the other is simply understood as its parallel. Terms generated for parallelism are often texturally oriented, producing alliteration or rhyme across paired elements (1989:44) or within parallel verses (Sarv 2017:77), while verbs of motion in parallel verses of Kalevala-metric poetry are often onomatopoeic, activating the

¹³ Jørgensen, Madsen et al. (2011) have coined the term *linguaging* to describe processes of this type, shifting emphasis from language as an object to language as something people “do.”

mimetic aspect of performance (Tarkka 2013:154-56). Although assimilated and generated words expand a register, HULL points out that it does not do so endlessly: conventional word pairs or equivalence vocabulary are restructured while some earlier elements drop out of use in the ongoing process of the register's evolution.

Semantically parallel words often have complex conceptual and categorical relations and can offer information about the culture's ontologies. Parallelism has potential to provide "an objective criterion of what, in the given speech community, acts as a correspondence" (Jakobson 1987 [1956]:111) or insight into "the connectivity of semantic elements" (Fox 2014:8). The relationship between semantically parallel elements takes a variety of forms. Even where paired words are clearly used as synonyms like "knees : knee caps" in Rotenese "Ma lele poum neu lungu langam / Fo lungu langa fafa'en" ("And raise your sarong to your knees / To the knee caps") (FOX), they are also semantically distinct in other contexts. Old English *nædre* : *wyrm* ("viper : serpent") above pairs "viper, venomous snake" with a broad category of which it is a member, "serpent, reptile, worm," just as in Arandic women's ritual poetry, the common term *anter* ("fat, oil") is accompanied by the specific category member *rtway* ("oil/fat used for healing purposes") (TURPIN, ex. 29). Old Norse *gōð* : *regin* ("gods : powers") above pairs the category of "gods" with a poetic equivalent that may highlight a contextually relevant characteristic. Pairings also frequently generate metaphorical and metonymic tensions and thus new or altered meanings. Cho'rti' *o'k* : *ak'ab'* ("eye : hands") are paired metonyms for the embodied supernatural being that is summoned, potentially as features emblematic of agency (Hull 2003:93). The Chatino formulaic parallel series above *kqu*²⁴//*klu*²⁴//*ksuq*²⁴//*kxin*²⁴ ("grow//thrive//mature//multiply") is encoded with cultural information about a good life. Tensions that we might describe as aesthetic effects also arise where analogical parallelism resists an anticipated collapse into a single unit of meaning like Kalevala-metric *kivi*//*hako* ("stone//log") that can refer to a single place or object paired with *kynsi*//*hammas* ("nail, claw//tooth") which remain complementary metonyms of a broader category.

When assessing language in parallelism, it must be viewed within the context of the register. The tension between the "stone//log" and "nail//tooth" pairs is not clear until these are contextualized in the register of Kalevala-metric poetry. Similarly, the development of equivalence vocabulary in Old Germanic poetics leveled categorical differences so Old English *nædre* and *wyrm* could operate as synonyms that differ in texture rather than semantics. The information about categories built into their use mainly concerns the time when this use was established, when distinct categories were being linked, before the words became established as poetic equivalents. A dyadic formula like the Nahuatl pair *b'iineem*//*chakaneem* ("walking//crawling") may seem surprising for "daily activities," but when the pair is the established expression for "daily activities" in the register, it is the predictable, natural way to express that meaning: people fluent in the register may not reflect at all on a relationship between the components. Not all vocabulary is necessarily exclusive to one semantic pair or even to one semantic field, thus the vocabulary of Rotenese ritual discourse exhibits a distinctive and complex semantic network (Fox 2014:374-83). Where pairing is more flexible, people may be more conscious of semantic relations and the potential to vary them, as may be the case in pairings with "eye" or "hand" in Cho'rti' (Hull 2003:92). Within the curse quoted above, rather than *oy'it* ("eyes") being used as a metonym for an embodied agent in its pairing with *akwerpo*

(“body”), normal semantic emphasis is inverted for the contextual use to refer to eyes as part of the body (HULL). The long history of approaching language in verbal art in terms of “simplistic categorization based on synonymy and antonymy” (Fox 1977:72) has resulted in highly idealized models that can even misrepresent how language works in the tradition (see also SAARINEN). Registers of verbal art subsume lexicon and semantics that have been heavily stratified by socio-historical processes while individuals may also creatively use and manipulate the way of speaking. When considering the language of a form of verbal art, it is important to acknowledge and appreciate its social constructedness while keeping its potential variability and nuances in sight.

Parallelism beyond Linguistic Signs

When parallelism is conceived of as a phenomenon of signs that is not exclusive to language, the range of its applications increases exponentially. Three broad areas of the concept’s extension are particularly relevant to verbal art. One of these is melodies and rhythms that mediate language, already introduced above in connection with phonic parallelism. A second is in signs mediated through language, such as images, motifs, and even whole stories for which language is only one of several possible forms of expression. The third concerns signs used alongside language in a complex performance.

Recognizing that images, motifs, and stories are distinct from the language that communicates them allows parallelism between these symbolic units to be explored as well as how such parallelism may connect or contrast with parallelism in use of language. “Recurrent returns” to images and motifs or whole episodes is not dependent on recurrence at the level of language, but linguistic macro-parallelism can make them immediately recognizable (FROG₁). Indeed, linguistic macro-parallelism is often an indicator of a recurrent return at the level of what is being expressed. The interplay of language and images or motifs allows equivalence between parallel verses to be linked to expressing the same image or motif even if they do not reduce to the same semantic content at a lexical level. In the Arandic couplet, “*Namaywengkel rnternep-ernem / Taty-tatyel rnternep-ernem*” (“Spirit women are piercing the air / With a dancing stick, piercing the air”) (TURPIN, ex.17), two aspects of the same action are represented. These verses, discussed as an example of additive parallelism above, may be viewed as equivalent through alternative references to a single symbolic activity. From this perspective, correspondence of *namaywengkel : taty-tatyel* (“spirit women : with a dancing stick”) is as paired metonyms emblematic of a symbolic motif comparable to Cho’rti’ *o’k : ak’ab’* (“eye : hands”) as paired metonyms for an embodied supernatural being or Finno-Karelian *kynsi : hammas* (“claw, nail : tooth”) as metonyms for a capacity to harm. In this case, additive parallelism can be seen in the progression of verses while symbolic equivalence occurs in each verse’s relation to the motif. On the other hand, HOLM reveals that verse parallelism can be built through parallelism of motifs, seen in the dyadic juxtaposition of Zhuang and Chinese cosmological models in grammatically parallel lines. Parallelism brings the alternative models into alignment, and, by structuring them through conventions of semantic parallelism, confers equivalence on them. More extended and complex members of a parallel group tend to be perceived as analogical rather than identical, and

the organized correlations and contrasts become less likely to reduce to simple synonymy and antonymy. ANTTI LINDFORS addresses parallelism on the scope of full narratives juxtaposed in a stand-up comedy routine, where humorous effect is dependent on recognizing parallelism and the correlations and contrasts it creates. Once the variety of ways parallelism may operate among signs communicated by language is recognized along with the ways that these can interact with linguistic parallelism, viewing parallelism exclusively among words and verses becomes comparable to a two-dimensional perspective on a three-dimensional phenomenon.

Traditions of verbal art were approached in terms of text transcripts through the first half of the twentieth century, until a shift in paradigm transformed the frame of reference from linguistic products to performance and practice. This broadening of perspective opens the potential to consider relationships across different types of expression in terms of parallelism. For example, a coherent image may be referred to simultaneously through words and gestures that express or refer to the same thing (FROG_{II}, LINDFORS). In ritual discourse, it is also common that language is used for what is called metapragmatic representation (Keane 1997:50): performers use language to describe what they are doing, with references to, reflections on, and representations of the verbal art being performed and of the performer in the act of performance, as in the Chatino prayers discussed by CRUZ. TURPIN points out that parallelism takes on an added dimension in Arandic song-poetry by conferring the identities of agents in mythic time on the dancers who embody their actions through ritual. STEPANOVA discusses how, in Karelian laments, parallelisms generated between mythic images expressed through verbal art and their empirical counterparts construct unseen realities beyond the surface of ordinary perception. FROG_(II) theorizes that, in the context of a ritual performance, people naturalized to the tradition undergo a shift in their expectations about reality and how reality works, priming them for engagement with unseen beings and forces. When such beings and forces are perceived as having objective existence, that perception can equally be conceived as forming parallelism with what is expressed through verbal art, and ritual specialists thereby actualize and orchestrate unseen realities. LINDFORS carries parallelism still further to include the embodied performer and his or her relationship to what s/he expresses. The performer becomes an embodied sign and LINDFORS shows that a crucial aspect of what creates humor in the stand-up routine he discusses is not just parallelism between stories but also the relationship of the performer to the parallel stories: the performer makes himself a participant in the parallelism that he orchestrates. When performer and performance are seen as able to form parallelisms, dyadic performance may also be seen as manifesting parallelism, whether there is a second singer or a chorus who echoes each verse as in the singing of Kalevala-metric poetry (KALLIO; Tarkka 2013:131-32), or the main performer and his counter-role proceed syllable by syllable as in the South American Shokleng dyadic performance of myths (Urban 1991:102-03), or the alternation of roles is on the scope of whole speeches, as when a Kuna chief's performance is followed by a spokesman's performance of what was said in a more publicly accessible register (Sherzer 1983:76). If we accept Steven C. Caton's (1987:244) position that "intertextual relationships can be seen to involve parallelism" (see also Wilce 2008:109-10), references to mythology as in a poem discussed by TARKKA also constitute parallelism, as may the relationship between a parodic performance and its object, or simply one poem composed in response to another. Parallelism is a lens through

which a wide variety of relations between signs and configurations of signs (including complex texts) can potentially be viewed.

Meanings and Functions

Among the most difficult aspects of parallelism to get a handle on is what it “does,” because the possible answers are so diverse. The preceding discussion has already brought forward many of parallelism’s potential meanings, abilities to affect meanings, and discourse functions in performance. Therefore, only a few additional remarks will be added here.

A subtle but very significant function of parallelism is that it produces cohesion. Parallel members can be recognized as parts of groups, and identification as groups sets them apart from surrounding expressions. Phonic parallelism can help make a verse unit more salient; semantic and grammatical parallelism can help make units of information more salient. This aspect of parallelism can be capitalized on for aesthetic and rhetorical effect. Although parallelism is most commonly addressed as occurring between sequential verses, verse groupings may also be arranged in more complex patterns (HOLM). M. A. K. Halliday (1973:121) underscores aesthetic potential when he describes the subtle interconnections created by grammatical parallelism in literature as producing “syntactic imagery.” “Recurrent returns” across stretches of text produce connections for rhetorical effects, especially where their use is an established part of the tradition. A so-called “envelope pattern” in Old English poetry demarcates a larger unit of discourse by forming a frame of “any logically unified group of verses bound together by the repetition at the end of (1) words or (2) ideas or (3) words and ideas which are employed at the beginning” (Bartlett 1935:9). Parallelism separated across a stretch of text may be made more salient by greater density of recurrent language and syntax, as in the example of macro-parallelism above. It may also be more salient through the concentrated recurrence of semantic or symbolic content, for example by saying three or four of “the same things,” as is done in Karelian laments to weave complex rhetorical structures (STEPANOVA). Rather than mere repetition with variation, people can use parallelism in dynamic ways, not only to create text coherence but also to articulate content.

Where parallelism is purely formal, such as at the level of sounds or syntax, it may simply link a series of verses or clauses together so that they can be recognized as connected or “doing the same thing.” Viewed as reiteration, parallelism has frequently been seen as an emphatic device,¹⁴ as a type of redundancy that can reduce ambiguity (Sarv 1999:126), or even produce indeterminacy (FROGI). Reiteration of semantic units creates emphasis through their repetition but also through their relative duration in the flow of performance, which seems quite widely to index symbolic or emotional significance; in other words, more parallelism connotes more importance (Hendricks 1993:218; Honko 1998:55; HOLM; STEPANOVA). Prolongation may also produce aesthetic tensions, or have other rhetorical effects that extend across a longer stretch of discourse (Cureton 1992:146-53). Parallelism may be emblematic of authoritative or ritual discourse (Sherzer 1983:40-41; Kuipers 1990) or even of magical force (Wilce 2008:109-10). It

¹⁴ See for example the views of diverse scholars reviewed in Kugel (1981:ch.3-6).

may also vary in function by discourse, for example whether as a tool for instruction in proverbs (TARKKA) or humor in stand-up comedy (LINDFORS). It can also be a device linked to fluency in performance, and FABB observes that this is also relevant to fluency in processing what is heard. Parallelism is a mnemonic and may also produce rhetorical force, not to mention increasing the length of a performance as a whole, which may be valorized (Sherzer 1990:75-76). On the other hand, lack of parallelism may be the feature that is marked in a tradition: the prominence of parallelism can make so-called orphan lines, verses without a parallel, meaningful, as Paul Kiparsky (2017) has recently argued for orphan lines in Kalevala-metric poetry. TIMO KAARTINEN reveals the culture-dependence of parallelism's connotations in discourse by elucidating the differences between how parallelism and repetition are used in Bandanese. As parallelism is extended from linguistic text to speech and gesture, speech and embodied performance, and speech and the performance environment, the potential significance and functions also increase exponentially. The diverse contributions to the present volume offer perspectives on the range of potential that parallelism has in discourse.

Formal syntactic and structural recurrence invites mapping the elements of each parallel member onto the other(s). Such mapping can bring sameness of semantics or symbolics into focus, so that units are understood to “say the same thing” with different words. Especially where most elements are “the same,” mapping foregrounds any semantic or symbolic contrasts. In other words, mapping allows organized semantic alignments and oppositions to come into focus. These are the processes that shape the meanings of canonically parallel words, but the parallelisms can reciprocally build the concepts that they are used to express, especially as they become organized in complex hierarchies. For example, the boundary between pure semantic parallelism and additive parallelism blurs the Ch'orti' prayer example above, where the conventional parallel set $yqu^2 : ndlu^3 : suq^3 : sen^3$ (“survived : thrived : matured : multiplied”) are paired with $ya^{42} tykwi^4 : ya^{42} nyi^4 : ya^{42} ykwa^4$ (“lived entirelyly : lived directly : lived evenly”). At the lexical level, suq^3 (“matured”) and sen^3 (“multiplied”) seem like complementary concepts while $No^4 suq^3$ (“Those who matured”) and $No^4 ya^{42} tykwi^4$ (“Those who lived entirelyly”) may seem full semantical equivalents, yet the overall series of seemingly innocent pairings render emblematic features of the cultural notion of good life, into which the parallelism reciprocally offers insight. Whereas these parallel groups seem to have an established social basis, TARKKA illustrates how a performer can strategically develop links between parallel groups to construct cumulative meanings in communication. In practice, the multitude of ways that recurrence (and contrast) of what is expressed can be organized under the ægis of parallelism can manifest effects ranging from producing text cohesion to developing meanings not present in any single parallel member. Slapping a single label on “what parallelism does” is problematic in part because of the diversity of forms parallelism can take.

Parallelism as a strategy or convention may also supersede or subordinate meanings of the individual parallel members in a group. When formal features have a priority, the elements that occur in parallel verses may simply be understood as formulaic alternative iterations of the main verse. Subsequent verses in the group may be perceived mainly as giving the texture and duration of parallelism: their words are semantically light or void, carrying little or no meaning in context. For example, the smith Ilmarinen gets referred to with the couplet “Se on seppo Ilmarinen / takoja ijän ikuinen” (“He is the smith Ilmarinen / forger eternal aged-one”).

Reference to mythic age is an authority attribute, and in some contexts may be used to underscore his authority, but the endurance of the parallel verse is because it also completes alliteration in /i/ and meets correspondence conventions of parallelism (smith : forger ; Ilmarinen : eternal-aged-one) while forming an eight-syllable line. Like calling Achilles “swift-footed” while he is at rest, words in a parallel construction may complete formal units rather than carry much or any propositional information. Current trends in research have placed emphasis on meanings, which makes it important to also keep in mind that, in the flow of live performance, sometimes a parallel verse is just a parallel verse.

Closing Perspectives

Parallelism is fundamental to human expression, permeating all levels of discourse, and parallelism research is moving in a variety of new directions. Jakobson’s principle that parallelism offers “an objective criterion of what in the given speech community acts as a correspondence” (1987 [1956]:111; see also HULL) has been expanded to examine the semantic networks and formal associations of equivalence vocabulary in a whole poetic system (Fox 2014:374-83; see also FOX). This principle can also be extended to consider parallelism at the level of interpreted meanings (TARKKA) and symbols mediated through expression (FROG_{I-II}). Fox has been developing methodological strategies for mapping lexical and semantic progressions of parallelism through a text (2014:34-36, 110-13, 117-18) and for mapping semantic networks in the lexicon of a tradition (2014:374-83). John W. Du Bois (2014:376-78) has developed a method for visually mapping semantic and grammatical parallelism between units of utterance in conversation, a model that has been adapted for the analysis of parallelism in semantic and symbolic units in this volume (FROG_{I-II}). HOLM illustrates a framework for approaching parallelism in a particular tradition by identifying the dominant or ideal form of parallelism as a platform for a typology based on variations that can then reciprocally be used to analyze the uses and potential significance of the different types. FABB pursues the cognitive operation of parallelism and its implications that may enhance our understandings of cognitive poetics and of language more generally. New foundations are being laid that pave the way for new research.

Current insights into the workings of parallelism mandate reassessing earlier research while they simultaneously reveal areas where further research is needed. For example, the historical tendency to isolate verbal text-scripts had rendered some types of parallelism invisible, such as where variation of the phonic medium may qualify otherwise lexically identical lines as parallel (TURPIN). While foundations have been established for new explorations of the operation of language in semantic parallelism, cross-cultural perspectives on the workings of negative and contrastive parallelism are still lacking. The perceivability of parallelism is recognized as relevant, but questions of how perceivability works and how far parallel members might be separated from one another by time or intermediate text remains to be explored. The potential directions expand rapidly as parallelism is considered across media and potentially as a device of intersemiotic syntax (FROG_{II}). Questions arise whether parody qualifies as a form of contrastive parallelism with its referent object (LINDFORS), or whether equivalent but different practices

across different groups may be viewed as a variety of parallelism manifesting shared yet distinct identity (TURPIN). There is much work to be done.

The many contributions to this special issue reveal the diversity and potential of parallelism as a tool for approaching verbal art. Bringing them together here to engage one another in discussion is a major step in breaking down the “silos” in which parallelism research has developed. Parallelism may at first seem an extremely broad concept owing to the variety of things it may be used to address. The preceding discussion provides an overview that suggests parallelism is more basic than broad, and that differences in what it is used to address, which initially might seem irreconcilable, are based on advancing parallelism from words and their meanings to other levels and types of signification. At the same time, the perspectives offered here underscore that parallelism is a tool that we adjust to a particular investigation, whether by treating it as a broad semiotic phenomenon that organizes all aspects of expression or as narrow and adjusting its definition in relation to language use in a particular tradition being brought into sharp analytical focus. We have introduced a broad, descriptive working definition of parallelism above. However, it is characteristic of terminology for research on cultural expression that definitions vary because definitions are tools for research. Broad, inclusive definitions easily lack the precision required in a certain investigation, or it may be more practical and clear to start off defining parallelism in terms of language in a study focused exclusively on linguistic parallelism; a particular study might even warrant a pragmatic definition not generally applicable elsewhere. Of course, a shared understanding of terminology is crucial for the communication of research-based knowledge, but asserting a monolithic, hegemonic definition would compromise the value of the tool for many specific investigations. Such a definition would also easily become construed as prescriptive, leading to misrepresentation of individual traditions. In this special issue, “parallelism” is revealed to be a flexible instrument: there is an underlying unity to the basic concept, which can be calibrated to specific research materials and the questions posed concerning those materials. The variety of uses reveals that apparent variation in what is called parallelism is related to this flexibility as a research tool, because it is not the concept that varies but the manifestations of parallelism that are brought into focus.

A significant contribution made by the essays gathered here is not that they define what parallelism is or is not, but rather that they illuminate the versatility and ranges of parallelism as a tool. For the researcher, parallelism is an abstract analytical tool that is adjusted and defined for analysis. On the other hand, these studies reveal that parallelism is equally an emic tool that is used by individuals in performance for the production of meanings and rhetorical or aesthetic effects in communication. These two sides of parallelism are not contradictory or mutually exclusive: many studies of parallelism are pursuits precisely to develop a descriptive model of the emic phenomenon in a particular tradition and to understand how it is used by performers. Our hope is that, by breaking down the tendency to develop parallelism research in “silos” and by raising awareness of parallelism’s potential, the present special issue may lead it to be handled with greater sensitivity and precision when it is taken up in the future, however narrowly or broadly defined by the researcher.

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Remembering and Recreating Origins: The Transformation of a Tradition of Canonical Parallelism among the Rotenese of Eastern Indonesia¹

James J. Fox

Personal Prefatory Remarks

I have been studying an oral tradition of strict canonical parallelism intermittently for nearly half a century. I began my research on this oral tradition based on the island of Rote in eastern Indonesia in 1965, and have continued these efforts, now with greater urgency, to the present. I have also been investigating issues in comparative parallelism for roughly the same period of time. In 2014 I published *Explorations in Semantic Parallelism*, which marked an important stage in this research. This volume is a collection of papers both new and old. For example, I reprinted my first survey of the field in 1977 published in honor of Roman Jakobson together with a longer paper on the “trajectory” of subsequent and continuing developments in the study of parallelism.

Explorations in Semantic Parallelism also reprints several of my papers on the study of the Rotenese tradition of canonical parallelism together with various papers that continue to extend my study of this tradition. My personal understanding of the Rotenese tradition of canonical composition has grown over several decades, while the tradition itself has been undergoing change. My perceptions of this change are intimately linked to my increasing comprehension of the tradition as a whole.

In this paper I take stock of the work on that tradition to date and to put it into perspective. I also describe the changes that have occurred in the tradition over the course of my research as I gradually gained new perceptions of its fundamental underpinnings. Much of my general research on Rote has been historically oriented. The island has its own extensive oral historical traditions as well as Dutch archival records that date to the mid-seventeenth

¹A version of this paper was presented at the “Parallelism in Verbal Art and Performance” Seminar-Workshop held in Helsinki, Finland on May 26-27, 2014. I was initially prompted to write this paper on reading Timo Kaartinen’s paper, “Handing Down and Writing Down: Metadiscourses of Tradition among the Bandanese of Eastern Indonesia” (*Journal of American Folklore* 126 (502):385-406. Prof. Kaartinen’s paper is a fascinating study of changing modes of discourse in the transmission of the folk traditions of the Eli Banda population—a displaced and dispersed, seagoing Islamic population of eastern Indonesia. This paper could perhaps be considered a study in contrasts. The Rotenese are a long-settled Christian population who retain strong memories of their former “canon” of origin narratives while at the same time, they are actively engaged in the creation of a new “canon” of origin narratives.

century. Some of the changes in Rote's traditions of parallelism that I perceive as most significant were, on good historical evidence, begun a century earlier and have now taken over as ever more influential.

Introduction to the Study of Rotenese Ritual Language: The Context of Recitation

For a period of roughly four decades, all my recordings of the Rotenese "ritual language" were opportunistic. They were made during the course of ongoing fieldwork, primarily in one domain on the island, that of the central domain of Termanu (see Fig. 1). Recordings often occurred at ritual gatherings but just as often they happened when an individual poet or chanter chose to provide me with a particular recitation. One attraction for such recitations was that I always made certain to have a ready supply of native palm gin, which is regarded by the Rotenese as the "water of words," and is both a stimulus and requisite for recitation.²

Although these efforts at recording could hardly be considered systematic, they were neither fortuitous nor without plan. During my first fieldwork, I was fortunate in having as my language teacher, an elder master poet, known as Old Meno, who held the ritual office of Head of the Earth. His first male grandson was born shortly after I arrived, and he was taken with the possibility offered by my *Uher* tape recorder of transmitting his knowledge across generations. More than any other poet whom I have recorded, he had a concern for revealing and thus possibly preserving core traditions of origin.

Other poets were stirred to record by the rivalry that existed among them. The fact that I had recorded from a particular poet and let it be known that I valued that recitation would prompt other poets to want to record. Most recordings were of individuals and, if it was at all possible, I would work through the recording and transcription with that poet. Early in my fieldwork, on the advice of the elder brother of the ruler (*Manek*) of Termanu, I declared an interest in recording a particular text, *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*. This became a kind of key signature text that I recorded from many poets over the years. I also sponsored particular mortuary rituals at which recitation was required. Chanters would come to perform and, as was once the case throughout the island, I gave rewards to those who performed. As a result, I have a large and varied corpus of recitations.

The chant recitations in this traditional corpus belong to two broad categories. They are recited either as origin chants or mortuary chants. On Rote, all cultural events and many cultural "goods" have their separate origins. Formerly, on ritual occasions of celebration—for house-building, marriage, the payment of bride-wealth, the initiation of weaving or of planting—origin chants would be recited to acknowledge the events that gave rise to these activities. Although all origin chants are related to one another, each chant recounts an episode in the engagement of the Sun and Moon and their descendants with the Lords of Ocean and Sea,

²A photograph of the gin-still I relied on for a steady flow of eleven bottles per day during my first fieldwork can be found on p.103 of my book, *Harvest of the Palm* (1977b). The film I made with Tim and Patsy Asch, *Water of Words* (Fox et al.1983), documents the role of gin in promoting Rotenese discourse.

represented as Shark and Crocodile. What may once have been a single long epic of cosmic involvement is currently told in bits and pieces that only hint at the possible larger whole.

By the time I arrived on Rote, the ritual recitation of these chants was becoming rare. However, among knowledgeable chanters, the memory of these origin chants was preserved and their recitation, though restricted, was considered the highest form of revelation. To avoid ancestral sanctions, those chanters who revealed an origin chant to me would never reveal the “whole” of their knowledge. A portion of the chant would be omitted or elided or the chant might be retold and recited, without fear of retributions, as a mortuary chant. My first publication of a ritual text (1971)—a remarkable mortuary chant from Old Meno that recounts the theft of a child by ritually paired raptors, “hawk and eagle,” the child’s demise, and his eventual return for burial—is a good example of this re-rendering of an origin chant. Years later, I recorded this same chant told as the “origin” of two prominent rock formations—Sua Lai and Batu Hun—that dominate the north coast of Termanu. A key chant—*Suti Solo do Bina Bane*—is another origin chant that can be rendered either as an origin chant or as a mortuary chant (see Fox 2016 for 19 different versions of this chant recited by 17 different master poets).

There is a considerable repertoire of mortuary chants in the traditional canon that were still being performed when I began my research in Termanu. There are chants to fit all social categories: rich and poor, noble and commoner. Each chant has a double-named “chant character,” whose life is recounted generally from birth to death and to whom the deceased is compared. Although there are some general categories of mortuary chant, which rely on the dual figure of “widow and orphan,” most chants are highly specific: for a rich commoner with herds of livestock, for a young girl who dies prematurely, for a young noble who has spent his time chasing women, and so on. In the Termanu repertoire, there are more mortuary chants than origin chants, and these varied chants are incredibly striking and evocative. An important sociological feature of all mortuary chants is that unlike the genre of historical narratives (*tutui tete’ek*), which are owned or controlled by a specific clan or lineage, these chants are an open resource to be told by knowledgeable chanters (*manahelo*) who have acquired their knowledge generally from some older relative—not necessarily a direct genealogical ancestor.

During my first fieldwork in 1965-66 and again during my second fieldwork in 1972-73, I spent most of my time in Termanu and accordingly made my recordings in this domain. I lived briefly in Korbaffo in 1966 but did not manage to record a single recitation. In 1966 near the end of my stay on Rote, however, I was able to record the blind minister/poet, Manoeain, in his home in the domain of Ba’a. More productively, during both periods of long fieldwork, I made excursions to Oe Handi in the southern domain of Thie where I lived with the remarkable poet and teacher, Guru N. D. Pah. Along with his fellow poet, S. Ndun, Guru Pah provided me with a substantial repertoire of Thie’s origin chants, which served for years as my point of comparative reference to the traditions of Termanu.

Rote was politically divided into domains (*nusak*) by the Dutch East India Company beginning in the middle of the seventeenth century. Since the early nineteenth century, there have been eighteen recognized autonomous domains on the island. Each domain celebrates its separate origin and insists that it possesses its own distinct language. In fact, the languages of the domains form a dialect chain from east to west. Neighboring dialects are mutually

intelligible but this intelligibility declines as the distance increases. As often occurs in dialect chains, distant dialects are almost unintelligible to one another. Although my two domain-two dialect (Termanu-Thie) perspective on Rotenese ritual language provided me with valuable insights, I came to recognize that this framework was too limited for a proper study of the diverse ritual language traditions of the island. Therefore, belatedly, on the eve of my formal retirement, I resolved to try and rectify this inadequacy.

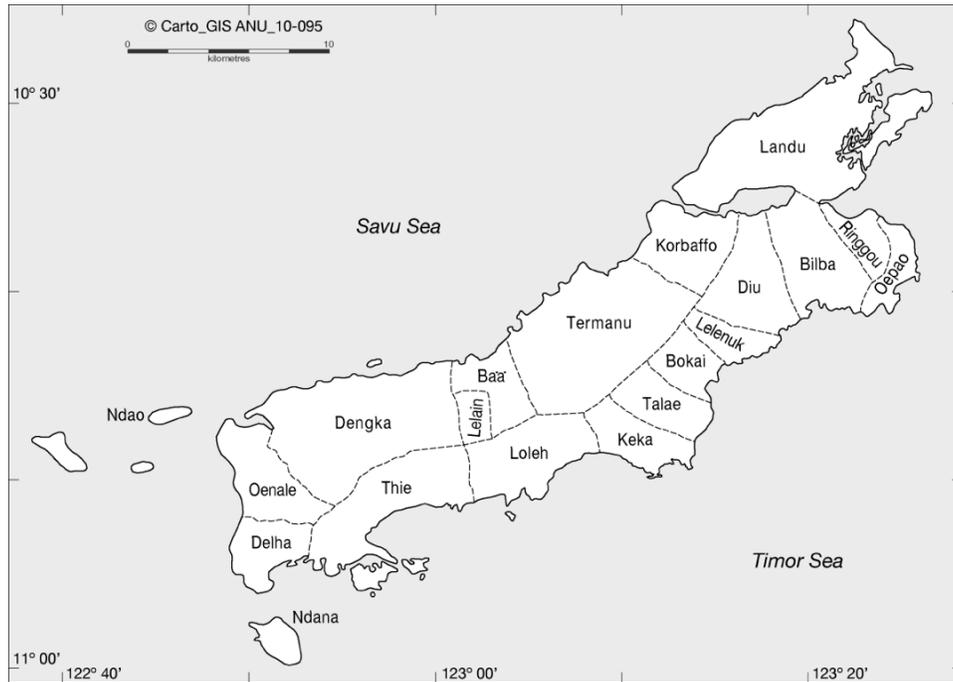


Fig. 1. The domains of Rote.

“Master Poets, Ritual Masters” Project

With initial funding from the Australian Research Council, I embarked on what I initially conceived as a three year project to identify the master poets in the various domains of Rote and to invite them to Bali for a week long recording session. My suspicion was that, removed from the ritual restrictions imposed by their local situations and in the company of other notable poets, such poets would feel more free to recite. My suspicions proved correct, especially for the most elder of the poets for whom the plane trip above the clouds was both exhilarating and liberating: “like traveling to heaven.” Initially, I traveled to Rote to enlist the first poets: my oldest living friend and informant, Esau Pono, from Termanu, and Ande Ruy, Rote’s most widely acclaimed poet, from Ringgou. These two poets joined subsequent recording sessions, and in the meantime, helped identify and recruit other master poets.

My first recording session on Bali was entirely experimental and included only four poets from Termanu and Ringgou. Subsequent sessions grew larger and more diverse. The second session had six poets, with new poets from Landu and Ringgou. The third session also had six poets, adding new poets from Dengka and Keka.

By the end of three years, I had just begun. Moreover the recitations in diverse dialects presented a challenge to my understanding, which was based on my knowledge of dialect and traditions of Termanu. Therefore I needed to invite poets, who had already recited in previous years, to come again so that I could work closely with them on their previous recitations. As a result, the fourth session in Bali included poets from Termanu and Ringgou (my old stalwarts, Esau Pono and Ande Ruy), plus a previous poet from Dengka, along with four new poets from the domain of Thie. The fifth session included nine poets, three repeat poets from Termanu, Ringgou, and Dengka plus three new poets from Bilba, two from Korbaffo, and one from Oenale. The seventh session had almost entirely repeat poets, all remarkable master poets from Oenale, Thie, Termanu, Bilba, Ringgou, and Landu, plus one new poet from Oepao. The eighth and ninth sessions included newcomers but concentrated on those master poets who had already provided excellent recitations.

Instead of being able to complete my proposed study in three years, I have had no choice but to continue recording sessions. To date, I have held nine recording sessions on Bali, recording twenty-eight different poets from ten of Rote's eighteen domains. On the basis of what I have learned, I have tentatively divided the domains into six dialect areas (Fig. 2), several of which would qualify, I believe, as different languages. Over the past decade, I have struggled to translate recitations from all of these dialect areas.

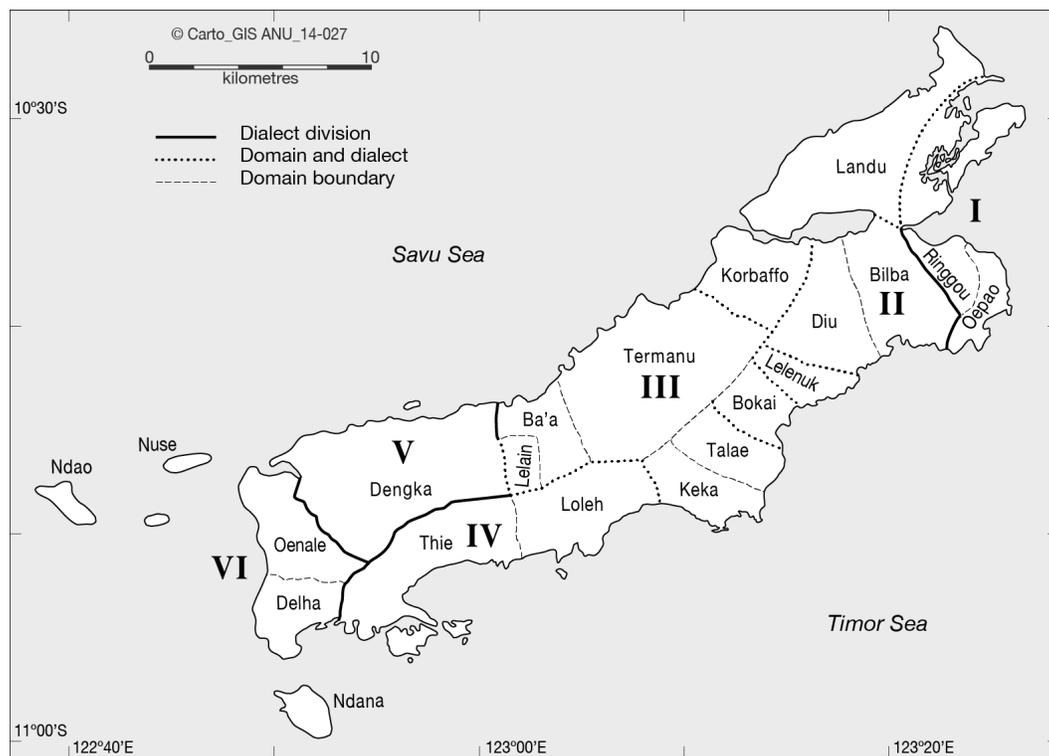


Fig 2. A tentative dialect map of Rote (note: Dialects II and III are closer to one another than they are to any other dialects).

Like all projects, this one was fraught with difficulties. Some poets whom I invited to join the group had to decline on short notice to attend family rituals, or were too ill to travel. Two poets came down with malaria after they arrived in Bali and were in no condition to

recite. A true master poet from Dengka, a man with an enormous repertoire, Simon Lesik, who promised to join our group again for more recordings, died before he could make a return visit to Bali. Other poets from Bilba and Thie also died suddenly. My closest collaborator, Esau Pono, was unable to join us for our ninth recording session and died not long afterwards in his home in Termanu.

However, though this project is still incomplete and with many loose ends, it has generated an enormous collection of diverse recordings. Although I have not yet been able to translate all these recitations and have many questions of interpretation about them, this effort has given me a much fuller comprehension of the tradition of Rotenese ritual language and the developments that are occurring in different local areas where the tradition continues.

Defining the Contours of the Rotenese Ritual Language Tradition

All Rotenese ritual recitations can be linked to the performance of particular rituals. The most important of these recitations, which I have described as “origin chants,” are associated with particular rituals that have ceased to be performed almost everywhere on Rote. Previously each domain held an Origin Celebration (variously referred to as *Hus*, *Sio*, or *Limbe*). The practice of holding these celebrations came to an end in most parts of Rote in the first half of the twentieth century. They are still performed each year in only one small village area in the domain of Dengka. Similarly, all of the major rituals of the Rotenese that initiated and accompanied the building of traditional houses, the planting of rice and millet, the processes of weaving and tie-dying, along with various events of the life cycle have also ceased to be performed. Hence all of the origin chants that are currently recited are based on memories of a ritual world that has passed. Only marriage and funeral ceremonies, on occasion, continue to preserve elements of previous performance and recitation.

During my first periods of fieldwork, I occasionally witnessed the traditional performance of some of the life cycle rituals. I also sponsored two commemorative mortuary ceremonies at which recitations occurred, but the second of these ceremonies, some ten years after the first, was a curious adaptation of the earlier performance. I have argued in several of my publications that the Rotenese are rather indifferent ritualists: speaking is tantamount to performance and saying that such and such has occurred is sufficient to making it so (see for example Fox 1979:147-51 and 1988:174-92).

Hence there is a certain paradox, especially among Rotenese poets: for the most part, they remain intensely committed to the remembrance of a traditional oral canon that is no longer a functional part of their everyday ritual life. Yet knowledge of this canon—or rather, the belief that there is such an ancestral canon that must be preserved—remains fundamental to a perception of Rotenese life and identity.

As a consequence, there is an insistent refrain in Rotenese ritual recitations:

<i>Ndele mafandendelek</i>	“Remember, do remember
<i>Ma neda masanenedak</i>	And keep in mind, do keep in mind...”

The Formation of a Second Canon

In the meanwhile, the tradition of ritual language has not remained static. It has taken on new dimensions and is in the process of creating a new canon—one that is also focused on redefined “origins.”

Rotenese nobility began converting to Christianity in the early part of the eighteenth century. They adopted the use of Malay as a means of communicating with the Dutch; they established local Malay schools in a majority of their domains, and they took on the use of the Malay Bible as their primary source of learning. As Christians, they claimed equality with the Dutch.

For a period of over a hundred and fifty years, schooling, literacy in Malay, and adherence to Christianity were inseparably bound together. Only toward the end of the nineteenth century—and largely as a result of the efforts of a single Dutch missionary, G. J. H. Le Grand, who arrived on Rote in 1890—were the strict bonds of Christian literacy in Malay undone. Le Grand came to the realization that after 170 years of Christianity on the island, less than a fifth of the population was Christian, and even for them, Christianity was little more than what he called “Sunday apparel” (Le Grand 1900:373). He initiated the use of ritual language as a vehicle for preaching Christianity and devoted much of his effort to teaching a new generation of Rotenese church ministers to use ritual language in their preaching.

Change was slow, but by the 1920s and 1930s some of Rote’s leading poets were Christian ministers. Churches became the venue for ritual language recitations. As such, it was often difficult to disengage the Christian elements from those of the older tradition in ritual language recitations. Many of Rote’s finest and most fluent poets became eminent preachers, even without formal Christian theological training.

The entanglement of the two traditions was initially somewhat perplexing for me. During my first fieldwork, I gathered two superb examples of ritual language from the blind poet-minister, L. Manoeain, when I visited him in Ba’a: one was a beautiful version of *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*; the other was a long recitation on possible life-pathways marked out on the branches of the banyan tree. Only after I had translated it and considered it carefully did I realize that it was a Christian admonition in a wholly “traditional” mode. Peu Malesi was one of the first poets of Termanu from whom I recorded a number of ritual chants. One day, during my second field trip in 1972-73, he came to recite for me the chant on the origin of death. Most of those who heard him took his recitation as a revelation of traditional knowledge; only one school teacher recognized it as a retelling of the Biblical narrative of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden.³

In many of my publications, I have pointed to the Christian dimension that has been grafted onto Rotenese ritual traditions (for example, Fox 1982, 1983, and 2014). This transformation has involved the “borrowing” of numerous recognizable formulaic phrases and

³The majority of Rotenese poets are versatile. Samuel Ndun from Thie was one of the most remarkable, utterly fluent poets I ever recorded. He, too, was a local preacher. I remember overhearing his initial question at a wedding at which he had been asked to perform: “What do you want, a Christian or traditional (that is, coconut) ceremony?” I discuss and illustrate this formation of a Christian canon at greater length in three chapters (Fox 2014:317-64).

themes whose metaphoric meanings have been extended to new contexts, but it has also involved the creation of a considerable body of new “theological terms” in strict parallelism. This theological lexicon is still in the process of creation, and its creation is occurring in different dialects of Rotenese. Hence there is no standard lexicon; rather, there are many family resemblances among lexical elements. In approaching this lexicon, it is best to identify terms by domain dialect and poet.

The New Theological Lexicon in Rotenese Ritual Language

The following lines, quoted from the poet L. Manoeain’s description of life’s journey to heaven, provide an idea of a recitation in this new canon. I have translated these as literally as possible to retain the sense of the metaphoric parallelism:

<i>Te dala sodak nde ndia</i>	For this is the road of well-being
<i>Ma eno molek nde ndia</i>	And this is the path of peace
<i>Fo nini o mu losa kapa-sula soda daen</i>	To bring you to the buffalo-horn land of well-being
<i>Ma mu nduku pa-dui molek oen.</i>	And to the flesh and bone water of peace.
<i>Dae sodak nai ndia</i>	The land of well-being is there
<i>Ma oe molek nai na</i>	And the water of peace is there
<i>Fo o hambu soda sio</i>	For you will find the well-being of nine
<i>Ma o hambu mole falu</i>	And you will find the peace of eight
<i>Ma dua lolo ei</i>	And with legs outstretched
<i>Ma kala ifa lima</i>	And with arms cradled on the lap
<i>Fo ifa limam no limam</i>	Cradle your arms upon your arms
<i>Ma lolo eim no eim.</i>	And stretch your legs over your legs.

In these lines, heaven is referred to as “the buffalo-horn land of well-being // the flesh and bone water of life”; or more simply, it is “the land of well-being // the water of life” where one finds “the well-being of nine” and “peace of eight.” The phrases are all adaptations of dyadic (that is, parallel) sets of the kind that regularly occur in traditional origin chants: *kapa-sula* // *pa-dui*: “buffalo-horn” // “flesh-bone”; *dae* // *oe*: “land” // “water”; *sio* // *yalu*: “nine” // “eight” (these numbers signify wholeness or completion). On the other hand, the paired terms *soda* // *mole*: “well-being” // “peace” are intimately connected with Christianity—they are in fact used as a greeting among Christians—and do not appear in “traditional” origin chants. Use of these terms is a clear sign of a recitation in a Christian mode.

The poet Esau Pono from Termanu prefers to refer to Heaven as *Nusa Soda ma Ingu Tema: Bate Falu, Tema Sio*: “The Domain of Well-Being and Land of Fullness of Eightfold Abundance and Ninefold Fullness.” In describing the Biblical creator, the poet Yulius Iu from Landu speaks of:

<i>Tou Mana Sura Poi a</i>	The Inscraper of the Heights
<i>Ma Tate Mana Adu Lai a</i>	And the Creator of the Heavens

By contrast, the poet Ande Ruy from Ringgou describes the Biblical creator as follows:

Tate Mana Sura Bula
Do Tou Mana Adu Ledo

The Insciber of the Moon
Or the Creator of the Sun

The term for the Holy Spirit in Termanu is: *Dula Dale ma Le'u Tein* (“Patterner of the Heart” // “Shaper of the Inside”). The variant term for the Holy Spirit in Ringgou is *Dula Dale ma Malala Funa* (“Patterner of the Heart” // “Former of the Core”).

Christ, for example, is the *Mana-Soi ma Mana-Tefa*: “He who freed and He who paid, that is, “Savior and Redeemer.” This designation is based on the pairing of the verb, *soi*: “to open, to let loose, to free” and the verb *tefa*: “to pay.” Together as a formal dyadic set this pair attempts to capture something of the Christian idea of redemption.

There are numerous expressions used to refer to Christ. Virtually all of them are metaphorically dense and theologically complex. Many of these expressions, which are now taken for granted in ritual language, require careful exegesis.

Christ, for example, can be referred to as *Maleo Lain Pua-na // Masafali Poin Tua-na*: “The Heavenly Lord’s Areca Palm [son] // The High God’s Lontar Palm [son].” Or using another botanic idiom, Christ can be referred to as *Huni ma-lapa litik // Tefu ma-nggona lilok*: “The Banana Stalk with copper blossoms // The Sugarcane with golden sheaths.” Using yet another botanic expression, Christ’s crucifixion can be compared to the withering of taro and yam (*tale // fia*), which is likened to a “temporary death” before these plants revive. Even Golgotha, the place of Christ’s crucifixion, is given a specific dual ritual name, *Lete Langaduik // Puku Pakulima*: “Hill of the Skull” // “Mount of the Nailed Hands.”

There is great variety, and considerable ingenuity, in the creation of this new theological lexicon, but it is always in strict parallelism and invariably draws on traditional formulaic expressions for its effect.

Older Origin Chants and the Creation of New Christian Origin Narratives

All origin recitations concern relations between the Sun and Moon, *Ledo Holo // Bula Kai*, and the Lords of the Sea and Ocean, the Shark and Crocodile, who are known by the exalted titles *Danga Lena Liun // Mane Tua Sain*: “Chief Hunter of the Ocean” // “Great Lord of the Sea.” Each specific recitation recounts an episode in the account of these relations that gave rise to the cultural objects that form the basis of Rotenese life: the knowledge of fire and of cooked food, the seeds of rice and millet and of other crops, tools for building the house and the equipment for tie-dyeing and weaving—including the knowledge of the patterning of cloth.

The Sun and Moon have numerous children, all of whom are identifiable by the inclusion of “Sun” and “Moon” (*Ledo* and *Bula*, respectively) in their names. One of the most important origin recitations recounts the initial encounter between *Mandeti Ledo // Patola Bula*, sons of the Sun and Moon, and the Lords of the Sea and Ocean. They encounter each other in a hunt for wild pig // civet cat. When they have succeeded in their hunt, they argue whether to hold

the sacrificial feast of these animals in the Heavens or the Sea. In the end, the Lords of the Sea prevail and they all descend into the Sea.

When Patola Bulan and Mandeti Ledo descend into the sea, they discover there the use of fire and the cooking of meat with rice and millet. This is described in a recitation that I recorded from the poet Peu Malesi in 1965. A brief excerpt from this long narrative is as follows:

<i>Besak-ka dilu leu liun dalek</i>	Now they turn and go down into the ocean
<i>Ma leo neu sain dalek</i>	And they descend and go down into the sea
<i>Ma leu Man'tua Sain lon-na</i>	And they go to the house of <i>Man'tua Sain</i>
<i>Ma Danga Lena Liun uman-na.</i>	And the home of <i>Danga Lena Liun</i> .
<i>Nana-sini kea louk</i>	Decked with turtle shells
<i>Ma nana-heu hai iko.</i>	And roofed with rayfish tails
<i>De na-ndela liti data</i>	It flashes like ancient copper
<i>Do na-sa'a engge oe.</i>	Or it shines like wetted lead.
<i>Boe ma ala dilu doli nai liun</i>	So they prepare rice in the ocean
<i>De fina kue nai liun</i>	To hold the sacrifice of civet cat in the ocean
<i>Ma tutu lutu nai sain</i>	And they pound millet in the sea
<i>De fati bafi nai sain.</i>	To offer wild pig in the sea.
<i>La'a te feo filu</i>	They eat but also wind a leaf-container of food
<i>Ma linu te poti latu.</i>	And they drink but also wrap a bundle of food.
<i>De leni fe Ledo Holo</i>	They carry this to <i>Ledo Holo</i>
<i>Ma leni fe Bula Kai.</i>	And they carry this to <i>Bula Kai</i> .
<i>Besak-ka Bula Kai na'a nita</i>	Now <i>Bula Kai</i> eats to see what it is
<i>Ma Ledo Holo ninu nita.</i>	And <i>Ledo Holo</i> drinks to see what it is.
<i>Boe ma nae:</i>	He says:
<i>"Ladak ia nai be</i>	"From where is this taste?
<i>Ma lolek ia nai be?"</i>	Where is this goodness?"
<i>Boe ma lae:</i>	They say:
<i>"Ladak ia nai liun</i>	"This taste is in the ocean
<i>Ma lolek ia nai sain."</i>	And this goodness is in the sea."

In another telling of this origin chant, also recorded in 1965, but from Old Meno, the poet Stefanus Adulanu describes the discovery of the lontar palm juice, which they take with the cooked food to the Sun and Moon (in this version, however, the sons of the Sun and Moon are identified as *Pala Ledo // Ndu Bulan*). Meno then goes on to describe what occurs in Heaven when the Sun and Moon have eaten and drunk the food from the sea. In this version, when they have eaten, the Sun and Moon propose making war upon the Lords of the Sea to obtain tasty cooked food and sweet lontar juice, but they are counseled against this idea by their sons:

<i>De Bulan no Ledo</i>	The Moon (<i>Bulan</i>) and Sun (<i>Ledo</i>)
<i>La'a ma linu lita.</i>	Eat and drink and they see.

Boe ma ala do-do.

De lafada anan nala,

Fo Ndu Bulan ma Pala Ledo lae:

“Malole ata le’a tafa neu sain

Ma loe dongi neu liun.”

Boe te Ndu Bulan

No Pala Ledo lae:

“Malole ndia boe.

Te hu pela oe leu-leu

Ma tasi oe lama-lama.

De ita tesik enok-ka nde be?”

Then they think to themselves.

They speak to their children,

Ndu Bulan and *Pala Ledo*, saying:

“It would be good if we stretch a sword over the sea

And lower a barbed spear on the ocean.”

But *Ndu Bulan*

And *Pala Ledo* say:

“That would be good.

But the ocean’s surface wanders all about

And the sea’s water spreads everywhere.

What path would we take?”

Instead of war, a marriage is proposed with the sea. Here, however, versions differ significantly. In Old Meno’s telling, the Sun and Moon marry with the woman *Lole Liuk* “Goodness of the Ocean,” and the girl *Lada Saik*, “Tastiness of the Sea.” This pair brings a rich dowry, including the tools (axe and adze) for building the house. In Malesi’s version (and other versions I have gathered), the Sun and Moon give one of their daughters to marry with the Lords of the Sea. In these versions, there occurs a long passage on the negotiation of bridewealth. The following passage is from Malesi’s recitation:

Besak-ka ala fifino neu liun

De tu neu liun dale

Ma ala lelete neu sain

De sao neu sain dalek.

Besak-ka ana sao Danga Lena Liun

Ma tu Mane Tua Sain

Boe ala doko-doe fae-tena

Ma ala tai-boni beli-batun.

De ala fe lilo ma-langa munge

Ma ala fe kapa ma-ao foek.

Te ala bei doko-doe

Ma ala bei tai-boni.

Besak-ka ala fe bo pa’a-bela

Ma ala fe taka tala-la.

Ala fe sipa aba-do

Ma ala fe funu ma-leo.

Te hu ala bei doko-doe

Ma ala bei tai boni.

Boe-ma ala fe nesu maka-boka buik

Ma alu mata-fia tongok.

Te ala bei doko-doe

Ma ala bei tai-boni.

Besak-ka ala fe kutu-ana nau-poin

Now they make a way to the ocean

To wed within the ocean

And they bridge a path to the sea

To marry within the sea.

Now she marries *Danga Lena Liun*

And she weds *Mane Tua Sain*

They demand a payment of livestock

And they claim a bridewealth of gold.

They give a gold chain with a snake’s head

And they give buffalo with pied-white bodies.

But still they continue to demand

And still they continue to claim.

Now they give the bore-tool and flat-chisel

And they give the axe and the adze.

They give the plumb line markers

And they give the turning drill.

But still they continue to demand

And still they continue to claim.

They give the mortar whose thudding shakes its base

And the pestle whose thrust blisters the hand.

But still they continue to demand

And still they continue to claim.

Then they give the little flint-set with loose tinder grass

Ma una-ana ai-nggeo.

Besak-ka ala lae:

“Dai te ta dai

O nai ta dai liman

Ma no’u te ta nou

O nai kuku no’u nen.”

Besak-ka lenin neu poin

Ma lenin neu lain.

And the little black-sticked fire drill.

Now they say:

“Whether enough or not enough

What’s in our grip is enough in our hand

And whether sufficient or insufficient

What’s in our fingers is sufficient in our grasp.”

Now they carry everything to the Heights

And they carry everything to Heaven.

All versions of this origin chant—whatever the direction of marriage—continue with the building of the house. This is seen as a central creative activity in Rotenese culture. Although I have heard parts of this chant recited during a bridewealth payment ceremony, it is probable that the recitation of this chant, in some form or other, was once critical to the building of the house. This particular origin chant provides the background to other episodes that involve relations between the Sun and Moon and the Lords of the Sea. As an account of origins, it is fundamentally different from various Christian origin narratives and, in particular, from the telling of the Genesis narrative.

Not surprisingly, the chief origin chant now recited among the Rotenese is that of Genesis but, as in all oral cultures, the telling of Genesis among the Rotenese varies from poet to poet. In some instances, it is a richly metaphoric interpretation of Genesis with curious cultural interpolations, while in other instances, it is a relatively close retelling of the Biblical account.

Two illustrative recitations follow (see Fox 2014a:317-41). The first of these is by Ande Ruy, an extraordinarily capable poet from the domain of Ringgou (but not someone who would, in Rotenese terms, be considered a preacher). I have selected three passages from a long recitation that continues on to the creation of Adam to whom he gives the ritual name, *Tou Manupui Dulu // Tate O’oro Laka*. (The name is obtuse and translates literally as “The Man who is the Manupui-bird of the East” // “The Boy who is the O’oro-bird of the Headland.” The name implies someone at the dawn of time.)

I. The Initial Creation: Darkness to Light

Hida bei leo hata na

Ma data bei leo dona

Bei iu-iu kima lou

Ma bei hatu-hatu data feo.

Ma lua bei taa

Ma makaledo bei taa

Ma bei pela oe leleu

Bei tasi oe lala.

Ma tate mana sura bula

Fo nai Tema Sio

Do tou mana adu ledo

At a time long ago

And at a time since past

Still dark as the inside of a clam

Still gloom wrapped all round.

And Sunlight was not yet

And Daylight was not yet

Still surface water throughout

Still the water of sea surrounding.

And the Inscraper of the Moon

In the Fullness of Nine

Or the Creator of the Sun

<i>Fo nai Bate Falu</i>	In the Abundance of Eight
<i>Bei ise-ise leo apa</i>	Still isolated as a buffalo
<i>Ma bei mesa-mesa leo manu.</i>	Still lonely as a chicken.
<i>Bei iku nonoi</i>	Still in the heights
<i>Dula Dale namaleu</i>	The Patterner of the Heart comes
<i>Bei malalao</i>	Still hovering above
<i>Do Malala Funa bei leu-leu</i>	Or the Former of the Core still comes
<i>Do bei lala-lala rae</i>	Or still hovering over the earth
<i>Pela oe leleu</i>	Moving over the water
<i>Do tasi oe lalama.</i>	The waters of the sea extending.
<i>Ma Tate mana sura bula</i>	The Insciber of the Moon
<i>Do Tou mana adu ledo</i>	Or the Creator of the Sun
<i>Lole hara na neu</i>	Raises forth His voice
<i>Fo hara eke na neu</i>	The leaden voice comes forth
<i>Ma selu dasi na neu</i>	Lifts forth his words
<i>Fo dasi lilo na neu, nae:</i>	Golden words go forth, saying:
<i>“Makaledo a dadi ma</i>	“Let there be sunlight
<i>Ma malua a mori.”</i>	And let daylight appear.”

II. *The Creation of the Earth*

<i>Selu dasi na neu</i>	He lifts forth his words
<i>Ma lole hara na neu</i>	And raises forth his voice
<i>Fo hara eke na neu</i>	The leaden voice comes forth
<i>“Dadi mai Batu Poi a”</i>	“Let there be the Rock’s Point”
<i>Ma dasi lilo na neu</i>	And the golden words come forth:
<i>“Mori mai Dae Bafo a.”</i>	“Let there appear the Earth’s Surface.”
<i>Boe ma mana mori, ara mori</i>	What appears, appears
<i>Ma mana dadi, ara dadi.</i>	And what comes forth, comes forth.
<i>Fo biti ne ara dadi do mori</i>	Plants come forth or appear
<i>Fo mori reni hu ana</i>	Appear with tiny trunks
<i>Ma dadi reni hu ina.</i>	And come forth with large trunks.
<i>Boe ma feli nade neu</i>	So He gives them their name
<i>Ma beka bon, rae:</i>	And their aroma, saying:
<i>“Hu mana rerebi do</i>	“Trunks that grow thick
<i>Do mana sasape ara</i>	Leaves that hang down
<i>Fo rabuna bitala</i>	That flowers bud forth
<i>Ma raboa bebeku</i>	And that fruit droop
<i>Fo buna nara, mafa modo</i>	Flowers of half-ripe green
<i>Ma boa nara, latu lai</i>	And fruit of over-ripe yellow
<i>Fo ono rule Dae Bafo a</i>	Coming down on to the earth
<i>Ma refa feo Batu Poi a.”</i>	And descending round the world.”

III. *Continuation of Creation: The Sea and the Creatures of the Sea*

<i>Selu dasin neu Sain</i>	His voice goes to the sea
<i>Ma lole haran neu Liun</i>	And His words go to the ocean
<i>Fo ela rai tasi a dadi</i>	So that the sea comes forth
<i>Ma seko meti a mori.</i>	And the ocean appears.
<i>Boe ma nahara neu sain, nae:</i>	He speaks to the sea, saying:
<i>“Moka Holu o dadi</i>	You, Moka Holu fish, come forth
<i>Na dadi mo tia tasim</i>	Come forth with sea clams
<i>Fo ela tia tasi mai tai</i>	That the sea clams may cling
<i>Ma Dusu Lake o mori</i>	And you Dusu Lake fish, appear
<i>Na mori mo lopu le</i>	Appear with the river moss
<i>Fo ela lopu le mai feo</i>	That the river moss may come round
<i>Nai sai makeon</i>	In the darkened sea
<i>Do nai liu ma momodo na</i>	Or the deep green ocean
<i>Fo ela oli seu meu esa</i>	So that in the estuary, you go as one
<i>Ma Nase te meu esa</i>	And as small Nase fish, you go as one
<i>Ma nura nai meu esa</i>	And in the forest, you go as one
<i>Fo ode rane meu esa.”</i>	So as playful monkeys, you go as one.”

This recitation of Genesis is suffused with expressions from the traditional canon. One striking example is the reference to the Creator as “isolated as a buffalo” // “lonely as a chicken”—a common ritual language phrase. It also includes references to the creation of particular fish species, *Moka Hulu* and *Dusu Lake*, that are ritually significant in recitations from the traditional canon. These ritual fish are required for the performance of the annual origin ceremony after the harvest. As a recitation, this rendering of Genesis resonates with older origin chants.

For comparison, I quote passages from an equally long recitation by the poet Yulius Iu from the domain of Landu, who is considered as much a poet as a preacher. In fact, he is a lay preacher in the Evangelical Church on Rote. His recitation is also suffused with expressions from the traditional canon. The passages I quote tell of the creation of the world and then of the creation of first Adam, then Eve, and then of God’s injunction to Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden (Fox 2014a:334-36):

I. *The Initial Creation*

<i>Au tui ia nana, nae:</i>	I tell of
<i>Tui dae ina dadadi</i>	Tell of the creation of the world
<i>Masosa na le mauulu a</i>	Its beginning and commencement
<i>Tou Mana Sura Poi a</i>	The Insciber of the Heights
<i>Ma Tate Mana Adu Lai a</i>	And the Creator of the Heavens
<i>Adu neme lalai no dae ina.</i>	Created heaven and earth.
<i>Boema adu do tao nalan</i>	Then He created and made them

Tehu bei kiu-kiu kima rou
Ma bei hatu-hatu do tafao
Bei nafaroe dea ei
Bei nafadama lutu lima.
Basa boema adu nala malua a
Ma riti ndala makaledo a
De malua nala dulu
Ma makaledo nala laka.
Basa boema adu do tao nala
Tada nala oe mamis a no tasi oe.
Basa boema adu do tao nala
Adu do tao basa-basa
Hu marerebi ma ara ma do masesepe a.
Basa boema adu do tao nala
Malua a do makaledo a
Ialah bula a, fandu ara, ma ledo a.

But still there was darkness like the inside of a shell
 And still there was gloom all round
 As if still groping in the legs of a fish weir
 Still fumbling in the arms of a fish trap.
 When he created the brightness
 And generated daylight
 The sun rose in the east
 And the daylight appeared at the head.
 When this had been created and made
 He separated fresh water and sea water.
 When this had been created and made
 He created and made all
 Tree plants and leaved plants.
 When this had been created and made
 There was daylight and sunshine
 That is the moon, the stars and the sun.

II. *The Creation of Adam and then the Creation of Eve*

Basa boema adu tao
Laihenda daebafo a
Ma hataholi batu poi.
Adu tao nala Adam
Tehu tou a kise apa
Ma tate a mesa manu.
De neu fai esa nai ndia
Ma ledo dua nai na
Boema Adam suku dodoko lakan
Ma ana peu ailunu lima.
Boema Tou Mana Adu Lai a
Ma Tate mana Sura Poi a
Neu leo de hai na Adam ai usu kise na.
Boema adu na neu lahenda
Ma tao na leo hataholi.
Boema mon nai Adam neu
De neu de nahara ma nadasi
“Nai ia nana hu nata ndia na so
Ma ndana nasarai na ndia so
Dadi neu sao uma a leo
Ma mori neu mo tu lo a leo.
De leo matalolole
Ma iku matabebesa
De losa duas

Then He created and made
 A person on the earth
 And a human in the world.
 He created Adam
 But he was a man like a lone buffalo
 And a boy like a solitary chicken.
 Then on a particular day
 And at a certain time
 Adam fell asleep
 And napped with his hands as a pillow.
 Then the Creator of the Heavens
 And the Insciber of the Heights
 Went and took from Adam a rib from his side.
 Then He created a human
 And made a person.
 Then He brought her to Adam
 Then he spoke and said
 “Here is the proper trunk
 And branch to lean upon
 To become a wife in the house
 And to live as household spouse.
 Such is a proper life
 And an ordered living.
 So that (you) both

<i>Leo ma iku rai mamana</i>	Live and reside at a place
<i>Si seu ma so'e dode</i>	Tear, then sew; and scoop then serve
<i>De hi'a fo setele</i>	Laughing happily
<i>Ma eki fo natadale."</i>	And crying for joy."

III. *The Creator's Injunction to Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden*

<i>Tehu, mai fai esa nai ndia</i>	But on a certain day
<i>Boema ledo dua nai na</i>	And at a particular time
<i>Boema Tou Mana Adu Lai a</i>	The Creator of the Heavens
<i>Ma Tate Mana Sura Poi a</i>	And the Insciber of the Heights
<i>Ana hara no heke ne</i>	He spoke with binding command
<i>Ma dasi no bara tada</i>	And he gave voice to a prohibition:
<i>"De basa-basa hata</i>	"All things growing there
<i>Nai oka ma nai dea dale ia</i>	In that garden and in that precinct
<i>Bole upa ma tesa tei a</i>	You may eat to your full
<i>Ma minu a tama dale a</i>	And drink to your satisfaction
<i>Te noi ai esa nai oka talada</i>	But there is a tree in the middle of the garden
<i>Nai ia nade ai pala keka</i>	Its name is the <i>Keka</i> tree of prohibition
<i>Ma batu ndilu ndao.</i>	And the <i>Ndao</i> stone of regulation.
<i>Boso tai lima</i>	Do not lay your hand
<i>Ma ei na neu.</i>	Nor your foot upon it.
<i>De fai bea o tai lima ma neu</i>	On the day you put your hand on it
<i>Ho dua kemi upa sama-sama</i>	So that you both drink together
<i>Ma mia sama-sama</i>	And eat together
<i>Sono neu ko fai esa na ndia</i>	Then on that day
<i>Ma ledo dua nai na</i>	And at that time
<i>Te lu mata mori</i>	Tears will grow
<i>Ma pinu idu a dadi neu ko emi dua</i>	And snot will emerge for both of you
<i>Dadi neu tu'e tei</i>	Becoming a heart's regret
<i>Ma mori neu sale dale..."</i>	And growing into inner disappointment..."

These passages are a good illustration of the rendering of Genesis in the Christian canon. The narrative is recognizable but the parallel language, and indeed most of the imagery, harks back to an older tradition. In this version, it is Adam who is like "a lone buffalo" // "a solitary chicken" until he is presented with Eve. Rotenese traditional religious practices were based on the "union of rock and tree." Hence the tree in the garden of Eden is transformed into "the Keka tree of prohibition" and "the Ndao stone of regulation." The language, for the most part, is that of strict canonical parallelism.

Creative Additions to the Canon of New Origins

The Bible is not the only source of new narratives of origin. Equally prominent are recitations that recount the origins of Christianity on Rote. In 1905, in his collection of *Rottineesch Verhalen*, probably gathered before the turn of the century, the Dutch linguist J. C. G. Jonker published a seven-page tale of how certain Rotenese rulers sailed to Batavia and purchased the knowledge of Christianity with a payment of thirty slaves, acquiring at the same time the knowledge of how to distill gin. This tale, which has more than a century's historical provenance, has itself been "distilled" and disseminated through most of the island as another crucial origin narrative in the new Christian canon.

The narrative has the ritual name, *Sanga Ndolu ma Tunga Lela*: "To Seek Counsel and To Stalk Wisdom." Versions of this narrative have now become part of the repertoire of poets in most domains. As an illustration, I have selected several short passages of this chant from a version that formed part of the Yubileum Liturgy of the Evangelical Church of Timor performed on October 1, 1997 in the village of Fiulain in the domain of Thie, the place credited with the first Christian congregation on Rote.

In this origin narrative, the three Rotenese rulers from the domains of Thie, Loleh and Ba'a are identified by the ritual names of their respective domains. (The whole of the Rotenese landscape, including all of its domains, have well-known dual names.) Inspired by the Holy Spirit, *Dula Dalek // Le'u Teik* "Patterner of the Spirit" // "Inscriber of the Heart," these rulers conceive the idea of a *perahu* ("boat") that will take them to Batavia. They sail to Batavia and confront Dutch officials, *lena-lena nai ndia // lesi-lesi nai na* "the Great Ones there" // "Superior Ones there," and announce that they have come *Tui Sodak ma Bau Molek*, that is, seeking "the *Tui*-tree of Well-being and the *Bau*-tree of Peace" to plant and sow on Rote and on Kale.

Although the *Tui* and *Bau* trees are prominent botanic images in the traditional canon, here in this recitation, the *Tui*-tree and *Bau*-tree are invoked as botanic icons for the knowledge of Christianity. As such, this recitation, like many Christian narratives, involves a reinterpretation and reestablishment of older imagery in a new guise.

Having obtained these trees, the three rulers return to Rote and begin a process of planting. What follows thereafter in this recitation is a long topogeny—a recitation of specific (village) place names—that begins in the domain of Thie and extends throughout the island.

This "topogeny of the planting of Christianity on Rote" follows closely the topogeny of the planting of rice and millet in the traditional canon of origins. Here I quote only a short segment of this long topogeny:

Sanga Ndolu ma Tunga Lela

<i>Faik esa manunin</i>	On one particular day
<i>Ma ledo dua mateben</i>	And on a second certain time
<i>Mane dua lakabua</i>	Two rulers gather together
<i>Ma boko telu laesa</i>	And three lords gather as one
<i>Lakabua fo lamanene</i>	Gather together to listen

Ma laesa for lamania
Benga neme Dula Dalek
Ma dasi neme Le'u Teik.
"Ita lakabua sanga ndolu
Ma ita laesa tunga lela
Nai Batafia ma Matabi."
Mane dua ma boko telu
Neme Tada Muli ma Lene Kona
Neme Ninga Lada ma Heu Hena
Neme Pena Bua ma Maka Lama
Boe ma ala lakandolu tona ofan
Ma ala lalala balu paun.
Tehu latane:
"Ita fe tona nade hata?
Ma ita fe balu tamo be?"
De ala fe nade Sanga Ndolu
Ma ala fe tamo Tunga Lela.
De malole nai Lote
Ma mandak nai Kale.
Faik esa matetuk
Ma ledo esa matemak
De ala laba lala tona ofa
Ma ala tinga lala balu paun.
Ala hela tuku telu-telu
Ma ala kale kola dua-dua.
Ala pale uli titidi
De leuma ala la kukulu
De leufo sanga ndolu sio
Ma tunga lela falu
Nai Batafia daen
Ma Matabi oen.
Losa meti Batafia daen
Ma nduku tasi Matabi oen
Ala leu tongo lololo
Ma ala leu nda lilima
Lena-Lena nai ndia
Ma Lesi-Lesi nai na, lae:
"Ami mai neme Lote Daen
Ma ami mai neme Kale Oen
Sanga Tui Sodak fo tane
Ma tunga Bau Molek fo sele
Nai Lote Daen ma Kale Oen."
Hapu Tui Sodak ma Bau Molek

And gather as one to hear
 The word of the Patterner of the Spirit
 And the voice of the Inscraper of the Heart.
 "We gather together to search for knowledge
 And we gather as one to seek wisdom
 In Batavia and Matabi."
 The two rulers and three lords
 From Tada Muli and Lene Kona [Thie]
 From Ninga Lada and Heu Hena [Loleh]
 From Pena Bua and Maka Lama [Ba'a]
 They conceive of a sailing boat
 And they think of a sailing *perahu*.
 But they ask:
 "What name will we give the boat?
 And what designation will we give the *perahu*?"
 They give the name: "To Seek Counsel"
 And they give the designation: "To Stalk Wisdom"
 This is good on Rote
 And proper on Kale.
 On one determined day
 And at one appropriate time
 They climb upon the boat
 And they board the *perahu*.
 They pull the oars three by three
 And shake the oar-rings two by two.
 They guide the splashing rudder
 They go and they maneuver the flapping sail
 They go to seek thorough counsel
 And to stalk full wisdom
 In Batavia's land
 And Matabi's water.
 Arriving at the tidal waters of Batavia's land
 And reaching the sea of Matabi's water
 They go to meet
 And they go to encounter
 The Great Ones there
 And the Superior Ones there, saying:
 "We come from Lote's Land
 And we come from Kale's Waters
 Seeking the *Tui*-tree of Well-being to plant
 And stalking the *Bau*-tree of Peace to sow
 On Lote's Land and Kale's Waters."
 They obtain the *Tui* of Well-being and *Bau* of Peace.

<i>Ala lolo-fali leu Sepe Langak</i>	They return to the Reddening Head
<i>Ma diku-dua leu Timu Dulu</i>	And go back to the Dawning East
<i>Fo tane Tui lakaboboin</i>	To plant the <i>Tui</i> -tree with care
<i>Ma sele Bau lasamamaon.</i>	And sow the <i>Bau</i> -tree with attention.
<i>Tane leu Tuda Meda</i>	They plant at Tuda Meda
<i>Ma sele leu Do Lasi</i>	And they sow at Do Lasi
<i>Tane leu Teke Dua</i>	They plant at Teke Dua
<i>Ma sele leu Finga Telu</i>	And they sow at Finga Telu
<i>Tane leu Tanga Loi</i>	They plant at Tanga Loi
<i>Ma sele leu Oe Mau.</i>	And they sow at Oe Mau.
<i>Tui Sodak nai Dano Hela</i>	The <i>Tui</i> -tree of Well-Being at Dano Hela
<i>Okan na lalae</i>	Its roots spread out
<i>Ma Bau Molek nai Le Kosi</i>	And the <i>Bau</i> -tree of Peace at Le Kosi
<i>Samun na ndondolo.</i>	Its tendrils spread forth.
<i>Boe ma hataholi neme basa daen</i>	People from all the lands
<i>Ma dahena neme basa oen</i>	And inhabitants from all the waters
<i>Tati lala Bau ndanan</i>	Cut the <i>Bau</i> -tree's branches
<i>Ma aso lala Tui ba'en</i>	And slice the <i>Tui</i> -tree's boughs
<i>Fo tane nai Lote ingu</i>	To plant in Lote's domains
<i>Ma sele nai Kale leo.</i>	And sow among Kale's clan.

The Beginnings of a “National” Canon

As Christian ceremonies have come to replace traditional ceremonies, so too ritual language of the island has followed suit. Since Independence poets have been called to recite at national ceremonies in addition to Christian ceremonies. For these ceremonies, particularly the annual Independence celebrations on August 17, the beginnings of a new canon are taking further shape. As in the traditional canon as well as the Christian canon, these recitations must have an essential “narrative” component.

As an illustration, I quote from a recitation that I gathered from my closest friend and informant, Esau Pono, who began as a preacher but, as he grew older, came to be regarded as Termanu's most respected poet. It is a recitation in honor of Sukarno and Hatta, the founding fathers of independent Indonesia—a ritual chant that would be appropriate for August 17 celebrations. It describes a struggle not against the Dutch but against the Japanese, who are given the dual ritual name *Funu Feo Doko // Fuji Ama Lete*. Further, it uses a device common in many mortuary chants when the deceased is explicitly compared and identified with a specific named chant character. In this recitation, Sukarno and Hatta are compared to the chant character, *Lopa Boe // Mau Boe*. The narrative tells of their physical opposition to the Japanese. Much of the chant is filled with exhortations to fellow Rotenese to rise up and join in the struggle to create a prosperous Indonesia. Here I quote just one of several such exhortations in the recitation:

<i>Hida bei leo fan</i>	At a time past
<i>Ma data bei leo dona</i>	And at a time long ago
<i>Ita bei ta fiti-fulik</i>	We did not yet shoot marbles
<i>Do ita ta selu soek</i>	Nor target the coconut
<i>Hu ndia de ita nana lumu esek</i>	Because of this we were pressed
<i>Do ita nana tuni ndeni</i>	Or we were put down
<i>Neme Funu Feo Doke mai</i>	By the coming of Funu Feo Doke
<i>Ma neme Fuji Ama Lete mai.</i>	And the coming of Fuji Ama Lete.
<i>Te hu main amanga Bung Karno</i>	Then came my father, Bung Karno
<i>Do to'onga Bung Hata</i>	Or my mother's brother, Bung Hata
<i>Fo sama leo Lopa Boe</i>	Just like Lopa Boe
<i>Fo Lopa buna tetein</i>	Lopa with a flower belly
<i>Te Lopa malanga sak</i>	But Lopa had a head of stone
<i>Ma deta leo Mau Boe</i>	Just like Mau Boe
<i>Fo Mau ba'u nanasun,</i>	Mau with the swollen face
<i>Te Mau matene besik.</i>	But Mau had ribs of steel.
<i>De silo feon tenen ta naka bebe</i>	He was not fearful of guns near his chest
<i>Poka ndulen paun ta ma lini.</i>	He was not afraid of shots at his thighs.
<i>De ala tati mila ana le</i>	They cut pieces of river bamboo
<i>Ma ala lo'o o ana fui</i>	And they hewed pieces of wild bamboo
<i>De tao neu kokouk</i>	Then made them into bows
<i>Ma adu neu sisilo.</i>	And formed them into rifles.
<i>De ala kou neu Funu Feo Doke</i>	They shot at Funu Feo Doke
<i>Do ala silo neu Fuji Ama Lete.</i>	Or they fired at Fuji Ama Lete.
<i>De ala sengi leni Funu Feo Doke</i>	They attacked Funu Feo Doke
<i>Do ala ndefa leni Fuji Ama Lete</i>	Or they fell upon Fuji Ama Lete
<i>De ita ta nana tuni ndenik so'ok</i>	So that we would not be pressed
<i>Ma ita ta nana lumu esek so'ok.</i>	And we would not be oppressed.
<i>Hu ndia de lunu badum neu limam</i>	So roll up your shirt to your arms
<i>Fo lima bu'u sisikum</i>	To your elbows
<i>Ma lele poum neu lungu langam</i>	And raise your sarong to your knees
<i>Fo lungu langa fafa'en</i>	To the knee caps
<i>Fo ma ue ma le'di</i>	Working and tapping
<i>Fo ta fo'a ita nusan</i>	Let us raise our land
<i>Do ita namon ia,</i>	Or our harbor here
<i>Fo na napu ta-ta</i>	Whose excellence continues
<i>Do na lole seku-seku</i>	Or whose beauty carries on
<i>Losa nete na neu.</i>	To this period forward.

Unlike recitations in the Christian canon, this patriotic poem relies on dyadic sets that accord with the traditional canon. It does not have to introduce new dyadic sets for theological purposes. The names Bung Karo // Bung Hata are appropriately presented as dual names and

names for the Japanese, *Funu Feo Doko* // *Fuji Ama Lete*, also follow traditional naming patterns. (*Fuji Ama Lete* alludes to Mt. Fuji, that is, “Mountain Father Fuji”).

Conclusions

I have tried to present here a brief case study of a ritual tradition of composition based on strict canonical parallelism. When I first arrived on the island of Rote in 1965, I was told with some regret that I had come too late to be able to record several of the greatest poets of the past. Despite my late arrival, I have never in the course of nearly fifty years of recording failed to find master poets of enormous ability. My renewed efforts since 2006 in the study of this tradition have brought me into close contact with a great number of new poets from different parts of the island, some of whom I would not hesitate to call true masters of Rotenese parallel composition. In fact, I would argue that some of the recitations I recorded as recently as 2014 are as well composed as the recitations that I first recorded in 1965.

In a recent publication, *Master Poets, Ritual Masters* (2016), I examine seventeen recitations of what is considered the same ritual composition. I gathered these various recitations over a period of fifty years from sixteen separate poets from different dialect areas. The composition that I focused on for this comparison, entitled *Suti Solo do Bina Bane*, recounts the journey of two shells—a nautilus and baler shell—that are cast out of the sea onto land and make their way through a human landscape before, in most versions, returning once more to the sea. The composition is intended as an allegory of the human condition. Certainly, judging from these recitations, some of the present master poets are as clear, fluent, and consistent—and possibly as versatile—as their predecessors whom I recorded years earlier. As I have indicated in this essay, however, the subjects of many present day compositions, though steeped in the language of the past, are new creations intended to fit different ceremonial contexts. Over the past century, an entirely new Christian canon has been created and a new lexicon of theological pairs has been added to an earlier dyadic lexicon. A new “national” canon has also begun to appear. The formulation of these new canons is an achievement in local creativity.

I have now held ten recording sessions on Bali between 2006 and 2017, and have recorded 28 different poets during this time. What has impressed me most about the poets whom I have recorded is their diversity and individuality—they come from different backgrounds, different ritual communities, and different dialect areas; they share much in common, yet each has his own personal style. A good number of the best poets are equally capable in reciting from both traditional and Christian canons. Some of the true masters insist on reciting only from the traditional canon, while one particularly fluent poet-preacher insists on reciting only from the Christian canon and endeavors to produce recitations that paraphrase specific passages in the Bible.

Surprising, too, is the fact that ritual recitations remain oral recitations despite the consultation and occasional readings from the Bible that generally mark the ceremonial beginnings and endings of our recording sessions. The Rotenese are one of the oldest literate populations in eastern Indonesia. They began using the Malay Bible in the early eighteenth

century, and by the nineteenth century they had created the most extensive schooling system in the Timor area (Fox 1977b). Despite this intimacy with writing, ritual language remains an oral tradition. I discovered two poets, whom I recorded, who kept simple school notebooks that they consulted. One notebook had more genealogies than it had ritual texts. Interestingly, however, both notebooks contained abbreviated versions of recitations in their repertoire. The poets used their notebooks as a kind of *aide-memoire*. The oral recitations that they produced were far more extended than what their notebooks contained.

Perhaps even more surprising is that the “ritual” recitations of the Rotenese traditional canon have, for as long as I have been recording them, been largely disassociated with the performances with which they were supposed to be associated, such as house-building, first-planting, weaving and dyeing, and the various specific annual “origin” ceremonies that were once conducted in each domain. Instead, these recitations are told as revelation, ancient knowledge of the first beginnings. Their ritual settings may have disappeared but they continue to be valued and recited.

This situation stands in contrast to other traditions of ritual speech in eastern Indonesia, such as those on Sumba, for example, where the use of ritual language is intimately associated with particular performances (Kuipers 1990 and 1998; Keane 1997). As a consequence, the use of ritual language on Sumba seems to be in decline as the social performance of ceremonies gradually recedes.

While it is possible to glimpse aspects of the development of the Christian canon since the end of the nineteenth century, we have no record of the even longer (almost 300 year) accommodation of the traditional canon to the presence of Christianity on Rote. It is possible to speculate that the traditional canon came to be treated as a local equivalent to the Christian scriptures—to be preserved as a powerful sacred knowledge rather than as performative recipes.

A Postscript on Comparative Parallelism: Rotenese to Tetun

Even as the recording of Rotenese poets is coming to an end, the next phase of my study of regional parallelism has begun. In 2013 at the eighth of our recording sessions, I invited three Tetun speakers to join us, two of whom were master poets from Wehali, the ritual centre of the Tetun-speaking people on Timor. Tetun is one of the languages closely related to Rotenese.

The Tetun poets fit into the group with consummate ease and took part with the Rotenese poets in comparing particular dyadic sets, many of which they shared in common. They grasped one of the underlying notions of the Rote project, which was to bring poets from different domains and dialect areas to compare their recitations. The recitations they provided for their part were considerable!

On their return to Timor, these poets contacted me through a spokesman and asked me to convene another recording session with more master poets from different Tetun dialect areas. They promised to select their contemporaries beginning with poets from the dialect to the north of Wehali. I urged them to be patient, explaining that I needed to conclude my

recordings of the Rotenese poets. They persisted in the request and so it was decided that we would hold our first all-Tetun recording session in October 2015. The Tetun recording can be considered as a further extension of the study of parallelism under conditions of local dialect divergence or, in this case, language divergence.

This situation points to another fundamental feature of canonical parallelism: the distinction that can be made between lexical pairing and semantic pairing. Rotenese ritual language, for example, retains many basic semantic pairings even as lexical pairing continues to diverge. Semantic pairing is categorical pairing; lexical pairing is the contingent aspect of semantic pairing. The canonical pairs in Rotenese are categorically based on semantic pairings made up of various, often different, lexical pairs. This distinction is fundamental to an understanding of the continuing traditions of canonical parallelism. Here one can draw a comparison between the traditions of Rotenese parallelism and that of the Mayans who also possess formidable traditions of canonical parallelism.

In an examination of the opening stanzas of the Mayan “Book of Counsel” (*The Popol Vuh*), Munro Edmonson (1973) attempted to assign the canonical pairs that begin this composition to a categorical continuum from universal to particular. Some pairs he classified as “widespread categories” and thus common to many but not all cultures. Many of the canonical pairs in *The Popol Vuh* were, in his view however, distinctive to the traditions of Middle America, while others were more specifically categories pertinent to the culture of the Quiche Maya of the sixteenth century.

Kerry Hull and Michael Carrasco have recently edited a critically important publication in the comparative study of Mayan parallelism, *Parallel Worlds: Genre, Discourse, and Poetics in Contemporary, Colonial, and Classic Maya Literature* (2012). In his crucial contribution to this volume, Kerry Hull has traced the continuity—or what he calls the “poetic tenacity” of various general Mayan canonical pairs from the now deciphered early Mayan hieroglyphic inscriptions through texts preserved in the colonial period to present-day Mayan ritual performances. Although the lexical items that make up these canonical pairs may vary, the continuity of these general Mayan categories provides evidence for a tradition of shared parallel categorization that extends over more than a millennium (see Hull 2012:73-132).

A similar exercise can be done with the canonical pairs in Rotenese ritual language. For many canonical pairs, the semantic pairing could be considered universal: “sun” // “moon,” “head” // “tail,” “rock” // “tree” or “trunk” // “root.” The numerical pairs “two” // “three,” “seven” // “eight,” or “eight” // “nine” could be considered as general categories, though most traditions of parallelism rely on only a few possible numerical pairs. In other cases, this categorization is less general but certainly widespread, and thus could be common to many Southeast Asian cultures: “pestle” // “mortar,” “drum” // “gong,” “spear” // “sword,” “betel” // “areca nut,” or “orphan” // “widow.” For many other canonical pairs, however, pairing is more specific. Thus, for example, “shame” forms a pair with “fear,” “lung” forms a pair with “liver,” while a great number of specific plants and animals form specific (and highly symbolic) pairs: “banana” // “sugarcane,” “yam” // “taro,” “friarbird” // “parrot,” “turtle” // “dugong,” or particular trees: “*dedap*” // “*kelumpang*.” This list of specific pairs could be substantially extended to particular Rotenese verbs, adverbial terms, and many other nouns (see Fig. 3 for a more extensive list of canonical pairs).

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“Word upon a Word”: Parallelism, Meaning, and Emergent Structure in Kalevala-meter Poetry

Lotte Tarkka

Henrik Gabriel Porthan, the Professor of Eloquence at the Academy of Turku in Finland, was one of the first scholars to describe the nature and effect of parallelism in Finnish vernacular poetry. In 1766 he designated these poems sung in a meter used widely in Baltic-Finnic languages as *Runis nostris* (“our poems”) (Porthan 1867:320). The appropriation of this multi-ethnic poetic tradition culminated in the publication of Elias Lönnrot’s *Kalevala* (1835 and 1849), the national epic of Finland that he created by using the *Runis nostris*, or oral poems collected in Finland, Karelia, and Ingria, as his sources. Since Lönnrot, the meter became known, somewhat anachronistically, as the Kalevala-meter. Porthan (1867:323) described parallelism as *rhythmus sensus*, a harmonious structuring of meaning, or of “thoughts and notions” in poetry. This harmonious configuration which he called *rime du sens* (“rhyme of sense”) had an impact on the aesthetics and expressive efficacy of the poem (323) It lent these poems “a kind of sumptuousness, and altogether splendid vigor. The mind of the reader or listener is certainly affected more intensely, when it is as if hammered repeatedly” (320).¹ Adding to this performative and affective momentum, parallelism results in a cumulative string of ideas that is simultaneously precise and verbose (320):

[A]n idea is not only expressed with a simple clause but also presented and highlighted with two or, if needed, even more lines, so that the phrasing in each is different [. . .]. And when the idea of the first line is finalized by repetition, it is linked to another, which is similarly repeated, and so on.

As Porthan noted (325), each line must contain a “complete idea or part of a clause”—“The idea may never end otherwise than together with the line, and a word belonging to the idea cannot be transferred to the next line.” Because enjambment was undesirable, it was the flexible patterning of parallelism that made the poem a cohesive continuum, binding the lines to each other and eventually into a longer sequence. The serial structure only appears to be mechanical (Porthan

¹The English translations by the present author are based on a comparative reading of two Finnish translations (Porthan 1904 and 1983) with the original in Latin (originally 1766-78, reprinted in Porthan 1867). References refer to the 1867 edition in Latin. Although Porthan uses the word *rhythmus* (literally, “rhythm”) he is not talking about rhythm in the modern sense of the word.

1867:320): “In this way, the whole poem rises as a continuous series of figures.”² Porthan chooses the Latin verb *insurgo*, (“to rise up,” “gather force,” or “increase”) to point to the emergence of a poem as a powerful movement with an orientation—an ascension. This process does not result in a mechanical and repetitive serial structure but one that is striving towards finalization, climax, and impact.

In this essay I employ the notion of parallelism as a methodological tool in an analysis of the meanings conveyed in short forms of folklore in the Kalevala-meter: proverbs, aphorisms, and lyric poetry. Drawing from Roman Jakobson’s (1987a and 1987c) treatment of the poetic function, I use the term paradigm or paradigmatic axis (or selection) to point to the dimension of semantically related components out of which the singer selects the suitable word to fill in the slots in the parallel line. The syntagmatic axis (or combination) is the realized continuum of words constituting the utterance, or line, and eventually the whole poetic composition.³ In his theorem of the poetic function, Jakobson defines communication dominated by the poetic function as something intrinsically parallelistic. The famous thesis “*The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination*” (Jakobson 1987a:71 and Jakobson 1987c:127; emphasis original) means that the axis of similarity or equivalence that orders the paradigmatic set is the major principle in the construction of poetic utterances on the syntagmatic level. Evelyn Waugh (1985:150) describes texts dominated by poetic function: “The verbal material displays overall a hierarchical structure of *symmetries*, based on repetitions, regularities, and systematizations of various kinds.” These symmetries are, at their core, different kinds of parallelisms.

In the interpretation of the poems below, I pay special attention to the paradigms, that is to say, the sets of eligible words and expressions in the construction of poetic lines and longer poetic compositions. The selection of the words actually used is not based only on semantics, although there is a tendency to select semantically related words from synonymous to related and even antithetical terms. In principle, meter determines the length of the word and restricts the positions in which its stressed syllable can appear, but the meter can be modified. Further, the tendency of alliteration within and between the lines affects word choice. In the case of onomatopoeitic expressions, sound patterns are even decisive factors.⁴ Composition in performance was laborious and intentional, an intellectual and aesthetic endeavor in which the singer had to activate the paradigmatic set of eligible expressions to build a syntagmatic continuum on the level of the line, and eventually on the level of a poetic composition

²Porthan uses the word “figure” (*figura*), a term used already in Classical rhetoric. On a general level, the term refers to expressions that differ from the normal in terms of 1) a discernible structure (a syntactic, semantic, or pragmatic form) and 2) use that attracts attention in its departure from normal manners of expression (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1971 [1958]:167-68).

³Jakobson (1985a:29) criticizes the Saussurean terms syntagmatic and paradigmatic and uses the terms axis of combination and axis of selection instead. I will, however use the distinction syntagmatic / paradigmatic because the term for the methodologically central paradigm, namely “selection set” (for example, Waugh 1985:150), is unsatisfactory. See Jakobson (1987a:71 and Jakobson 1987b:98-99) and Waugh (1985:149-52).

⁴According to Matti Kuusi (1983:192), singers in the northern areas of Kalevala-meter favored semantic parallelism (“predominantly the semantic binding of lines”) whereas in the southern areas such as Ingria, semantic-phonological equivalences dominated in the construction of parallelistic couplets. The links between lines were based not only on “repetitive figures of meaning” but also on “repeated words or words that echoed similarly.”

characterized by cohesion and coherence. Although the traditional poetic language to a large extent operated subliminally,⁵ through internalized and routinized expressive strategies it offered the tools for creativity and communication of meanings that were both intentional and widely appreciated in the community.

I discuss the creation of cohesion and semantic structure in oral poetry by considering how an idea was developed by subtle repetitive variation and presentation of alternating points of view in parallel lines. The focus is on the poetic strategies of communicating complex ideas through the artful combination of repetition and variation. Jakobson (1987c:125-26) insisted that the study of parallelism, or “the interaction between syntactic, morphologic and lexical equivalences and discrepancies, the diverse kinds of semantic contiguities, similarities, synonymies, and antonymies,” should not concentrate on form at the expense of meaning. I take the paradigmatic sets to highlight the conceptual categories and social representations in the culture. In choosing between the different options within a paradigm, the singer had the opportunity to articulate the connections between and within the categories and representations. As the semantic equivalence is quite flexible, complex and informative metaphoric or metonymic relations may be constructed by pairing words from different conceptual categories. Thus, semantic parallelism has the potential to create new meanings, challenge old ones, and eventually alter the way in which people perceive themselves, the world, and the epistemological and communicative frames of knowing and speaking about the world.

Materials and Ethnographic Context

The present analysis is organized in three case studies on the corpus of proverbs and poems performed by Anni Lehtonen (1866-1943), a renowned singer of Kalevala-meter poems from the village of Vuonninen in the Viena Karelian parish of Vuokkiniemi. Situated along the border between Finland and Russia, the parish of Vuokkiniemi was a dynamic meeting point of cultural influences from the East and the West. Kalevala-meter poetry was widely performed on ritual, daily, and festive occasions. The diverse genres of poetry sung or recited in the Kalevala-meter included epic poetry, incantations and magic formulae, ritual songs, lyric and aphoristic poems, and poems on local historical circumstances and life histories. Because of the ritual uses of incantations and songs related to rites of transition, the poetic idiom was socially central, and even perceived as an identity symbol in the local culture. Vuokkiniemi and its environs were viewed as “the homeland of song,” “the classical land of the Finnish muses” (Fellman 1906:497), and the Romantic-nationalistic interest of Finnish collectors contributed to the intense documentation of the tradition from the 1820s until the 1920s. The poems were written down and, starting from the 1920s, increasingly documented with early audio-recording equipment. The documents rarely include detailed information on the performance contexts, styles, or meanings attributed to the poems and the interpretations have to rely on ethnographic information and on the contents of the poems.⁶

⁵ See Jakobson (1985b:62-68 and 1987c:127-28).

⁶ For a contextual and intertextual analysis of the Vuokkiniemi corpus, see Tarkka (2013).

Anni Lehtonen was born into families of skillful singers on both maternal and paternal sides (Laaksonen 1995:223-24). The two family lines differed radically in terms of their orientation to the tradition of oral poetry in the Kalevala-metre. The maternal line of the Malinen



Fig. 1. Anni Lehtonen (1866-1943). SKS KRA photo collection, Paulaharju 5413.9. Photo by Samuli Paulaharju, 1915.

family represented a stable tradition with fixed texts and minimal variation in their performances, whereas the paternal line of the Karjalainens improvised and generated ever-new associations in performance (Tarkka 2013:90). Anni combined the two strategies, and coined the life of tradition in idiosyncratic proverbs that assess the transmission and creation of tradition. “Songs travel along the family, words along the kin” (*Laulut kulkoo sukuja myöten, sanat rotuja myöten*), yet, “The words are borne by singing, it is the gift that brings the words” (*Laulaen ne sanat sukeutuu, lahja se sanoja tuo*) (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)9609, 9659. 1915). Matti Kuusi (1970:298) has characterized her tradition orientation as “Kalevalaic language skill, a facility for tradition-based improvisation that had reached the acme of development” (see also Tarkka 2013:153). Locally Anni was known as a ritual expert, a healer and a performer of incantations, a singer of Kalevala-meter wedding songs, and performer of ritual laments at weddings and funerals (Niemi 1921:1117-19). She was also reputed as a singer

of dance songs, and fully aware of her reputation (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)9635. 1915). The local acknowledgement clearly indicates that she was a master of Kalevala-meter poetry, with expert knowledge and an innate ability.

Anni Lehtonen was widowed at the age of 38 and left to provide for her six children. In 1909, while searching for temporary employment and begging in the town of Oulu in Northern Finland, she met by chance the prolific Finnish writer and ethnographer Samuli Paulaharju (1875-1944). During the following seven winters, Anni and Paulaharju worked closely together. While working as a washerwoman for affluent families of Oulu, Anni spent her spare time with the Paulaharju household, forming bonds of patronage and even friendship with the family and their servants (Laaksonen 1995:223-36; Seppä 2015:58-60). The outcome of Anni and Paulaharju’s collaboration was a massive folklore collection that includes for example over 1,000 Kalevala-meter poems, 200 laments, and thousands of ethnographic accounts (Seppä 2015:58; Tarkka 2013:64).⁷

The most remarkable part of the Lehtonen-Paulaharju collection is the corpus of over 8,000 proverbs. In the folklore archive the authenticity of these proverbs was questioned from the outset. The collector had used a printed edition of proverbs (Koskimies 1906) to build a systematic overview of proverbial competence, and thus the performed texts did not represent

⁷Apart from Paulaharju, Juho Ranta (1867-1953), the cantor and organist of the Oulu cathedral, (1867-1953), also documented Anni’s performances which he characterized as “improvisation.” Ranta made musical notations on 23 sung performances, eight of them with lyrics (SKS KRA. Ranta VK 79. 1914).

proverbs in the strict sense of the word (Kuusi 1970:293; Leino 1970:249). Paulaharju, however, defended himself: he had not read the printed proverbs aloud, but merely presented the basic idea and thus “dug up the proverb.”⁸ Anni was able to modify the printed proverbs, altering their style, deviating from the poetic meter, and elaborating on their contents (see Kuusi 1970:298). Although the Lehtonen-Paulaharju collection does not represent the range of conventional and crystallized proverbial wisdom practiced generally in the region of Viena Karelia (see also Huttu-Hiltunen 2008:113-14, Kuusi 1970:298-99), the unorthodox collection technique provides a true testing ground for parallelism and the creative variation of form and content. Paulaharju encouraged exhaustive treatment of the theme at hand, and Anni responded by stretching the limits of the expressive culture.

The first case study looks at Anni’s proverbs and the poetic sequences she built from them. The chains of proverbs display an array of strategic uses of parallelism in the communication of culturally and individually central themes, concepts, and values, such as honor, knowledge, wisdom, and tradition. The second analysis focuses on a lyric poem that consists of systematically parallel pairs of poetic lines that do not comply with the regularities of the Kalevala-meter. Again, parallelism can be shown to be a decisive tool in the articulation of cultural categories and the practices attached to them. The intricate structure built on repetition and variation begs essential metapoetic questions and proposals on the essence of song, expression, emotions, and the self. The last poem, a lyric song in the Kalevala-meter, employs semantic parallelism in the construction of a cathartic autobiography. The series of parallelistic couplets gives a cross-exposure of a widow’s plight and offers one possible solution to the existential and social limbo experienced by the singer and the likes of her. The analysis of Anni Lehtonen’s use of parallelism concludes with a discussion of the emic terms she used in the assessment of the craft of a poet and a singer.

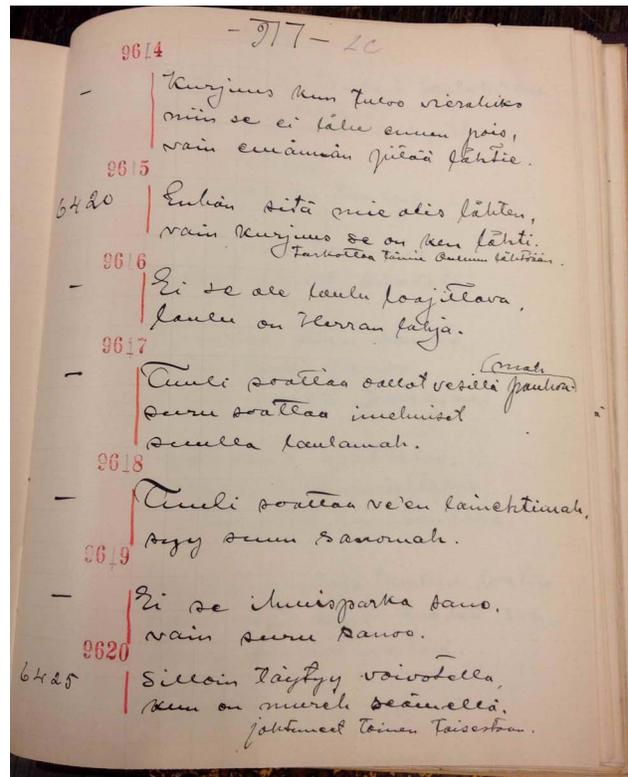


Fig. 2. Anni Lehtonen’s string of proverbs on the intertwining notions of poverty, sorrow and song make up a continuation of the poem *The Self Wouldn’t* (Fig. 3) (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)9614-9620. 1915). With the red vertical line Paulaharju marked the proverbs, phrases, and poems that Anni performed spontaneously, without the collector’s inducement. Photo by author.

⁸Proverbs marked with red in the manuscript were “remembered by Anni by herself without being ‘dug up’, either induced by a proverb she just uttered, or just on their own” (SKS KRA. Paulaharju, preface to c)4355-9355. 1915). The texts treated here belong to this category.

Parallelism in Kalevala-Meter Poetry

Porthan was the first to describe the tradition of Kalevala-meter poetry with scholarly precision, combining first-hand empirical evidence with theoretical sophistication (Kajanto 1983:16-17). The poems are non-stanzaic, and their basic unit is one line that normally consists of eight syllables divided into four trochaic feet, each with a rising and falling position. As a basic rule, the meter dictates the position of each word used according to the length of its stressed syllable. Long syllables with word stress (on the first syllable of each word) have to coincide with the rising position of the foot; a short syllable with stress has to coincide with the falling position of the foot. This basic rule does not apply to the first foot of the line. There are several additional rules and tendencies that govern the production of metrically ideal lines, but all of these are applied flexibly⁹ in oral performance. The mode of performance affects the meter and sung meter differs significantly from dictated verse (Kallio 2014:94-95; Saarinen 2013:40). The meter was used in various genres of oral poetry and minor folklore: epic and lyric poetry, magic formulae and incantations, ritual songs, proverbs and riddles. Also the performance styles varied according to genre. Epic, ritual, and lyric songs, as well as most incantations, were sung, whereas short magic formulae were recited and proverbs and riddles uttered.

Stylistically, Kalevala-meter poetry is characterized by alliteration and parallelisms of many kinds (see Leino 1994; Kuusi et al. 1977:62-65). The most pervasive kinds of parallelism have a semantic basis that links units of utterance into pairs or longer sequences, discussed here in terms of synonymous, analogical and antithetical parallelism. Synonymous parallelism describes parallelism in which semantically equivalent terms or phraseology match one another in parallel units to express the same semantic content. Analogical parallelism involves a correlation of equivalence between parallel units although actual semantic content may be different. Sometimes, metaphorical language makes it difficult to differentiate analogical from synonymous parallelism. Antithetical parallelism is contrastive, whether or not using negation: it is built on semantic juxtaposition or reversal of meaning.

The most common unit to be varied in this manner is the line, thus the parallel units are also equivalent in terms of metrical form (see Frog 2014b:12-13). In the case of semantically equivalent parallel lines, the first line (or main line) in the couplet is the most complete, and in the following parallel line(s) there may be no syntactic component (object, subject, verb etc.) without an equivalent in the main line. Thus, when the main line is hierarchically dominant, the parallel line(s) may be elliptic, omitting one or more syntactic components. Also smaller (half-lines) and larger units (for example, couplets or narrative episodes) may be subjected to parallelistic expansion (Anttonen 1994:120-23; Kuusi et al. 1977:66; Steinitz 1934; Saarinen, this volume).

The ways in which parallelism structures a poem obviously vary according to genre. The narrative flow in epic poems and the contemplative argumentation found in lyric and aphoristic poems require different kinds of structuring. In epic poetry the function of parallelism is often to accent and elaborate the plot or to characterize the protagonists (Kuusi et al. 1977:66): the task is

⁹See Frog (2014a:68): “Metrical well-formedness in oral poetry is a perceived quality of text that can vary by degree in ‘better’ or ‘worse’ lines rather than being assessed in terms of absolute binary categories of ‘metrically well-formed’ versus ‘not metrically well-formed’.”

a descriptive one (see Tarkka 1996:76; Saarinen 2014:118). Also, the complex structures of parallelism, such as nucleus and frame repetition, were elementary in the structure of epic poetry (Kuusi et al. 1977:59, 66). In shorter, non-narrative genres, parallelism gives an opportunity for subtle variation and even radical contestation of the ideas presented in the very same text, building dialogically resonant wholes. Without a plot, the articulation brought about by parallelism is a decisive factor in the process of entextualization of such short forms of folklore. The condensed form and contemplative and argumentative stance of proverbs especially rely on parallelism and its ability to activate potential meanings.

Although the main emphasis has been on the redundant informational value of semantic parallelism (see Frog 2014b:12; Saarinen 2014:118), its capacity to create meaning has also been touched upon in the study of Kalevala-meter poetry. For example, in his treatment of repetition in Kalevala-meter poetry, Kaarle Krohn (1918:73-74) maintained that “The content of the poem is actually put forth in couplets” that were constructed according to “laws of thought.” These laws linked a term to its potential parallels (that is, the paradigm): “These laws are the very same that, in solitary contemplation or sociable conversation, steer the movement of the thought from one thing to another.” Krohn’s (1918:73-77) assessment of the law of similarity covers diverse relations between conceptual categories, such as abstract versus concrete, part versus whole, and generic versus particular; the law of contiguity linked potential parallels in terms of causation or spatial and temporal contact. The interpretive potential in these observations was missed, however, and Krohn used the idea only in the reconstruction of *ur*-forms, to distinguish original ideas from secondary ones.¹⁰

Parallelistic Argumentation in Proverb Sequences: *Take the Learning*

In the Vuokkiniemi area, 60 per cent of proverbs were cast in the Kalevala-meter (Kuusi 1978:55-57). The basic structural unit of these proverbs is the ideally eight-syllable trochaic line. Such a proverb typically consists of a couplet: two poetic lines connected through semantic parallelism (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c) 7136. 1913):

*Kylä köyhän kunnivona,
miero vaivasen varana.*

The village as the poor’s honor,
the people as the pauper’s means.

The syntagmatic structure and syntax in the lines is similar. The essive case indicated by the ending *-na* signals that something is in the state or act of being, or fulfilling a specific function.

¹⁰ Krohn bases his dichotomy of laws of association on Oscar Relander’s (1894:8-9 *passim*) dissertation on figurative language in Kalevala-meter poetry. Relander used the laws in his argumentation for the psychological effect of stylistic devices. Matti Kuusi (1949:93) dismissed Krohn’s notion of parallelism grounded in conceptual linkages as “analytically inappropriate” because, instead of formal features, it relied on interpretation. For an evaluation of Krohn’s laws, see Saarinen (2014:114-15).

Grammatically, the idea could be expressed by adding a predicate, “The village is the poor’s honor” (*Kylä on köyhän kunnia*), but this would disrupt the poetic meter.¹¹ The cohesion within both lines is enhanced with alliteration: the first syllables *ky*, *köy*, *ku* represent weak alliteration and the pairing *vai* and *va* qualifies as strong alliteration. Semantic parallelism linking the lines is complete, as each of the constituents in the first line finds its match in the parallel line. The idea of the village is completed by referring to the community inhabiting it with the term *miero*.¹² The substitution reveals that the village in this case is actually a metonym for the community, the people who provide for the poor. The word *miero* has, however, negative connotations as well. It points at a social and existential distance between the individual and his or her environment: the village is *miero* as opposed to the individual; the remote areas are *miero* as opposed the home village; and the society and state power are *miero* as opposed to the local community. (Tarkka 2013:43, 46.) The inherent ambivalence in the concept of *miero* shows the parallel “village” in a new light. Both village and *miero* are opposites of the self and home; the paradigmatic series elaborates on the relationship between individual and society.

The poor parallels with the pauper, or *vaivanen*, a word derived from the word for ailments and troubles (*vaiva*—*vaivanen*—genitive form *vaivasen*). The idea—or the paradigm—of the provision offered for the poor associates honor with means. The word for honor (*kunnia* or *kunnivo*) had the additional meaning of treats and delicacies (KKS II:441), but even so, both generosity and the legitimacy of being at the mercy of others was given an ethical approval. There was no shame in begging. This short example already shows that semantic parallelism generates new meanings and articulates conceptual categories. Matti Kuusi (1954:154) has observed that in proverbs built on parallelism, the parallel terms are rarely synonymous. Analogical and especially antithetical parallelism are far more common. This suggests that the argumentative structure and aim of proverbs favors parallel constructions with maximal variation on the level of meaning.

Several observers testify that the people of Vuokkiniemi used alliteration and parallelistic couplets, such as the one above, in their speech to gain authority and have aesthetic impact. The aim was to communicate in a figurative, yet precise manner (Perttu 1978:185). Arguments were clothed “in proverbial form” and, if they were witty enough, they were repeated and they gradually “joined the common stock of proverbs” (Lönnrot 1902:170). It was said that the way of speech was “contagious” (Perttu 1978:187). Elias Lönnrot (1985 [1840]:xliv) explained that the origin of formulaic couplets in poetry was in this manner of colloquial speech. Parallelistic couplets such as “on these wretched borderlands, the poor Northern country” (*näillä raukoilla rajoilla, poloisilla Pohjan mailla*), or, “woe is me, the poor boy, woe the boy of poor fate” (*voi minä poloinen poika, voi poika polon alainen*), had circulated in discourse “from time immemorial” and from there, “they were blended unaltered into songs.” In the songs they were tied with mythical allusions and a rich narrative universe. The authority of the mythic heroes enriched them and charged them with meaning and power. To have their share of this authority,

¹¹ A long initial (that is, stressed) syllable in the falling position in the second and the third foot would contrast with conventions of the meter, which requires that only short stressed syllables appear in these positions.

¹² See Tarkka (2013:43); KKS (III:318).

people cited the epic heroes, and the proverbial expressions returned to the circulation of everyday speech, now with a new emphasis (Tarkka 2013:181-204 and 2016:185-87).

Repetition and subtle variation of sound patterns, meanings and structures were thus favored in communication, and especially in proverbial speech. This “way of speech” (*pakinanluatu*) was not neutral, but heightened and complex, largely due to its figurative nature and rigid structure. Not all people understood it, and those who did had to make an effort: “. . . when everybody always spoke in proverbs, understanding it all was hard work” (Perttu 1978:187). The speakers and listeners had to master the strategies of producing proverbial speech and of framing proverbs in discourse. Further, the competences of creating and understanding poetry included knowledge of the lexicon of crystallized, stereotypical proverbs and their constituent parts, lines in the Kalevala-meter, and the paradigmatic sets used in producing parallel lines. The performers also had to master the syntagmatic grammar of creating metrically and stylistically valid lines.

The role of embedded proverbial couplets, or proverbial couplets inserted in longer poetic texts varies greatly according to the genre that serves as the new context of the couplet (Tarkka 2016:181-90). Here, I concentrate on the Kalevala-meter aphorism, a hybrid genre that combines the elements of proverbs and proverbial expressions into longer non-narrative poems of four to as many as twenty lines. Matti Kuusi (Kuusi and Timonen 1997:xxvii) tentatively classifies proverbs of four or more lines as aphoristic poems. The aphorism is, however, (at least ideally) something more than an extended proverb. If the proverb itself employs figurative speech and metaphor, the parallel constructions of several proverb lines tend to deepen and expand the meaning of the initial proverbial couplet. In Viena the aphorisms or proverbial poems were designated with the same generic term as proverbs and the register of proverbial speech—they were all called *poverkka* or *sananpolvi* (“turn of phrase,” literally “bend of word”), referring to the indirect expressive strategies involved (Tarkka 2016:179).

Both proverbs and aphorisms had to convey an independent idea and comply with conventions of form and style that were culturally understandable and aesthetically compelling. Even a concise proverb was by definition a finalized and entextualized chunk of communication, albeit one that relied upon the context in order to be meaningful. Actually, as Porthan (1867:325) noted, even a single main line should be semantically independent and complete. With the gradual extension of the text from one single line to a couplet and further, however, the contextualizing—or entextualizing (see Bauman and Briggs 1990:73-74)—potential of the surrounding text grew stronger, as did the text’s ability to communicate a specific meaning even outside the immediate context of performance (Tarkka 2016:189).

Let us start with a proverb that, according to Anni Lehtonen, had a simple but poignant meaning, “Listen when you are being taught!” (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)4713. 1912-1913):¹³

*Ota oppi otsahas,
neuvo nenävartehes.*

¹³ Paulaharju’s transcription of the Karelian language does not usually catch the phonetic characteristics of Viena Karelian (for example, sibilants such as š or ś and palatalization such as ŋ). The orthographies in the sources quoted and in the forms presented by the Karelian dictionary (KKSK) are therefore incompatible. See also Saarinen (2013:39).

Take the learning onto your forehead,
the advice onto the bridge of your nose.

With the exception of the predicate all of the words in the first line have a parallel in the second line, and there is no major alteration in the meaning: “learning” and “advice” as well as “forehead” and “nose” match semantically. The paradigm for the notion of learning refers to the core values in Viena Karelian culture, knowledge, and wisdom (see Tarkka 2013:498-99). The paradigm referring to the consciousness, mind, or memory of the one advised is a bodily metonym: the cerebral “forehead” is complemented with the “nose,” or literally, “bridge of the nose.” In the Karelian language, the nose has various connotations of honor, even aggressive willpower, tenacity, and wisdom (Tarkka 2013:315). The parallelistic combination of the cerebral and the socially, physically, and even magically resonant body part presents learning as a holistic process. It changes the individual and his or her dispositions.

In 1915 Anni varied and extended this couplet in a didactic aphorism. She now instructs the listener to prepare for foreign lands (indentation in the poetic texts is added by the author and it indicates the parallel sets, usually couplets, within one single text; unless otherwise stated, space between lines indicates that the passages have been rendered as separate texts by the collector) (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)9232. 1915):

*Ota oppi otsahas,
neuvo nenävartehes,
kun lähet moalla vierahalla,
uusilla asuin mailla.*

Take the learning onto your forehead,
the advice onto the bridge of your nose,
when you leave for foreign lands,
new lands to dwell in.

The proverbial couplet is completed with a description of its context of use, thus showing one of the proverb’s relevant applications and completing the base meaning with a contextual one. The conjunctive “when” (*kun*) ties the couplets together. Such explicit couplings between lines are not stylistically favored in Kalevala-meter poetry, and this one resembles the elicitation of the proverb’s base meaning given by Anni above: “Listen when you are being taught!” Here, the proverb “rises” (or *insurgit*) and is entextualized as a poem (see Tarkka 2016:188-89) by including the contextual rationale within the poetic text itself.

A closer look at Anni’s use of formulae, couplets, and proverbs in the composition of longer poetic utterances gives additional information on the role of parallelism in the creation of coherent and cohesive performances. What was the role of parallelism beyond the couplet? In 1911 Anni performed the following string of proverbs (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)2499-2501. 1911-1912):

*Ota oppi otsahas,
neuvo nenävartehes.*

*Elä neuvo neuvottua,
elä seppeä opeta.*

*Eihän ennen oppi ojalan lykänt,
eikä mahti moalta ajant.*

Take the learning onto your forehead,
the advice onto the bridge of your nose.

Don't advise the one advised,
don't teach the smith.

Formerly, learning didn't push one into a ditch,
and might didn't drive one off one's land.

On the level of each couplet, semantic parallelism is rigid and consistent. The second couplet presents an agent who has already been advised and taught: he is a “smith” and needs no more lessons. The word choice reflects the Karelian notion of the smith as the quintessential holder of mythic knowledge and practical know-how (see Tarkka 2012:161). In the third couplet learning and knowledge are characterized as might. Here, the paradigmatic extension reveals one more aspect of knowledge: that knowledge is power. Moreover, the syntagmatic level connects such social capital with ideals of good life. Leading a life is rendered metaphorically as walking a road, ideally, without falling off of it and into a ditch. The other semantically comparable aspect of a good life was life at home, without a need to wander in remote areas in search of a meager livelihood.

Considered as one text (or sequence of three proverbial couplets), the six lines are characterized by thematic cohesion that builds from couplet to couplet and the whole text discusses the primary metapoetic theme in Karelian oral poetry (see Tarkka 2013:104-09, 183-94). The repetition of homonyms and etymologically related words (*figurae etymologicae*) already creates cohesion, an effect of parallelism that Matti Kuusi (1983:192) calls “a semantic-phonological binding between lines.” The nouns “learning” (*oppi*) and “advice” (*neuvo*) reverberate in the verbs of the second couplet, “to advise” (*neuvoa*) and “to teach” (*opettaa*). As an argumentative sequence, the three proverbial couplets exhibit a dialogic or conversational progression. The first argument asserts the obligation to learn; the second pronounces a defiant stance by implying that there is nothing more to be learned. The third couplet is conciliatory. It points out that there is always something to be learned: learning is a life-long process. Such knowledge is authorized as pragmatic and traditional because it has been used “formerly” (*ennen*), with good results. The defiance expressed in the previous couplet is revealed to be hubris. Gradual elaboration of the theme makes the poetic argument “rise,” and it intensifies and deepens the meanings attributed to the theme. Together, the couplets tell us more

than each tells alone: they relate knowledge and know-how to power relations and values. The argument in the dialogue between the couplets builds a hierarchical and argumentative thematic structure where there initially seemed to be none. The three proverbial couplets can thus be interpreted as one poem, bound together with multiple parallelisms.

Two years later Anni continued her discussion on the essence of knowledge in a series of seven successive proverbs. It is clear that the theme was significant to her, and it echoed her experiences as an initiate into the knowledge of a ritual specialist, a *tietäjä* (see Tarkka 2016:192) (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)6380-86. 1913):

*Ei mahti moalta kiellä,
eikä mahti moalta aja,
eikä oppi ojah lykkeä.*

*Ei mahitta moata käyvä,
tietä käyvä tietoloitta.*

*Kysy mahtie moan käyneheltä,
tietä tien kulkenehelta.*

*Ken moata kulkoo,
se mahtiakin löytää.*

*Ei oppi ojah lykkää,
eikä moalta aja.*

*Ota oppi otsahas,
neuvo nenävartehes.*

*Se on oppi ensimmäini:
kuin vain siivosti olet,
niin joka paikkah kelpoat.*

Might doesn't withhold one's land,
and might doesn't drive one off one's land,
and learning doesn't push one into a ditch.

One doesn't tread the land without might,
tread the road without knowledge.

Ask for might from those who've trod the land
the road from those who've roamed the road.

Who roams the land,
will find might, too.

Learning doesn't push one into a ditch,
nor drive one off one's land.

Take the learning onto your forehead,
the advice onto the bridge of your nose.

This is the first lesson:
if you just are decent,
then you will fit anywhere.

Again, the series is characterized by parallelism both within and between the couplets. The sequence now starts with the same assertion of the necessity of knowledge that Anni used in the conclusion of the previous proverb sequence. The notion of a good life that motivates the line “learning doesn't push you into a ditch” is expanded in the following couplets. Life is a journey and the course of life is a road to roam. In order to keep on the road you need knowledge and skills, and those who teach you are those who have been around. A temporary closure is accomplished by repeating the initial couplet in an abbreviated form. The first five couplets are not only thematically bound, but also, sound patterns such as alliteration and assonance add a sense of flowing cohesion. Word pairs joining the paradigm of knowledge to the paradigm of travel, *mahti—moa* (“might—land”), *oppi—oja* (“learning—ditch”), and *tieto—tie* (“knowledge—road”), are combined and recombined, rolling the lines and couplets ahead. From the second to the fourth, the couplets are joined together by repeating the verb in the last line of the couplet in the first line of the next couplet (*käydä, kulkea*; “tread,” “roam”).

The argumentative structure deviates from the earlier proverb sequence. The contrastive stances are absent. The authorization of knowledge is expanded by stating that moving around presupposes knowledge and power, but at the same time provides more knowledge. This spiral of learning also reveals a new dimension to the notion of knowledge: “might” (*mahti*) is paralleled with a diminutive form of the word for knowledge, *tietolo* (normally *tietohuo*). This paradigmatic shift refers to the magically effective specialist knowledge of the *tietäjä*: mythic knowledge, or knowledge of ritual practices and incantations (Siikala 2002:79-84; Tarkka 2013:104-09). The new emphasis is grounded in the notion of a supranormal threat placed by a foreign environment on a person's psycho-physical integrity. Being on the move was dangerous, but this danger could be met with supranormal power and knowledge (Tarkka 2013:409-12).

After this contemplation on the landscape of learning, the rhetoric changes. The couplet that opened the previous sequence of three proverbs is again an explicit exhortation. The speaker addresses the listener and tells him or her to mind the words of a wiser one. With this framing device, the speaker steps into the role of teacher and performs the first lesson. In terms of form and content, the last group of lines differs radically from the poetically fashioned lines preceding it. The triplet opening the whole sequence as well as the unit closing it are formal variations that mark the opening and closure and thus the boundedness and identity of the text as a whole. The

closing unit consists of a framing clause and a couplet. It is the only unit that is not internally parallelistic and it uses a conjunctive to link the lines twice (if, then). The framing clause, “This is the first lesson” (*Se on oppi ensimmäini*) is, in contrast to the lesson to follow, an immaculate line in the Kalevala-meter. The framing line is intertextually connected to (and possibly adapted from) the epic poem *The Song of Lemminkäinen* in which the reckless hero Lemminkäinen is being advised by his mother on the perils that he will meet on his journey to the otherworld. The episode in this epic poem is built on a structure of repetition: Lemminkäinen inquires of his mother the nature of each peril, and his mother gives him the lessons and frames them with a formulaic phrase “This is the first peril” (for example, SKVR I2 811).¹⁴ The lesson disclosed by Anni is, however, a platitude whose interpretation as two lines of verse rather than an unmetred phrase is based solely on Paulaharju’s typography, that is, how he chose to position the text on the paper.

Proverb sequences of this kind offer alternative points of view to the idea being processed: they are discussions on a theme. Thematic associations and the argumentative development of the idea, as well as stylistic devices such as sound patterning and different forms of parallel coupling in the sequence of proverbs, create cohesion and coherence, and eventually display textual organization and a hierarchical structure. According to Mikhail Bakhtin (1986:76-77), such processes of compositional finalization aim at an exhaustive treatment of the theme in a way that matches the performer’s intentions, that is, what they wish to express. For Peter Seitel (2003:284-86, emphasis in original), finalization results in rhetorical efficacy: “*compositional finalization articulates principal themes in logically expected places to maximize the effect and efficiency of performance.*” Most importantly, the expressive intentions steering the process of finalization govern the performer’s choice of “speech genre” (Bakhtin 1986:78).

Anni clearly struggled to maximize the effect of her performance for Paulaharju, although the nature of this communicative act is far from typical artistic communication. Having argued for a cohesive and coherent thematic composition, and thus the existence of a poem, it is time to consider the genre in question. In emic terms, the whole would qualify as a *poverkka*, because proverbial expressions, proverbs, and aphorisms were not distinguished within vernacular terminology. Here the problem of genre is primarily caused by the situation of performance: a collector of folklore reading proverbs aloud from a book and an informant responding by producing a sequence of related (or, in the spirit of semantic parallelism, equivalent) expressions. As an instance of proverbial speech, that is, a conversational utterance produced by one interlocutor, a series of seven proverbs would have been a disruptive monologue—unless it were a breakthrough into performance of another genre, namely an aphorism (Tarkka 2016:189). It is also possible, however, that Anni wished to represent a possible exchange of proverbial expressions between two or more interlocutors, and such a discussion might well have taken place: people in Vuokkiniemi could and did talk and argue with *poverkkas* (Tarkka 2013:73-75). In the Paulaharju-Lehtonen collection there are several cases of such fictive discussions (see, for example, Tarkka 2013:310). This interpretation of the genre (representation of a possible instance of proverbial exchange of words for a folklore collector) would explain why a fully competent singer and composer of Kalevala-meter poems did not succeed in producing metrically regular

¹⁴ See Frog, “Parallelism Dynamics I,” this volume.

lines in this particular performance.¹⁵ In conversation, ideals concerning style and meter of proverbial expressions could easily be relaxed. In Viena Karelia, proverbs were produced both in the Kalevala-meter and without any poetic meter, and intermediary metricality was also common (Kuusi 1978). As proverbs, the couplets were probably well-formed enough (see Note 9), but as an entextualized poem, the ideals were not met.

Unmetered Couplets and Formulaic Structure: *The Self Wouldn't*

Anni Lehtonen also performed highly cohesive and aesthetically clear poems which do not strive towards the Kalevala-meter. One such poem, which I call *The Self Wouldn't*, was recorded by Paulaharju in 1915. The formal structure of the poem is based on pervasive parallelism, with the slight but accumulating variation of the theme brought about by recurrent phraseology, syntactic repetition, and alliteration. On the level of the line, the norms of the Kalevala-meter are not met, but the poetic quality is signalled by a marked word order and regular use of ornamental words in the main line.¹⁶ The poem was performed amidst proverbs dealing with the theme of song and singing, and it was preceded by a two-line couplet with end-rhyme (see Fig. 3). Anni denies her willingness to sing (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)9613. 1915):

*Ei se suu laulais,
vain suru laulaa.
Ei se itse huhuais,
vain huoli huhuo.
Ei se itse itkis,
vain ikävä itköö.
Ei se itse valittais,
vain vaivat ne valittaa.
Ei se itse läksis,
vain köyhyys käsköö lähtömäh.*

The mouth wouldn't sing,
but the sorrow sings.
The self wouldn't call,
but the worry calls.
The self wouldn't cry,
but the longing cries.
The self wouldn't wail,

¹⁵ Only six out of 22 lines in the two proverb sequences meet metrical ideals. On Anni's competence in the metrical form, see Huttu-Hiltunen (2008:138-40).

¹⁶ In each main line the negative *ei* ("[would] not") precedes the subject *itse* ("self"); the word *se* ("it," left untranslated) has no semantic content but merely ornaments the line. For example, a literal translation of the first main line would be "Not [it] the mouth would sing" instead of a normal word order "The mouth would not sing" (*Suu ei laulaisi*).

but the ailments they wail.
 The self wouldn't leave,
 but poverty tells one to leave.

The couplets are based on antithetical parallelism in which the first line offers a negative assertion (x_1 does not y) and the second a positive one (but x_2 does y).¹⁷ Each couplet is built similarly, and the couplets are joined together by syntactic parallelism, lexical repetition, and alliteration. The poem displays a series of symmetrical explanations of why a human being expresses herself: expressions are outlets for compelling sentiments. Semantically, the couplets elaborate on the mutual dependency of three elements: the ego (“self”), the sentiment (“longing” and so on), and the verb (“to cry” and so on). In the continuum of the parallelistic whole, each of these elements forms a paradigm of alternative expressions. The paradigm referring to the ego of the poem is concise: the ego presents herself as the “self” four times and only once with an alternative expression. This alternative for “self” is a bodily metonym: the ego is presented as a “mouth” making sorrowful sounds, such as this very poem. The self-as-mouth indicates a fusion

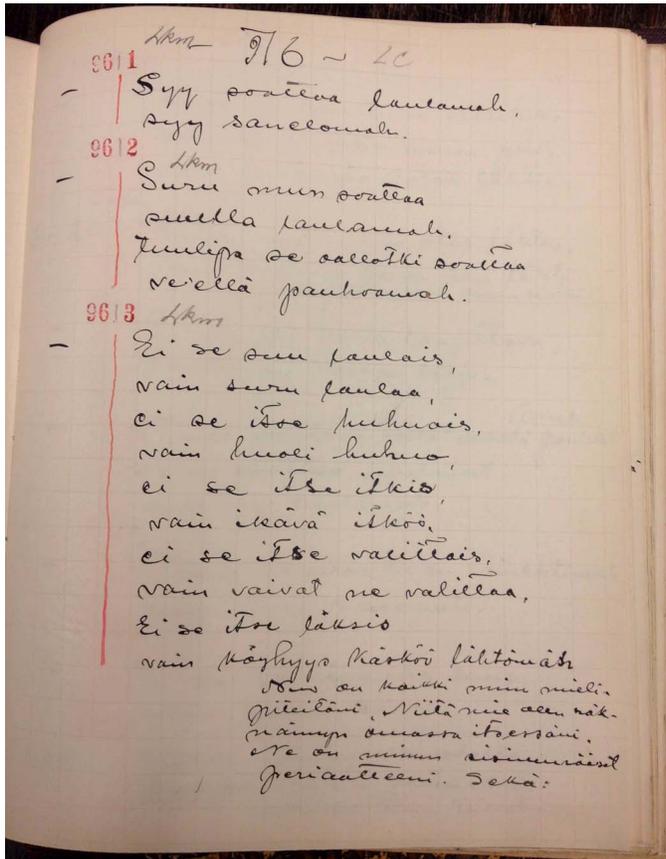


Fig. 3. The Self Wouldn't (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)9611-13. 1915). The poem is preceded by proverbs and a couplet with end-rhyme contemplating on the causes for singing; and followed by the singer's comment on the profound personal meaningfulness of the poem. Photo by author.

of the singer of this particular performance and the ego of the song. It is thus a metapragmatic trope, a trope that makes the use and making of the poem a topic for the poem itself. Indeed, the singer explained the personal and autobiographical quality of the poem: “Those are all my opinions. I have pondered them inside my own self [*omassa itsessäni*]. They are my innermost principles.” Here another metapragmatic level is realized. The contents of the poem are Anni's opinions, personal ideas, propositions, and arguments that she keeps and reorganizes inside her “self.” The metaphor of the mind as a container could easily be dismissed as automatized parlance, but the poem makes a point. Senni Timonen (2004:351) has analyzed the vernacular notion of venting or “winnowing” one's feelings (*tuskien tuultaminen*): in poetic language, pain was said to be thrown out of the vacuum inside the suffering one, out into the open in the guise of words. This was one of the performative functions of lyric songs.

¹⁷ See Oinas (1985).

With the exception of the first couplet, the first line in all the couplets seems ungrammatical. The subject “self” would normally require a verb in the first person singular, but here, the “self” is generalized and conveyed with the third person singular: “the self wouldn’t cry” (*ei itse itkisi*) instead of “I myself wouldn’t cry” (*en itse itkisi*). This is, however, a legitimate use of the word self, or *itse* in Karelian: it can refer to the speaker, or to a human being in general, in that case used as a noun (KKSK I:467). With its reference to the human being in general, the “self” also effectively conveys the stance of proverbialization coined by Thomas DuBois. Proverbialization is a native hermeneutic tradition in lyric poetry that describes typical feelings and collective modes of understanding, but not particular feelings or events (DuBois 1986). In this instance this strategy points at the close relationship of lyric poetry and aphorisms in Kalevala-meter poetry (Tarkka 2016:188-89). The typical first person singular is often replaced by agents in the third person who tend to be emblematic characters with which the lyrical self can identify (Tarkka 2013:130). Lastly, the word choice also reflects the vernacular notions of selfhood. Karelian *itse* (Fi. *itse*) refers to the conscious and rational mind. One who lacks this faculty is *itsetöin* (literally “self-less”), that is, senseless, unconscious, unable to look after himself, or dead drunk (Harva 1948:249; KKSK I:469; Toivonen 1944:103-09.) In Anni’s poem, the intentional side of the singer’s being, or the *itse*, refused to sing.

The verb paradigm resonates with the abundant metapoetic vocabulary referring to the act of singing and performing poems (see Tarkka 2013:148). Singing, calling, crying, and wailing define the genre of the performance described in the poem, but not of the poem itself. These verbs indicate a lyric poem or a ritual lament (see Tarkka 2013:406), but the present hybrid poem is clearly neither; lyric poems conform more or less to the ideals of the Kalevala-meter, and the laconic expression of the poem is a far cry from the lavishly repetitive register of ritual laments.¹⁸ Although the song of sorrow is eventually verbalized, there is no indication of cathartic relief as the reluctant singer denies her involvement in the performance. She is merely the platform of the overwhelming emotions that find their outlet through her mouth.

The paradigm of the sentiment (namely sorrow, worry, longing, ailment) pictures a negative mood by personalizing the sentiments: the emotion is an agent that makes sounds and expresses itself. What is the role of the ego or of human agency in coping with emotions? The self is not merely immersed in and stagnated by sorrow. In accordance with the vernacular concepts of illness, emotion is an agent that has possessed the human being and sings in her. The second to last member of the paradigm, “ailment” (*vaiva*), is actually not a sentiment, but a condition, a state of deprivation with bodily, mental, and social aspects. The noun *vaiva* is the trunk for the adjective *vaivainen* (“infirm”). This adjective is in turn used as a noun referring to a pauper, and this semantic turn forms a bridge to the last couplet.

In the last couplet, the verb paradigm changes abruptly and verbs for emotional expression are exchanged for a verb of movement in space. The sentiment paradigm takes on a new turn, too, as the slot for the emotion is filled with a noun indicating the reason for the sentiments and for the movement in space. Poverty, one aspect of deprivation, is the ultimate reason for the sorrows and for leaving, and, ultimately for the whole performance. After the

¹⁸ Anni was a competent performer of laments (Paulaharju 1995:7-8). On the register of laments, see Stepanova (2015).

poem Anni went on delving into the theme: “I wouldn’t have left; it was the misery that left” (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)9615. 1915). Paulaharju reported that with these lines Anni referred to the current journey to the town of Oulu where the performance took place.

In Anni’s poetry the basic syntactic mold of the couplet structured on antithetical parallelism (x_1 does not y / but x_2 does y) was an effective vehicle for formulating diverse ideas concerning personhood, agency, free will, expression and the human condition. Instead of the first person singular, transposed to the noun *itse*, the ego could be “a poor human being” (*ihmisparha*) (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)9619. 1915) or a person. The mold operated as a formula in the composition of new poetic statements on the link between the motives behind emotive expressions, their manners, and their vocalizations. Transposed to the male sphere of action, alcohol had the same capacity as emotion had in the human mind in general (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)4407-08. 1912-13):

*Ei mies huhuo,
vain viina huhuo.*

*Ei mies laula,
vain viina laulaa
kun on miehen peässä.*

A man doesn’t call,
but booze calls.

A man doesn’t sing,
but booze sings
when it is in a man’s head.

The last clause is not a proper poetic line, but an explanation that breaks with the style, structure, and metaphoric reasoning of the previous lines, as if the performer did not trust in the ability of the listener to grasp the metaphorical nature of the idea “booze sings.” This was not the whole story, however. Similar to the previous paradigm of sentiment, the ultimate reason for the unhappy performance was found not in alcohol *per se*, but in the reasons for consuming it, as Anni expressed on another occasion (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)7059. 1913):

*Silloin mies juo kun köyhyys tuloo,
köyhyys juomah käsköö.*

Then the man drinks when poverty comes,
poverty tells one to drink.

Obviously, the paradigm of sentiment can thus be rephrased as the paradigm of the psychophysical cause of action. Sentiments and alcohol make people act, but the *primus motor* is deprivation, that is, poverty. Satu Apo (2001:67) has noted that the ontologizing metaphors for

alcohol in Finnish and Karelian folklore personify alcohol into a being capable of possessing the human being and making him do things such as singing. The metaphorical image “booze sings” is, however, not a straightforward personification of alcohol, but a “processual model of intoxication: ‘consuming beer/spirits makes man possessed by an alien force; the force makes him behave in a manner out of the ordinary’” (Apo 2001:68). The last example also suggests that poverty itself is an “alien force” that “comes” and “tells” people to take action, to leave, drink, or sing (see also Tarkka 2013:254). This metaphoric reasoning implies that those who were hit by poverty do not cause this predicament themselves.

Anni Lehtonen used the couplets built on antithetical parallelism as a formulaic mold in the production of proverbs, proverb sequences, and longer poems. In the ten lines of *The Self Wouldn't*, the rhetorical effect of parallelism described by Porthan is obvious. Parallelisms build a hypnotic succession: they make the poem ascend and finally reach the climax. The verbatim repetition of “the self wouldn't” in the first half of the first line of each couplet, except for the first couplet,)—intensifies the effect. Repeating the verb in the lines of each couplet (for example, wouldn't sing / sings) serves the same rhythmical and persuasive purposes. Further cohesion is created by alliteration that works within the line (for example, *huoli huhuo*) or between the lines (for example, *suu / suru*) and even both ways (*itse itkis / ikävä*). The climactic emergence of poetic structure and coherence concerns the content of the poem, too. In the end, the reason for the lines and the performance itself are revealed.

Although the introverted message of *The Self Wouldn't* is coherent and characterized by Anni as her “innermost principle,” she was ready and willing to contradict herself on the matter. As in the argumentative structure of the knowledge-related proverbs, she engages in a dialogue with herself (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)9582. 1915):

*Kun tuloo ikävä, niin laula,
kun tuloo ilo, niin naura,
kun tuloo huoli, niin huhuo,
kun tullah kaikki yht'aikoa vierahiks, niin rupie maata.*

When longing comes, sing,
when joy comes, laugh,
when a worry comes, call,
when all of them come together to visit, lie down.

The style and parallelistic structure is familiar from *The Self Wouldn't*, but the lines (or rather, clauses) themselves resemble everyday rather than poetic expression: only the repetitive variation discloses the poetic quality. Alliteration, parallelism, and assonance tighten the interconnectedness of the first three lines, and the paradigm of sentiment is interrupted with a positive feeling. Correspondingly, the verb paradigm is extended into a verb that characterizes emotional reactions rather than performances.¹⁹ The last line exemplifies the comic potential of

¹⁹ “Laugh” or “laughter” (*nauru, naku*) were also vernacular terms for mocking songs (Tarkka 2013:269, 277), but here, the syntagmatic connection with “joy” reveals the contextual meaning.

strict parallelistic structures. Disruption of the expected repetition, both in terms of syntax and message, produces absurd and understated humor. With the emotional incongruence of simultaneous joy and worry, the only option is to lie down and have a rest. Also, the abrupt change in the verb paradigm from verbs describing vocalization to verbs describing bodily movement corresponds to that in the structure of *The Self Wouldn't* (sing—laugh—call—lie down / sing—call—cry—wail—leave). The message is however diametrically opposed to that of *The Self Wouldn't*: the singer urges the listener to express his or her sentiments as they come.

Dialectic Contemplation in Autobiography: *The Widow's Song*

The previous cases of Anni's verse-making have shown that internally parallelistic couplets could function as formulae, and that their combination into more complex and longer texts was not a mechanical expansion, but a complex process of activating the paradigmatic sets operative in the treatment of the theme. The expressions—words, lines, and couplets—carried with them a vast array of associations and intertextual cues relating them to the tradition as a whole. The last case study focuses on a lyric poem in the Kalevala-meter that Anni composed of the same traditional, internally parallelistic couplets that she used widely in her poetry.²⁰ The lyric poem *The Widow's Song* deals with the experience of widowhood. Anni said that she had learned the song from her mother, who used to sing it while fishing.²¹ Anni's mother had lost her husband when Anni was six years old, and when Anni performed the song to Samuli Paulaharju in 1911, she too was raising her six children on her own. Her husband Kliimo had died of typhoid five years earlier. (Tarkka 2013:245.) The poem is a coherent sequence of couplets. For the purposes of analysis, I have divided the poem into six passages (distinguished here by a space between lines) that each comprise a thematic whole and correspond grammatically to sentences or exclamatory clauses (SKVR I3 1388):²²

²⁰ For an intertextual analysis of *The Widow's Song*, see Tarkka (2013:245-57).

²¹ A reconstruction of the sung performance of Anni Lehtonen's *The Widow's Song* was recorded at the Finnish Literature Society, February 28, 2017. The singers, Kati Kallio, Ph.D and Heidi Haapoja, Ph.D. are folklorists and trained folk musicians who specialize in the interplay of music and text in Kalevala-meter poetry. The musical reconstruction by Kallio and Haapoja is based on the notations on Anni Lehtonen's melodies made by Juho Ranta (SKS KRA. Ranta VK 79. 1914) and knowledge of the local styles of singing in Western Viena Karelia. The text follows Paulaharju's transcription closely, but some details of pronunciation have been added to match the vernacular. The melody is one used by Anni in a wedding song notated by Ranta; such melodies were also common in lyric songs. The duet performance style approximates the situation in which Anni claimed to have learned the song from her mother.

²² Although Kalevala-meter poetry is basically non-stanzaic, thematic and/or narrative passages are discernible on the basis of content. Heikki Laitinen (2004:163-64) calls them "free versed stanzas" and emphasizes that they are the scholar's deductions. In performance, these are rarely signalled by pauses or musical structuring (see also Kallio in this issue). Laitinen notes that the discrepancy between stanzaic (thematic) structure and the musical structure creates a dramatic tension in the poem. The length of these passages varies greatly; in the epic poem analysed by Laitinen, the length of sequences ranges from 2 to 12 lines. For a critical assessment of the discussion on stanzas in Kalevala-meter poetry, see Anttonen (1994:116-18).

*Aina sitä aamusta elävi
vain illasta on kovin ikävä,
 kuin on kuollut kumppaliini,
 vaipun' vaippaani alaiini.*

*Ei ole miehestä mennehestä,
urohosta uponnehesta.*

*Oi miun poikia poloisen,
oi miun laitton lapsosieini.*

*Mont' on tuulta tuulovata,
mont' on saapuva sajetta
 lakittoman peälajella,
 kintahittoman käsillä.*

*Kyllä se voipi voipa Luoja,
soattavi sulo Jumala
 ylentää aletun mielen,
 nostaa lasketun kypärän,
 notkot nostaa, vaarat painaa,
 notkot nostaa, vaarat painaa,
 emännästä orjan soaha,
 piijasta talon pitäjän.*

*Olin miekin miessä ennen,
uurohona kuuventena
 ilman pieltä pistämässä,
 taivoista tähittämässä.*

One always survives in the morning
but the longing gets hard in the evening
 for my companion has died,
 the one beneath my quilt has gone under.

The long-gone one is no man,
the drowned one [is] no hero.

Oh sons of poor me,
oh children of weebegone me.

Many winds will blow,
many rains will fall



Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the sung performance of Anni Lehtonen's *The Widow's Song*, Kati Kallio and Heidi Haapoja. Recorded at the Finnish Literature Society, February 28, 2017. [http://journal.oraltradition.org/issues/31ii/tarkka/#myGallery-picture\(4\)](http://journal.oraltradition.org/issues/31ii/tarkka/#myGallery-picture(4))

upon the capless head,
upon the mittenless hands.

Yes, the almighty Creator can,
the sweet God may
 raise the sunken spirit,
 lift the lowered helmet,
 lift the hollows, flatten the hills,
 lift the hollows, flatten the hills,
 turn the woman of the house into a serf,
 the maid into the household head.

I, too, was once one of the men,
the sixth of the heroes
 framing the air,
 starring the sky.

The first passage sets the stage by giving an emotional assessment of the situation and the incidents leading to it. The first couplet in the passage exhibits contrastive parallelism through the paired opposition of times of day and moods of the widow. The first two lines are also exceptional in their use of the passive. They indicate that the first-person account to follow is a typical one and invite the listener to identify with the ego of the poem: this could happen to anyone. The second couplet provides a causal explanation for the emotions described in the first one. The widow mourns over her deceased beloved. Echoing the emotional assessment, the paradigm for the beloved stresses intimacy. The widow used to share her bed with the deceased. Again, the conjunctive ties the two couplets together firmly.

The second and the third passage offer alternating points of view on the deceased. First the widow portrays him as useless: the man is no more there for her. The couplet is a proverb also used as a formula in epic poetry.²³ Here, it extends the paradigm of death with three more euphemistic verbs: to die is “to go under,” “to go,” and “to drown.” The landscape of loss refers to the underworld and to an underwater realm; losing something is a way down. The third passage is a vocative phrase that implicitly presents the deceased as a father. The widow pities herself (“poor me,” “woebegone me”) and her children, the orphans (“oh sons,” “oh children”).

The fourth passage pictures the conditions of the bereaved. Without any shelter, they are exposed to the natural forces. The widow describes herself as “capless” and “mittenless.” These are not merely metonyms that give vulnerability a concrete form (being exposed to wet and cold). They refer to the cap and mittens used for magical protection by the *tietäjä*, and being deprived of them jeopardized their power and health. In Kalevala-meter poetry, imagery of headgear was connected to the mind, energy and social status of a person. As Anni put it, “The cap contains the mind of the man. Half of the man falls to the ground when someone removes his

²³ The couplet appears in epic poetry to evaluate the ability of the mythic hero to perform his tasks after having drifted in the primal sea or the river of Tuonela (the land of the dead)—for example, SKVR I1 59, SKVR I2 758. Idiomatically the couplet translates as “the deceased counts not as a man.”

cap,” or, “The singer takes care of his/her cap so that his/her might won’t disappear” (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)8110, 9641. 1915). The *tietäjä*’s cap retained his magical power, but for Anni, the cap was above all the headgear worn by married women to symbolize their social status. By refusing to use this cap and using the headgear of a widow instead, a woman could express her dissatisfaction with her husband (Paulaharju 1995:193). The capless woman communicated her vulnerability, a state with both social and magical repercussions (Tarkka 2013:248-49).

The fourth passage turns its attention from the loss to a solution. The widow expresses her trust in God, who can make things better by turning the current unfortunate state of affairs upside down. The first reversal extends the headgear symbolism of the previous passage. In Kalevala-meter poetry, a helmet worn sideways pictured general sorrow, loss, or defeat, but it was also firmly associated with image frames of magical protection and death (Tarkka 2013:248). “The lowered helmet” is likened to the “sunken spirit” of the ego, but this state of liminality and vulnerability could be ended by God. To convey the idea of an almighty actor, Anni presents a paradigmatic set of comparable reversals. God is able to lift up the mind of the widow, as he is able to lift up the hollow lowlands and push down the hills. This landscape of defiant hope leads to the third aspect of reversal. God is able to turn social hierarchies on their head by changing the roles of master and servant. The mind and identity of the widow is likened to the forms of landscape and social structure. The parallel between the couplets thus implies a coherent world order.

The symmetry of the passage is remarkable. The couplet consisting of identical lines, “lift the hollows, flatten the hills / lift the hollows, flatten the hills” is the divide of the whole poem. Although in sung performance lines could be repeated, in manuscripts such verbatim repetition is out of the ordinary, and on the basis of this alone we can assume that instead of dictating, Anni had sung *The Widow’s Song* for Paulaharju. Heikki Laitinen notes that repetition of a line is one performative resource that the singers could use, but this use is not visible in the written manuscripts and thus is absent from the scholarly literature on parallelism in Kalevala-metre poetry. The repeated identical lines were seldom sung with the same melody: the variation and permanence in lexical and musical material was used to create an aesthetically interesting tension in the performance (Laitinen 2004:172-74).²⁴ This performative device points to thematic centrality, as does the symmetry of half line parallelism employed in the repeated line.

²⁴ In a 133-line epic song by a Vuokkiniemi singer, Anni Tennisova, Laitinen (2004:172-74) found 31 couplets bound by semantic parallelism and 10 instances of repeating the same line. Pekka Huttu-Hiltunen (2008:138-48) has analysed one of Anni Lehtonen’s epic poems (SKVR I4 2150). He presumes that Anni had sung the poem, but this does not seem to be the case. In five instances, Anni builds a bridge between a narrative episode (and lines) with a single word that is not part of the poetic diction: the conjunctive *siitä*, meaning “then,” “after that.” The strategy suggests a somewhat stammering dictation and even a drift toward prose diction. The dictated 115-line poem includes 36 cases of line parallelism but no repetitions of the same line. As there are no sound recordings on Anni’s performances, all inferences have to be drawn by way of analogy: by an assessment of Anni’s texts, the few musical transcripts and descriptions on her singing, and sound recordings of other singers in the area. On these grounds it is plausible to argue that Anni’s way of using parallelism quite independently of the musical structure is typical of the region and that repetition of the same line was a performative strategy in sung performance, not just a way to gain extra time in the processing of the following lines (see Kallio 2014:96 and this volume; Laitinen 2004:172-75; Huttu-Hiltunen 2008:140-41, 235).

Intertextually, the lines echo the words of a Lutheran hymn, “Sink, ye mountains and hills / and rise, ye hollows!” (*Vajotkaa vuoret, vaarat, / ja notkot, nouskaatte!*).²⁵ Although religious life was an amalgam of folk religion and Orthodox Christianity, overt references to Lutheran religious texts have rarely been documented in Viena Karelia and Kalevala-meter poetry. Nevertheless, both Lutheran Christianity and Laestadian revivalism were influential in Anni’s home village, Vuonninen, where Finnish hymns were sung and the Bible read aloud (Tarkka 2013:38, 51). The intertextual reference to Lutheran Christianity enhances the impact of the lines by authorizing the message and relating it to religious traditions and ideologies. Instead of simply borrowing the imagery of the lines, Anni makes a radical adaptation by converting the opening lines of a blatant missionary hymn into a powerful and rebellious image of overturning the *status quo*.

The last passage is, however, a radical departure from the Christian worldview. It alludes to archaic mythology by inserting a motif describing the creation of the universe: the speaker of the poem claims to have been one of the creators of the universe, or more precisely, of the stars and the sky above. This motif is widely used in the corpus of Vuokkiniemi and it functions as an authorization of the text and its ego. In magic incantations the motif is used to raise the performer’s spirit, and it enables him to perform effectively. In lyric poetry the motif juxtaposes the powerful (mythic) past and the destitute present and expresses a sense of nostalgia or longing for the past. In both generic contexts mentioned the rhetorical aim of the motif is to show that, because of his or her deeds in the mythic past, the ego of the text is entitled to a better future. (Tarkka 2013:237-57.) With this motif of the heavenly bodies, Anni concludes her song with a defiant note.

The first couplet of the last passage is a stable formulaic unit that opens the traditional motif of the setting of the celestial bodies. The parallel line articulates the notion of manhood: “I, too, was once one of the men.” Obviously, the protagonists in the myth of creation were all male, but the allusion to this myth could be made by women and men alike. The parallel term “hero,” or *uro*, summarizes this role as something not necessarily tied to the biological sex of the ego. Ideologically, the notion of *uro* promotes patriarchal values: men are heroes and heroes are male, as the word for a hero also means “male” (*uro, uros*) (Tarkka 2013:251-52). In the context of Anni’s poem, the idea continues the set of constitutive reversals presented in the previous passage. Being able to step into the role of *uro* was symbolically a gender reversal, as the stepping of a serf into the role of master was a reversal of power relations.

The last couplet of the song is typical of the motif of the celestial bodies. Anni condenses the motif to a minimum, but often the number of mythic and heroic acts listed is longer. Here, the paradigm of creative acts consists of “framing the air” and “starring the skies”. Alternative options are, to name a few, “moving the moon,” “setting the sun,” “bearing the vault around the air,” and “straightening the Plough” (Tarkka 2013:238-43). The landscapes of loss (passages 2-3) and defiant hope (passage 4) are completed with the ultimate, cosmic landscape. The one who has been among the creators of the cosmic landscape is entitled to the transformation of the

²⁵ The opening lines of the hymn refer to Isaiah 40 (“Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low,” *The Holy Bible*, Isaiah 40:40). The hymn was written by Frans Mikael Franzén (1772-1847) and translated into Finnish in 1903. It was first published in the song book of the Missionary Society; see Väinölä (n.d.).

landscape of loss. There is an overarching thematic parallelism in the juxtaposition of these landscapes: the low lands or the underworld of death and mourning, the reshaping of the high and low lands in the climactic turn of the poem, and lastly a concrete ascension into the celestial sphere. Here, among the potent gods the ego is empowered. The widow will rise to the status of a keeper of the house and a provider for her children. She will be an *uro*, adopting the role of the drowned one.

Communicating in Couplets

The cases treated above illustrate how a poem emerges as a dynamic operation of the rhetorical effect of parallelism, a pervasive figure in poetic discourse. Anni's command of verbal art offers a window into the operation of diction, meter, crystallized or formulaic expressions and the generation of meanings through parallel structures. In her discussions with Paulaharju, Anni herself dwelled upon the notion of poetry and the emergent nature of textuality (see Tarkka 2013:150-53). Most of her metapoetic ideas were expressed in proverbs, and thus were themselves molded by the poetic function. She distinguished between two kinds of singing and composing poems, namely "lining up" (*latelominen*) and "ladling out" (*lappaminen*). In "lining up," the singer has to "know what kind of song she is singing, what about, and what is the cause that makes her sing, and with what tune." In the vernacular metapoetic discourse, the "kind" of a song referred to the genre (Tarkka 2013:150); in addition to knowing the genre, and thus being able to select the proper stylistic and metrical devices, the theme and the topic had to be premeditated and be compatible with a traditional tune. In describing "ladling out" Anni was less specific. She relied on a metaphor and likened "ladling out" to rolling yarn from a tangled skein. It was the opposite of "lining up": it required less "material," that is, thematic substance, and anyone could do it. Anni summarized: "singing is not ladling out, singing is lining up." As a premeditated form of composition and performance, a careful elaboration of form and content, "lining up" was equal to making proper poems (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)9596-9605. 1915).

Lining up a poem and singing it was "putting a word upon a word," and joining it with a tune. All the words Anni used to describe the interconnectedness of the units or elements in a poem referred either to the syntagmatic or paradigmatic axis of composing utterances. "Lining up" suggests a line, or a syntagmatic sequence of words; "putting a word upon a word" refers to a hierarchy, the accumulation of substance and meaning, and possibly repetition. The coupling of the words and the tune is rendered in a metaphor: they are joined like two parts of fishing seine, with a ligature that is called a *jame* in Karelian. Another way of formulating the act of singing foregrounded the ease of using traditional words in composition: as soon as the singer knew the topic, "a word pulled forth [another] word" (SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)9603, 9626. 1915).

The phrasings "a word upon a word" (*sana sanan peällä*) and "a word pulls forth a[nother] word" (*sana sanah vetää*) can be understood as vernacular descriptions of semantic parallelism—and indeed the phrasings are parallelistic in themselves. The interconnectedness indicated by joining expressions into parallel sets is not restricted to word-to-word associations. In many oral poetries, the term "word" referred not only to single words in the modern orthographic sense, but to lines of poetry, and more specifically, lines as morpheme-equivalent

entities (Foley 1995:2-3; Frog 2014c:282-83). This meaning has also been documented in Kalevala-meter poetry (Niemi 1921:1091; Timonen 2004:257-58, 449-50). In Vuokkiniemi, with the “word” (*sana*) the singers could also refer to whole texts (for example, prayers and proverbs), crystallized and esteemed ways of speaking, or even the wisdom that they convey (Tarkka 2013:104). Putting such entities on top of each other or organizing them into lines and chains or even more complex sequences produced texts that were inevitably parallelistic.

Among these “words,” or standardized, conventional expressions, we find ready-made parallelistic couplets that are used in epic poetry to describe actors, actions and landscapes. The same couplets made their way into conversation and other genres of oral poetry, but in the new context their standardized interpretations were no longer valid. Without a definite role in the epic universe or in the plot, they were contextualized and shaped for new expressive purposes. The ready-made nature of these formulaic couplets is therefore relative. They offered themselves, however, as points of reference and a source of intertextual cues to the tradition as a whole. They also made composition easier, as Porthan argued (1867:345):

One with a good command of the language’s richness can without much effort select words that fit in the meter and vary upon his thought as he pleases—if he also has a rich and elevated mind. If there were a shortage of words and phrases this task would be much more wearisome. If the plentiful vocabulary would not ease the poets’ endeavors, they could not be put beneath a yoke more disobliging than the law of endlessly repeating sporadic thoughts.

The three case studies presented here illuminate the different aspects of Anni Lehtonen’s “vocabulary.” From a proverb to an aphorism or a sequence of proverbs, and from a strictly parallelistic hybrid poem to a Kalevala-meter lyric song, Anni articulated the themes of knowledge, poverty, loss, and vulnerability using different poetic languages and communicating her “innermost principles” and life history (see SKS KRA. Paulaharju c)9613. 1915). Elements of the knowledge-based proverb sequences (or aphorisms) were used in epic poetry and conversation. From the couplets found in the *Widow’s Song* she constructed both incantations and unforeseen proverb sequences on the themes of loss and deprivation (see Tarkka 2013:247-51). The formulaic mold of the hybrid poem *The Self Wouldn’t* could be varied endlessly to produce shorter aphorisms or proverbs. Even if formulaic expressions eased the process of composing poems, creating parallel lines in the building of poetic wholes was not necessarily a respite that eased and routinized the composition in performance. It required command of the paradigmatic sets used in producing parallel lines, as well as the syntagmatic grammar of creating metrically and/or stylistically valid lines, and beyond these, finalized poetic texts. As Linda R. Waugh (1985:150) has formulated Roman Jakobson’s notion of the multiplicity of parallelism, “parallelisms create a network of internal relations within the poem itself, making the poem into an integrated whole and underlining the poem’s relative autonomy.”

The aesthetics of parallelism is based on a dynamic combination of rigidity and fluidity. The structures and norms governing repetition and variation are rigid, but the precision sought by parallelistic extension and the resulting verbosity often make the semantic content ambiguous. Parallelism thus contributes to the semantic complexity of the message and challenges the listener. In the construction of parallel lines and the selection of parallel words, the performers of

Kalevala-meter poetry activated their knowledge of the possible, semantically relevant expressions, and they made choices that inevitably altered the meaning of the main line and affected the formulation of the next one. The flexibility of the principle of equivalence between the main word and the parallel one allowed the repetition, variation, and even contestation of the semantic content of the preceding unit. Argumentation or the affective contemplation typical of the short forms of poetry were structured in this way.

The three cases discussed here illuminate the role of parallelism in an expressive culture dominated by one poetic meter, the so called Kalevala-meter. The metrical system was flexible, and Anni Lehtonen showed that a master in this meter could take advantage of the different “degrees of well-formedness” (Frog 2014a) characteristic of poetic traditions in an oral culture. Parallelism, the pervasive feature in poetic language and oral poetry in particular (Jakobson 1987d:145-46, 173), was a decisive factor in communication not only in poetry, but in conversational language as well. Intricate patterns of repetition and variation “hammered” the listener and this hammering made the poem emerge and ascend or “rise” as a whole, as Porthan (1867:320) phrased it. From the perspective of rhetoric, this process was primarily not an emergence of a textual structure, but rather an increase in the communicative efficacy of the utterance: the message gathered force and persuaded the listener.

In the above, I have used parallelism as a methodological concept in the interpretation of Anni Lehtonen’s poems and I have treated parallelism as an enabling element in artistic expression and communication. Parallelism not only expresses meaningful connections between concepts and clauses, but it also creates them. The finalization of messages and texts in this tradition was achieved through parallelism, and only finalized meanings could be understood (Bakhtin 1986:76) and thus be worth communicating. Furthermore, the rhetorical power of rhythmic repetition maximized communicative efficacy (Porthan 1867:320). For Bakhtin (1986:76-77), finalization is connected to the performer’s intentions, or to what they wish to express. The intentionality of parallelistic techniques of composition are, however, open to dispute. For Jakobson (1985b:62-68 and 1987c:127-28), parallelistic structures are subliminal rather than intentional and conscious patterns. He argues that the “system of complex and elaborate correspondences” created and handed down in oral poetry works “without anyone’s cognizance of the rules governing this intricate network” (Jakobson 1985b:68). The generation of emergent meanings in different contexts illustrates the conscious side of composition in the use and manipulation of traditional resources. Whether the paradigmatic sets, syntagmatic rules, and ready-made variable molds are matters of conscious and intentional creativity, or whether they are encoded in the traditional language and automatized is, however, beyond the scope of this analysis—and any empirical analysis. However, Anni Lehtonen’s metapoetic comments testify that notions concerning poetry-in-the-making could be and were verbalized, and even made into poetry. Subliminal or not, the texts and meanings that the performers produced in performance became or emerged as socially relevant reality: as messages to be heard, believed, cherished, remembered, forgotten, or contested.

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“The Language of Gods”: The Pragmatics of Bilingual Parallelism in Ritual Ch’orti’ Maya Discourse

Kerry Hull

Parallelism in Mayan Languages and Ritual Speech

Parallelism is the foremost stylistic device in Mayan and other Mesoamerican languages (B. Tedlock 1985; Tedlock 1986; Brody 1986). Metrical features common to Western poetic traditions play no significant role in Maya poetics. According to Josserand (Josserand and Hopkins 1991:21), what meter and rhyme are to Western poetry, couplets and parallelism are to Maya poetry. The most common forms of parallelism in Mayan languages are couplet, triplets, and the quatrain, though distich couplets remain the dominant structuring mechanism. Maxwell (1997:101) defines couplets as “the stylized repetition of all or part of an utterance, echoing either form or content.” Monaghan (1990:134) defines a couplet as the repetition of a line that is associated by parallelism in semantics or syntax to the previous line. Paralleled forms can be found in daily speech in some Maya groups, but it appears more commonly in narratives and ritual discourse. Gossen (1983:309) notes that all oral narratives of the Chamula Tzotzil use semantic couplets as the *unidad poética principal* (“principal poetic unity”).

Ritual speech, however, is where parallelism really flourishes in Mayan languages. Parallelism is the defining *sine qua non* of ritual discourse, primarily in the form of couplet speech. Ritual speech among most Maya groups tends to be denser and more frequent in couplet forms than other varieties of speech (Gossen 1974; Maxwell 1997; Stross 1974). For example, the Ixil of Cotzal make considerable use of both figurative and non-figurative couplets in ritual contexts (Townsend et al. 1980).

For the Ch’orti’ Maya of southern Guatemala, ritualized forms of speech are always performed in parallelistic fashion, especially in traditional healing ceremonies. Unfortunately, community-wide ceremonialism is in steep decline among the Ch’orti’ today as fears of being labeled a “witch” or “sorcerer” have driven most ritual specialists underground or out of business altogether.¹ During my fieldwork of over 30 months with the Ch’orti’, I worked with many of the few surviving ritual specialists and recorded numerous healing rites. The data gathered during that process informs the discussion of Ch’orti’ ritual poetics that follows. The results presented here add to our understanding of the expressive creativity that can occur in bilingual communities in which two languages can be tasked the formation of parallel structures.

¹ See Hull (2003) for a fuller discussion.

Metadiscourse on Parallelism

Very little in terms of a metadiscourse exists regarding poetic structuring. After giving an elderly consultant of mine several examples of parallelism in Ch'orti', I asked her why some people speak that way. She answered "*Así hablan los ángeles*" ("Thus speak the angels") (Hull 2003:63). The Spanish term *ángel*, as commonly used by the Ch'orti', represents a large class of gods in the Ch'orti' pantheon. This term is commonly applied specifically to the deities responsible for the production of rain, but it equally encompasses many other divine beings. The overt declaration that paralleled speech patterns are the form of expression for supernatural beings—"the language of gods"—is a significant insight into the perceived origins of this discourse style in Ch'orti' thought.² If this view is more general in Ch'orti' thought, then the projection of such highly structured parallelistic speech of Ch'orti' ritual specialists as the style of speech of those divine entities they address in supplication would reciprocally inform and reinforce³ the perception of the poetry. It is curious, however, that in oral traditions containing dialog involving divine beings I have not noted any increase in paralleled speech; indeed, they speak colloquially in nearly all cases. Perhaps paralleled speech is something of an idealized notion of divine parlance,⁴ but ordinary speech forms appear in informal genres of most oral traditions.

Other consultants of mine describe parallelistic speech as "*onya'n ojroner*" ("ancient speech") immediately reminiscent of the '*antivo k'opetik*' ("ancient speech") of the Tzotzil Maya of Chamula in Chiapas, Mexico (Gossen 1974:398 and 1984:105-09) and the '*poko k'op*' ("ancient speech") of the Tzeltal Maya (Stross 1974:215). One consultant noted that his father "knew the prayers and the way to say them" (Hull 2003:376). It was clear that the "way to say them" referred to his ability to properly formulate a prayer in couplet style.

In short, many Ch'orti' understand the general repetitive, parallel nature of ritual texts without necessarily being able to define this process easily in words. Consultants could easily *demonstrate* a few simple couplets, but very often could not *describe* them.

Sociolinguistic Situation of the Ch'orti' Maya

More than 90 percent of Ch'orti' speakers today are bilingual in Spanish. Bilingualism and the dominant influence of Spanish are contributing to a steady decline in the number of

²The projection of ritual poetic discourse as the language of supernatural beings is a widespread phenomenon in the context of shamanism, see, for example, Eliade (2004 [1964]:196-99); as part of Indo-European religion, see West (2007:160-62); see also Eila Stepanova's (2015) discussion of Karelian lament believed to be the only language that the dead could understand.

³In Durkheim's view (1915:225) religion is a projection of society, and something whose "primary object is not to give men a representation of the physical world . . . it is a system of ideas with which the individuals represent to themselves the society of which they are members and the obscure but intimate relations which they have with it." For a more current reference outlining a semiotic approach to mythology, see Frog (2014:360-62).

⁴Models of mythology within a community are consistently genre-dependent. For a fuller discussion on the variation in mythology by genre with special attention to authoritative specialist roles, see Frog (2014:374).

Ch’orti’ speakers. In some homes where parents are fluent Ch’orti’ speakers, only Spanish is taught to children because of the perception that Spanish is the language of opportunity. One Ch’orti’ mother explained to me that she “owed it to her children to ensure they’ll have a better life than she did” and so she only speaks Spanish to them. In certain cases Ch’orti’ is viewed, according to many of my consultants, as an “agricultural language,” one that leads only to a life of working in the *milpa* (“cornfield”). Spanish, on the other hand, opens any number of occupational doors.

Bilingualism in Ch’orti’ healing rites represents a highly pragmatic and creative aspect of these forms of discourse. Healing prayers are characterized by two dominant features: archaic Ch’orti’ forms and the generous use of Spanish terms. The use of esoteric terms, obsolete morphology, and complex syntactic constructions is a hallmark of Ch’orti’ healer speech. Much like “doctor talk” of our own day, healing jargon serves to elevate the status of the Ch’orti’ healer in the eyes of the patient and to distance the healer from the ordinary or mundane (see Fisher 1983). Incomprehensible or unique ritual terms do nothing if not show the healer to be a specialist of his or her trade and to punctuate their power and position in society (see Brody 1995:135).

The second remarkable aspect of Ch’orti’ healing prayers is the pervasive use of Spanish. While bilingualism today is the norm in the Ch’orti’ area, monolingualism was much more common early in the last century. Healers therefore incorporated large numbers of Spanish forms into their curing rites as a distancing device (Hull 2003:83). One elderly healer explained to me that he was told by his mentor that they would use Spanish vocabulary as a way of adding a cryptic or enigmatic character to their prayers since most people did not speak Spanish. Other elderly healers confirmed that Spanish terms were purposefully incorporated into their prayers and that this resulted in the loss of many original Ch’orti’ ritual words. The status of Spanish as a prestige language at that time played a significant role in their wilful inclusion of Spanish vocabulary into Ch’orti’ ritual discourse. Again, since the audience did not understand Spanish well, those terms were thereby esoteric and effective in adding mystique to healers’ speech. At that time, the Spanish language had achieved a prestige status associated with power and authority through its role in official, government contexts. It also appeared as the essential medium for communication with peoples outside of the Ch’orti’ cultural sphere. These factors also played a role in the incorporation of Spanish vocabulary into Ch’orti’ ritual discourse: Spanish was not the “language of the gods,” but it was a language of those with power over the social world, and it was the language of the world of the “other” even if it was not associated with the supernatural otherworld *per se*.

The result was a massive influx of Spanish terms in the Ch’orti’ healing prayers—but at a cost. The original Ch’orti’ terms that these words replaced were in many cases soon lost from use and memory. Spanish forms in Ch’orti’ ritual speech today appear in a variety of ways: 1) the wholesale incorporation of the term and the original meaning, 2) adoption of the Spanish form but with altered semantics, and 3) the blending of the Spanish term into Ch’orti’ morphological and phonological patterns. Within this rubric, the Ch’orti’ healer gains considerable flexibility in the ways one could use Spanish forms in ritual speech.

Since *parallelismus membrorum* (“parallelism of members”) forms the structural core of poetic discourse in most languages of Mesoamerica, the process of creating complementary

second lines to couplets can be greatly facilitated by the social presence of a second language or dialect from which to draw terminology (see Bricker 1974:372; Brody 1995:139-40; Fox 2014:374-79). In short, the idiom, register, or way of speaking⁵ of Ch'orti' healers and ritual priests has developed from three distinct forms of speech: archaic forms not otherwise in use today, modern spoken Ch'orti', and Spanish terms. The use of Spanish in ritual speech is common across many different Mayan languages. In Yucatec Mayan, for example, Spanish words in the couplets of narrative texts are a regular occurrence (Mudd 1979:50). In terms of importance on a compositional level, Mudd (1979:51) notes that out of 178 Spanish words in a single narrative text, 129 were the focus of the parallelism in the couplet. For Yucatecan narratives, Mudd (1979:58) concluded that "Spanish loan words constitute an integral aspect of Yucatec narrative parallelism. As an important element in this pervasive stylistic device, they enhance the similarity and contrast operative at the various linguistic levels—phonological, semantic, grammatical, and syntactic." Such use of Spanish words through code-switching and lexical borrowing is pervasive in Ch'orti' ritual texts.

The use of Spanish terms in the construction of couplet lines contributes to what Brody (1995:139) calls "a powerful aesthetic force" to the poetic quality of the language. This is accomplished in three principal Types: 1) using Spanish forms in both halves of the couplet (see example [1]; 2) using Spanish in both halves of the couplet then followed by a secondary synonymous couplet using two Ch'orti' terms (see examples [2] and [3]; or 3) using one native term paired with a Spanish synonym (see example [8]). These types of bilingual parallelism are by no means unique to Ch'orti'. Bricker (1974:372) has noted similar uses among the Tzotzil of Chamula. The following is an example of Type 1, using Spanish parallel terms in both lines of a couplet otherwise in Ch'orti'. In example (1) the Spanish nouns *día* 'day' and *tiempo* 'time' are used, even though native terms in fact exist for both:

- (1) 1. *K'otoy e día.*⁶
 2. *K'otoy e tiempo.*
1. The day arrived,
 2. The time arrived.

Next, example (2) illustrates the use of Type 2, where two Spanish parallel terms are used in parallel with two additional parallel terms in Ch'orti'. The healer calls upon the curative properties of tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*)—a plant much revered for its ability to "drive away" evil spirits. Four terms are chosen and placed into two paralleled verses. Lines 1-2 are Ch'orti' ritual terms that are only used in healing contexts, never in colloquial speech. Lines 3-4 contain

⁵Register in speech refers to "variety according to use" (Halliday et al. 1964:87) in one's speech based on what is appropriate in a given situation. The rules one follows in speech are, according to Hymes (1972:36), "the ways in which speakers associate particular modes of speaking, topics or message form, with particular settings and activities." See also Hymes (1967).

⁶Spanish focal terms or phrases are shown with double underlines, as are the corresponding English translations. Also, terms borrowed from Spanish appear in bold.

the Spanish names *hierbita llana* and *hierbita bendecida*, both specialized terms applied solely to tobacco by the Ch’orti’:

- (2)
1. *tama e nawalch’a’n,*
 2. *ajxujch’a’n,*
 3. **hierbita llana,**
 4. **hierbita bendecida.**
-
1. with the tobacco,
 2. tobacco,
 3. tobacco,
 4. tobacco.

The curer constructs an elegant quatrain by employing four distinct terms for “tobacco,” none of which, incidentally, is the word used in daily speech for it, *k’utz*. Part of aesthetic prowess shown by the healer is her ability to draw upon various lexemes, order them in two couplets—one Ch’orti’ and one Spanish—and to forge them into a quatrain that retains a ritual tenor through her avoidance of the common term *k’utz*.

Example (3) provides another case of Type (2) parallelism which further demonstrates this process:

- (3)
1. *tamar e kriatura tya’ leb’e’na uyalma,*
 2. *tya’ umusijk’yo’b’ wajrna.*
 3. *tya’ agarrado uyalma,*
 4. **amenazado, *Nuestro Señor*, tamar e kriatura.**
-
1. on the patient where his spirit was afflicted,
 2. here they blew [on] him, was blown,
 3. where his spirit was “grabbed.”
 4. harassed, Our Lord, on the patient.

In lines 1 and 2 the healer uses three Ch’orti’ terms that relate to ways in which evil spirits afflict people. The passive form *leb’e’na* means “was afflicted” in Ch’orti’ thought and describes how a menacing spirit grabs and holds captive the spirit of a person, that is, causes him or her to become ill. The second verb *umusijk’yo’b’* is a transitive form referring to the native concept of disease that evil spirits “blow” their blighting breath upon an individual, thereby causing that person to fall ill. The third verb *wajrna* is passive, meaning “was blown,” but understood again in Ch’orti’ mythology to be the action of evil spirits who cause sickness. Thus, the actions detailed in lines 1-2 are pure Ch’orti’ conceptions of how evil spirits infect people. In lines 3 and 4, however, the healer switches to two Spanish terms for the second couplet, which is essentially synonymous to the first. Here the terms *agarrado* and *amenazado* appear, the former in Ch’orti’ thought signifying a person’s spirit is “grabbed” by the evil spirit, that is, sickened, and the latter “harassed,” referring to the menacing nature of evil spirits as they afflict individuals. Line 4 also

shows ellipsis in the first part of the line but then augmentation at the end. Then quite beautifully, the healer incorporates enveloping parallelism by repeating the prepositional phrase “on the patient” both at the beginning and at the end of the stanza. A delicate symmetry is created, nearly chiasmic, in this section of the prayer, further punctuated by the use of Ch’orti’ terms in the first two lines and Spanish forms in the final two.

The Type 3 use of Spanish in paralleled forms of speech is what the remainder of this study will focus on. In the discussion below, I examine the nature of this type of parallelism and how Ch’orti’ healers creatively incorporate synonymous Spanish forms together with Ch’orti’ terms.

Ch’orti’ Ritual Speech and Poetics

Ritual prayers in Ch’orti’ are completely executed with paralleled forms. Parallelism functions as the structural base upon which all ritual discourse is built and elaborated. The most common type of parallelism is the couplet, representing about 95 percent of the Ch’orti’ ritual prayers I have recorded. Triplets and quatrains also appear, but the structural core of nearly all such prayers is the couplet. Ch’orti’ healing prayers follow a fully consistent pattern of parallelistic formation. Couplets and other forms of parallelism are creatively employed in each performance, yet following strict structural constraints. While the macro-level creativity of the ritual specialist is expressed within these constraints of form, specific dyads and vocabulary combinations are consistently drawn upon at the micro-level. Most pairings are well-known and standard to the genre, but their combined use in performance allows for innovation based on the specifics of the disease and the caprice of the healer. The *sine qua non* of healing prayers is parallelistic presentation; healers themselves, however, select the content within those formulations in each case as the situation requires. For example, many healing prayers are built around a prescribed skeletal core, the terms *ensak* and *enyax*, “white” (associated with the direction north) and “blue/green” (associated with the center, not one of the cardinal direction), respectively. In the first line of the couplet the first noun will be preceded by *ensak* and the paired noun in the second line by *enyax*. For example, *A’si tamar enyax alaguna, ensak alaguna*, (“They come playing in the green lagoon, the white lagoon”). Here *ensak* and *enyax* act as a poetic framing device for paired items, and their structure is fixed. The accompanying verbal phrase and noun/noun phrase, however, are up to the discretion of the healer. Hence, creativity abounds within certain confines of prescribed structural forms.

At other times when the immediate and ongoing nature of the action is the focus within the parallelism, two forms are used, *ch’a’r* and *war*. In Ch’orti’, *ch’a’r* is a perfect participle of a positional verb and means “lies (down),” and *war* is the present progressive marker. In ritual texts, however, *ch’a’r* is used functionally as a present progressive marker and is regularly paired with *war*. The following excerpt from a healing prayer⁷ is notable for both its informative

⁷Ch’orti’ healing performances are best described as prayers rather than incantations, charms, or chants. Healers address specific deities asking for particular types of aid in each prayer, so creativity and adaptation to the individual circumstances of the patient are crucial. In terms of cadence, the prayers, however, can indeed have a chant-like quality in performance, especially when standard paralleled forms are used.

discussion on the origins of a certain eye disease caused by sorcery and its highly poetic style, interweaving triplet constructions (lines 7-9, 12-14) within numerous couplet expressions, and showing the paired use of *ch'a'r* and *war*:

- (4)
1. *E luser xe'k'ob'ir koche'ra ja'xto e ti'n uk'ajtyo'b'e ti'n aketpa naku'tob',*
 2. *k'ani awitk'a anaku'tob.*
 3. *Ja'x e ti'n ajna't yajjentob' uk'ajtyo'b'.*
 4. *Ja'xto ch'a'r takar uprinsipo u'tob',*
 5. *take'e nukir lusera,*
 6. *Prinsipo de Lusero.*
 7. *Ch'a'r taka ub'osya'n jararyo'b',*
 8. *Ch'a'r atanlum ujararyo'b',*
 9. *Ch'a'r atanlum.*
 10. *War apok'omyo'b',*
 11. *War t'ot'omya'n jararyo'b'.*
 12. *Ajch'ujrja' Ausente de Lusero,*
 13. *Ajch'ujrja' Ausente de Lusera de Don Paskwal Nube de Pulsera.*
 14. *Ch'a'r ach'ujje'yrjarari'.*
 15. *War ab'osya'n,*
 16. *War atanlumjararyo'b'.*
 17. *Ch'a'r amotz'mo'b'jararyo'b',*
 18. *War amotz'mo'b'b'akyo'b'ya'.*

1. The star that is big like this, that's the one to which some people ask that
the eyes of some others remain shut,
2. your eyes will burst open.
3. The ones who ask this are people who work in black magic.
4. Those are lying with Prince of their expressions,
5. with the Great Star,
6. Prince of the Star.
7. Lying with their burning eyes infecting rays,
8. Lying are your 'dust-in-the-eyes' infecting rays,
9. Lying is your 'dust-in-the-eyes'.
10. They are festering,
11. They are blistering with infecting rays.
12. The Strainer Murdered-Spirit Star,
13. The Strainer Murdered-Spirit Star of Don Pascual Pulsing Cloud.
14. They are straining with the infecting rays,
15. They are burning the eyes,
16. They are dusting the eyes with infecting rays.
17. They are piling on with infecting rays,
18. They are piling on the bones indeed.

The consistent repetition of parallel lines of discourse automatically creates an ideal canvas for the aesthetics of prosody to make their mark. Indeed, the prosodic aspects of ritual prayers are some of their most distinctive features. The cadence of delivery beautifully compliments the poetic structure already found in the paralleled lines. The resulting forms are hypnotic and repetitive, while simultaneously elevating the speech to one worthy of discourse with deities. Furthermore, in lines 7-18 the content of the prayer is specific to the disease being discussed, but the presentation of that material falls within the standard structuring device of the paired forms *ch'a'r* and *war*. Again, creativity flourishes within certain genre-specific constraints.

Bilingual Parallelism

Drawing upon linguistic resources from two or more languages provides a wealth of forms and nuances to choose from in the construction of parallel discourse. For Ch'orti' ritual specialists, bilingual parallelism is a standard practice for the already stated pragmatic purposes. A particularly favored form is the Type 3 use of Spanish, that is, juxtaposing a Ch'orti' term in one line of a couplet with a synonymous Spanish form in the other. The following example contains several instances of this poetic device. The context is a healing prayer for someone suffering from an eye disease caused by the planet Venus ("Don Pascual"):

- (5)
- | | |
|-----|---|
| 1. | <i>Ch'a'r usaktokarir o'k,</i> |
| 2. | <i>Ch'a'r usaktokarir <u>akwerpo</u>,</i> |
| 3. | <i>Tya'a'si wate't tama e Pwerta Poniente Kristo,</i> |
| 4. | <i>Don Paskwal de Lusero Briyante.</i> |
| 5. | <i>Ink'ajti usaktokarir oy't,</i> |
| 6. | <i>usaktokarir <u>akwerpo</u>,</i> |
| 7. | <i>Ink'ajti uyempanyir uch'ijrje'yr o'yt,</i> |
| 8. | <i>uch'ijrje'yr ak'ab' tu'naku't Jwan.</i> |
| 9. | <i>Ink'ajti ubriyador <u>uyespejir</u> o'k,</i> |
| 10. | <i><u>uyespesjir</u> ak'ab'.</i> |
-
- | | |
|-----|--|
| 1. | There lies the blurring of your <u>feet</u> , |
| 2. | There lies the blurring of your <u>body</u> . |
| 3. | Where you come to play in the Western Portal of Christ, |
| 4. | Don Pascual of the Bright Star. |
| 5. | I ask for the blurring of your <u>eyes</u> , |
| 6. | the blurring of your <u>body</u> , |
| 7. | I ask for the blurring of the water-increasing of your eyes, |
| 8. | the water-increasing of your hands in the eyes of Juan. |
| 9. | I ask for the shininess of the <u>mirror</u> of your feet, |
| 10. | the <u>mirror</u> of your hands. |

In line 2 of example (5), the Spanish term *cuervo* (“body”) is used to compliment the Ch’orti’ term *ok* (“foot”) in line 1. Similarly *cuervo* in line 6 is paired with *ut* (“eye”) in line 5. Then in line 9 and line 10 the Spanish word *espejo* (“mirror”) appears surrounded by Ch’orti’ possessive morphology (*u- . . . -ir*). Thus in this short excerpt we see both the use of Spanish paired with a native Ch’orti’ term (lines 1-2, 5-6) and the use of a Spanish term in both lines of the couplet (lines 9-10).

Nominal pairing

The pairing of Ch’orti’ and Spanish forms in couplets can have several manifestations, one of the more common being the use of nominals as in example (6):

- (6) 1. *Koche b’an atz’i ik’ab’a’*,
 2. *b’an atz’i inombre senyor.*
1. As thus are your names,
 2. thus are your names, Sirs.
- (7) 1. *Tya’ achpe’n inche’t nombrar*,
 2. *Ink’ab’qjsye’.*
1. Where I rose up I named you,
 2. I named you.

Example (6) contains nominal forms (Spanish *nombre* and Ch’orti’ *k’ab’a’*) for “name.” In example (7), however, the verb “to name” (Spanish *nombrar*) appears in both parts. In standard Ch’orti’ practice when adapting Spanish verbs into Ch’orti’, the general Ch’orti’ verb “to do” *che* is used in conjunction with the Spanish infinitive form, here *nombrar*. Verbal pairing will be discussed further below.

Ch’orti’ ritual specialists take clear advantage of both lexical sources available to them when forming paralleled lines. This fortuitous circumstance allows them to cogently construct couplets at times when an exact synonymous noun is desired but absent in Ch’orti’. Note the following case:

- (8) 1. *tu’ t e rum*,
 2. *tu’ t e tierra*
1. on the earth,
 2. on the land.

In Ch'orti' *rum* is the only term that can refer to "land" or "earth,"⁸ so the speaker employed the Spanish term *tierra* to appropriately complete this synonymous couplet in example (8).

There is evidently no restriction or perceivable preference on whether the Ch'orti' or Spanish noun appears in the first or second stich of a verse:

- (9)
1. *Ch'a'r e Noxi' **Rey Kilis Kilisante**,*
 2. *Ch'a'r a'si taka **uyogamiente**.*
 3. *Uwala,*
 4. *uwich'.*
-
1. The Great King Kilis Kilisante lies there,
 2. Lies playing with his drowning.
 3. His wings,
 4. His wings.

In example (8) the Ch'orti' form was used in the first stich, but in example (9) the Spanish *ala* appears first and the Ch'orti' equivalent *wich'* is found in the subsequent stich.

Sometimes a nominal form will only be used in one line and another grammatical category in the other:

- (10)
1. *To'yt ne't matuk'a engaño.*
 2. *Maja'x majresb'iret kocha no'n.*
-
1. In your eyes you have no deception.
 2. You are not deceived like us.

Line 1 of example (10) contains the Spanish noun *engaño* ("deception"), whereas line 2 shows a perfect past participle *majresb'ir* ("deceived"), here functioning as an adjective. The semantic correlation is justification enough for the existence of the couplet.

The creative processes involved with bilingual parallelism can be further amplified through semantic extensions. In the following curing prayer the healer identifies the level of the Otherworld from which the afflicting evil spirits hails:

- (11)
1. *Ya' ch'a'r e **17 estado***
 2. ***e 17 puerta***
 3. ***e 17 grado de infernal del mundo***
 4. ***tamar e 4 koykin del mundo de infernal***
 5. ***e 4 esquinera del mundo de infernal***

⁸The term *rum* in Ch'orti' has a broad semantic range, referring to "dirt," "ground," "plot of land," "area," "land," "country," and "earth." No canonical pair is known to exist in any stage of Ch'orti' nor in ritual vocabulary.

1. There they lie (in) the 17th level,
2. the 17th portal,
3. the 17th stage of the infernal world,
4. in the 4 supports of the infernal world,
5. the 4 corner [supports] of the infernal world.

Lines 1-3 of example (11) form a triplet that shows ellipsis in lines 2 and 3. Three synonyms in Spanish describing the “levels” of the Otherworld are used. In the locative prepositional phrase in lines 4 and 5, the healer states that evil spirits are at the four corner posts that support the earth in Ch’orti’ mythology. Note that in line 4 the healer uses the Ch’orti’ term *koykin*, which usually refers to a roof support beam in typical Ch’orti’ houses. It is paired in line 5 with the Spanish term *esquinera* (“corner”). While “support” and “corner” may on the surface not seem to be an ideal synonymous pairing, in Ch’orti’ thought the corners of the world are where the four pillar-supports of the world are located, and so share an intimate geographic relationship. The creativity in this couplet lies in the use of *koykin*, which is not applied to the world pillar-supports in daily speech, but only to house roof supports. The notion of “support,” however, sufficed to create a proper parallelism.

Verb Phrase Parallelism

Verbs and verb phrases can also be poetically paired using Type 3 bilingual parallelism. Functionally this form is valued by Ch’orti’ ritual specialists because Spanish infinitives can be incorporated into poetic verse, but with an additional caveat not found with nominal pairings. In spoken Ch’orti’ today, Spanish verbs are commonly used but only after a degree of morphological integration, that is, all such verbs must be preceded by the Ch’orti’ verb *che*, meaning “to do” or “to make.” Note the following example:

- (12)
1. *Chenik levantar.*
 2. *Chenik retirar uyespiritu inmediateamente.*
 3. *Día kone’r.*
 4. *y día noche.*
-
1. Lift it [out],
 2. Remove it [from] his spirit immediately.
 3. Day today,
 4. and day tonight.

In example (12) the healer speaks to some among the myriad of deities who are invoked to help cure a patient. In line 1 the second-person plural jussive form (*chen-ik*) is used to call upon those supernatural patrons for divine assistance in “lifting out” the afflicting disease from the person.⁹

⁹Wisdom provides a good description of this process. For a patient who suffers from intestinal worms caused by sorcery, Wisdom states (1940:350, compare 325, 355): “The curer passes his hands over his patient, who is lying on a bed, and imitates a pulling movement in the air, the purpose of which is to pull the worms out.”

In lines 1 and 2 the Ch'orti' verb form *chenik* precedes the Spanish infinitive (*levantar* and *retirar*, respectively). The primary verb in this instance is Spanish in both lines, with the addition of a Ch'orti' element. This use of a generic verb “do” or “make” in conjunction with a Mayan verb is also attested in Tojolob'al (Furbee 2000:101).

In other cases the verb phrase appears fully language-specific in each line of the couplet:

- (13) 1. *Te pido* *Madre Santisima,*
 2. *Ink'ajti e ajgorgortu',*
 3. *e ajgorgortata',*
 4. *e ajgorgor-Espiritu Santo.*

1. I ask you Holiest Mother,
 2. I ask you the Mother Seed,
 3. the Father Seed,
 4. the Corn Seed.

In example (13) the ritual specialist pleads with Mother Earth to bless the seeds that are being placed in the ground. The Spanish verb phrase *te pido* (“I ask you”) is paired with the Ch'orti' *ink'ajti* (“I ask [you]”), followed by a triplet construction containing different ritual terms for corn seeds.

Grammatical Parallelism

The paralleled element can also be grammatical:

- (14) 1. *War uk'ajti e permiso* *Lucero de Malo,*
 2. *Está pidiendo permiso con la Reina,*
 3. *taka e Katu',*
 4. *War uk'ajti e permiso* *kochwa e familia e Katu' Reina.*
1. It is asking permission [from] *Lucero de Malo* (‘Evil Star’),
 2. It is asking permission from the Queen (the Moon),
 3. from the Moon,
 4. It is asking permission for those such as the children of the Moon.

This culturally complex verse in example (14) refers to a celestial phenomenon in which the moon and Venus rise together on the horizon. The Ch'orti' say that when this happens, Venus is “asking” the moon for permission to kill some of her children (that is, humans on earth). She concedes and the Ch'orti' believe that when these two celestial bodies rise in tandem, there will be a fight to the death in one of the villages that night since Venus is the god of war and strife. That stated, note the elegant use of Type 3 bilingual parallelism in line 1-2 by mimicking the grammatical structure of the present continuous “*war + verb*” in Ch'orti'. Line 2 contains an exact Spanish translation of that verb phrase. In addition, the healer poetically alternates the

names for the moon, first by using the Spanish form *Reina* in line 2, then the Ch’orti’ term *Katu’* in line 3, and then combines them together as *Reina Katu’* in line 4. Also of note is the use of ellipsis in line 3 and the explanatory line 4 that appears either as a monocolon or as the third element in a complex triplet construction.

As we saw earlier in example (10), sometimes the parallelism does not depend on grammatical similarity, but only on the general semantic relationship between two lexemes in the different stichs:

- (15) 1. *tya’ xujch’na utuminob’*,
 2. **robador** *tijtjutir*.
1. where his monies were stolen,
 2. **robber** fright.

In example (15) the semantics of the verb in line 1 correlate to the noun in line 2, both relating to the idea of “stealing.” Parallelism is created strictly on semantics, despite grammatical dissimilarity.

Textual Analysis of the Benefits from Bilingual Parallelism

For the modern researcher of indigenous languages, bilingual parallelism can be a considerable aid in determining obscure meanings in ritual forms of speech. Ritual vocabulary in Ch’orti’, for example, is sometimes so archaic and suspended in a formulaic sequence that even the ritual specialists themselves no longer know what particular words mean. Other times, their concepts are complex and often resist simple definitions. In both of these cases, juxtaposed forms employing bilingual parallelism can offer general insights into meanings. Let me illustrate this with a few challenging terms found in Ch’orti’ healing rites. The first I would like to discuss is *tijtjutir*. Note the following examples of its use:

- (16A) 1. *Tijtjutir*,
 2. **espanto** *caído*.
1. *Tijtjutir(?)*,
 2. Fallen Fright.
- (16B) 1. ***Ogamiento*** *tijtjutir hombre*,
 2. ***ogamiento*** **espanto** *de hombryob’ atz’i*.
1. Drowning Evil Spirit *tijtjutir(?)* of Men,
 2. Drowning Evil Spirits Fright of Men indeed.

- (16C) 1. *Ajgarradera tijtijutir*;
 2. *garradera espanto de hombryob' atz'i ya' che*.
1. Grabber *tijtijutir(?)*,
 2. Grabber Fright of Men indeed.
- (16D) 1. *Temblor tijtijutirob'*;
 2. *temblor espanto jolchan hombryob'*.
1. Shaker *tijtijutirs(?)*,
 2. Shaker Frights Infectious Heat Men
- (16E) 1. *Ch'a'r kalor tijtijutir*;
 2. *kalor espanto jolchanob'*.
1. Lying there is the Evil Eye *tijtijutir(?)*,
 2. Evil Eye Fright Infectious Heaters.
- (16F) 1. *Sudor tijtijutir*;
 2. *sudor espanto jolchanob'*.
1. Sweat *tijtijutir(?)*,
 2. Sweat Fright Infectious Heaters.

In each of the cases in example (16), the term *tijtijutir* derives from the verbal root *tij* in Ch'orti' meaning "to leap." The reduplicated form *tijtij* is commonly conjoined to the derived noun *jutir*, ("eye," "face," "expression," "appearance"). The resulting form, *tijtijutir*, is a highly common term found in healing prayers. The literal meaning of "jumping-expression" makes little sense. The consistent pairing of this ritual term that is drenched in mythological associations, however, provides some semantic control over its meaning. In all example (16) cases the Spanish term *espanto* ("fright") is given as a synonym for *tijtijutir*, suggesting *tijtijutir* similarly refers to a "fright." Yet that still does not adequately define the term, but rather offers some insights into its semantics. Culturally, the concept of "fright" is linked to notions of cause and effect in Ch'orti' mythology, whereby if one becomes frightened by something, one's spirit is said to "jump from fear," which makes one susceptible to the nefarious influences of evil spirits. Thus, in cases such as this, parallelism in ritual texts can enlighten mythologically and semantically dense terms.

Another example of this process is with the term *jolchan* in Ch'orti':

- (17) 1. *Ajcholchan de kolero*,
 2. *Ajflicción de kolero*.

1. *Ajcholchan(?)* of anger evil eye,
2. Affliction of anger evil eye.

In example (17) the term *jolchan*, pregnant with specific cultural and mythological associations, is paired with the Spanish *aflicción* (given as *aj-flicción*, the *aj-* being the Ch’orti’ agentive prefix) “affliction.” Once again this allows for some semantic understanding, that of *jolchan* being a form of “affliction.” The deeper meaning of the term, however, lies outside the Spanish semantics and refers to an infectious evil heat that emanates from malevolent spirits, which “afflicts” people and causes illness.

Certain ritual words whose meaning has been lost altogether can be illuminated through bilingual parallelism, even if that only involves a narrowing of their semantics:

- (18)
1. *Wajtij de hombre*,
 2. espanto de hombre.
-
1. *Wajtij(?)* of Man,
 2. Fright of Man.

Example (18) contains the term *watij* whose meaning is unknown to all of the healers I interviewed, yet its pairing with *espanto* (“fright”) in this context strongly suggests a synonymous or related meaning for *watij*.

Semantic Transference

As we saw in the previous section, Type 3 bilingual parallelism can provide some understanding for the meaning of juxtaposed terms by semantic association. What I have discussed above, however, was ways the Spanish terms could inform our understanding of complex ritual Ch’orti’ terms, in part at least. The flip side of this equation is that, from the viewpoint of the Ch’orti’ ritual specialist, many of the paired Spanish terms are being used as *synonyms* for the Ch’orti’ words, even if the Ch’orti’ forms have complex mythological associations not found in the original Spanish. We must therefore assume a degree of semantic transference in many cases from the Ch’orti’ onto the Spanish form. In such cases the Spanish terms can be viewed as assimilated into the ritual discourse such that they have become relexicalized with a similar semantic load to those in Ch’orti’.

By way of example, I have selected a single term, common in the Ch’orti’ mythological system, but for which no true Spanish (or likely any other language for that matter) equivalent exists: *mak*. In quotidian speech the verbal root *mak* means “close,” “cover,” “shut up,” or “block.” Illness in Ch’orti’ thought, is often attributed to a “blocking” (*mak-*) action by evil spirits. Note the following:

- (19)
1. Tapadorob’ malairob’,
 2. Cerrador de malaire ausentob’.

3. *Ja 'xto ch 'a 'r umakyo 'b 'u 't e ch 'urkab ',*
4. *Ja 'xto ya '.*

1. Blocker Evil Winds,
2. Blocker of Evil Wind Murdered Souls.
3. That's who it is who is lying there blocking the child,
4. That's who it is.

In this divination ceremony in example (19), the healer is told by her pulsating calf (*k'in*) that certain evil spirits are “blocking” the baby in the mother’s womb. Here blocking could be seen as quite a literal action; however, in other cases *mak* can refer more generally to disruptive and menacing actions of evil spirits. Lines 1 and 2 pair two Spanish terms, *tapador* and *cerrador*, both meaning “closer” or “blocker.” These link to line 3 where the Ch’orti’ verb *umakyo 'b'* (“they block”) (that is, they cause illness that is causing the baby to not be born) is given as the specific actions the “Blockers” were engaged in.

The disease-carrying nature of such blocker-spirits can also be seen in example (20), where evil spirits are said to be involved with a solar eclipse:

- (20)
1. *A'si tamar urabanilla de Katata ',*
 2. *tamar umakchanir,*
 3. *uruedir umakchanir uyok.*
 4. *Ch 'a 'r amakajryo 'b '.*
 5. *War amakb 'akyob ' yaja ' ja 'xto.*
 6. *Ch 'a 'r asijb 'ij jararyo 'b ja 'xto,*
 7. *Jitjityanir u 'tob 'ya '.*
 8. *Insolo ajtapadir de Kilis,*
 9. *Travesador.*
 10. *Ch 'a 'r takar utapadir u 'tob ',*
 11. *utapadir uxamb 'arob 'ya ',*
 12. *ucerrador ya ',*
 13. *umakchanir uruedir de Katata ' tichan.*

 1. They play in the ring of Sun God,
 2. in his rainbow,
 3. the circle of the ring of his feet.
 4. They are “blocking,”
 5. They are “blocking” there indeed.
 6. They are causing inflammation with infectious rays indeed.
 7. They are tying up tightly the surface there.
 8. It's just Blocker Eclipse,
 9. The Mischief Causer.
 10. Lying there with the ‘blocking’ of their appearance,
 11. the “blocking” of their movements there.

12. their straining there,
13. the rainbow of the ring of the Sun God above.

Lines 1-3 of example (20) describe the actions of evil spirits “playing” (*a’si*) around the rings of the sun (*parhelia*). The rings are known as *makchan* in Ch’orti’ (literally, “rainbow”), but further parses as *mak* “close” and *chan* “snake” since rainbows are thought of as giant snakes that “cover” or “block” the sky. It is there in the *makchan* that evil spirits are said, in lines 4-5, to be “blocking.” In line 9 we find out that another evil spirit causing the blockage is known as Kilis, that is, Eclipse. Kilis is said to be *Ajtapadir* in lines 9-11, with *aj-* being a Ch’orti’ agentive prefix and *tapadir*, from the Spanish verb *tapar*, meaning “blocker,” that is, One who Blocks. The notion of “blocking” seems transparent enough between the two languages, yet the Ch’orti’ term carries additional semantic weight, that of causing disease—something utterly absent from the Spanish *tapar*. So while the Ch’orti’ curer uses forms of *mak-* and the Spanish *tapar* seemingly as synonyms, a substantial semantic transference takes place onto the form *tapadir* to mean not only a literal blocking of the sun during a solar eclipse but also the illnesses that come with an eclipse in Ch’orti’ thought, all of which is part of the semantics of the ritual use of the root *mak-*.

One final example also shows this principle to be at work:

- (21) 1. *Ch’a’r amakajryo’b’.*
 2. *Ajtapador ausente.*
1. They lie “blocking.”
 2. “Blocker” Murdered Soul.

In example (21) the healer mixes grammatical categories in the construction of the parallelism with an intransitive verb *amakajryo’b’* (“they block”) paired with an agentive noun in Spanish *ajtapador* (“blocker”). The evil spirit that is said to be “blocking” (read: causing illness) is an “*ausente*,” a wandering soul in limbo who was murdered while in this life. The Spanish agentive *tapador* in line 2 receives the same semantic load as the Ch’orti’ root *mak-* in line 1, that of causing illness, not simply the act of blocking *per se*.

Conclusion

The ability to draw upon two linguistic sources can be a creative boon for cultures whose poetry includes paralleled lines. This study contributes to our increasing understanding of what I have termed “bilingual parallelism,” that is, parallelism involving the pairing of synonymous terms from different languages in a distich.

As shown above, poetic structuring of Ch’orti’ ritual texts is a defining feature of the discourse. In traditional healing rites, prayers are obligatorily offered in paralleled lines, principally in the form of couplets. Combined with a highly specialized vocabulary that is far removed from that of daily speech, formal poetic structuring in ritual contexts has a pragmatic

function of elevating the social status of ritual specialists. Today among the Ch'orti' healers are keepers of traditional poetics in their society, an art form that is precariously close to disappearing. What the above discussion makes clear, however, is that healers and other ritual specialists are the poets of the Ch'orti' people, still tapped into archaic discourse structuring techniques. While some canonical pairings within curing prayers are standardized, healers show considerable creativity and expertise in poetically constructing their petitions by making use of numerous types of parallelism (synonymous, antithetical, grammatical, and so on), ellipsis, augmentation, chiasmus, and others. What the rise of bilingualism in Spanish among the Ch'orti' created was an opportunity to exploit two lexicons in the formation of parallelisms. The influx of Spanish vocabulary, however, must be viewed as intrusive in some cases since those terms replaced native Ch'orti' forms. The innovative aspect of the introduction of Spanish vocabulary into Ch'orti' ritual speech was augmenting it with terms that indexed the sociocultural status of Spanish language while maintaining appropriate parallelistic discourse forms. This bolstering of poetic speech can be seen as a strategy whereby healers sought to raise their own status through the sociocultural status of Spanish. Such communication with the divine for Ch'orti' ritual specialists requires a distinctive form of address, one containing the aesthetic beauties of the paralleled line—the language of gods.

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Parallelism and the Composition of Oral Narratives in Banda Eli

Timo Kaartinen

Roman Jakobson defines (1977 [1919]:25) parallelism as “le rapprochement de deux unités” (“the bringing together of two elements”; translation quoted in Fox 1988:3) so that they are perceived and interpreted in relation to one another. Parallelism is most obvious as a feature of formal, poetic style, and within this context it serves as a poetic function that projects the equivalence of two sound patterns or meanings from the axis of selection (“ladies,” “gentlemen,” “friends,” “colleagues,” “readers,” and so on) to the axis of combination (“Ladies and Gentlemen!” (Jakobson 1960:358). The resulting message stands out as an image of the kind of language and behavioral control required by such occasions as public address, funeral, or worship. In this sense parallelism and related poetic resources contribute to the holistic organization of discourse that signifies an appropriate register of interaction (Kataoka 2012:105). When parallelism is present in artistic, public, and ritual domains of language use, it reflects conscious, aesthetic categories of language practice; at the same time its use reflects the speakers’ ability to align their self-presentation and status with those categories. This begs the question, how is “naturally occurring speech” organized through parallelism and related devices? How do speakers deploy these resources when framing interactions and how do they embody participant roles in them?

These questions arise from my study of an Eastern Indonesian linguistic minority that is centered on two villages in the remote Kei Islands. The founders of these villages were exiled from the islands of Banda in Central Maluku when the Dutch East India Company conquered their ancestral home in 1621. For almost four centuries they have maintained a distinct language called *tur wandan*, or Bandanese, that presently has about 5000 speakers (Collins and Kaartinen 1998). The language’s survival is threatened by mass urbanization, but it is still valued by the geographically dispersed Banda community¹ as a medium of in-group communication. During my early fieldwork among this group in the 1990s (Kaartinen 2010 and 2013), I found that parallelism was prominent in artistic and eloquent speech by those who presented themselves as mediators between the inside and outside of this linguistic and social world. These speakers, most of whom were born before the Indonesian Independence in 1945, embodied the dialogic potential underpinned by the linguistic boundary between the Banda people and outsiders. Their use of parallelistic expressions objectified a sense of Bandanese as the language of authority and

¹ With Banda community, I refer to people who self-consciously identify themselves as “people of Banda,” or *Wandan sio*.

wisdom that derived from personal and collective histories of long-distance maritime travel and of contacts with powerful outsiders. Urbanization and the increase in use of the national language of Indonesian in daily communication among the Bandanese have amounted to the collapse of the value-creating boundary between the village domain and what the Bandanese used to call the “world of trade.” An interesting question is how the use of Bandanese as an expression of personal wit and cultural competence resonates with the contemporary experience and predicament of people using it today.

John W. Du Bois (2014:363) has emphasized the particular role of parallelism in generating dialogic resonance that encourages speakers to engage with each other’s speech, adopting its structures even as they contest, subvert, or concur with its meaning. Whereas Bakhtin’s (1981:259-422 and 1986:60-102) notion of dialogue focuses on the “responsive understanding” of single utterances and literary works, Du Bois (2014:369) expands his analysis to higher-order dialogic constructions that reveal how speakers revitalize and innovate potential analogies that can be produced between sequences of linguistic form and meaning. Dialogic parallelism is significant for language learning because it enhances the speakers’ fluent use of particular words and structures (*ibid.*:380) and allows them to playfully subvert ethnic hierarchies and the social organization of speech (Cekaite and Aronsson 2005; León 2007:408). While parallelism always involves an element of repetition in that it unfolds through dialogic reiterations across turn-taking in conversation (León 2007:407), Du Bois (2014:376-402) argues that dialogic parallelism is never just “slavish” repetition or mimicry. On the contrary, a parallel choice of words or syntactic structure is a sign of the speakers’ engagement with the ongoing dialogic discourse. Deepening engagement coincides with the selective reproduction of elements from preceding discourse, as I will demonstrate with reference to Bandanese narrative discourse.

Similar arguments have been made about repetition itself in sound play, complex figures of speech, and various experiments in child discourse (Tannen 1987:577). While repetition serves various conversational functions such as evaluation, expansion, repair, and floor-holding (Haviland 1996:63; Kataoka 2012:105), it can also appear as a distinctly poetic device that frames interaction as performance (Hymes 1981:81-86) or builds up the intensity of a narrative figure before fully revealing its meaning (Herzfeld 1996:293). In the latter case, it is useful to think about repetition as a gesture that objectifies a particular point of view towards a narrative or message and encodes a potential location of the speaker’s or listener’s self inside or outside narrative events (Kataoka 2012:113-14).

I explore the role of repetition and parallelism in maintaining language as an internally differentiated resource for communication, I attempt to show that both constitute resources for the dialogic reiteration and expansion of meaning (Tannen 1987:576). In the Bandanese context repetition and parallelism evidence subjective commitments to a language that embodies personal and collective memories. Verbatim repetitions of narrative figures and linguistic forms serve as memory aids for storytellers and also signifies the self-conscious history of performing a particular narrative (Siikala 1990:84). Bandanese singers and storytellers expect their audience to “remember” hidden and forgotten aspects of a personal past when they hear the narratives. The key to the song’s power to evoke such memories is reiterated words and phrases that index the nostalgia and anxiety of its participants. Repeated items are indexical in the sense that they point to the presence of similar feelings, perceptions, and experiences in the narrative characters, the

singer, and the audience (Stasch 2011:161). If dialogicality is fundamentally an “engagement with prior words and structures” (Du Bois 2014:372), such reiteration of narrative figures foregrounds a narrator’s deepening engagement with the narrative topic, even as he or she occasionally interrupts the performance with remarks about an acutely sick child or an absent, traveling relative to signal an affective concern that endures in the background. In Bandanese storytelling the reiteration of fragments from a previous discourse or performance by a well-known narrator is iconic of recovering the memory of distant events; as a result, this mode of repetition connects the currently unfolding discourse to an ancestral tradition imagined as a quasi-mental object (Silverstein and Urban 1996:2; Kataoka 2012:106).

Whereas repetition may incorporate the experience and interpretation of the present into larger historical frameworks, parallelism objectifies the coherence of meaning that emerges from analogies and contrasts drawn from different perceptual, semantic, and linguistic domains. Taken together, repetition and parallelism in Bandanese discourse functions as distinct modes of selective reproduction that maintain a differentiated communicative world and serve to counter the erasure or simplification of the field of linguistic practices (Kuipers 1998:19).

Since the early seventeenth century, the boundaries of Bandanese and its internal differentiation have been sustained by its peculiar language ecology. Its vocabulary and complex grammar differ starkly from Evav, the language spoken by the Kei Islands majority. Rather than assimilating with their neighbors, the Bandanese have nurtured a perception of themselves as members of an ancient trade aristocracy that spans throughout all of Eastern Indonesia. The *lingua franca* of the regional elite is Malay, a close cognate of the modern national language of Indonesian. Valued forms of Bandanese speech make use of interlingual parallelism and code-switching between Bandanese and Indonesian/Malay to suggest a historical affinity between them. Interlingual parallelism is absent from everyday Bandanese interactions and is connected to specific registers of authoritative or powerful speech.

The Bandanese themselves differentiate two kinds of public speech. The first involves communicating with people who are familiar with each other’s daily activities and relationships to the point that they are vulnerable to gossip. Open, sincere debate about offensive speech is known among participants whose shared honor forces them to take each other seriously as “speaking inside the house.” In this framework, speakers express their anger in unmixed Bandanese, but those who seek to appease them and resolve conflict index their authority with interlingual parallelism. *Lingua franca* in this context represents the internalized point of view of outsiders witnessing the emerging unity and shared honor of disputing parties.

Another framework, “speaking outside the house,” refers to the speech of a chiefly figure. In this kind of speech, the use of Indonesian and other outside languages indexes the chief’s recognition as an equal with state authorities and the chiefs of other communities. The difference between the two frameworks lies in the intended audience. Speaking “outside the house” is directed to actual or imaginary outsiders, and the role of other villagers is merely to witness it. The inverse is the audience structure “inside the house,” in which speech is addressed to fellow villagers and witnessed by outsiders. The rhetorical effects of inside and outside speech depend on poetic language that transcends the immediate context of communication. Paul Friedrich (1991:23) has drawn attention to the interaction of poetic figures and their expansion into what he calls macrotropes: different ways of elaborating a personal stance or experience into a more

In these examples, parallelism between lexical items sums up various evaluative statements. Each pair consists of syntagmatically related elements from a particular semantic domain—small-craft navigation, littoral sea creatures, and domestic animals. Each pair draws attention to familiar features of such domains, and combining the terms renders an evaluative judgment about the essence of the person or place to which they refer. This cultural scheme corresponds to what Calvert Watkins (1995:15) designates a *merism*, a pair of lexical items that together refer to the totality of a single, higher concept, which is a rhetorical figure found in the poetics of many Indo-European languages.

Figurative expressions based on part-whole relationships also abound in oratorical speech, such as the opening address by the plaintiff during traditional court proceedings in 1992. At the culmination of his speech, the elder who represented the family of an eloped girl vented his anger by declaring that the shame he felt over the affair would fall on the whole village, including the family of the boy who had eloped with her:²

<i>Ak ta kormana feken te</i>	I will not say much more.
<i>Ak cakak limang futusa.</i>	I throw up my five and ten [fingers].
<i>Angu tukur muruka wa angu asal bangsa</i>	My little girl and my family honor
<i>Sanmasa Rumora kem fekensio</i>	The Sanmas, the Rumra, you all!

This passage contains three totalizing figures. In the second line, the word “five” (*lima*) combined with a first-person possessive ending (*-ng*) signifies one hand; “ten” (*futusa*) is used here in reference to both hands—a reference to the whole person, and figuratively to all hope. In the third line, the man’s female relative is likewise paired with his family honor. In the fourth line, the speaker refers to the opposing party by the names of two clans—conventionally paired together as “the Sanmas, the Rumra.” In each case the organizing trope is a synecdoche: the parallelism consists of paired images of the part and the whole.

The examples above are derived from highly evaluative discourse. The “two things that come together” in these figures of speech can be understood as two different points of view. The last example, drawn from the oratory of someone “speaking inside the house,” includes powerful rhetoric that totalizes the viewpoints of two parties in conflict. The small harm recognized by one party elicits complete, unbearable outrage and disgust in the other. Such rhetoric does not aim at proving that the other’s point of view is false, but rather at encompassing it within a more global viewpoint, as if appealing to an outside authority or witness as an objective judge of what is going on.

In the following narrative about a group of women planning to attend a volleyball match, parallelism is present in a different, more playful evaluation of behavior. The women in the narrative use parallel expressions to describe what the audience of the match will think about them, and probably shout aloud to tease the players (narrated to Kaartinen in 1995):

Kam kutukul ta komokaik voli. Ya kam ta kutukul komokaik bal. Bal voli. Makayo nako komokot mencia rononton si romalik kami, liliani kam komokot mukan kafanin inbali wa kuar raronon. Kam

²Recorded by Kaartinen in 1992; see also Collins and Kaartinen (1998:553-55).

komokot mukan keleik wasa wa tasik. Ka t[ɨ]ada bal, ta komokaiko. Makayo kam kiliamami, ta andesa, katong kamasok wa lapangan. Fisa kumtet maka na komolo wa funuo, rumo raronu, i tobaing. Nake kamasok wa lapangan mukan ife kan paling gaga, toh. Makayo liliami, mesti okokon fe ka masok wa lapangan raronu, fisa si ralo kumtet kukuru maka. Makayo anjia sain fa liling kam komokot bal fe liliani, mbokot ta mbokaik weyo paksa maka, na mbokot maka. Kam kiliamami, ta andesa. Ta mungkin na ka minyak mbo na oskola langsung mbokaik baik, ya.

We were arguing about not knowing how to play volley. Yes, we do not seem to know how to play ball. Volleyball. Thus when we play people watching will laugh, saying we play as if we were carrying *embal*³ in a basket on our backs. We play as if we were lifting small fish with a net from the sea. If you do not have a ball, you can't know. Then we said, "it's no problem," we just enter the playing field. We shouldn't just stay in the village in the house, that's no good. Isn't it really great if we just enter the playing field like that? We said, "even if it's our first time in the field, let's not just stand in place like chickens." Then they see this thing, they see us playing ball, even if we don't know we just force ourselves to do it and just play. We'll say: "it's no problem. You cannot possibly know everything when you first begin to go to school."

Note the following interlinear parallelism:

kam komokot mukan kafanin inbali wa kuar raronu

We play as if we were carrying *embal* in a basket on our backs

kam komokot mukan keleik wasa wa tasik

We play as if we were lifting small fish with a net from the sea

The imagined calls from the audience use two parallel metaphors drawn from the domain of food-production. In the first metaphor the women compare their clumsy attempt to hit a ball over one's head with the typical posture of someone carrying a basket of food attached to her head. In the second metaphor they compare an inept attempt to raise a low ball with the movements of dropping and lifting a fishnet in the shallows. In both cases the women refer to routine bodily postures: as unseasoned players, they think that they will look more like peasants than athletes.

It is not obvious what motivates the choice of these metaphors. Probably the most significant factor is that they describe situations in which the women often observe each other. Garden work as well as littoral fishing are the kinds of work that most commonly allow women to spend time with their female neighbors. Sports are the equivalent of such activities in the less familiar domain of "leisure." Even as the playful language *reveals* the analogy between sport and work, it brings to mind other possible analogies drawn from the speakers' experience of joint labor. The repeated phrase, *kam komokot mukan k-*, creates the affordance, or a contingent opportunity, for responding to one image with another.

Another generative schema behind this example is the sea-land axis, one of the principal coordinates of social space and a classification known throughout the Austronesian world. The

³"Bitter cassava roots."

narrator pairs the image of walking in the interior of the island with another of wading in the sea. Much of the power of parallelism that organizes this type of discourse is derived from the speakers' habitus, their embodied inclination to evaluate and act on the world in typical ways (Hanks 1996:239).

Repetition and the Organization of Discourse

I have suggested that Bandanese speakers use semantic parallelism as a device for organizing images and concepts into tropes. The way in which parallel expressions are used to draw items from a specific paradigm of classification and place them on the syntagmatic axis is perhaps most obvious in the highly conventional, short evaluations of persons, places, and groups. In the case of the narrative that I have just described, there is no clear source paradigm for the paired items: the relevant classifications are implicit in the speakers' past experience and their habitual perceptions and practices.

Kuniyoshi Kataoka (2012:105) argues that repetition is not so much about the organization of discourse as it is about diction: distinctive styles of speaking that mark the ethos of an ongoing interaction. But in order to achieve this, the style of speaking must connect the present with classifications and habits that participants can recognize from their previous experiences. In addition to conversational functions, repetition in Bandanese speech draws attention to the requests, affects, and "quests" of narrative characters, overlaying the indexical ground constructed by the narrative on the here-and-now. A repeated request, which could be constructed as a nuisance, appears as compelling politeness when it is reiterated as a sequence in a narrative. Consider this short letter of introduction carried by James T. Collins on his visit to Banda Eli in 1977 (Collins and Kaartinen 1998:547):

<i>Meme Saibetu.—</i>	Uncle Saibetu—
<i>Mbomlango Mito Macia</i>	Take care of and look after the person
<i>Nganin Surat ini ngong kana</i>	bearing this letter; when he arrives
<i>Ngin War Tosa Wa Rumo.—</i>	[Give] him a little water to drink at your house.—
<i>Biar War Rindidino.—</i>	Allow some cool water for him.—
<i>Tolong mimitoi.</i>	Please look after him

The reiteration of the request at the end of the letter is obvious parallelism. It is worth noting, however, that the two lines insist that the request is only for a glass of water when the writer in fact asks for a major act of hospitality. If the word *war* ("water") were not repeated, it would only appear as part of an instruction—not as a poetic figure.

It is more difficult to recognize repetition as a poetic device when it occurs in informal narratives. In this context repetition is obviously a means of floor-holding and signals to a listener that a speaker intends to continue his or her performance. This floor-holding repetition also creates an overlay between two referential grounds: the time of narrative actions and the

time of narrating them. Several instances of these overlapping times can be observed in a narrative about a child fetching a brush from a neighbor who had borrowed it:⁴

Ica lian, Airoko, ak na kok bacuci, ak liang, mbo mala kito na sikat wa Rozita. Makayo i ngombeik ngo ngala. Rozita lian, wa laman ak ko kala ko wa atei Mboitiki i mbertiko.

- Mboitiki Sanmas?

- Mboitiki Sanmas, na fam Sanmas. Makayo i ngombaito ngo ngala. Sain ka mboloman ak ko kala. Wa Atei Mboitiki ku. Ngombait ngo ngala wa Atei Mboitiki, Atei Mboitiki lian, i ngala tapi e mbeifino sa loko ngala lok wa i loko tapi i ta mbokaik mensia ino. Nalaino ta mbokaik mensia nalan se naino. Makayo Rozita ngombeiko, ndaut wa inano. Ai, ka motok, mbaso sikat sa. Na kantiko. Na kantiko. Muntei Nyora nala sikat. Makayo inan fe roko, na katatsa, inan fe roko ormana sa, ife i na ormana ruo telu te, na ormana ruo telu inan te, makayo inan na pusing. Inan na pusing, nala kai sa, makayo ndukul molo uluno. Tarus, ulun raran . . . ulun ndatafak tarus raran keluar.

Raran keluar, tarus i ndaut, mbanting aino, i ndaut nyakak aino fa mulut ke liar.

- Ica said, "Auntie, I'm going to wash the laundry." I said: "Go and get our brush from Rozita's." Thus she went there to take it. Rozita said, "Wait a minute, I'll go to get it from Grandma Mboitiki who borrowed it."

- Mboitiki Sanmas?

- Mboitiki Sanmas, from the Sanmas clan. Then she went there to get it. "Wait with this and I'll go get it. At Grandma Mboitiki's." She went to get it from Grandma Mboitiki, and Grandma Mboitiki said she had had it, but another girl had also come there to take it, but she did not know her. Her name, she did not know the name of the person who had it. Then Rozita came back crying for her mother. "Mother, quickly, buy a brush. I [have to] replace it. I [have to] replace it. Grandma Nyora's brush." Then her mother went out, and she was angry. Her mother went out to talk to one person, then to another and a third, she had talked to two or three people, and then her mother was upset. Her mother was upset, she took a log like this and hit her child's head. Then, there was blood on her head . . . the head had a wound and blood came out.

Blood came out, and she cried, stamping her foot. She cried stamping her feet and yelled.

This narrative follows the trajectory of a lost brush searched for by people who had borrowed it from one another. The language that describes the sequence of borrowing in the first underlined clause re-iterates three times the word *loko* ("again"); the next sentence echoes this pattern by repeating the syllable *na* thrice. The first instance of repetition is simply an index of narrative time. Together, the two instances make up a parallel expression; this, however, is not a semantic parallelism but only repeats and modulates a pattern of sound. Thus the narrator foregrounds repetition itself, creating a comical image of actions that happen in sequence. The repeated pattern signifies rushing from door to door in order to find the brush.

⁴The repetitions that will be discussed below are underlined. The opening of this narrative is discussed in Collins and Kaartinen (1998:552).

The next case is the phrase *na kantiko* (“I [have to] replace it”) that is said by the anxious child to her mother. Taken as such, repeating the child’s quoted speech simply appears as a device for animating her voice. Again, however, it is echoed by another repetition in the dramatic sequence in which the mother, upset by the argument about the brush, hits her child on the head; the child begins to bleed:

<i>Inan na pusing, nala kai sa,</i>	His mother was upset and took a log,
<i>makayo ndukul molo uluno.</i>	and then she hit her on her head.
<i>Tarus ulun raran . . .</i>	Then there was blood on her head . . .
<i>ulun ndatafak tarus raran kaluar.</i>	the head had a wound and <u>blood came out</u> .
<i>Raran kaluar; tarus i ndaut [. . .]</i>	<u>Blood came out</u> , and she cried [. . .]

If poetics is understood as figurative language that *makes present* the subject of talk and thus primes a possible, dialogic response to it, then repetition counts as a poetic device. In the examples discussed above, repetition occurs in a context in which personal names provide an index of immediacy and familiarity. An evaluative phrase or punchline that underlines a scandalous or upsetting turn of events de-centers the narrative from this indexical context and finalizes it with reference to the expectations of gossip or some other distinct genre. Repeating the phrase allows the storyteller to engage with the genre perspective he or she has just evoked with a new point of view that involves an element of sympathy or understanding. In this sense, repetition can amount to a dialogic engagement between different, narrative points of view—creating new interpretive possibilities or “affordances” in the same sense as DuBois argues for parallelism.

The Composition of Oral Narratives

There is no clean analytic boundary between parallelism and repetition. Nevertheless my recordings and discussions of Bandanese oral poetry in the 1990s revealed that performers and audiences had a different aesthetic preference for the two. A typical performance of a traditional song progressed by introducing a short phrase that was repeated and expanded when a singer performed the next line. I (Kaartinen 2013:393) have suggested elsewhere that it is a variety of *anadiplosis*, a repetitive phrase that connects two segments of a poem and creates a measured pattern:⁵

fa muruka Sambalain jaga m raut
fa muruka Sambalain jaga m raut fa munjia raron sini

The little Sambalain keeps crying
 The little Sambalain keeps crying because it is dark

⁵ See Kaartinen (2013:304-06) for a full analysis of this song.

Another example of *anadiplosis* is the repeated mention of the child's bleeding head in the previous example. In that case the theme of one passage is repeated to introduce the theme of the next passage. Repetition directs the audience's attention and fixes it to a narrative topic, and it is also iconic of the singer's effort to recall the memory of events in the deep past.

A different aesthetic preference emerged when I transcribed songs with people who had an extensive knowledge of these songs. They did not evaluate my tape recordings as reproductions of live performance, but assumed a critical attitude towards the knowledge and the quality of language in the transcript. They insisted that passages that appeared as interlinear repetition in the original performance should be rendered as parallel expressions:⁶

<i>ombak safur-safur-safuro</i>	waves surf-surf-surf
<i>ma kuliling sakuntar alami</i>	let us circumnavigate the world
<i>ma kuliling sakuntar alamiyo</i>	let us circumnavigate the world

In this original performance the repeated line is modified by adding a final syllable that marks the end of the preceding passage of the song. The improved version that others proposed to me after hearing the tape achieves the same punctuating effect, but with parallelism:

<i>ombak safur-safuro</i>	waves surf-surf
<i>kuliling fonuo co</i>	we go around the village
<i>wa kuliling sakuntar alami</i>	and we circumambulate the world

One might explain this difference by a model of the Bandanese language that stresses parallelism as a sign of the supposed aesthetic perfection of textual products, as against the more spontaneous oral forms. But this begs the question: what makes parallelism superior to repetition? The key may be the different ways in which parallelism and repetition evoke linguistic and cultural classifications. The examples cited above suggest that repetition makes use of a wide range of the creative possibilities of language itself, whereas those expressions that we readily recognize as parallelism are connected to fairly stable cultural and linguistic classifications. As I have pointed out, the distinction between speaking "inside" and "outside" the house is built on the opposition of inside and outside audiences. Discursive strategies in these two frameworks rely on parallel expressions that either "translate" between Bandanese and Indonesian or express the speaker's knowledge of conventional Bandanese tropes. Such discursive strategies are underpinned by the aesthetic value of parallelism for eloquent public discourse in Bandanese, including textual representations of traditional knowledge.

Narratives that represent traditional technical knowledge evidence a preference for parallelism. The next example focuses on pottery-making, one of the cultural practices that the Bandanese associate with their ancestry in Central Maluku. The first part of the narrative, told by a senior man in his 50s, uses clever metaphors with which men justify to women why they are sailing away to trade:⁷

⁶ See Kaartinen (2010) for a full analysis of this song; these examples are quoted from pp. 128-29.

⁷ For the full story see Collins and Kaartinen (1998:560-63).

*na rafasok nirobingan rafasok nirosombolo rafasok nirorafit
yo mborna sio rufuno rira ra'
fa nikanda sombotsi tamtambil feken ra te*

they will buy plates, buy sarongs, buy shirts
since the men have worked so hard in the gardens
that their trousers and sarongs are covered with a lot of patches

The narrative becomes more personal as the speaker continues, and he uses his own voice to pose a rhetorical question: how do they make pottery? The technical account of pottery-making that follows is punctuated by lexical and phrasal repetition:

*roko rala raro
roko rala raro feyo ngkana rataro
roko rulum nanaino
rulom nanaino na bek feyo resirak raro*

they go to take clay
they go to take clay and come back and put it down
they go to take sand
they take sand in buckets and mix it with clay

...

*rafaluk umba
rafaluk langga
rafaluk umba rara*

they form pots
they form vases
they make very large pots

The passage about mixing sand and clay follows the pattern of expanding an initial phrase after repeating it in the second line. The second passage is another example of *merism* in which the paired lexical items refer to a more encompassing category.

While parallelism is preferred in oral storytelling, repetition is a central structuring device of traditional songs. The Bandanese peoples' most prestigious genre is *onotani*, narrative songs about the travels of seagoing ancestors. Because I have described them elsewhere (Karttunen 2010 and 2013), I focus on the use of parallelism and repetition in the structure of these songs here. The following three examples are drawn from a long *onotani* performed on September 24,

1995 by Mrs. Salama Latar, then in her 60s. Her song performance lasted more than one-half hour, parallelism occurs within lines and between lines in the following passage:⁸

<i>kito rifinbeino harinbeino</i>	when, on what day
<i>berangkat kamu diri</i>	“get on your way!”
<i>kito sio, o budi mustika sine</i>	we, pearls of wisdom,
<i>ni buah pala matasih</i>	fruits of nutmeg are dead

Within a line, it is often linguistic parallelism between Bandanese and Malay words. The phrase *rifinbeino, harinbeino* uses the Bandanese word *rifilo* (“when”) and the Malay *hari* (“day”), adding to each the Bandanese particles *inbe* (“how”) and *ino*, which indicates that its referent has appeared earlier in the discourse.

Several essays in this special issue discuss vocabulary adapted from other languages for use in poetic parallelism. David Holm (this volume) shows that such adaptations can be conceptually quite complex in the case of Chinese terms found in Zhuang epic. Here, however, I should note that performers and audiences represent the language of the song as being Bandanese. The use of Malay and Indonesian vocabulary is not limited to parallel expressions: Indonesian words that the singer utters in an altered form abound. Bandanese-speakers are highly conscious of the phonemic differences between Indonesian and their own language, and they systematically change the vowels of Indonesian loanwords into Bandanese ones.⁹ This substituting is manifested in rendering the Indonesian *c̄arita* as *culita* (“story”) and *k̄aliling* as *kuliling* (“around”) in the next example. The performer was born in the 1930s, a few years after her village became the site of a Malay-language elementary school. While she speaks fluent Indonesian, it is likely that singers in her mother’s generation knew little or no Indonesian or Malay; their use of Malay words in oral composition would have relied on hearing other people speak the language. Eastern Indonesian oral traditions have frequently drawn from the language of their ethnic neighbors to create expressions that sound obscure to the local audience in order to represent the language spoken by foreigners or in the land of the dead.¹⁰ Remarkably, however, performers of *onotani* avoid words from Evav—the language of their immediate neighbors in Kei. Older generations of Bandanese women had little first-hand experience of those distant lands visited by their male relatives, but they claimed to be able to access visions of them by falling into trance. The implied cosmology, in which women and men move in the world in profoundly different ways, resonates with the use of obscure Malay words in traditional songs that are normally performed by women:

⁸This and subsequent examples have been drawn from a song discussed in Kaartinen (2010:109-30).

⁹Geurtjens (1924:73, 119); see also Eila Stepanova’s (this volume) discussion about vocabulary from Russian that was subordinated to the special register of Karelian laments.

¹⁰ See also Kerry Hull’s (this volume) discussion of Spanish vocabulary adapted into ritual Ch’orti’ Maya discourse.

<i>i fa culita</i>	that is the story:
<i>ombak safur-safur-safuro</i>	waves break in surf-surf-surf
<i>ma kuliling sakuntar alami</i>	let us circumambulate the world
<i>ma kulilingo sakuntar alamiyo</i>	let us circumambulate the world
<i>anin pancaruba mongonanding kito sie</i>	gusting wind faces our people
<i>i fancaruba anin kayo betang anyur ke lau</i>	that gust of wind, log of wood drifting in the sea
<i>fancarupa anin kayo mbetan anyur ke lau</i>	gust of wind, log of wood drifting in the sea
<i>i fa tusingga ila polo kur tutuno ima i</i>	there we land on the island Kur up there
<i>i la polo kur tutuno i mangi</i>	there, island of Kur up in the sky

Here, as in my earlier examples, parallelism appears in totalizing statements about lost ancestral homelands. Instead of pointing to the common referential ground of speakers and listeners, it addresses an undifferentiated past society. It is only possible to speak about the mythical past in a totalizing way; hence there is a certain rhetorical necessity for parallelism in the song's opening.

The passage contains several figures that describe a sea voyage of ancestors who "drift" along the sea and arrive at a chain of islands between Central Maluku and the Kei Islands. The parallelistic couplet that describes two images associated with drifting, *anin pancarupa* ("gusting wind") and *kayo batang anyur ke lau* ("a log of wood drifting in the sea") recurs throughout these travel passages. It anticipates their arrival on an island (and listeners pay attention to whether the singer gets the order of the islands right).

The next example, drawn from the performance of Salama Latar in 1995, shows that repetition is also used to punctuate the song each time the singer introduces a new passage. Each time the travelers arrive at a new island, their location is named twice:

<i>i fa tusingga wa ila wai</i>	thus we land out there, and we are here
<i>i fa ito war e minaar ambano ika</i>	there, in front of War Minahaar out there
<i>i fa ito war e minaar ambano ika</i>	there, in front of War Minahaar out there

In a model followed throughout the song, the repeated line introduces a new section. In this case the ancestors arrive at their final destination, the site of the contemporary village.

Concluding Remarks

Unlike the linguistic repertoires of societies in the Lesser Sunda Islands, Bandanese does not have a distinct register of ritual speech that mandates the use of canonical parallelism. My first examples show, however, that many of its conventional poetic figures pair two or more linguistic items that refer to semantically parallel topics (Fox 1977:78). Another prominent source of parallelism is the contrast between Bandanese and the regional or national dialect of Malay. Similar hierarchies between local and national languages have recently received attention in linguistic anthropology (Kuipers 1998; Kulick 1992). A local language that is reduced to a vehicle of intimate communication is likely to undergo language shift, eventually losing its capacity to convey authority and culturally specific meanings (Keane 1997). The examples given

in this essay suggest that the Bandanese, during the period of my 1990s fieldwork, retained some genres of artistic and authoritative speech, and parallelism and repetition are important elements found of those genres.

The aim of this essay has been to explore how parallelism and repetition operate across a range of discourse registers and genres: proverbs, public oratory, informal narrative, and traditional sung poetry. It is far from an exhaustive account of the different forms these phenomena manifest in Bandanese. Though more could be said about the use of grammatical particles, acoustic gestures, and word order, as well as about the presence of parallel stories or other larger discursive units in constructing them I have explored how people use parallelism and repetition to articulate and organize different domains of their experience. While oral narratives are a prominent resource for doing this, the use figurative speech in proverbs and public oratory serves the same purpose by emphasizing the temporal framework in which people can recognize and evaluate the structures of everyday life. An equally important topic is the structuring effects of parallelism and repetition on discourse. I have argued that the Bandanese-speakers' seemingly spontaneous ability to compose various types of narratives and tropes relies on the peculiar relationship between Bandanese and the national language; the awareness of a boundary between the two gives them a dialogical impulse to reproduce a contrast between different points of view and to give voice to each. For this reason, parallelism in Bandanese is not limited to conventional expressions, but also encourages innovative uses of the language. This point becomes more salient when we consider Bandanese speakers' uses of repetition as a means for representing and engaging with a multiplicity of voices and points of view in their narrative discourse.

My discussion began with the semantic reconstruction of parallelistic tropes found in conventional parables and spontaneous narratives. These forms of discourse show reflexive awareness about habitual patterns of classifying objects and actions. In this sense, parallelism articulates a consciousness of culture—a term that anthropologists use cautiously because of its implications of homogeneity and unity. Repetition shows that culture, as it appears through tropes, does not constrain people within unified forms of thought. While repetition in Bandanese mainly generates local tropes—ones that foreground an image of a personal emotion or state of mind—parallelism that builds on repetition can situate the local trope in a larger field of tropes, for instance what the Bandanese call speaking “inside” and “outside” the house. These folk categories refer to the orientation that a public speaker adopts when addressing an audience. I have argued that such positioning points to a linguistic boundary that designates Bandanese as a privileged medium that enacts recognized kinds of social status the community, and objectifies the experiences of loneliness, insecurity, and self-discovery that are associated with urban life and long-distance travel. Especially for those who have lived most of their lives in urban centers, knowledge of the Bandanese language affords the opportunity to locate the self “inside” Bandanese society, even when this consciousness is no longer sustained by the society's spatial organization.

Exploring the poetic resources of Bandanese is of particular interest for recognizing the possibilities of maintaining and revitalizing the language in an era marked by urban migration, language shift, and the passing of the last generation that was able to perform Bandanese verbal arts. Language learning takes place through the interaction between old and young people, and therefore I have sought to juxtapose examples of younger people's everyday storytelling with

performances by older people who are conscious of their traditional authority. It is not inevitable that the dissipation of valued, artistic genres leads to the loss of more modest kinds of figurative language. Although my oldest informants—those in their 60s and older in the 1990s—represented parallelism as a central element of refined, poetic language, their technique of oral composition relied on the repetition of sound patterns and images for performing large-scale traditional texts and for drawing the audience into an affective engagement with their characters and motifs. Younger generations may not hold equally high aesthetic standards for oral composition. However, as I have sought to demonstrate with the stories about the volleyball game and the lost brush, younger narrators also use the repetition of sound patterns and phrases as a device for turning an item of chatter and gossip into an engaging narrative which sometimes builds up into full-blown parallel expressions. If such playful interest in language continues, it can be the source of new, innovative speech forms that resonate with contemporary possibilities.

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Parallelism and Musical Structures in Ingrian and Karelian Oral Poetry

Kati Kallio

The focus of this essay is the complex relationship between textual parallelism and performance in historical oral poetry. Since there is no possibility of carrying out any personal ethnographic fieldwork, the main approach to the local categorizations and meanings of singing is to analyze recurrent patterns and combinations of different elements in archival material. This approach relates to discussions about ethno-poetics and textualizing oral poetry.¹ Previously, I have analyzed the local understanding of genres and registers via the analysis of the relationships between poetic texts, melodic structures, singing practices, and performance arenas in archival material relating to one cultural area (Kallio 2013 and 2015).

The present essay analyzes relationships between textual parallelism and musical structures in sound recordings from two Finnic singing cultures with related languages and similar poetic forms, but different singing practices. The singers of Ingria and Archangel Karelia had slightly different uses, versions, and interpretations of so-called *kalevalaic* or Kalevala-metric poems (*runo*-songs).² The singing styles of these poems varied by region, song genre, performance setting, and performer, and these kinds of factors also affected the relationship of textual and musical parallelism. On a general level, the recordings may be divided into four, partly overlapping cases:

- 1) There is no regular connection between textual parallelism and musical structures.
- 2) Textual parallelism is highlighted by melodic variation.
- 3) Patterns of verse repetition are connected to textual parallelism.
- 4) Textual parallelism and musical structures are mutually coordinated in a way that may even approach regular patterns of two or four verses.

The analysis of the relationship of the linguistic (or textual) features and the forms of performance is a task involving both abstract metrics and practical performances. In the case of Kalevala-metric oral poetry, certain forms of performance may affect poetic structures, such as

¹For example, see Hymes (1981); Tedlock (1983) on ethno-poetics; Fine (1984); Honko (1998) on textualization; on epic poetry, see also Foley (1995) and Harvilahti (2003).

²On the complex connotations of different labels for the Finnic traditions, see Kallio et al. (2017); on the characteristics and differences of Ingrian and Karelian singing, see Siikala (1994 and 2000).

parallelism, and, on the other hand, the metrical or linguistic form of the poem affects the way it is performed. Analyzing how performers link textual parallelism and musical structures in performance may allow for a more sophisticated analysis of what the singers themselves might have considered a parallel verse. The analysis of the relationship of textual structures and details of melodic variation is beyond the scope of the present essay, although such an analysis would offer new perspectives on the ways the singers understood both the textual and musical structures of their songs (see Oras 2004 and 2010; Särg 2001, 2004, 2005, and 2009).

The material of this essay consists of the oldest sound recordings from Ingria and Archangel Karelia: 244 recordings from Western and Central Ingria (1906-1938) and 272 recordings from Archangel Karelia (1915-1960).³ These include performances in Izhorian, Ingrian-Finn, and Karelian languages, all belonging to Finnic language family.

It is evident that the recorders had rather strong preferences towards certain types of performances. Roughly put, the ideal performance, for the scholars, was a long, poetically coherent epic poem performed with clear voice and musical structures similar, as much as possible, to the aesthetics of classical western music. The genres that lacked regular poetic structure or were evaluated to be improper, contemporary, or unaesthetic went mostly unrecorded (Kallio 2013:50-82; see also Stepanova 2014 on unmeasured laments). With the exception of the earliest recordings in Ingria, the recordings tend to be solo performances—and the solo songs often have more flexible structures than those performed by a group (Heinonen 2009; Kallio 2013:146, 164; Timonen 2004:260-61. In addition, the recording situations affected the performances, for example, by decreasing variation and altering the voice quality (Kallio 2010:396-98). Due to the recording history of Finnic oral poetry and the resulting character of the archival material, the present essay does not build on quantitative approach.

Poetics and Performance

Typically the only way to try to understand how the historical users and creators of archived oral poems have understood the relationships between different levels of poetry and performance is to analyze the poems and the different ways they have been performed. Although metrics themselves do not address the ways poems are performed, the structures connected to performance may sometimes add to the understanding of poetic meters. In some cases, such structures are indispensable levels in the metrical analysis, while in others the metrical structure

³The analysed sound recordings from Ingria are listed in Kallio (2013:432-43); from Archangel Karelia, the transcriptions will be published in Timonen et al. (forthcoming)—only recordings that are at least six verses long are taken into the consideration here. The analysed recordings, listed in these two publications, are held by the archives of the Finnish Literature Society, Estonian Literary Museum, Folk Life Archives in University of Tampere, Institute for the Languages of Finland, and Archives of Cultural Studies in University of Turku. All the analysed material is transcribed by the author, with musical notations made on the most of the material by Iлона Korhonen, Juulia Salonen, Heidi Haapoja-Mäkelä and author (transcriptions held at the Finnish Literature Society). Below, only some examples of this archival material are cited directly and mentioned in the references (SKSÄ; A-K).

of the text is easily depicted from the text only.⁴ In both cases, performance may give clues to how the users have interpreted the textual patterns in their poems. The situation calls for particular attention when the metrical system has developed and existed as an oral tradition. Typically, there is no ideal “original” text that is performed in different ways, but rather every instance of a poem is a new link in a chain of endless reproduction, variation, and re-creation (for example Lord 1960). When dealing with historical records—when it is no longer possible to ask performers questions about the ways they understood the poetics they used—the only possibility is to analyze the poetics manifest in different recorded performances. Here, particular emphasis must be laid on the ways the recordings were created: on recording technologies, agendas, and situations; on the characteristics of a particular tradition; and on variations related to genre, context, performer, and so on (see Fine 1984; Honko 1998; Kalkun 2011; Kallio 2011:396-98; Saarinen 2013; Tarkka 2013:53-75).

Dell Hymes (1981) and Dennis Tedlock (1983) have emphasized the importance of the interaction of performance, language, and poetic structures in an attempt to recognize and appreciate poetic cultures that do not build on classical western poetics.⁵ In oral traditions, some poetic structures may be marked only with paralinguistic features. John Miles Foley (1995:23) has pointed out that it is crucial to analyze whether particular structural or paralinguistic features are specific to a particular performance or individual, or whether they relate to genre-specific strategies shared by the speech community. While discussing the registers of language, Asif Agha (2004:24-26) notes the need to analyze both the ways people talk about their registers of language and the actual ways they use language. With the archival recordings of the Finnic oral poetry, the emphasis is inevitably on the latter.

The relationship between linguistic structures and performance strategies may be interactional. With the case of Kalevala-metric oral poetry, this reciprocity may be anticipated in the way some poetic and musical structures are linked in performance. In some cases, the use of particular melodies or singing styles may encourage the singer to create or emphasize particular structures of parallelism.

Oral Poetry in Kalevala-Meter

Kalevala-metric oral poetry covered an exceptionally large variety of genres: epic, lyric, charms, ritual songs, mocking songs, lullabies, and proverbs all used the same poetic idiom. Most of the poetry was performed as songs, but some of it was also embedded in speech, and charms were often recited. The poetic form was used in most of the Finnic languages: Estonian, Finnish (including Ingrian dialects), Izhorian, Karelian, and Votic. Depending on the language, dialect, local culture, genre, performer, and character of performance, the meter took varying forms.

⁴See, for example, Kiparsky (2006) on English ballads; Laitinen (2003:205-312) on Finnish rhymed songs; Leino (1986:127-42 and 1994) on Kalevala-meter; Niemi (1998:38-39) on Nenets songs; Sarv (2008); and Särg (2001 and 2004) on Estonian *regilaul*.

⁵See also Anttonen (1994); see DuBois (1994) on ethnopoetics of Finnic oral poetry.

Kalevala-meter is based on both the length and the stress of syllables. Typically, a long syllable carrying the main stress should be placed in a metrically strong poetic position, and a short syllable carrying the main stress in a weak poetic position. This rule is most strict towards the end of a verse. In Finnic languages, the main stress always falls on the first syllable of a word or a compound. Typically, one verse consists of eight to ten syllables that are organized in four poetic feet (or eight poetic positions). In practice, however, these rules manifest in different regional and local variations. Occasionally, a line may have anywhere from five to twelve syllables. Alliteration is frequent, but not obligatory in every verse (see Frog and Stepanova 2011). A traditional oral poem in Kalevala-meter is not organized by stanzas, rather, the verses are connected in syntactic and semantic series of various lengths. As Pentti Leino (1986:135) and Jukka Saarinen (forthcoming) have shown, the poetic idiom also demands particular syntactic structures (see also Kuusi 1994; Lauerma 2001; Leino 1994; Sadeniemi 1951; Sarv 2008 and 2011).

Parallelism is one of the most visible features of Kalevala-metric oral poetry. Matti Kuusi (1963:136) describes parallelism as encompassing the synonymic, analogical, or antithetical repetition of the content of a verse (see also Leino 1994; Harvilahti 1994). In the context of this essay, the most essential feature of parallelism in Finnic oral poetry is that it occurs *irregularly*: a verse may or may not have a parallel verse; there may be one or more parallel verses; parallelism may encompass part of the verse, the whole verse, or a group of verses. In addition, Saarinen (this volume) has pointed out that it is still not completely clear what should be counted as a parallel line—there are numerous ambiguous cases between the ideal categories. Yet, in some cases, a poem may consist of regular couplets of verses and parallel verses.

Typically, the theories about the poetic meters and forms do not take into account structures created in performance. Pentti Leino (1986), who has made one of the most thorough analysis of meters in Finnish poetry, sets his standard of analysis at the linguistic forms of poems, independent of the various forms the poems may receive when performed. Indeed, in Finnic poetry the core of the metrics is, in most cases, analyzable even from purely textual or linguistic materials. Yet, in the case of oral poetry, the relations between performed forms, transcriptions, and the abstractions of meter may be rather complex. Some metrical details may be different in song and speech, as shown by Petri Lauerma (2004:90-93) (see also Saarinen 2013). In speech the words may take shorter forms than in song, while in song the singers may use additional syllables or use song structures with partial repetitions, absent syllables, substitutions, or refrains (see also Kallio 2013:136-65).

Local Singing Traditions

Most genres of Kalevala-metric oral poetry were used as songs or recitations with narrow melodies equivalent to one or two poetic lines. In theory, any Kalevala-metric poem may be sung with any melody, but, in practice, the melodies and the ways of performing the poems were connected to local genres. Herbert Tampere (1965:11-12) described the system in Estonian traditions as one of group-melodies: one melody was, typically, used to perform a group of poems, and this group was characterized by the local genre, thematic similarity, or typical

performance situation. In the context of Ingrian singing, Senni Timonen (2004:84-157, 238-303) notes that the local, situational genres often counted poems that constituted the core of a particular local genre not used elsewhere, while other poems were known in several local genres (see also Kallio 2013 and 2015).

The analysis of parallelism and musical structures assesses the length of the melody as a fundamental feature. A melody of one line does not give an additional level to the structure of the song the way a two-line melody does. A two-line melody may be understood as a case of musical parallelism: two parallel, slightly different musical lines that proceed either independently or in connection with the parallel structures on a textual level. Yet, the difference between one and two-line melodies is sometimes difficult to draw: a one-line melody may be modified into a two-line melody with very small melodic variations, or two similar lines may be used as if they were a two-line structure (see Laitinen 2003:220-21; Kallio 2013:160-65).

Kalevala-metric oral poems were sung in solo, duo, and group performances. In Karelia, Finland, and Estonia, solo performance seems to have been the most common—or to have been recorded most often. Group performances embodied two main local styles. In the recordings from Ingria and Estonian Setomaa in particular, women often sing as an alternation of lead singer and chorus, the lead singer singing a verse or two and the chorus repeating the verses or a refrain. On the contrary, in Archangel Karelia and other locations, such as Kihnu Island in Estonia, women sing as a choir without a lead singer, although others in the choir may closely follow the most respected singer among them (see Heinonen 2009 and Kõiva 1987). The spectrum of different song structures was most varied in Setomaa and Ingria, where various patterns of repetition, partial repetition, additional syllables, and refrains were used, and the singing often had particular polyphonic structures. Yet, even in these areas, it was common to sing verses with simple one or two-line melodies. The most common melodies were rather simple, but they were often modified during the performances. Sometimes the singers adapted melodies of other genres, such as melodies of rhymed Russian, Finnish, and Estonian folksongs, instrumental dance music, or laments, for use with Kalevala-metric poems (see Kallio 2011 and 2013; Lippus 1995; Kalkun and Oras 2014; Tampere 1965).

Thus, the singing cultures in Ingria and Archangel Karelia that are analyzed in the present essay were quite different. In Ingria an alternation of a lead singer and a choir was common, and it was also common to adapt various melodies from other musical genres to *runo*-songs. In Archangel Karelia the poems were often sung in solo performances or by a group without a lead singer. The most prominent public singers were men, and there were only three main melody types in use. In Ingria the poems were often accompanied by dancing, whereas there is practically no evidence of using traditional poems with dance in Archangel Karelia (see Aronen 2014; Harvilahti 1994; Kallio 2011; Siikala 1994, 2000, and 2012; Tarkka 2013; Virtanen 1968).

Ingria and Estonian Setomaa have been regarded as places with the most varying and complex melodies and song structures. In both places, there were very simple and narrow one-line melodies, whose intricate structures had partial repetitions, added and omitted syllables, refrains, and some polyphonic elements. Ingria is known above all for female choral singing: a lead singer would sing a verse and another singer or a choir would repeat it. Even the most complicated structures were based on the repetition of one or two poetic verses, and the choral repetitions were always based on repeating and modifying the verses sung by the lead singer.

Depending on the structure of the melody, the lead singer could repeat all of her verses (as a couplet, when singing with a two-line melody type), repeat occasional verses, or repeat no verses at all. The strategies of repetition by the choir depended on melodic structure and the repetition pattern of the lead singer. Despite the prominence of group singing, solo performances were also common. There, the singer could use the same song structures as in choral performances, make individual modifications to these structures, or use structures similar to solo singing styles of Archangel Karelia (Kallio 2011 and 2013:136-65).

Archangel Karelia is one of the most Northern locations of traditional Kalevala-metric oral poetry. The majority of the heroic and mythological Finnic epic poems used in the Finnish national epic in Kalevala were recorded here, and for this reason Archangel Karelia was long regarded as the most important region of old Finnic oral poetry. Evidently, public singing was a male-dominated activity, but there were also good female singers. Surprisingly, most of the sound recordings are from female singers: when the tradition began to fade, it was women who continued it for longer than men. In Archangel Karelia the most prominent mode of singing—at least on the recordings—was solo performance with melodies corresponding to two poetic verses. In older ethnographic descriptions, duo performances are also often mentioned (Virtanen 1968). The poetic verses were sometimes repeated, but, typically, not consistently throughout the song. The most typical melody was a type of five-beat, two-line melody. The wedding songs were group performances with a particular one or two-line melody, and all the singers sang together simultaneously. The women of a certain family or village often developed their own versions of the wedding poems and their own patterns of verse repetition, so the performances were sufficiently smooth, although the poems were long with many alternatives for the choice of parallel lines (Heinonen 2009; Virtanen 1986). The third common melody type was a four-beat one or two-line melody used mainly in children's songs.

The heterogeneity within and between the local singing traditions of Finnic oral poetry also means that the relationships of musical and textual structures vary. This has led to somewhat different findings in research carried out on materials from different areas.

Kalevala-Meter and Musical Structures

Several detailed studies of traditional Kalevala-metric oral poetry that focus on the relationships of the textual and musical or performative aspects are relevant for the present essay. They indicate that the relationship is highly dependent on locality, genre- or performance-bound and even individual singing styles.

Heikki Laitinen (2004) carried out a detailed analysis of one song by one of the most well known Archangel Karelian singers, Anni Tennisova. Tennisova sang long solo performance in 1953 with a narrow-scaled, two-line melody typical of her local tradition. Different aspects of textual and musical variation seem to take independent routes in her song, as if there were several independent levels of variation. Her musical structures do not coincide with the textual structures. For example, she seems not to feel any need to match parallel poetic verses with the second line of the melody, nor to begin a new thematic section with the first line of the melody, or, indeed, to mark the thematic sequences in any musical or paralinguistic way, such as melodic

or rhythmic variation or a breathing pause. On the other hand, Pekka Huttu-Hiltunen (2008), who has analyzed Tenisova's other performances and those of five other singers of the same Vuokkiniemi parish, claims that the singers occasionally do use some musical features, breathing pauses, or verse repetitions in order to mark the poetic structure of their song. Thus, singers may have varying strategies for realizing the text-music relationship even within one locality. Whether this relates to different genres or melodies, or to different singing styles or performance contexts, has not been analyzed.

Janika Oras (2010) studied the relationship of poetic and musical structures in songs by four singers from different Estonian parishes. She found that singers preferred verses with "a greater number of syllables" and "more "intense" variants of melody" as initial poetic verses when singing with simple one-line melodies, whereas with the two-line melodies the singers attempted to "align the beginnings of the melodic strophes and verse groups." Thus, the singers had tendencies to musically mark the initial poetic verses and parallel verses in performances, and the ways of doing this were dependent on the type of melody used. (Oras 2010:55). Thus, the singers had tendencies to musically mark the initial poetic verses and parallel verses in performances, and the ways of doing this were dependent on the type of melody used (Oras 2010:55). As Oras notes, the variation principles of Estonian and Viena Karelian songs seem to differ even in the case of rather similar narrow-scale, two-line melodies. In Estonia, the singers clearly match the textual structures with the musical ones. The singers seem to highlight both the single verses that have no parallel verses and the first verses of the verse groups by using more syllables and particular musical variations. Oras reminds us that (2010:64):

There can be no talk of any absolute rules with regard to the present performers, but rather of tendencies, stronger or weaker, to prefer certain rhythmic and melodic figures in the song structure when performing verses that have different functions.

In the sound recordings from Ingria and Archangel Karelia, there are at least four main cases for the relationships of textual parallelism and musical structures.

1. No Connection between Parallelism and Musical Structures

The most common situation in Ingrian and Archangel Karelian sound recordings is one described by Heikki Laitinen (2004), the textual and musical levels seemingly have no connection except for the standard relationship of textual and musical verse. The singer(s) perform the song with a one- or two-line melody, either by not repeating the poetic lines, repeating every line, or repeating occasional lines in a way not explicitly connected to parallelism or the thematic sections.

Not repeating textual lines is quite common for solo performers. Nasti Huotarin'i, the singer of the next example, did not even vary her melody (SKSÄ A130/22a; musical transcription by Iлона Korhonen):

♩=100
Bb-II

lem min -kää -n'i lie - to poi - ka läk -si-pä päi -vö l'am pi -toih ta
 suu -rej jou -koj juo -min -ki - he e - mo kiel' -si poi -jut - ta - he
 e - mo kiel' -si vai -mo käš - ki kiel -tä -sin ka -veh - ta kak - si
 taik -ka kol -me luon -no - kaš - ta kolm on šur -mo - a ma -tal - la
 ša - no šur -ma en - si -mäi - n'i mä -net pä mat -ko - ja vä -hä - sen

Fig. 1. The beginning of a song on the mythical journey of Lemminkäinen, performed by Nasti Huotarini from Akonlahti village, Archangel Karelia. Sound recording made in 1938 in a refugee camp. (SKSÄ A130/22a; musical transcription by Ilona Korhonen.)

Here (Fig. 1), the textual parallelism has no links whatsoever to the melodic structure: the poetic lines are not repeated and the melodic lines are not varied. There are also similar cases from other singers where the melody is varied to a great degree but not in connection to the structure of the text. Huotarini often sings an initial poetic verse with the second line of the melody, or a parallel verse with the first line of the melody. In the following, “I” marks an initial verse, “P” a parallel verse, and the text is grouped according to the two-line structure of the melody:

<i>Lemminkäi'ni lieto poika,</i>	Lemminkäinen, the wanton boy,	I
<i>läksipä Päivöläm pitoih(ta),</i>	went to the feast of Päivölä,	I
<i>suurej joukoj juominkihe</i>	to the drinking feast of the big crowd.	P1
<i>Emo kielsi pojuttahe,</i>	Mother forbade her son,	I
<i>emo kielsi vaimo käski,</i>	mother forbade, the wife ordered,	P1
<i>kieltäsin kavehta kaksi,</i>	the two <i>kaves</i> ⁶ forbade,	P2
<i>tahi kolme luonnotarta:</i>	the three <i>luonnotar</i> ⁷ forbade.	P3
<i>“Kolm on surmoa matalla.”</i>	“There are three deaths on the way.”	I
<i>“Sano surma ensimmäini.”</i>	“Tell me the first death.”	I
<i>“Mänetpä matkoja vähäsen, [. . .]”</i>	“You’ll go a little while, [. . .]”	I

⁶Mythical maidens.

⁷Mythical maidens.

Here, the musical and poetic sections are independent. This independence may also occur when the singers repeat occasional poetic verses, as long as these repetitions do not create any linkage between poetic and musical structures. The singers, both in Ingria and in Archangel Karelia, have the possibility of repeating occasional verses in a way that is not explicitly connected to parallelism or to the relationships of textual and musical structures. This kind of repetition is common in the recordings (See, for example, SKSÄ L 427, SKS A 130/22a, and SKS A 130/24). Even though a modern Western listener would easily think that—when using a melodic formula of two musical lines—the first musical line would be more pronounced, and, thus, aligned with initial textual lines, this is often not the case. Indeed, it seems many singers do not make any distinction between the initial and second musical lines, nor at least feel any need to match them with the parallel or thematic structures of the poems, nor to end their song with the second musical line. Yet, even in these cases, a more detailed melodic analysis, taking into account variations connected to different melody types, poetic genres, metrical structures, and individual singers, might find some additional links between poetic and musical structures.

2. Melodic Variation Connected to Parallelism

Some singers have a tendency to match musical and poetic structures by using particular melodic variations to highlight parallel or thematic sections. It is quite common for singers from both Ingria and Archangel Karelia to start a song with an exceptional melodic variant in the first poetic line. In some cases this variant may be repeated with some initial verses of parallel sections in the song (for example, SKSÄ A 483.23). In Ingria, the interjection “oi” may be used to mark the beginning of a song, initial textual lines, or musical couplets. This practice offers a similar possibility, on the linguistic level, for marking more prominent textual lines or musical sections (see Kallio 2013:135-38).

Although this is not a dominant style in the recordings, some singers in Karelia use the second line of their melody only occasionally, and sometimes in connection with poetic structures. Siitari Karjalaini from Archangel Karelia used the second line (descending lower than the first one) of his melody only occasionally, with some of his parallel verses (SKSÄ A 296/5-8; musical transcription by Juulia Salonen):

♩=100
D - D

mi on šur - ma mieš - ten šur - ma

u - roš - ten u - po - tuš - paik - ka

kum mää t mat - ko - ja vä - hä(i) - sen ku - let tei - tä pik - ka - rai - se(n)

tu - lou - vi tu - li - nen ai - ta

moaš - ta šoa - hen tai - vo - še - he(n) tai - vo - šešt om moa - ha(n) šoa
te - räk - šil on šei - väs - tet - ty
kiär - me - hil on kiä - riš - tel - ty muam - ma - voil - la lu - jo - tet - tu

Fig. 2. Lines 10-19 of the song on the mythical journey of Lemminkäinen, performed by Siitari Karjalaini from Vuokkiniemi village, Archange Karelia. Sound recording made in 1922. (SKSÄ A 296/5-8; musical transcription by Juulia Salonen.)

Thus, Karjalaini marks some of the parallel verses with a particular kind of musical structure. Typically, these lines (bolded below) are the last ones of a pair of verses or last verses of a longer chain of parallel verses (or thematic sections):

<i>Mi on šurma miešten šurma,</i>	What death is the death of men,	I
<i>urosten upotušpaikka?</i>	the drowning-place of males?	P1
<i>Kum määt matkoja vähä(i)sen,</i>	When you'll go a little while,	I
<i>kulet teitä pikkaraise(n),</i>	you'll travel the road a bit,	P1
<i>tulovi tulinen aita,</i>	there will be a burning fence,	I
<i>moašta šoaheh taivošehe(n),</i>	from the earth up to the sky,	I
<i>taivošest om moaha(n) šoa[te],</i>	from the sky down to the earth,	P1
<i>teräkšil on šeiväšetty,</i>	impaled with iron,	I
<i>kieärmehil on kiärišetly,</i>	wrapped with snakes,	P1
<i>muammavoilla lujotettu.</i>	fortified with the worms of earth.	P2

In addition, Karjalaini tends to set his breathing pauses after the parallel verses and after the second line of the melody in particular, thus highlighting the transition from parallel verse to the next initial verse—in the Finnic singing traditions, the breathing pauses do not typically separate poetic lines or sections. Most singers, both in Karelia and in Ingria, tend to breathe in the middle of their poetic lines, not in-between them. This may even cause the omission of some syllables in the middle of the verse. In my interpretation, this is a way to frame the song as a continuous flow of verses with no pauses in-between (see also Kallberg 2004:40). In Ingria a similar effect may be achieved either by not ending a one-line melody to the tonic (keynote), or by placing the musical stress on the penultimate, not the ultimate syllable of the line (see Lippus (1995:63, 88-89, and 92). Indeed, the creator of the first Ingrian sound recordings, Armas Launis, contrary to his plan, decided to record choir performances instead of solo singers because the solo performers' mid-verse breathing pauses sounded exceedingly odd to him (see Kallio (2013:66). In Finnic group or duo performances, the other singer(s) would usually start their part by joining the syllables of the preceding verse, and they would breathe while the other party would sing, resulting in a song with no audible breathing pauses or pauses between lines. Here, the strategy is rather contrary to the Serbo-Croatian epics (Foley 1995:24) or to what has been noted on native American narrative traditions, where the breathing pauses are typically used to

divide the performance into passages (Tedlock 1983). In Kalevala-metric singing traditions, the borders of the verses as such are marked clearly enough by both the metrical and the musical structures. Yet, this aspect of performance exhibits, again, a large degree of variation: some singers explicitly breathe between the poetic lines or musical couplets. In Ingria this is particularly pronounced in some Russian-derived melodies, and, thus, seems to be connected to particular singing styles or melodic genres.

The cases above represent only a small fraction of possible connections between melodic variation and parallelism. Here, more encompassing analysis would require a detailed examination of musical variation in connection to different melody types, singers, poetic genres, and local cultures in order to determine what kinds of structures were understood as intense, emphatic, or pronounced in each context.

3. Verse Repetition Connected to Parallelism

The most versatile and variable connection between textual parallelism and musical structures is seen in the varying strategies for repeating a poetic line, occurring both with one-line and two-line melodies. With one-line melodies, the strategy may be to consistently repeat only the parallel verses, only some of the parallel verses, or to repeat those initial lines that do not have a parallel line. In the case of two-line melodies, the singer may repeat some parallel verses in order to match initial textual and musical lines. With Ingrian two-line melodies, there is also a particular tendency to make chains of repeated parallel textual lines. The local practices add some restrictions: in Ingria, for example, the lead singer does not normally repeat her verse with one-line melodies or her couplet with two-line melodies, while a solo singer may do so.

Leea Virtanen (1968:44) has reflected on possible reasons for occasionally repeating the poetic verses in traditional Kalevala-metric songs: one may be the need to think for a moment about the next verse; another to start a melodic sequence with an initial poetic verse. Both cases occur on the sound recordings, but do not seem to be the only cause for repeating a verse. Repetition may also be a way to lay emphasis on some poetic line or form.

In Archangel Karelian wedding songs with a one-line melody, it is typical to repeat only some of the parallel verses, indicated with *R* (A-K 0329/20):

<i>[Terve] piha tä(y)sin'ese,</i>	Hail the yard full [of people],	I
<i>ulkon'i urohin'ese,</i>	the outdoor space with men,	P1
<i>ulkon'i urohin'ese.</i>	the outdoor space with men.	P1R
<i>Tere tanhuo tä(hä)ysin'ese,</i>	Hail the garden full [of people]	I
<i>lautakatto lapšin'ese,</i>	the wooden roof with all the children	P1
<i>lautakatto lapšin'ese.</i>	the wooden roof with all the children	P1R
<i>Toisin toisešša talošša,</i>	Other ways in another house,	I
<i>toisi(m) maalla vierahalla,</i>	Other ways in foreign land,	P1
<i>ei n'iin kuin emosen koissa,</i>	not like in mother's home,	P2
<i>ei n'iin kuin emosen koissa.</i>	not like in mother's home.	P2R
<i>Alemma kumartamin'i,</i>	[You] should bent lower,	I
<i>alemma šitäki vielä,</i>	yet lower,	P1

<i>alemma šitäki vielä;</i>	yet lower:	PIR
<i>nuori selkä notkumin 'i,</i>	the young back should bow,	I ⁸
<i>pešty kaula kaartumin 'i.</i>	the washed neck should curve,	P1
<i>pešty kaula kaartumin 'i [. . .]</i>	the washed neck should curve [. . .]	P1R

In this example, it seems the line *ei n'iin kuin emosen koissa* (“not like in mother’s home”) might have been interpreted by the singers as a parallel line (or as having a similar relationship to the previous line as a parallel line) to *toisi(m) maalla vierahalla* (“Other ways in a foreign land”) since there is a very strong overall tendency to repeat the last lines of a parallel section. This would mean that the singers have indeed understood parallelism as a rather broad phenomenon, not only at synonymic or syntactic levels, but also at analogical or antithetical levels. In the Archangel Karelian wedding songs (with one-line melody) there is a strong tendency to repeat some of the parallel verses, or, in particular, a tendency *not* to repeat the initial verses. This tendency, however, is far from being a strict rule. Some singers repeated none of the verses of their wedding songs, while some repeated all of their verses.

With two-line Ingrian melodies, one particular strategy was to repeat the second verse of the previous musical couplet as a first verse of the following couplet. Often this was only done with parallel lines (Anna Mitrintytär and an unknown choir; SKSÄ A 300/36 b.):

<i>oi läksin koista kulkomaha</i>	I set out from my home to walk	I
<i>veräjiltä vierömää</i>	to roll on from the gates,	P1
<i>oi kaalina</i>		
<i>oi maalina</i>		
<i>veräjiltä vierömähä</i>	to roll on from the gates,	P1R
<i>isoin uuvesta tuva</i>	from my father’s new house,	P2
<i>oi kaalina</i>		
<i>oi maalina</i>		
<i>isoin uuvesta tuvasta</i>	from my father’s new house,	P2R
<i>velloin karjoi kartano</i>	from the barn of my brother.	P3
<i>oi kaalina</i>		
<i>oi maalina</i>		
<i>löim miä varpaani kivoihe</i>	I hit my toe to a rock,	I
<i>var(a)pahani vaaher(puu)</i>	my toe to the mapple-tree,	P1
<i>oi kaalina</i>		
<i>oi maalina</i>		
<i>varpahani vaaherpuuhu</i>	my toe to a mapple-tree:	P1R
<i>istusim maaha itkömää</i>	I sat to weep on the ground,	I
<i>oi kaalina</i>		
<i>oi maalina</i>		
<i>istusim maaha itkömähä</i>	I sat to weep on the ground,	IR

⁸This verse may be interpreted as a parallel verse to the *Alemma kumartamin 'i*, but not to the strictly preceding verse *alemma šitäki vielä*.

<i>nur(u)muelle nurkkaamaa</i>	on the lawn to mourn,	P1
<i>oi kaalina</i>		
<i>oi maalina</i>		
<i>nurmuelle nurkkaamaha</i>	on the lawn to mourn.	PIR
<i>tul tuu kuldoi kutsumaa</i>	My beloved-one came to call me.	I

Here, the lead singer does not mind aligning an initial poetic verse with the second musical verse of the couplet, and the pattern of repetition is rather irregular. The chorus sings a two-line Russian-language refrain *Oi kalina, oi malina* (“O viburnum, o raspberries”) after every musical couplet of the lead singer.

This pattern of repetition could continue throughout the song or occur only occasionally. The most interesting cases for the scope of this essay involve a pattern of repetition that clearly accumulates on parallel verses. Here, the chorus repeats the lines sung by the lead singer, just replacing the first half line with a refrain *oi liiaa* (Ljuboi Jeysen nainen and an unknown choir: The Archives of the Finnish Literature Society, Sound Recordings A 300/26 b):

<i>oi läksin koista kulgomaha</i>	I set out from my home to walk,	I
<i>veräjildä veerömää</i>	to roll on from the gates,	P1
<i>oi liiaa veerömää</i>		
<i>veräjildä veerömää</i>		
<i>izoin uuvesta tuvasta</i>	from my father’s new house,	I (/P2)
<i>velloin karjoikartanoo/ee</i>	from the barn of my brother.	P1 (/P3)
<i>oi liiaa kar(a)tanoo</i>		
<i>velloin karjoikar(a)tanoo</i>		
<i>löim miä jalgoini kiv(v)oihe</i>	I hit my foot on a rock:	I
<i>istusin maaha itkemää</i>	I sat down to weep,	I
<i>oi liiaa itkemää</i>		
<i>istuin maaha itkemää</i>		
<i>istusim maaha itkömähä</i>	I sat down to weep,	IR
<i>kivem päälle kiljumaa</i>	on a rock to yell,	P1
<i>oi liiaa kilijumaa</i>		
<i>kiven päälle kil(i)jumaa</i>		
<i>kivem päälle kiljumaha</i>	on a rock to yell,	PIR
<i>aijoim päälle aikkamaa</i>	on a fence to sob	P2
<i>oi liiaa aikkamaa</i>		
<i>aijoim päälle aikkamaa</i>		

Here, sections of one initial line and two or more parallel lines form into repetitive chains. The first two couplets consist of only one initial and one parallel line each and the third of two initial verses, but after that, the second poetic verse in a musical couplet is repeated as the first poetic verse of the next couplet. Via this pattern, the singers create a sense of continuity in the parallel sections in particular. Long parallel sections lead to additional repetitions that lengthen and highlight the parallel chains of verses. These chains are stopped at the last line of a

parallel section with the next initial textual line beginning with the initial musical line. Yet, it seems that in the context of this singing style, the singers did not only pay attention to the parallel sections, but also to the thematic ones. The verse I (“I sat down to weep”) is treated by both singers as if it could be parallel to verse II (“I hit my foot on a rock”) although they do not share any common verbal element, as the deictic pronoun “I” is marked in the verb form.

Thus, the singers may treat similarly both the verses connected by the parallelism and those connected by looser thematic factors. In addition, looking at the patterns of repetition in relation to musical structures and poetic patterns related both to parallelism and thematic sections, it becomes evident that the pattern of a verse repetition may be connected to genre-dependent melody types, local singing styles, and individual preferences, as the phenomenon varies according to these features. In some cases (for example, SKSÄ L 25 a—b; SKSÄ L 441 a-b, 442 a) it is impossible to judge whether a repetition would be aesthetically motivated or result from hesitation caused by difficulties in remembering a correct verse.

4. *Towards Regular Couplets or Quatrains*

Some descriptions of Kalevala-meter have shown the poem to proceed in regular couplets of initial line and parallel line. Although this is rarely the case in actual sound recordings or manuscripts, some performances tend to form both textual and musical couplets. This is rather common in recordings from the Ladoga Karelia, which are not analyzed within this essay. In Ingria and Archangel Karelia where this practice is more random, it is often connected to particular two- or four-line melodies, particular singing styles (Russian dancing melodies in Ingria), and, possibly, also to individual preferences. Yet, it is difficult to say whether the initial stimulus would be from textual or musical aesthetics. At least in the cases of clear melodic loans from rhymed and stanzaic Russian or Finnic songs, the regular textual couplets might be interpreted as an interface between Kalevala-metric and stanzaic structures (see Asplund 2006 and Rützel 2012).

In some cases, a poem performed with a particular two-line melody has a tendency to build into couplets of parallel or thematically connected verses (Liisa Petrontytär and an unknown choir; SKSÄ A 300/25 b):

<i>oi pääsköilindu päivöilindu</i>	Oh, swallow-bird, day-bird,	I
<i>tuu ihhaala ilmoilii</i>	that lovely air-bird,	P1
<i>ras kaalina maja</i>		
<i>ras maalina maja</i>		
<i>lenteli kessoisem päivän</i>	was flying the summery day,	I
<i>sykysyiset yyt pimnee(n)</i>	the autumnal dark night,	P1
<i>ras kaalina maja</i>		
<i>ras maalina maja</i>		
<i>etsi maata maataksehe</i>	was looking for land to lay down	I
<i>lehtua levätäksee</i>	[looking for] a grove to rest.	P1
<i>ras kaalina maja</i>		
<i>ras maalina maja</i>		

<i>löysi mättähäm meroista</i>	Found a tussock on the sea,	I
<i>yhem mättähän sinnii</i>	one blue tussock,	P1
<i>ras kaalina maja</i>		
<i>ras maalina maja</i>		
<i>toizen mättägän punnaisen</i>	another red tussock,	P2
<i>kolmas kelloin karvallee</i>	a third yellow tussock.	P3
<i>ras kaalina maja</i>		
<i>ras maalina maja</i>		
[<i>“Vähä? Vähä.”</i>]	[A break. Spoken: “A little?” “A little.”] ⁹	
<i>valoi vaskisem pessäisen</i>	Casted a nest of copper,	I
<i>muni kultaisem munaa</i>	laid a golden egg.	I ¹⁰
<i>ras kaalina maja</i>		
<i>ras maalina maja</i>		
<i>tuli tuuloi aivoin tuimoi</i>	Rose a fierce wind,	I
<i>meroiv viihkura vihhaa</i>	a gust of angry wind:	P1
<i>ras kaalina maja</i>		
<i>ras maalina maja</i>		
<i>viiretti munat vetteehe</i>	rolled the eggs into water,	I
<i>laski pesoil laukasee</i>	set the nest on the bay of Laukaa	P1
<i>ras kaa</i>		

In this song no verses are repeated, and, nearly without exception, the parallel structures are limited to an initial line and one parallel verse (or an initial line and three parallel lines forming two couplets in one case). A parallel verse tends not to begin a new musical section. It would have been easy to add some conventional parallel lines (for example, Swallow-bird, day-bird / summer-bird, tongue-bird / that lovely air-bird; was looking for land to lay down / [looking for] a grove to rest / a rock to lay an egg), but the lead singer clearly preferred more compact patterns. In such cases, the chosen song structure, singing style, or melody type tends to make the lead singer condense the parallel and thematic sections into couplets fitting into the melody pattern. In the immediate example above the melody and the refrain are loans from Russian songs, yet in Ladoga Karelia a similar phenomenon is common with traditional Finno-Karelian two-line melody types without refrains.¹¹

One Archangel Karelian singer, Anni Kiriloff, on the other hand, tended to mold her

⁹A short discussion between the lead singer and someone in the choir, meaning: “Should I sing a little more?” “Yes, a little more.”

¹⁰ Although this line appears to qualify as an initial verse because it contains distinct informational content, it may have been regarded as a thematic type of parallel verse (see Frog, “Parallelism Dynamics I,” this volume), especially observing that the “egg” and “nest” are paired in the last parallel couplet, while “gold” and “copper” are commonly used in parallelism.

¹¹ For example, Martta Kähmi, SKSÄ A 332/3-18, Mikael Houtsonen, AFLS, Sound Recordings SKS A 409/24, and Palagea Kuljukka SKS A 409/30.

songs into musical and textual sequences of four or eight lines, but did vary this structure according to her textual needs (SKSÄ A 72/1. 1991, musical transcription by Juulia Salonen):

$\text{♩} = n.80$
G - A

tuo - pa - se vii - sas väi - nä - möi - n'i

läh - töyp on he - vo - sen et' - šoh

su - vi - kun - nan kuun - te - loi - ge

ot - ti oh - jak - set o - lal - le

peä - ty tuol - la mät - tä - häl - lä

peä - ty päi - vä - rin - t'i - (jel) - la

kuu - li pur - ren it - kö - väk - se

va - l'it - ti ve - no pu - na - n'i

Fig. 3. First lines of the song on the boat trip of the old sage Väinämöinen and the creation of the first Kantele-instrument, performed by Anni Kiriloff from Aajuolahti village, Archangel Karelia. Sound recording made in 1923 in a refugee camp. (SKSÄ A 72/1. 1991, musical transcription by Juulia Salonen.)

<i>Tuopa se viisas Väinämöini,</i>	That old wise Väinämöini,	I
<i>lähtöyp on hevosen e'šoh,</i>	went searching for a horse,	I
<i>suvikunnan kuunteloige,</i>	listened on a summery hill,	P1
<i>otti ohjakset olalle:</i>	took the reins on his shoulder:	P2 ¹²
<i>Peäty tuolla mättähällä,</i>	ended up on that tussock,	I
<i>peäty päivärinti(j)ellä,</i>	ended up on that sunny slope,	P1
<i>kuuli purren itköväkset,</i>	heard a boat crying,	I
<i>valitti veno punani:[. . .]</i>	a red bark was whining: [. . .]	P1

The basic melodic sequence of the song was four lines. Kiriloff varied the melody a lot: no two verses were sung exactly the same way. When the thematic section or a parallel line flowed from one musical section of four lines to another, Kirilloff often molded the melody a little in order to avoid a musical cadence between two sections. Nevertheless, she clearly preferred to start initial lines and thematic sections with the first line of the melody. Thus, her performance of the song tends to be organized into textual and musical sequences of four or eight lines. Some manuscript versions of the same poem—which were probably dictated, as they contain partial verses and metrical inconsistencies that are not present in the recorded, very regular song—do not follow similar patterns (see SKS KRA Ievala 359; Laiho, L. 5468). The four or eight line pattern is most visible in the first part of the song, while at the end of her long poetic cycle, which contained two rather independent poetic themes, the singer followed a looser pattern of musical-textual sequences varying between three and six verses. It should be noted that Kiriloff used a very particular, local version of the common five-beat melody type. The structure of her poem seems to have been partly dependent on the mode of performance (more regular in song than in speech), partly on the melody type in use (textual structures are very different with one line wedding melody), and partly, possibly, on the mood of the performer.

Local, Genre-Specific, and Individual Strategies of Variation

In traditional Kalevala-metric oral poetry, there was no single model for relating textual parallelism and performance. Instead, there were various strategies connected to local oral cultures, song genres, melody types, singing styles, and individual preferences. The scale of possibilities ranges from a common practice of parallelism and musical structures without any connection to a somewhat rare song structure in which the poem is arranged into regular couplets or quatrains of parallel or thematically connected lines totally concordant with the particular musical structure.

The Ingrian and Karelian examples are from two linguistic areas that share a common metrical system, similar poems, and similar singing practices, yet, they differ in some significant details. Different melodic types and local patterns of choral singing give possibilities for

¹² Again, verses 2-4 are difficult to interpret. Verse 3 is not self-evidently a parallel line to verse 2 (although they relate), but verse 4 is a parallel line to verse 2.

different manifestations of musical and textual parallelism. The examples of textual and musical parallelism show the need to analyse large and heterogenous corpora, even when focusing on the performance practices and poetic structures within one oral tradition. If the research is limited to only one singer, one village, one melody type, or one performance, any extrapolation is problematic. The present essay makes evident that the more detailed the level of analysis (for example, taking into account a more subtle melodic variation), the more complex the picture becomes.

One of the central findings, besides the vast spectrum of variation, is that many singers seem to liken parallel sections and other thematically connected passages by treating them in similar ways in regards to patterns of verse repetition or musical variation. Indeed, a more detailed analysis of forms of textual parallelism and musical variation at the verse level might reveal more of the local and even individual emic understandings of the poetic structures. With some exceptions, as shown by Senni Timonen (2004:238-303), local singers were rarely asked for their views on poetics or song structures.

On the practical side, the fundamental factor that controlled relating a Kalevala-metric poem to the tune is the length of the melody. One-line and two-line melodies afford different opportunities for variation. Another major factor is the difference in flexibility of solo and group performances: group performance requires a co-ordinated character, while a solo performance allows for greater flexibility and improvisation of text and music.

The relationship of parallelism and musical structures encompasses a large range of variation. Many singers did not mark the thematic and parallel structures of their poems in any particular musical or para-linguistic way: the structures of the poem and melody operate on different, independent levels of variation and, thus, form various kinds of convergences and contrasts, as described earlier by Heikki Laitinen (2004). Nevertheless, in both Archangel Karelia and Ingria, singers often seem to accentuate the parallel structures of the poems either by textual repetitions¹³ or melodic variations.¹⁴ Repeating only some of the parallel verses (often the last ones) accentuates and lengthens the parallel structures. The resulting pattern is dependent on the melody type and local singing practices, leading to rather different structures in Ingria and Karelia. In some cases, the repetitions mold the poem to fit into the two-line melodic structure; an occasional line may be repeated to match some initial line with the first line of the melody. In other cases, the chosen musical structure and style seems to direct the poetic content towards more regular, dense structures of parallelism and thematic sections than is the conventional local practice. This seems to be connected both to the melody type used and personal preferences: the same singers may structure their poems in a looser (and more common) manner if singing with another melody type or if dictating a poem. Here, the musical structure seems to direct the process of performing a particular version of a poetic theme.

Recognizing the potential for variety at individual, local, and regional levels sheds some light on the ways that singers themselves understood different forms and levels of their songs. This new awareness and understanding offers a platform for a more comprehensive analysis of different regional, local, genre-dependent, and individual singing styles represented in the

¹³ Resembling the cases described by Pekka Huttu-Hiltunen (2008) and Leea Virtanen (1968).

¹⁴ As shown by Janika Oras (2010) with certain Estonian melody-types.

hundreds of sound recordings that document the Finnic tradition. The types of relationships between poetic and melodic parallelism reviewed here can also readily be brought into dialogue with other traditions of sung poetry, in which parallelism is prominent (see Turpin, this volume).

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Poetic Parallelism and Working Memory

Nigel Fabb

Parallelism Depends on Memory

The type of parallelism considered here is a relation between sections of text such that each resembles the other in linguistic form, or in lexical meaning, or in form and meaning.¹ The focus is specifically on cases where parallelism is found frequently or systematically, usually as a generic characteristic, or as a part of its poetic tradition. I suggest that this type of parallelism depends on both parallel items being held simultaneously in working memory. For example, Phillips (1981:114) describes a Minangkabau (West Sumatra) oral narrative called *sijobang*, in which “one notices how frequently there occur pairs of lines in which the sense of the first line is repeated in fresh words in the second.” Here are two such couplets (Phillips 1981:114-15):

*bukan mbo ka salah tanyo,
olun badan ka salah sudi,*

I shall not make offensive enquiries,
nor shall I ask offensive questions,

*Santan pikie dalam-dalam
cubolah inok pamonuengkan*

Think carefully, Santan
ponder and consider well

In the first couplet the second line has a similar meaning and a similar linguistic form to the first, and some words are repeated. In the other couplet the second line has a similar meaning, but not a similar form. Both kinds of parallelism are common in oral verbal art, and are sometimes found in written verbal art. I assume that where parallelism is systematically used in a text, then it is psychologically real: that is, that the author is guided in the composition of the text by the goal of forming parallel sections, and that the hearer is guided in his or her reception and evaluation of the text by attributing parallelism to it.

If we assume that parallelism is psychologically real, such that parallelism is assigned to a text by some psychological process, then memory is crucial, because while composing or listening to the second line, the first line must be remembered: it is the relationship between the first and second line that constitutes the text as parallelistic. Two very different kinds of memory

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may be relevant: long-term memory and working memory. Long-term memory can contain an unlimited amount of information. Working memory is limited, so as to contain only a very small amount of information. In this essay I consider the possibility that systematic parallelism is established over a section of text that constitutes a small amount of information. The couplets quoted above are short enough to fit as wholes into working memory. Many parallelistic traditions have texts characterized by parallelism over short couplets of this kind (for example, Rotenese and Rindi [Indonesian], K'iche' [Mayan], Chinese, Finnish, Ugaritic, and so on, all discussed in Fabb 2015), and I suggest that this is not an accident. Instead, I propose that systematic parallelism is optimally constructed in working memory, because there are various functional advantages—epistemic and aesthetic—that arise when parallelism is established in working memory. Nevertheless, parallelism does not need to be established over a text held in working memory; in some cases parallelism holds over texts that are too large to fit and so parallelism in these cases must exploit long-term memory for texts. Kinds of parallelism which exploit long-term memory are found intermittently, rather than holding systematically or consistently throughout a text.

Studies about memory in oral poetics, such as those by Rubin (1995) or Frog (2012), have mainly focused on long-term memory for texts, and have asked whether meter, oral formulae, rhyme, and other poetic forms play a role in long-term retention. Parallelism may also aid long-term retention. Mitchell (1988) argues that if Eastern Sumbanese parallel couplets are misremembered, the ritual may fail, and posits that parallelism aids retention; parallelism here aids long-term memory. This is compatible with my proposal that working memory plays a role in the moment-by-moment composition and reception of parallelistic texts.

There have been experimental studies of long-term memory for poetry; an early example is Henmon (1917), and more recent examples include Rubin (1995) and Tillmann and Dowling (2007), who argue that if a text is divided into lines, the textual material is better remembered. However, I know of no experimental work that looks at how poetry is held and aspects of its form are constructed in working memory. Most of what we know about working memory comes from tests that involve recall for lists of items, and it is unclear how one would begin to establish how poetry is held in working memory. As such, any account of the role of working memory in the processing of poetry must be speculative.

A type of parallelism not discussed here is parallelism in ordinary speech, or in various types of interactions when one speaker produces a text parallel to that of another speaker, as discussed by Tannen (1987:581) in her treatment of repetition in conversation. If these parallelisms are sustained systematically, then I would predict that parallel texts should be of limited size so as to fit into working memory.

Parallel Couplets May Be Held in the Episodic Buffer of Working Memory

Working memory is a limited-capacity system for processing small amounts of material, including the words we speak or hear at any given moment. Its immediacy and limited capacity makes it distinct from long-term memory, which is usually the sole focus of work on memory in oral verbal art. I use the Baddeley and Hitch (1974) model of working memory, as further

developed developed by Baddeley (2012). In the Baddeley-Hitch model, working memory is a multi-component system that contains three distinct short-term memory stores. Two of these stores take information from what is perceived, heard and seen, as well as drawing on long-term memory (including linguistic knowledge), in order to categorize this input. One input store is the visuospatial sketch-pad that holds visual information; I do not discuss it here. Another input store is the phonological loop, which holds auditory information including speech; it is subject to a limit on duration to about two seconds of speech. The visuospatial sketch-pad and the phonological loop both take sensory input and send output into the main memory store, which is called the episodic buffer. In the episodic buffer, information from the two input stores is combined with material drawn from (and sent back to) long-term memory. The capacity of the episodic buffer is based on information size, not duration: the information in the episodic buffer is limited to about four coherent chunks, where each chunk could for example contain several words. Baddeley (2012:15) describes the capacity of the episodic buffer this way: “Memory span for unrelated words is around 5 [words], increasing to 15 when the words make up a sentence.” The episodic buffer is not time-limited. The various parts of working memory are controlled by another working memory component called the central executive, which focuses attention—not necessarily consciously—on material in working memory. Though it is possible to give a normative estimation of working memory capacity, as Baddeley does, and as I assume in this essay, working memory capacity in fact varies between individuals. Engle et al. (1999:313) note the correlations between working memory capacity and other cognitive abilities, and in particular that working-memory capacity correlates with a person’s fluid intelligence (“the ability to solve novel problems and adapt to new situations”). There is, however, no reason to think that working-memory capacity varies systematically by culture. Instead, what can vary is the way in which poets draw on long-term memory to reconstruct “remembered” texts, including by using oral formulae or “memory houses” or other techniques (as discussed by Rubin 1995).

When we listen to spoken literature, the linguistic input is first passed through the phonological loop, where some of its linguistic form is established, and then the partially analyzed verbal material passes into the episodic buffer. The episodic buffer takes verbal material from the phonological loop as well as from long-term memory, and the material is chunked. There is no requirement that specific kinds of linguistic processing be undertaken over material held in the episodic buffer (Gathercole 2007:761). Like many kinds of complex information processing, the overall processing of a sentence can move material into and out of long-term memory, even if much of the processing takes place in the episodic buffer.

I have argued previously (Fabb 2015:140-70) and here that parallelism is one of a number of kinds of poetic form that are processed and established over material held in the episodic buffer. The episodic buffer sends material into long-term memory; Rubin (1995:72) argues that both the content and form of oral poetry can be stored as gist, that is to say, its substance or essence, in long-term memory. All parts of working memory are limited in capacity. The phonological loop is limited by the duration of the material held in it. About two seconds worth of speech can be held at a time; this need not be the last two seconds of what was heard, because it is possible to refresh the held speech by subvocal rehearsal, so long as it does not exceed two seconds in duration. In crucial contrast the episodic buffer—where I suggest poetic form is processed—is limited not by duration but by how material can be combined into chunks: about

four chunks can be held at one time. Several words may be combined into a single chunk, particularly if they form a coherent phrase. This allows a text of about fifteen English words to be held at one time in the episodic buffer, if the text is syntactically coherent enough to divide it into about four chunks. This rough measure of fifteen English words depends on the syntactic structure of the sequence and whether the words form idiomatic or fixed combinations. It also depends on language-specific factors. For example, if words in a language are more complex than English words, fewer may be held in working memory (as Cohen-Mimran et al. 2013:247 argue for Arabic). Note that this does not mean that the capacity of working memory varies by culture or language, only that different kinds of linguistic form place different demands on working memory capacity.

The phonological loop can hold speech of about two-second duration, which is a shorter stretch of verbal material than can be held in the episodic buffer. This is too short a duration to fit the parallel material as a whole. Consider for example Minangkabau *sijobang* oral poetry, as described by Phillips (1981:21, 41), in its recited and sung forms. When recited, each parallel line takes about two seconds, so the single line could fit into the phonological loop but not a parallel couplet. When sung, each parallel line takes three to four seconds, so the sung version of each parallel member is in itself too long to fit into the phonological loop. This is typical of spoken and sung poetry: poetic forms and sections are not limited by duration. In performed poetry, whether parallelistic or metrical, and in any language, there is no psychologically determined limit on the duration of a performed line or other poetic section. This is contrary to Turner and Pöppel's (1988) proposal that performed lines of metrical verse are in all languages constrained to last no longer than three seconds, in order to fit into their proposed three-second window of consciousness. They provide, however, no good evidence for their proposal, and I have previously (Fabb 2013) disproved it by showing that for a corpus of over one thousand lines of recorded performed English metrical poetry, about sixty percent of lines were longer than three seconds. Thus there is no evidence that the durations of performed sections of verse are generally controlled by any psychological factor, either for metrical or for parallelistic verse. Instead of duration, I suggest that the crucial constraint on poetic forms involves the amount and organization of information (words, for example), based on chunking in the episodic buffer.

Many of the current ideas about working memory come from the work of George Miller and his colleagues in the 1950s, including the term "working memory" itself and the notion of chunking. Miller (1956) has often been read, however, as suggesting that there is some privileged status for "the magic number seven" (more specifically, between five and nine units) in working memory. Some earlier claims (discussed in Fabb 2015:181-83) about working memory and poetry have referred to seven units, for example by claiming that approximately seven-syllable lines have some privileged status. No current theory of working memory, however, supports a seven-unit measure; Cowan (2001:88, 104) suggested that if there is a "magic number," it is likely to be four (that is, four chunks).

Short Parallel Sequences

In this section I discuss various kinds of systematic parallelism that hold over textual sequences that are short enough to fit easily as wholes into working memory. The simplest example is where parallelism involves two short adjacent sections forming a short couplet. This is a common pattern that can be sustained throughout a text; here are some examples from different traditions:

<i>Pessüt penkit hierelömmä</i>	Scrubbed benches we would spoil
<i>Hüväñ tuvañ turmelomma.</i>	The good house we would ruin.
	(Karelian, cited by Frog 2014:191)

<i>A re: Selothe, utlwa, Morena o a bitsa</i>	He said: Selothe, listen, the King is calling,
<i>Utlwa, Lerothi o a memetsa.</i>	Listen, Lerotholi is calling aloud.
	(Basotho, cited by Kunene 1971:90)

<i>Dyoos kuuk'a?n sin aanimaa alaq</i>	God He has with him your souls
<i>loq'chajin sin animaa alaq</i>	He reverently guards your souls
	(Quiché Mayan, cited by Norman 1980:388)

An occasional variant is for parallelism to be extended to three or more members. Forth (1988:155) describes an invocation in Rindi (Eastern Sumba, Indonesia), mainly in couplets but also including this triplet:

<i>Tomanggunya na tula pakajanga</i>	I reach the notched support
<i>Tomanggunya na rehi pakawuku</i>	I reach the knotted time
<i>Tomanggunyaka na kanduruku handäkangu</i>	I have reached the first thunder

The triplet as a whole sequence may be too large to fit into the episodic buffer. In some triplets, however, it is equally possible to say that parallelism is established just between two adjacent members, and so is always in couplets. For the example above, lines one and two can be taken as a couplet, and lines two and three can be taken as a couplet. There is no evidence that the third line has a specific parallel relation to the first, independent of any relation it might have with the second. Kunene (1971:78) comes to the same conclusion in discussing parallel multi-line sequences in Basotho oral poetry. Though in principle parallelism could be processed within working memory in this way, the fact that parallelism seems never to be systematically in triplets suggests that triplet parallelism is still more costly for processing than ordinary couplet parallelism.

Sometimes in couplet parallelism, two parallel couplets intersect, in an ABA'B' pattern (where the first couplet is repeated with minor changes) as in the following example from Rindi in Indonesia (Forth 1988:146, 160):

<i>Luananyaka la uma mandamobu duna</i>	He has gone to the house which does not rot,
<i>Na papameranda la lima</i>	The one who has made our hands equal,
<i>Hi luananyaka la kaheli mandambata</i>	He has gone to the house floor which does not break,
<i>Na papahamanda la ngaru</i>	The one who has made our mouths the same.

Whether we analyze patterns of this kind as involving intersecting parallelism or reanalyzed as a single couplet of two long lines AB and A'B', in either case, parallelism requires keeping all four lines in play at the same time. This is too long a sequence to hold in working memory. However, these intersecting parallelisms are never systematic (and belong to a type discussed in the next section). I claim only that systematic parallelism must have its two parts small enough to fit into working memory.

In some parallelistic traditions, couplets deploy a fixed pair of words, one in each line. These conventionalized word pairs sometimes have a meaning in combination that they do not have separately, a meaning that may be fixed. Here is a pair (called a dyad by Fox [2014:114]) from Rotenese, in which the parallel combination of “a cock’s tail feathers” and “a rooster’s plume” together form the ritual expression for a male child (110):

<i>De bongi-na popi-koak</i>	She gives birth to a cock’s tail feathers
<i>Ma lae-na lano-manuk.</i>	And she bears a rooster’s plume.
	= she gives birth to a male child

The term *difrasismo* (a pair of words that takes on a metaphorical meaning) describes a similar metaphorical pairing in Nahuatl. In the following couplet, the combination of “water” and “mountain” together means “the city,” so the couplet as a whole means “the lords of the city” (Bright 1990:440):

<i>in a-hua-que</i>	the lords of the water
<i>in tepe-hua-que</i>	the lords of the mountain
	= the lords of the city

It may be that word pairs of this type generally appear only when the words are relatively close, such that they can be held together in working memory. In the final section of this paper, I suggest that the metaphorical meanings of such word pairs are well suited to being established in working memory, which would favor their use in short parallel sequences. It is also possible that the paired words count as a single information unit for working memory purposes; thus this might be another formal practice that is adapted to fit the parallel material into the limited capacity of working memory.

Longer Parallel Sequences

Parallelism is a simple formal device that does not depend on any specific set of rules, where those rules might reflect some specific psychological process (in this it differs from

meter). Though I have suggested that there are advantages in processing parallelism in working memory, the non-specificity of parallelism as a kind of form means that it must also be possible to process parallelism over any kind of element, including textual sequences that are too large to fit into working memory. In this section I look at some examples of longer sequences.

Consider the following parallel couplet from an Ipili text (PNG [Papua New Guinea]) (Borchard and Gibbs 2011:181):

<i>Lipi ongane kii pipi tupa yoko yata wato,</i>	Cutting down <i>pipi</i> , putting them up here,
<i>Lipi ongane kai maukale tupa yoko yata wato,</i>	Cutting down <i>maukale</i> , putting them up here,

Given the long lines, this couplet looks at first as though it might exceed the limits of working memory. However, all but two of the words in the second line are repeated from the first. The repeated words of the second line may take up less capacity in the episodic buffer in comparison with the new words of the first line, and so the sequence may not be overall as large as at first seems. Another question to consider is whether parallel sequences are processed in a special way, which means that the couplet need not be held as a whole in order to establish parallelism. For example, where the sequence of words in the first line is parallel to the sequence in the second, words in the first line could be dropped from working memory once their match has been found in the second; this means that parallelism could be established for a couplet over a sequence that at any time is a continuous sequence of words just over one line in length. These special processing strategies might be learned by expert composers and listeners. Hu et al. (2014:1764) suggest that hearers can apply specific strategies to working memory that, though they do not extend total capacity, nevertheless manipulate what can be held within the fixed capacity.

Another larger-scale type of parallelism is what Poppe (1958:196) called strophic parallelism (*Strophenparallelismus*), as seen in this Mongolian excerpt (Pegg 2001:196):

<i>Mösön degegür güyüdel tei,</i>	Running along the ice
<i>Mönggün coqur mori mini,</i>	Oh, my silvery dappled horse,
<i>Mönggü sirü-ber cimegsen,</i>	Wearing silver and coral decorations
<i>Keüken ür-e mini hümün-ü-düü</i>	My daughter belongs to another
<i>Sugul degegür güyüdel tei,</i>	Running along a very narrow path
<i>Suqai jegerde mori mini,</i>	Oh, my tamarisk chestnut horses
<i>Subud sirü-ber cimegsen,</i>	Wearing pearl and coral decorations
<i>Keüken ür-e mini hümün-ü-düü</i>	My daughter belongs to another

Here a four-line sequence is parallel to another four-line sequence, each forming a strophe. These types of parallelism are likely to involve long-term memory, given that the size of the sequences involved appears to be too large to fit into the episodic buffer. However, it is possible that here too there are formulaic and other devices that reduce the amount of memory capacity required. For example, we might ask whether the repeated sections of these strophes constitute formulae that can be held in working memory with little demand on the available capacity, despite their length.

An extended example of strophic parallelism can be found in a Toraja (Indonesia) memorized oral ritual in the *ma'pakumpun* genre, whose central section is a sequence of thirty-three parallel six-line strophes. This part of the text is performed collectively, as noted by Zerner and Volkman (1988:289): “Almost everyone in the house wakes up and participates in this portion of the *Ma'pakumpun* by shouting suggestions to the *tominaa*.” This is the text that they sing together:

<i>Ia kumpang lako Jawa</i>	It bends like a tree-top toward Java,
<i>Ia kakumbaya baya</i>	It sways for a while,
<i>Ia mentangkean moyo</i>	It becomes branches of maa' cloths,
<i>Mendaunan sanda sanda</i>	Becomes leaves of all kinds,
<i>Angga dipokalalanna</i>	Everything that is used,
<i>Mintu' dikande kandena</i>	All that is eaten.

<i>Ia kumpang langan Seko</i>	It bends like a tree-top up to Seko,
<i>Ia kakumbaya baya</i>	It sways for a while,
<i>Ia mentangkean bassi</i>	It becomes branches of iron,
<i>Mendaunan sanda sanda</i>	Becomes leaves of all kinds,
<i>Mintu' dipokalalanna</i>	Everything that is used,
<i>Mintu' dikande kandena</i>	All that is eaten.

Perhaps the repeated parts of the strophe are stored as a formula that takes up minimal space in the episodic buffer, and is reproduced repeatedly by changing a few words in specific slots.

A different kind of strophic parallelism comes from an Asmat song (PNG) in four-line strophes, where every strophe has the same meaning as the first strophe, but the words are different. Consider these three lines, each of which is the second line in its respective strophe, each line having a different form but (as shown in the English translation) the same meaning (Voorhoeve 1977:30):

<i>áya na mewero-awocaia</i>	hi! I am the red-parrot woman	strophe 1
<i>aya na isama-awoca</i>	hi! I am the red-parrot woman	strophe 2
<i>aya na yewer-awoca</i>	hi! I am the red-parrot woman	strophe 3

The word *mewero* in the first strophe means “red parrot.” In the second strophe it is replaced by the word *isama* (“fire”), and in the third strophe by the word *yewer*, which names a different kind of parrot. But all three lines have the meaning of the first line. The word in the first strophe is called an *arcer* (a word from the everyday speech in its literal meaning) word by the Asmat. The words in the second and third strophes are *ta-poman* words, which are defined as follows: these are words which may have ordinary; however, they lose these ordinary meanings within the parallel structure and take on the meaning of the first word. This unusual type of strophic parallelism is likely to involve long-term memory rather than working memory. Each subsequent strophe is parallel to the first strophe, and is not an adjacent strophe-to-strophe parallelism of the kind seen in couplet parallelism. In principle, this type of long-distance relationship is something

we might expect only where long-term memory is involved. However, there is a reason to be cautious. As I note at the end of this paper, working memory plays a role in suppressing literal meanings in metaphors, and the literal meanings of *arcer* words must be suppressed; this might suggest that working memory is playing a specific role here.

It is worth noting that sequences of metrical patterns can be repeated, in ordinary verse, as for example when a four-stress line is followed by a three-stress line and the four-three pattern is repeated in the next two lines. A more complex example is seen in classical Greek odes, where the strophe consists of a sequence of metrically different lines, and exactly the same metrical sequence is then copied in the antistrophe (this is called *responsion*). These are not instances of parallelism, but of repetition as part of building a complex metrical pattern: parallelism as defined in this paper is a repetition of linguistic form or lexical meaning, not a repetition of poetic forms such as meter. Hence it places no specific demands on working memory.

Poetry, and Its Added Forms

I have previously proposed this defining difference between prose and poetry (Fabb 2015:9-10):

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

Prose is text made of language, which is divided into sections on the basis of syntactic or prosodic structure.

Poetry and prose may be spoken, sung, written, or signed. The sections of poetry are often called “lines,” with other sizes of sections called couplets, strophes, half-lines, and so on: nothing substantial depends on the nomenclature. The evidence that poetry is divided into sections comes from the added forms that presuppose this sectioning. For example, a poetic meter measures the length of a section, usually by counting syllables and defining a rhythm over it, and so meter is a non-linguistic way of defining a part of the text as a section, and hence defines the text as poetry.

Note that this definition of poetry does permit every line to coincide with a sentence, or with some other specific syntactic constituent, as is true in some traditions. However, even if every line were a sentence of the language, it cannot be that every sentence of the language is a line—or everyone would be speaking poetry at all times. The same applies to the relation between lines and ordinary prosodic constituents such as intonation phrases: the line might always be an intonation phrase in some language’s poetry, but in that language an intonation phrase is not always a line. This is why the sections are (as the definition above specifies) “not determined” even in a poetry where there is a requirement that every section (that is, line) is also a syntactic constituent.

The added forms of poetry are meter, rhyme, alliteration, and parallelism, which all depend in part on the division of the text into sections. As I have claimed about the added forms (Fabb 2015:177): “A poetic section on which systematic added forms depend must be able to fit

as a whole unit into the episodic buffer in working memory.” Meters hold over lines whose lengths vary within strict limits, and these lines are short enough to fit into working memory. When rhyme is systematic, the rhyming word is always located relative to a relatively short section such as a line; there are, for example, no traditions in which only the last word in a stanza rhymes. The same is true of alliteration. Where there is systematic couplet parallelism the parallel members are short, such that even when they are combined the parallel couplet remains short.

Many kinds of parallelism resemble meter in extending from beginning to end of a section of text, but there are differences; differences that may relate to how meter and parallelism are processed in working memory. While meter tends to hold consistently for every line throughout a text, even systematic parallelism may be intermittent, such that some lines in the poem do not involve parallelism; in contrast, poems do not mix metrical with non-metrical lines. Another difference is that a meter extends across a certain size of unit throughout a text: for example, a meter generally governs the rhythmic structure of a line-sized section of text, such that the scope of the meter can be seen by characteristic rhythmic looseness at the beginning and strictness at the end of the section. If the meter sometimes governs line-sized sections, it will not sometimes shrink in scope so that sometimes it governs half-line sized sections or expand in scope so that it sometimes governs couplet sized sections. . But this variation in size of unit is exactly what we find in some parallelistic texts. Thus Forth (1988:147) notes that in the Rindi text he examines, most lines are in parallel pairs, but there are also a number of single lines in which there is instead a parallelism between the two parts of the line. Another difference between meter and parallelism involves cadence, an increased rhythmic regularity towards the end of the line that is found across many metrical traditions. There is no equivalent of cadence across traditions of parallelism. Consider Rindi (Forth 1988:151), where parallelism holds between a pair of lines, with a beginning, middle and end. The two ends can be identical, the two beginnings can be identical, the beginning and end can be identical, and the middle and end can be identical. These fixed patterns in various parts of the Rindi line do not resemble the cross-linguistic characteristics of metrical cadence. Another difference between meter and parallelism is that many meters are much more complex in their organization. For example, Homer’s dactylic hexameter characterizes lines of thirteen to seventeen syllables, in alternating subsequences of either heavy-heavy or heavy-light-light, ending on a fixed cadence of heavy-light-light-heavy-heavy, and forcing a word boundary in one of three possible positions near the middle of the line. Similarly complex, the Serbo-Croatian decasyllable has ten-syllable lines, with a tendency to stress odd-numbered syllables (in a trochaic rhythm), and again with a controlled rhythmic ending: if the seventh and eighth syllables are heavy they may not carry stress, if the ninth syllable is light it may not carry stress (and any stressed syllable must here be a heavy syllable). The ninth and tenth syllables must be part of the same word; the third and fourth syllables must be part of the same word, and the fourth syllable must be word-final (Jakobson 1966:418). Meters require a complex system of rules, which Halle and I (2008:11) argue can be derived from a universal theory of meter.

I propose that parallelism is not subject to rules of this type of complexity, systematicity, or linguistic abstractness. Meter is a type of hierarchical grouping (Hayes 1989; Fabb and Halle 2008:11-20). It is processed by adapting general psychological mechanisms of hierarchical

grouping that are also in musical cognition, event segmentation, and so on (Cohen 2000:1). These psychological mechanisms both constrain the range of metrical patterns, but also enable them to be more complex. Because parallelism is not based on any specific psychological mechanism of this kind, it is both freer and less complex. Parallelism is just a matter of composing one section of text so that it resembles another. In some traditions, parallelism will be used in specific ways, constituting local rules within traditions, but these are arbitrarily chosen conventions. The one example I know of a generative rule system for parallelism analogous to that which is required for meter is that of Norman (1980:395-97), who formulates rules to generate parallel pairs in Quiché Mayan ritual language. However, unlike generative rules for meter that resemble generative rules for linguistic stress, Norman's generative rules for parallelism do not resemble any other kind of linguistic generative rule, such as those for meter, stress, phonology, or syntax. As such, Norman's system does not improve on a simpler—and hence preferable—approach to parallelism that just treats parallelism as repetition with variation, subject to tradition-specific rules requiring similarities or variations in specific parts of the line.

Why Might Parallelism Favor Working Memory?

Parallelism can in principle be established over texts larger than can be held in working memory, where the parallel material can be moved in and out of long-term memory as it is being processed. Large-scale or long-distance parallelisms are presumably managed in this way, along with devices such as formulae, allusions and intertextuality, main and subplot, and many types of parallelism of meaning. In this essay I have suggested that when parallelism of linguistic form or lexical meaning is systematic in a text, it is organized into couplets sufficiently short that their parallelism can be established in working memory. I now consider three advantages of limiting the size of the text in this way to enable it to fit into working memory, relating to contrastive valence, fluency of processing, and metaphor; arguing in each case that working memory plays a specific role in enabling emotional and epistemic effects.

I begin with Huron's (2006:21) account of expectation and the aesthetic effect of contrastive valence when listening to music (drawing also on Kind 2016:40). Contrastive valence arises when different kinds of processing operate at different rates to produce an effect where expectations are first disappointed and then satisfied as the listening proceeds. Huron focuses on contrastive valences where a negative affect is followed by a positive affect, as is characteristic in many musical forms. For example, an anticipated musical cadence may not be completed as expected and this may produce negative affect, which is reversed to positive affect when the delayed cadence arrives correctly; this contrast of negative to positive is a strong aesthetic experience. The listener hearing a parallel text learns to expect that each line is followed by another line that is "the same"; this is always a local expectation because it relates one line to the next and so does not need to draw on long-term memory. The expectation of sameness is always initially violated, because the second line is not exactly the same as the first, but then secondarily is met, because the line is underlyingly recognized as the same once the parallelism is established. Hence there is contrastive valence.

Contrastive valence may have enhanced effects when it arises in working memory, and this would favor the processing of parallelism in working memory, and hence favor parallelism over short couplets. A reason for thinking that working memory is involved is this: the psychological processes of attention are focused on the material in working memory (Engle et al. 1999:310); in the Baddeley-Hitch model, the central executive controls the memory stores by focusing attention on the material in working memory. Focusing attention on material in working memory may boost the arousal generated by material in working memory: that is, the material that we immediately process has greater potential to generate arousal. This would make evolutionary sense: one of the functions of arousal is to prepare an animal to freeze, fight, or flee in response to immediately present environmental changes (that is, processed in working memory), and Huron (2006:35) argues that these types of arousal may be co-opted in aesthetic experience. There thus may be an advantage in generating contrastive valence from material while it is held in working memory. This is one possible reason why the added forms are processed over material in working memory, which explains why the sections must be relatively small, and it also explains why parallelism characteristically holds over relatively short sections of adjacent text because the sections must be held together order to establish parallelism.

Now I consider parallelism and fluency relative to working memory. Reber et al. (2004:377) have argued that the regularities of poetic form enable a text to be processed more fluently, which, in turn produces pleasure in the hearer, along with a subjective effect that the processed material is more true (the “illusory truth effect”) and more familiar. We might conclude that any form that increases fluency of processing may generate rewards, either emotional or epistemic. For example, Frog (2012:50) suggests that the choice of a specific poetic genre reduces the range of vocabulary that is likely to be used in the poem; we might suggest that this restriction of the selection space means that it should be easier for the hearer to identify the words of the text, making processing more fluent. Parallelism may increase fluency of processing in various ways. For example, the second parallel member will be easier to process than the first because its syntactic structure is already known (in most cases), and the words that vary may be part of fixed pairs such that once the first word is heard, the second member can be predicted. In ordinary language even an unanticipated syntactic parallelism has a priming effect, both in production by making a matched word or structure more easily available and also in comprehension (Sturt et al. 2010:347). In parallelistic traditions, parallelism will be expected and so should ease processing effort since there will be a greater degree of prediction of the next section once the first has been heard. It may be that the ease of processing is improved if all the material is kept in working memory where it is easier to access (because there is no need to search and retrieve from long-term memory). Hence fluency effects would be enhanced by keeping all the parallel material in working memory. This might be another motivation for organizing parallelism into short adjacent units, such that both parts of the parallel structure can be held in working memory at the same time, thus maximizing the effects of fluency of processing.

Finally, consider meaning and parallelism. Parallelism requires us to infer two kinds of relation between meanings. Each of the two parallel lines expresses a meaning; these meanings are different but, somehow, also the same. The hearer must infer the relation (the ground) between the two lines. Furthermore, the paired lines may together have a coherent meaning: the

two lines are the vehicle in a metaphor where their combined meaning is the tenor. What is interesting about both these cases is that the inference is required not to determine the ultimate meaning but instead to determine the ground that connects the two lines, or the pair and their meaning. Consider Central American *difrasismo*, where a pair of words takes on a metaphorical meaning. Norman (1980:392) says that in Nahuatl *b'iineem* and *chakaneem* separately mean “walking” and “crawling” but when combined in a parallel pair they mean “daily activities.” Similarly, *eeqa?n* and *pataal* separately mean “load” and “burden,” and in a parallel pair they mean “family of groom.” All the meanings—the vehicles and tenors of the metaphors—are fixed and known, but the ground that connects them is not specified and must be inferred, including the relation between the two terms and the relation between the pair and their metaphorical meaning. The point is made by Forth (1988:135) about Rindi parallelism, “it may not be the simpler reference of terms and phrases . . . in ritual language . . . which is screened off or disguised, so much as the precise sense in which terms are appropriate to their denotata.” It is the relations between the parts of the metaphor that produce the peculiar effect of the parallelism. Working memory may play a particular role in coping with the multiple meanings, and connections between them, as required for the interpretation of parallelism. Pierce et al. (2010:403) summarize evidence that working memory is required in order to temporarily ignore literal meanings, which is essential for establishing the meanings “in between” the parts of parallelism. This would fit with the idea that parallelism is optimally processed within working memory, not only for formal but also for interpretive reasons.

Conclusion

In this essay I have noted that in many traditions parallelism holds between parallel members that are adjacent and short. When short enough, such a pair of parallel members can fit as a whole into the episodic buffer in working memory. Other types of parallelism, including strophic parallelism, may depend on long-term memory, because it is likely that they exceed the capacity of the episodic buffer. However, we do not know how much the redundancies and idiomatic forms in these larger structures reduce the actual capacity demand, and so even these larger structures might be able to fit, though their relative rarity suggests that they are non-optimal, perhaps because they put a strain on processing.

There may be advantages in holding all of the parts of a parallel structure in working memory. Parallelism may generate arousal by contrastive valence through the satisfaction and denying of expectations, and this arousal may be boosted by the attentional focus on material in working memory. Parallelism enables fluency of processing, which has effects on hedonic and epistemic aspects of aesthetic experience, and this fluency of processing may have increased effects if it is generated in working memory. Parallelism requires the production of non-literal meanings, for which working memory is optimal. In all of these ways parallelism that holds between short adjacent sections can exploit the characteristics of human working memory to achieve particular psychological effects, both aesthetic and epistemic.

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Parallelism in the *Hanvueng*: A Zhuang Verse Epic from West-Central Guangxi in Southern China

David Holm

Introduction¹

Parallelism is ubiquitous in Zhuang poetry and song and hence also occurs in ritual texts and a range of oral genres. Curiously, this salient fact has generally escaped the notice of scholars writing on the subject of Zhuang poetics. Discussion has generally been concentrated on line length, rhyming patterns, and stanzaic structures as found in Zhuang traditional song genres.²

This essay looks specifically at the phenomenon of parallelism in one particular ritual text from west-central Guangxi. The *Hanvueng* is a long verse narrative that is recited at rituals intended to deal with cases of unnatural death and serious family quarrels, especially fraternal feuds. The plot involves an old king and his son by his first wife, Hanvueng. After his wife dies, the king remarries a widow from a commoner family, who brings a son with her. She and her son, Covueng, then set out to disenfranchise Hanvueng and drive him out. Hanvueng goes into exile, but the old king becomes ill and has him recalled. The struggle continues when Covueng attempts to kill Hanvueng while the two are hunting. He finally succeeds in having Hanvueng sent down a well to search for water, and then murders him. After his death Hanvueng flies into the sky and establishes a realm there, from which he rains pestilence down upon his former domain. Covueng sends an eagle and a crow up to the sky to resolve his dispute with Hanvueng. In the end Covueng retains the earthly domain, but pays an annual rent to Hanvueng in the sky.

Meng Yuanyao and I have recently published an annotated edition of a *Hanvueng* manuscript (Holm and Meng 2015). With a total length of 1,536 lines, this text is quite long for a Zhuang vernacular ritual text. In some ways it provides a reasonably close parallel in form and

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²The classic studies are by Huang Yongsha (1983, espec.). See Wei Xinglang (1986) for a useful summary of traditional Zhuang song genres.

content to the forms of epic poetry discussed elsewhere in this volume. It also serves as a useful platform for analysis because the manuscript is undamaged (there are no missing lines), the plot line is clear, and any difficulties in interpretation have either been resolved or at least fully explored in an extensive set of textual and ethnographic notes accompanying the text in the published edition.³

In this essay I deal specifically with the question of parallelism. In the book parallelism is discussed from time to time as pertinent in particular contexts (see the Subject Index of Holm and Meng 2015 for details) but the present essay was written subsequently and uncovers newer aspects of the topic. The book, of course, presents much more cultural and linguistic background information. Owing to limitations of space, I give only an abbreviated presentation here. The Zhuang language examples in this essay are given in *Zhuangwen*, the official Chinese transcription system for Zhuang. *Zhuangwen* allows readers familiar with Chinese to access a wide range of dictionaries and reference materials on the Zhuang language.⁴

The present contribution has a primarily empirical focus, based on one particular ritual text from the Zhuang-speaking highlands of western Guangxi in southern China. My aim here is to present a typology of the various kinds of parallelistic patterning found in this text, to serve as a basis for wider comparative work in the future. Currently in international scholarship, parallelism in the oral cultures of the Tai people of southern China is almost completely unknown, with the exception, perhaps, of Catherine Ingram's work on the "big song" traditions among the Kam (Dong) in Guizhou and Hunan provinces (Ingram 2012). For the Zhuang, a much larger group, there is a more or less complete blank, so I begin with a description of the basic facts on Zhuang song culture.

My discussion of parallelism here is based on a close philological analysis, but it is important to highlight the fact that in ritual context and in its continuing presence in Zhuang village society, this text is recited by vernacular priests and is performed orally in an actual ritual, with an audience that includes the priests themselves, family members, and other villagers. Without these continued acts of performance, the written text would be useless and serve no ritual or social function. Therefore the presentation here includes discussion about the ritual context in performance, looking at the sonic and rhythmic dimensions of the recitation, and also at the ways in which vernacular priests acquire their performative competence, and the ways in which the ritual content is open to interpretation by village people.

Zhuang is the official designation for the most populous Tai-speaking nationality in the province of Guangxi in southern China. With a population approaching 17 million, the Zhuang are concentrated in the western two-thirds of the province, and are also found in contiguous

³These notes address questions of cultural background, explore the semantic and pragmatic dimensions of words and phrases, and compare the forms of expression of the ritual language of the text systematically with the everyday language of the Zhuang people (Holm and Meng 2015:283-469).

⁴For a systematic description and IPA equivalents, see Holm (2003:223-28). Here, Zhuang tones are represented in this transcription by final consonants: -z for tone 2, -j for tone 3, -x for tone 4, -q for tone 5, and -h for tone 6; none of these consonants is pronounced as a consonant, but rather as a tone. Final -b, -d, and -g represent tone 8 syllables, and are pronounced the same as -p, -t, and -k, which represent tone 7 syllables. Zhuang has long and short vowels, long "a," "e," and "o" represented by "a," "e," and "o"; long "i," "u," and "w" (u) represented by "ie," "ue," and "we"; short "a" and "o" represented by "ae" and "oe"; and short "i," "u," and "w" (u) represented by "i," "u," and "w."

provinces. The Zhuang language belongs to the Tai-Kadai language family and is not genetically related to Chinese, which belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language family.⁵ Typologically, Zhuang is predominantly monosyllabic and tonal, although in ritual language there are also some binoms (bisyllabic morphemes) and traces of earlier prefixes. Zhuang is now classified by Ethnologue as a “macrolanguage,” meaning a language grouping with large numbers of disparate and mutually non-intelligible dialects.⁶ The northern dialects are similar to the Bouyei language of Guizhou province and Sha in eastern Yunnan, while the southern dialects form a linguistic continuum with the Tày and Nùng languages of northern Vietnam. The present text, from the region of the former chieftaincy of Tianzhou in west-central Guangxi, is predominantly in the Youjiang (“Right-hand River”) sub-dialect of northern Zhuang.⁷

Linguistically and culturally, the Zhuang share many features with Tai speakers elsewhere in East and Southeast Asia, such as the Thai, the Lao, the “tribal Tai” groups (White Tai, Black Tai, and Red Tai) in northern Vietnam, and the Shan in Myanmar. Although they have been in contact with the Chinese state and Han Chinese people for over 2,000 years, the Zhuang in many areas have retained their own language and traditions.⁸

Song, Versification, and Orality

Until very recently, song was ubiquitous in Zhuang social and cultural life. In rural areas boys and girls of marriageable age would congregate with their friends once a year at customary times, usually in springtime, troop out to a designated spot—an open area outside the village such as a river bank, the mouth of a large cave, or an open hillside—and there, groups of the opposite sex would engage in antiphonal singing contests. These gatherings went by a number of names, the most widespread of which was “song markets” (Zh. *hawfwen*). Singers would first form groups of four or eight boys or girls, and then groups of two, and finally, if there was serious interest, boys and girls would sing antiphonally one-on-one. The lyrics were mostly traditional but partly extempore, and allowed young people to test out the cultural knowledge, temperament, and degree of mutual interest of their song partner. These singing contests often led to more serious liaisons, including love-making and long-term relationships (Pan Qixu 1991). Up until well within living memory in these areas, it was unusual for boys and girls to be unable to sing in the local style by the time they were in their teens, or to lack a readily available stock of song lyrics and some ability to extemporise. Particularly for the boys who might be worried about being bested in song by clever young women, there were little chapbooks of song lyrics,

⁵This is the internationally accepted view. Inside China, the Tai-Kadai languages are often classified as a branch of Sino-Tibetan, along with a wide range of other probably unrelated minority languages such as Hmong-Mienic (Miao-Yao). On the other hand, it is now accepted that the Tai-Kadai language family is genetically related to Austronesian. See Sagart (2008:150-52).

⁶Ethnologue Languages of the World: <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/zha>.

⁷Zhang Junru et al. (1997:62-65). See also Holm and Meng (2015:34-47).

⁸For an overview see Holm (2003:159-71).

written in a variant of the Chinese script, that could be tucked up a sleeve and pulled out and quickly consulted when at a loss for words.

The song repertoire was not confined to these wooing songs: there were ritual songs and also ceremonial songs for almost any occasion, including weddings, funerals, house-building, drinking, particular festivals, calendrical events, and the commemoration of historical events.⁹ Even in everyday life there was a tendency in rural Zhuang society to use song where other cultures would use speech. If strangers met on the road, they would often burst into song, asking the other party where they were from and where they were going.¹⁰ All these practices formed the cultural and social basis for versification and song-making in Zhuang traditional society, including the widespread ability to sing and make up songs for any occasion. A person who is able to sing well in the traditional style and make up song lyrics extempore is currently regarded with great respect. They also provide a broad social basis for parallelism in song and verse, as all the above-mentioned song genres employed pervasive parallelism.

It is obvious, as soon as one hears them, that Zhuang songs and lyrics are radically different from those of the Han Chinese (Holm 1999). Most Zhuang singers can also sing in the Chinese style, but distinguish between the two activities by giving them different names. Zhuang singing in the traditional style is called *eu fwen* (“sing + Zhuang airs”), while Chinese singing is called *ciengq go* (“sing + Chinese songs”).¹¹ In these phrases both the noun (*fwen* versus *go*) and the verb (*eu* versus *ciengq*) are different. There is a good reason for this: Zhuang singing uses different modes and cadences, employs different voice production techniques, including falsetto, has different musical phrase structures, and employs two and even three-part harmony.¹² By contrast, traditional Chinese singing typically lacks harmony. Any Chinese person listening to Zhuang singing will know immediately that what they are hearing comes from a completely different song culture, and is not Chinese.

Written Scriptures and Oral texts

While a generic category corresponding to “epic” is not found in Zhuang culture, the *Hanvueng* text otherwise appears to exhibit the social and cultural significance considered characteristic of epics.¹³ The text also exhibits formal characteristics common to oral epics such

⁹ See especially the collection of songs from Pingguo in Nong and Tan (2005).

¹⁰ Xin Gu 辛古, “Shange wenlu” 山歌問路, in Nanning diqu (1990:8). It is worth noting that in this context song functions as an indicator of identity, just as much characteristic of a person’s home locality and social status as clothing or ordinary speech.

¹¹ The words for Chinese-style singing are themselves Han loan-words, from *chàng gē* 唱歌.

¹² For numerous examples, see Fan Ximu (2009), which comes complete with two CDs.

¹³ Lauri Honko’s (1998:28) often-cited description of epic is “great narratives about exemplars, originally performed by specialised singers as superstories which excel in [. . .] power of expression and significance of content over other narratives.” In East Asian, poems in the category corresponding to epic are known as *shishi* 史詩 (“historical poems”).

as the repetition of lines, conventional epithets, and formulaic composition. It equally exhibits thematic content similar to epic traditions such as its central theme of enmity which for Western readers will be strongly reminiscent of the theme of “wrath” (*menis*) in Homer’s *Iliad*. As we comment in the book (Holm and Meng 2015:2):

Many of [the] key characteristics of epic are found in the Hanvueng. The Hanvueng is not just a chiefly chronicle; it involves interactions between human beings and gods; character and incident are sufficiently well developed to invoke emotional involvement in the fate of the hero; there is a fateful struggle between the two protagonists, leading to a war of words and exchange of dire threats; and the themes are of central importance in the Tai-speaking stratified societies in the south of China.

The text in its present form is, however, not simply a product of oral composition. Internal evidence in the manuscript suggests that certain sections of the text were imported from elsewhere after they had been written down: that is, the present text shows signs that it was put together from disparate written sources (*ibid.*:22.).¹⁴

In the wider western Guangxi-southern Guizhou area, the *Hanvueng* narrative appears in a number of different forms. Like other myths and narratives, its widest form of circulation is as a prose narrative, which anybody—laypersons as well as Taoists, ritual masters, *mogong*, and female spirit mediums, all of whom receive ordination—can recite; it is not confined to ritual occasions and can be recounted in a wide variety of social contexts. In Wangmo county in southern Guizhou and probably also in other areas, there was also an orally-transmitted narrative song that “circulated among the people”:¹⁵ that is, it was performed in non-ritual contexts.¹⁶ Inspection of the Wangmo narrative song indicates that the language and poetic framework, including pervasive employment of parallelistic devices, is strikingly similar to the text analyzed here.¹⁷

Many of the scriptures recited by Zhuang vernacular priests also circulated as orally-transmitted “ancient songs” (*Zh. fwengeq*), at least in some areas. On numerous occasions, “ancient songs” were many times the length of corresponding written texts and were regarded as sacred. They were only performed on important ritual occasions by senior men who had good voices and flawless command of the oral text. Such “song kings” were not necessarily vernacular priests—*mogong* or ritual masters—but often were. For this form of performance, a premium

¹⁴ The existence of “boilerplate” in the present text shows up in the distribution of the various graphs used to represent common words. “Boilerplate” is a term used to refer to texts, oral or written, that show clear signs of having been patched together from disparate sources. Full information on this variation is given in the Chinese and vernacular character indices in Holm and Meng (2015:511-54).

¹⁵ The use of quotes here and elsewhere, unless otherwise marked, indicates a phrase is taken from the local language, either Zhuang or Chinese.

¹⁶ The version of the text presented in Wangmo xian (1984:256) is 1,765 lines in length, and is of this type.

¹⁷ Comparison with the *Haansweangz* text from Wangmo is made in Holm and Meng (2015:10-14). Many individual lines and couplets are identical or very close matches. The point here is that the *Hanvueng* and other written scriptures existed in relation to longer versions that also circulated locally.

was placed on accuracy: “The singer could not leave out a single line, nor mis-render a single word, or else he would call forth criticism from the old men in the community” (Holm 2004:22). The words of the “ancient song” were regarded as the “words of the ancestors,” in local parlance, and a premium was placed on accurate transmission of the entire song. Naturally, not everybody in the local community had the capacity or dedication to master “ancient song,” but all members of the community were present on occasions when such songs were performed, often many times in their lifetime, and would therefore gradually acquire familiarity with both the narrative content and the poetic language and soundscape of these longer narratives (see Holm 2004:20-23).¹⁸

The *Hanvueng* text analyzed here is a liturgical scripture recited by vernacular priests during rituals in order to effect ritual purposes such as rescuing the souls of people who died violent deaths, obviating outbreaks of smallpox and other disasters, and resolving intractable family quarrels. While the central portion of the text is devoted to the narrative of Hanvueng and his step-brother, the beginning of the text includes an introit that is cosmogonic in nature (lines 1-14), an account of the origins of enmity (lines 19-38 and 52-76), an invocation of the demons of enmity (lines 39-49) who are summoned to be present in the ritual arena, and similar invocations and announcements. Towards the end of the text, but within the narrative, there is a passage giving ritual instructions on how news of the ritual just conducted should be despatched to the heavenly deities (lines 1402-1424).

The Recitation as Soundscape

The recitation of the *Hanvueng* scripture takes the form of a chant, accompanied by a small hand-bell, and takes about two hours. During this time, the priest sits cross-legged on a mat in front of an altar table, facing the main house altar to the ancestors, with the text in front of him and with other accoutrements of priestly power near by: a seal of office and sometimes a solid block of hardwood known as a “thunder block.” For the priest and the other participants, the recitation takes the form of a reading from sacred scripture, taking place in real time and according to a certain rhythm, with phrase units delineated by pauses and major sections by short interludes punctuated by the ringing of the hand-bell and the clack of the thunder block against the surface of the altar table.

If the ritual is conducted for the benefit of a family or specific family members, it occurs in the central hall of the house. This room is typically located inside the front door at the south side of the house. The hall houses the family’s altar table or altar shelf, which faces the south and is placed against the center of the north wall of the house, and is where offerings to the ancestors are made. In traditional Zhuang houses, this room and the bedrooms to either side of it are occupied by family members, and would be well above ground level, with domestic animals—oxen, buffaloes and pigs—housed in the space “below the floorboards,” and with the main part of the house accessed by means of a house ladder or wooden stairway. The walls of the house are made of wooden planking or bamboo slats, which means that the sound of any ritual proceedings

¹⁸ This information dates from the early 1980s before the full onslaught of Chinese-style modernisation. While we have yet to record an “ancient text” form of the *Hanvueng*, other *mogong* scriptures are described as being drawn directly from these longer narratives, but in abbreviated form.

or family quarrels carries widely throughout the village neighborhood. By the same token, the house as a ritual space serves as a kind of resonating soundbox, that is open to the lowing and grunting of the animals below, other village noises, and the cries of birds in the forest. In modern concrete houses, this symmetric arrangement of space gives way to a pattern of people on ground level and the animals in out-buildings.

With regards to the ritual, the entire soundscape is relevant, or at least cannot be ruled out as irrelevant *a priori*. If a bird is heard crying in the forest at a critical juncture in the recitation, this would be interpreted as significant in some way. Moreover, during a typical ritual, children may run in and out of the room, family members may attend to ancillary tasks, and other people may move about or talk in subdued voices. The atmosphere is decidedly not church-like. That does not mean, however, that the business of the ritual is not serious. Rituals for which the *Hanvueng* is recited are not typical rituals, since what is at stake is the expulsion of the demons of enmity and the resolution of serious family quarrels or the rescue of the souls of dead relatives who died unnatural deaths. Family members remain linked at this psychic level to the ritual proceedings, and other people present maintain a respectful silence.

It is important to note that for most of the recitation the priest does not move around the room, but remains sitting cross-legged for its duration. There are none of the lively ritual dances that characterize the ritual performances of Taoist priests or ritual masters. From a visual point of view, as well as acoustic, the ritual process is concentrated on the act of recitation, of reading from the sacred scripture. What this means is that, for the family and other participants, all that is left as a focus of attention is the chanting of the ritual narrative as it unfolds.

This raises the question: does the “audience”—or the priest for that matter—understand the words of the scripture as recited? Bear in mind that the local audience would be more or less deeply familiar with local song traditions, including any surviving “ancient song” traditions. Based on this consideration, we have approached this question in two ways: firstly through fieldwork, by asking local people and priests how much they understand of the recitation, and secondly by internal evidence, by exploring the ways in which words are used in ritual recitation as opposed to their patterns of everyday usage. Generally what we have found is that the words of the recited text are broadly comprehensible to local audiences and priests, but there are several words and phrases and sometimes entire lines of verse that are either not understood (“don’t know”) or are understood only in a vague, general fashion (“it means something like . . .”). This makes sense. The recitation itself is in Zhuang, pronounced as in the local dialect or rather local lect, with recitation tones (or melodic pitch in song) related to the eight tones and tonal contours of local speech. The specific ways in which priests and local song artists adapt local speech in order to fit in with rhythmical delivery in song or ritual recitation are mainly the elongation of syllable-final nasals, in cases where syllables contain a short rather than long vowel, and the elongation of line-final syllables and their tone contours, sometimes giving rise to distinctive or elaborated tone contours at the ends of poetic lines.

The words or phrases that are typically not understood, vaguely understood, or misinterpreted are those that have come from elsewhere (Holm 2015), from other Zhuang lects or dialects, or are words that are no longer current in the local lect.¹⁹ So to return to the main

¹⁹ See, for example, the discussion in Holm (2003 and 2004, *passim*).

point here, the words of the recitation are generally accessible to local audiences, and they can follow the main line of the ritual narrative, invocations of deities and other spirits, and other content as recited. It is open to their comprehension and interpretation.

This does not mean, however, that either priests or “audience” parse the recitation on a word-for-word basis. Comprehension begins with larger chunks, line by line, or more often couplet by couplet. Here the effect of parallelism markedly enhances intelligibility, since the second parallel line confirms the meaning of the first.²⁰ For the “audience,” the ritual language forms part of their life experience, and they have heard the same or similar recitations many times since childhood. The insistent patterning of parallelism within this verse form also naturally forms part of their cultural conditioning and also, before modern times and *mutatis mutandis*, part of their own performative repertoire.

In relation to the ritual, this chant is efficacious on two levels: on one level it invokes the demons of enmity, who are summoned into the ritual arena and then at the conclusion of the ritual are banished into the outer darkness of the primeval forest. On another level, the narrative summons into the present the events of the remote past, and replays them, thereby harnessing the energies of the heroic antagonists for the purpose of intervening at the psychic or unseen spiritual level in order to break the bonds of a specific interpersonal antagonism in the present—or alternatively, to break the bonds that shackle the soul of a dead relative in the limbo-like realms below the earth. To put it another way, the overtly ritual portions of the text are clearly intended as “speech acts,” in which saying something has the force of making it happen (Austin 1975), but it is also clear that the cultural logic of the ritual process requires us to understand the narrative portions of the text not just as a story, but also as an invocation and a reenactment.²¹ This is part of a wider conception whereby the social and natural order are subject to entropic forces and need to be periodically renewed (re-charged, as it were) through the performance of prescribed rituals.

Priestly Transmission and Performative Literacy

In western Guangxi and in several parts of the Zhuang-speaking highlands, the act of reading from a ritual text is an oral performance, and the specific form and content of the recitation itself is orally transmitted. To explain briefly: vernacular priests typically come from families with priestly traditions, or from villages where there are vernacular priests. Typically, as small children they accompany older relatives to rituals, and gradually learn to recite a good part of the repertoire from memory. Later, when they apprentice themselves to a master priest, they are given more systematic instruction, but the form of recitation is always based on the performed oral version. At the point of their ordination or just before it, they are given ritual texts belonging to the master priest and asked to make copies for their own use. At this point they

²⁰ Compare with Lauri Honko’s (1978:31) comment on this effect in parallelism in Karelian laments.

²¹ To quote Webb Keane (1997:51) on the function of ritual narrative: “Their linguistic form remains the same, but their function shifts. Rather than being construed as accounts of actions that were carried out in the past, the words are taken as reports on and directives for the action they themselves carry out in the moment of speaking.”

might have gone to a village school or had family-based instruction in Chinese, and they copy the texts faithfully, character by character.²²

What this means is that the textual transmission and the transmission of the recitation take place separately: at different times in a priest's life and through different modes of instruction. In performance priests learn to turn the pages at more or less the right time, but otherwise the recitation of the text during a ritual takes place without any act of actual reading. Over the generations various discrepancies have arisen between the text as recited and the text as written, but these discrepancies are not usually noticed by the priests themselves unless they have an unusually high level of literacy in Chinese. It frequently happens in our interviews with Zhuang vernacular priests that the priest is unable to comment on the meaning of verses taken from the middle of a passage, or is unable to give any more than a general meaning to a line of verse. This is not a sign of backwardness or lack of sophistication, but it is perfectly normal in village society in this part of southern China.

Versification

The structure of lines of verse, including song lyrics, is Tai rather than Han Chinese. Both Chinese and Zhuang have five-syllable lines, and at first sight these look the same on paper. However, the Zhuang have waist-rhymes and lack a mid-line caesura (Wei Xinglang 1986). Waist-and-tail rhymes (*yaoweiyun* 腰尾韻) are rhymes in which the last syllable in one line rhymes with one of the first few syllables in the following line. In Chinese verse this rhyming pattern is completely absent. The cadence of poetic lines is also different. Whereas five-syllable lines in most Chinese poetic genres have a caesura after the third syllable, dividing the line into a pattern of 3 + 2 syllables,²³ Zhuang verse lacks this and simply has five syllables arranged *seriatim*, often with line endings marked by elongation of the final syllable, or in some song genres, the insertion of a brief interlude filled with extra-metrical vocables. Similarly, in seven-syllable verse, Chinese lines of verse are typically divided by a caesura into groups of 4 and 3, whereas Zhuang seven-syllable lines lack such a caesura. Finally, in Chinese versification there is a binary distinction between *ping* 平 (level) and *ze* 仄 (deflected) tone-categories, with—depending on the genre—a word in one or the other tone-category obligatory at certain positions in the poetic stanza. In Zhuang, however, there is a four-way distinction in tonal categories, with words that rhyme normally required to correspond in tone category. As it happens, these four tone categories correspond to the four tone categories reconstructed for Proto-Tai (see Holm and Meng 2015:30-31).²⁴

Rhyming in Zhuang operates in a somewhat looser fashion than in Chinese. Rhyme in classical Chinese poetry was regulated by the rhyme categories in the pre-modern rhyme books

²² For further discussion of performative literacy, see Holm (2013:61-62).

²³ For a useful overview of Chinese versification rules see Liu (1962).

²⁴ Proto-Tai A tones correspond with modern tones 1 and 2 (syllable endings nil (no symbol) and -z in *Zhuangwen* transcription), B tones with modern tones 5 and 6 (endings -q and -h), C tones with tones 3 and 4 (-j and -x), and D tones with consonant stop endings (-p, -t, -k, and -b, -d, -g).

and other authoritative and quasi-official sources, but rhyme in Zhuang verse, as a vernacular medium, was based on local rhyming conventions rather than rules. A person's mastery of the local song repertoire provided an internalized range of examples and a storehouse of specific pairs of rhyming words that could be deployed in extempore versification. In general, apart from the observation of the tonal distinctions mentioned above, the end of each rhyming syllable is often identical in vowel quality and final consonant, but there are some exceptions: syllables with final -t are permitted to rhyme with those with a final -k, and syllables with different nasal endings (-n, -m, -ng) also often rhyme. Different short vowels such as short "o" (-oe-), short "u" (-u-), short "-a"- (-ae-), and short "u" (-w-) can all rhyme with each other. Different localities, however, may have different practices.

Zhuang verse is often organized in the form of stanzas, most typically of four lines. The *Hanvueng* text, however, like most ritual songs, is set in a verse form called *fwen baiz* ("songs lined up"), in which there is no stanzaic structure and no fixed line length (Holm and Meng 2015:30-31; Huang Yongsha 1983:74-91). Most lines are five syllables long, with an admixture of couplets with lines of seven or occasionally nine syllables.

These features of the verse structure are instantiated in the opening lines of the *Hanvueng* (the words that rhyme have been underlined):

三	盖	三	王	至。	1
ʃa:m↓	ka:i¹	ʃa:m↓	βuəŋ↓	ci:¹	
sam	gaiq	sam	vuengz	<u>ciq</u>	
Three	Worlds	Three	Kings	Establish	

The Three Realms were established by the Three Kings,

四	盖	四	王	造。	2
ʃi:¹	ka:i¹	ʃi:¹	βuəŋ↓	ca:u↓	
<u>seiq</u>	gaiq	seiq	vuengz	<u>caux</u>	
Four	Worlds	Four	Kings	Create	

The Four Realms were created by the Four Kings.

王	造	立	造	連。	3
βuəŋ↓	ca:u↓	lɛp↓	ca:u↓	li:²n ↓	
vuengz	<u>caux</u>	laep	caux	<u>lienz</u>	
Kings	Create	darkness	Create	light	

The Kings made the darkness and made the light,

王	造	天	造	地。	4
βuəŋ↓	ca:u↓	ti:en↓	ca:u↓	ti: ↓	
vuengz	caux	<u>dien</u>	caux	deih	
Kings	Create	Heaven	Create	Earth	

The Kings made Heaven and made the Earth.

In this example, the first of the parallel lines represents the manuscript text, the second is a relatively narrow IPA transcription of the priest or original owner's recitation in local dialect, the third line is a transcription in *Zhuangwen* representing standard Zhuang orthography, and the fourth line contains word glosses in English, with Han Chinese loan-words capitalized.²⁵

Here, *ciq* at the end of the first line rhymes with the first syllable *seiq* in the second line, *caux* at the end of the second line rhymes with the second syllable in the third line, and *lienz* at the end of the third line rhymes with the third syllable *dien* in the fourth line.²⁶ The tone categories are as follows: *ciq* and *seiq* are both fifth-tone syllables, Proto-Tai category B, *caux* is a fourth-tone syllable, Proto-Tai category C, and *lienz* is a second-tone syllable rhyming with *dien*, a first-tone syllable, both Proto-Tai category A.

Parallelism

As demonstrated above, the opening lines take the form of two couplets that exhibit strict parallelism. By “strict parallelism” I mean that each word in one line corresponds in word class and semantic field to the corresponding word in the parallel line—syllable by syllable—and that the syntactic relations between words in one line are replicated in the parallel line. The fact that most morphemes in Zhuang are monosyllabic makes this strict parallelism particularly salient. By contrast, if some of the words in otherwise parallel lines are displaced forwards or backwards, or if there are additional elements in one line, then we would say that the lines are not strictly parallel (see further below). By word class, we mean basic categories such as noun, adjective, transitive verb, and so on. Incidentally, parallelism in semantic fields does not imply that words used in parallel will necessarily be synonymous in a dictionary sense; it is often sufficient if two words are understood locally as referring to “the same kind of thing.” I use the term “strict parallelism” in contra-distinction to “canonical parallelism.”²⁷

We would, of course, expect to find strict parallelism in the opening lines of a Zhuang ritual text. The fixed formulaic lines mark off the sacred recitation that follows from the essentially different character of whatever ritual business was being conducted previously. Parallel members of each of these couplets are both semantically and grammatically parallel: each word in the first line is matched to the word in the corresponding metrical position in the second line by word class (noun, verb, and so on) and semantic field. Thus *sam* (“three”) in the first line is parallel to *seiq* (“four”) in the second line, and *ciq* (“establish”) in the first line is

²⁵ In these lines there are no instances of mis-match between written graph and recited pronunciation, or between local dialect pronunciation and the morpheme represented in the orthographic *Zhuangwen* transcription. Such mis-matches, however, do appear elsewhere in the text, and are discussed in the “Textual and Ethnographic Notes” section in Holm and Meng (2015:283-469).

²⁶ Readers will note that the words *vuengz caux* at the end of line 2 are repeated at the onset of line 3 (anadiplosis). This repetition does not violate constraints of the meter and thus completes the metrically required rhyme in position 2 of line 3.

²⁷ On canonical parallelism, see Fox (1988:4, 6-11). Parallelism is “canonical” if strict parallelism is obligatory according to the conventions of the speech or poetic genre. In the present text, as we note below, parallelism is pervasive but not required.

matched with *caux* (“create”) in the second line; the other words are identical. In the second couplet, *caux* (“create”) appears twice in each line, in the second and fourth places, and *laep* (“darkness”) and *lienz* (“light”) are paired with *dien* (“Heaven”) and *deih* (“Earth”), respectively. We can identify these four opening lines as two parallel couplets, rather than four parallel lines, because lines 3 and 4 have a different basic pattern from lines 1 and 2.²⁸ In these lines the rhyme carries through from one couplet to the next, but further on, in the main body of the narrative, rhyming is frequently confined to the parallel couplets themselves or concatenations of parallel lines.

A Typological Overview

As will become evident from the review below, the tradition centers on strict parallelism, with the parallel couplet as the most basic form. Parallelism between verses is therefore organized so that each word in the first verse corresponds with a word in the parallel verse without lexical repetition (mostly), ellipsis, or addition. The typology developed here therefore treats strict parallelism as a base form in relation to which variations are distinguishable. This overview presents example lines from the epic in *Zhuangwen* transcription, accompanied by English translation and occasional underlining to indicate rhyme. The accompanying brief analysis looks at line composition in terms of individual lexemes, word classes, and semantic fields to clarify parallelistic relationships between lines of verse on the formal level. This objective analysis is a necessary first step, though of course it presents the text in the form of written poetic lines, complete with word breaks and abstracted from real time.²⁹

Given the discussion above about the acoustic qualities of the text as recited, it is, however, also useful to supplement this analysis with a second step, considering the same poetic material as a phonic and temporal experience, and re-analysing the analysis in light of relevant aspects of the performance context, as emerging from the ongoing recitation. At this level we will find that parallelism becomes a fluid phenomenon in organizing text and its rhythms, rather than a set of fundamentally different and distinct categories. This procedural move draws inspiration from the work of other scholars studying oral cultures, new theoretical approaches in phonetics to the analysis of rhythmic speech, notably the work of Robert F. Port (2009) and others, and recent work on emergence and complexity in human cultures focussing on self-organising systems (Agazzi and Montecucco 2002; Prigogine 1997).

In this ritual text parallelism is pervasive, with the parallel couplet as the most frequent form. However, parallelism is not confined to simple couplets; other more elaborate forms of parallelism also appear. This is a statement to which we can put some numbers. Fig. 1 reviews

²⁸ On another level, we can say that lines 3 and 4 continue the same thematic line as lines 1 and 2, *viz.*, the creation of the world. In other ritual texts within the same tradition, such sequences of lines form fixed assemblages. See, for example, Holm (2003:102-103, Text 3 and pp. 146-147, Text 5).

²⁹ Actually, the transcription represents a triple abstraction from the text as recited: first from an audible signal through time onto a digital recorded medium, then from audio recording to narrow phonetic transcription in IPA, on paper, and finally through a complex process of morpheme identification, into the orthographic form of written *Zhuangwen*. At each stage in this process an element of selection and simplification inevitably intrudes.

the examples of line-based parallelism that I counted in a text that is made up of 1,536 lines. These examples have been distinguished according to typological categories labelled alphabetically A-E. These different formal categories are summarized in this section for the sake of offering a general overview. Each type of parallelism will then be discussed more fully in relation to illustrative examples in the sections that follow:

A. Parallel couplets, Quasi-parallel couplets, and Augmented couplets		
A1. Parallel couplets	371 examples	742 lines
A2. Quasi-parallel couplets	15 examples	30 lines
A3. Augmented parallel couplets:		
parallel couplets + 1	10 examples	30 lines
1 + parallel couplet	3 examples	9 lines
1 + parallel couplet + 1	1 example	4 lines
B. Three or four lines parallel	22 examples	66 lines
3 lines parallel + 1	1 example	4 lines
4 lines parallel	2 examples	8 lines
4 lines parallel + 2	1 example	6 lines
C. Special patterns:	108 lines	
Parallel lines ABAB	10 examples	40 lines
Parallel lines AABB	2 examples	8 lines
Parallel lines ABCD	1 example	50 lines
Parallel lines with 1 line between	5 examples	10 lines
D. Lines with repetition of line head, coda, or mid-section:	93 lines	
repetition of line head	5 examples	49 lines
repetition of line coda	3 examples	40 lines
repetition of mid-section	1 example	4 lines
E. Lines without parallel lines	441 lines	

Fig. 1. Typological categories and number of examples in the *Hanvueng* text.

We will discuss most of these categories further below. First, by way of clarification:

- A1. Parallel couplets are couplets that are strictly parallel, not preceded or followed by quasi-parallel lines or other strictly parallel lines.

- A2. Quasi-parallel couplets are couplets that are in parallel relation to each other, usually for part of the line (for example 3 out of 5 syllables). They thus fall short of being strictly parallel.
- A3. Augmented parallel couplets are strictly parallel couplets either preceded or followed by a line or lines partially parallel in structure and meaning to the parallel couplet.
- B. Three lines parallel: three lines in parallel relation to each other. The augmented 3 + 1 example is a triptych followed by a line that is partially parallel. Similarly, four lines parallel means a series of four lines, all in parallel relation to one another. The augmented 4 + 2 example is a quadruplet followed by two lines that are partially parallel.
- C. Special patterns: strictly parallel lines are also found in special patterns, more or less elaborate.
- D. Lines with repetition of a line head, coda, or mid-section are parallel lines that include a repeated phrase. Typically, this is a two or three-syllable phrase, found either at the beginning, end, or middle of the line.
- E. Isolated lines without a preceding or following parallel line, and not incorporated in any wider special pattern. These are also sometimes called “orphan lines” (Sarv 1999).

It is interesting to note the total numbers and percentages of lines in these broad categories, as shown in Fig. 2:

<u>category</u>	<u>no. of lines</u>	<u>%</u>
strictly parallel lines ³⁰	1049	68.2
lines in parallel couplets ³¹	770	50.1
lines in special patterns ³²	201	13.1
lines in couplets parallel but not strictly	30	1.9
lines parallel but not strictly	48	3.1
lines not parallel	441	28.7

Fig. 2. Total numbers of parallel lines in the *Hanvueng* text.

For a text of this length, the recitation of which takes well over two hours, 68.2% is a very high percentage of lines in strictly parallel relation to each other. On the other hand, parallel couplets predominate, but not to such an extent that the result is boring or predictable.

³⁰ The number of strictly parallel lines is the number of strictly parallel couplets, triptychs, quadruplets, parallel lines in special pattern formations, and lines with repeated segments, taken together, that is, the parallel couplets in A1 and A3, triptychs and quadruplets in B, and parallel lines in categories C and D.

³¹ Category A1 above, plus the strictly parallel lines in category A3.

³² Category C plus category D.

Other more elaborated forms of parallel lines are often used for heightened rhetorical effect: to increase narrative tension, to provide extended lists and inventories, and to increase the moral force of praise and blame. These elaborated patterns and extended runs of parallel lines, the longest being some 50 lines long, are not evenly distributed throughout the text, but are used for special effect at particular points in the narrative. The narrative power that is generated through these devices is quite considerable: I have seen people moved to tears at the pathos of Hanvueng's fate. These rhetorical devices and their powerful emotive effects would incidentally seem to have no direct parallels in Chinese narrative verse. We will now turn to some examples, in order to illustrate the above points.

A1. Parallel Couplets

The main features of parallel couplets have been discussed in the section "Parallelism." Here it is necessary to mention a common characteristic of strictly parallel couplets in the poetic tradition of this locality. In addition to other word classes, mimetic phrases of two connected syllables are often used in pairs at the end of a line. Such syllables alliterate, and typically the first syllable is the same in each line. Mimetic phrases, usually called expressives in linguistic scholarship (Aikhenwald 2007:43), are phrases that by their sound pattern are understood to be directly expressive of the *Gestalt* of some physical phenomenon or situation, such as prominence in the visual field or general shape (like a mountain), perceived weight (like a boulder), the quality of sound emitted (like animal noises), speed and overall pattern of movement (smooth or jerky), heightened emotion, effort, tactile qualities, or any combination of these. The following example describes the matchmaker as she hastens back to the widow's village in order to finalize her marriage to the king:

Gvaq doengh daeuj lih-laz

Crossing the open fields she came in a hurry,

Gvaq naz daeuj lih-langh

Crossing the wet-fields she came in haste.

(H 374-375)

Here the mimetic phrases are *lih-laz* and *lih-langh*, with the final syllable *laz* in the first line rhyming with *naz* ("wet-field") in the second line. While I have translated these phrases in a way that makes it seem as if they were fully lexicalized, in fact both terms refer to the *Gestalt* of a person walking in a hurried fashion: the hurried gait, the flapping of loose clothes (visual and acoustic, as well as tactile), and the intensity of effort and concentration. Elsewhere in the *Hanvueng* scripture, the same pair of line endings is used to express the haste, effort, and flapping of wings with which the eagle and crow ascend to the sky.

A2. Quasi-Parallel Couplets

Couplets in which the words are partly in correspondence are not uncommon throughout the text. The following example is taken from the hunting episode. In it, *heuh* ("call to") at the beginning of the first line has no counterpart in the line following. The lines are thus not grammatically parallel, yet the parallelistic structure of the couplet allows the verb to be omitted

but inferred in the second line. The noun head for male animals *daeg* in the middle of the second line also lacks any counterpart in the first. Thus the numbers *sam-cib* (“thirty”) and *caet-cib* (“seventy”) correspond semantically, but are mutually displaced by one syllable:

<i>Heuh sam-cib ma maeg</i>	He called to his thirty ink-black dogs
<i>Caet-cib daeg ma daeuq</i>	His seventy male hunting dogs.

(H 714-15)

Attributive adjectives follow nouns in Zhuang, so *maeg* (“ink-black”) and *daeuq* (“hunting”) correspond semantically. Here there is a rhyme between *maeg* (“ink-black”) at the end of the first line and *daeg* (“male animal”) in the second; in addition, both of these words happen to form alliterations with other words in their respective lines. Calling these “quasi-parallel” lines is fine from an objectivist and analytical point of view, but in recitation at normal speed, the overall effect of such lines is hardly different from that of lines that are strictly parallel. The audience finds the same echoes of sound and imagery, and no departure from the overall poetic *Gestalt*.

A3. Augmented Parallel Couplets

There are ten examples in which a parallel couplet is followed by a semi-parallel line that echoes and continues the train of thought.³³ In the following lines, Covueng is reporting to his brother Hanvueng that their father is gravely ill:

<i>Boh raeuz gwn raemx lwt</i>	Our father drinks water from a small bamboo cup
<i>Boh raeuz swd raemx rong</i>	Our father drinks water through a rolled-up leaf
<i>Boh raeuz fuz mbouj hwnj</i>	Our father, even if supported, cannot stand up.

(H 666-668)

It can be observed that in this example, the couplet rhymes (*lwt* “small bamboo container” and *swd* “sip”), but the rhyme does not carry through to the appended third line. The beginnings of the three lines are the same, but in the third line the grammatical structure is different, with *boh raeuz* (“our father”) as the topic rather than the subject.

Parallel couplets are also found with a quasi-parallel line leading in, rather than following the strictly parallel lines. These passages exhibit a range of variations in line structure similar to those with a quasi-parallel line following. Here is an example from the matchmaker’s visit to the widow’s house:

<i>Raeuq fwx rox raeuq raeuz</i>	Are they barking at someone else or barking at us?
<i>Raeuq fwx cit ma haeb</i>	If it’s barking at someone else send the dogs to bite [them],

³³ This can also be regarded as semantic parallelism complemented by additive information. This sort of parallelism is conventional to the semantic parallelism of Karelian laments as discussed by Eila Stepanova in this volume. Frog (this volume) notes this sort of parallelism frequently entails reference to a single image or motif at a higher order of representation (rather than semantic parallelism at the level of lexica or the propositional structure of individual lines of verse).

Raeuq raeuz gyaep ma dauq If it's barking at us then chase the dogs back.
(H 197-199)

In this highly alliterative passage the first line presents alternatives, which the following couplet repeats and expands upon. *Raeuz* (“us”) at the end of the first line rhymes with *raeuq* “bark” at the beginning of the second line, and *haeb* (“bite”) at the end of the second line rhymes with *gyaep* (“chase”) in the middle of the third line. The second and third lines are strictly parallel syntactically, while the preceding line poses a question to which the lines in the couplet are the response. This particular example comes from a fixed sequence of lines.

B. Three or Four Lines Parallel

There are 22 examples in which a triptych of parallel lines appears. Here there are three lines that are fully parallel and typically, as in the next example, the rhyme as well as semantic correspondences run through. This example is from the same speech by Covueng:

Boh raeuz get mbouj ndaej Our father is in pain and not recovering
Boh raeuz gyaej mbouj nyinh Our father is sick and not coming round
Boh raeuz bingh mbouj ndei Our father is ill and not getting well.
(H 663-665)

Here *ndaej* (“get well”) rhymes with *gyaej* (“sick,”) and *nyinh* (“regain consciousness”) rhymes with *bingh* (“sick”).

There is one example of a triptych followed by an additional quasi-parallel line. Again, the same kinds of variations and displacements are found as in category A1 above. The point here, as with quasi-parallel lines generally, is that these are likely to be perceived by listeners and reciters in the performance context as not different from lines with strict syllable-by-syllable matching and complete syntactic correspondence. For reasons of space I will not analyze the examples of four parallel lines, which simply present longer concatenations of strictly parallel and quasi-parallel lines.

C. Special Patterns

There are altogether 108 lines that exhibit various special patterns, in which strictly parallel lines are incorporated in more complex patterns.

Parallel Lines ABAB

There are altogether ten examples, a total of 40 lines, that conform to this pattern. It is often found when more complex sets of relationships are being discussed, or when an analogy is drawn between two realms of experience. The next example is a comment on the functions of chiefly governance, serving as a transition from a disquisition on the dangers of enmity to the beginning of the actual story, which is about a particular chieftain (“king”):

<i>Lag cib soem gouj soem</i>	For a wicker fence ten spans long or nine,
<i>Aeu diuz ndeu guh dongh</i>	Takes one piece of wood to serve as a post.
<i>Biengz cib boux gouj boux</i>	In a realm with ten men or nine,
<i>Aeu boux ndeu guh saeq</i>	Take one man to serve as the chieftain.

(H 88-91)

The analogy of fenceposts and chiefly functions is a commonplace in Zhuang society.³⁴ It should be noted that the ABAB pattern here is syntactically motivated; that is to say, these lines could not also appear in the order: “For a wicker fence ten spans long or nine / In a realm with ten men or nine // One takes one piece of wood to serve as a post / One takes one man to serve as the chieftain.”

Another example of this pattern appears in the speeches of the old king’s prospective father-in-law and mother-in-law, explaining to the matchmaker why it is unthinkable to allow their daughter to marry the king:

<i>Baz vuengz baenz baz vuengz</i>	Only the wife of a king can be the wife of a king,
<i>Boux biengz lawz ndaej ciemq</i>	How can a subject of the realm usurp [this position]?
<i>Byacoeg vanz byacoeg</i>	Only a green bamboo carp returns to a green bamboo carp,
<i>Byandoek lawz ndaej ciemq</i>	How can a pond-corner fish usurp [its place]?

(H 269-272)

The reference is to a well-established practice of status endogamy among Zhuang royal lineages. Commoners were generally not allowed to marry into royal families, and if they did, the children of such unions were themselves regarded as commoners and had no rights to an inheritance (Wilkerson 2013). In this set of lines, commoners and royal families are set in metonymic juxtaposition with different fish species, the *byacoeg* “green bamboo carp” being highly prized as a fine-tasting fish and the *byandoek* (“pond-corner fish”) being a common and not particularly tasty fish. The green bamboo carp and the pond-corner fish, of course, do not mate.

In some cases the ABAB pattern is used to link Zhuang conceptions of the social order with Chinese Taoist-style categories of cosmic powers:

<i>Doengfueng ien roengz daeuj</i>	Let the Enmity of the Eastern Quarter come down,
<i>Ien beix-nuengx doxdwk</i>	The Enmity of older and younger siblings who hit each other.
<i>Namz fueng ien roengzdaeuj</i>	Let the Enmity of the Southern Quarter come down,
<i>Ien boh-lwg doxndoiq</i>	The Enmity of father and son who club each other.
<i>Saefueng ien roengzdaeuj</i>	Let the Enmity of the Western Quarter come down,
<i>Ien gvan-baz doxndaq</i>	The Enmity of husband and wife who curse each other.
<i>Baekfueng ien roengzdaeuj</i>	Let the Enmity of the Northern Quarter come down,
<i>Ien yah-bawx doxceng</i>	The Enmity of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law who quarrel with each other.

³⁴ The same analogy is found in a scripture on the origins of chieftaincy. This is also part of a wider pattern of discourse in Zhuang society, rather than an isolated metaphor.

<i>Cunghyangh ien roengzdaeuj</i>	Let the Enmity of the Center come down,
<i>Ien da-daiq baihnaj</i>	The Enmity of father-in-law and mother-in-law on the husband's side.

(H 39-48)

This passage is found at the point in the text where the Enmities of the Five Cardinal Directions are summoned down into the ritual arena and installed in their spirit-seats, prior to the beginning of the actual narrative. The five cardinal directions, listed in this particular order, are a Chinese ordering mechanism, and in Chinese Taoist texts one frequently finds sets of five deities ruling over the East, South, West, North, and Central directions. This framework here has been imported into a Zhuang-language scripture through the collaboration of local vernacular priests with Maoshan Taoists, and the Enmities have been linked to discord between specific sets of Zhuang family members. The ordering principle in this case is Taoist and Chinese, but the kin categories themselves remain indigenous.

Parallel Lines AABB

This is not a common pattern, with only two examples and eight lines altogether in this formation. Like the ABAB formation, it is often found where more complex comparisons are drawn between two realms of experience. The following example is a series of lines spoken by the matchmaker to the parents of the widow as she tries to persuade them to allow her to be married off to the king:

<i>Bouxlawz ndaem haeuxfiengj</i>	“Whoever plants foxtail millet,
<i>Bouxlawz ciengx lwgmbwk</i>	Whoever raises daughters.
<i>Lwgmbwk haq bae rog</i>	Daughters are married off to the outside,
<i>Haeuxfiengj doek bangxbaq</i>	When foxtail millet is sown it falls on the wild slope.”

(H 283-286)

The poetic structure here is double-layered, with the first and second lines in parallel relation and the third and fourth lines likewise. The focus is, however, on “foxtail millet” in the first line, and then again in the fourth line, with the comment on “daughters” sandwiched in the middle. These lines instantiate a form of chiasmus, which we could label $A_1A_2B_2B_1$. Rhyme is found throughout, going from *fiengj* (“foxtail millet”) to *ciengx* (“raise”), and then from *lwgmbwk* (“daughters”) to *lwgmbwk*, and finally from *rog* (“outside”) to *doek* (“drop”). Agricultural analogies with sex, marriage, and human reproduction frequently appear in this text, and reflect a wider pattern of metaphorical discourse in Zhuang and Tai village society. In this society, listeners would readily understand the connection between planting crops and raising children. (see lines 272-273 and 294-295).³⁵

³⁵ In this particular example, listeners would know that foxtail millet is a crop that is planted on the non-irrigated hill slopes, on marginal agricultural land, rather than on the irrigated wet-fields in the valleys. Raising sons, by contrast, is compared with planting wet-field rice on the best land.

D. Lines with Repetition of a Line Head, Coda, or Mid-Section

Long series of parallel lines with persistent repetition of a line segment are sometimes used for special purposes, and often for great rhetorical effect. The following example on the origins of Enmity is 22 lines long. The first three words are mostly in subject-verb-object formation, and the lines end either with *baenz ien* (“created enmity”) or *goj ien* (“also [created] Enmity”) The rhyming pattern is the third syllable (the “end rhyme”) rhyming with the first. In the following passage, I have underlined rhyming syllables:

<i>Ndwi mbouj miz maz ien</i>	Originally there was no Enmity at all,
<i>Vaiz dangh <u>gyaj</u> baenz ien</i>	The buffalo trod on the rice-seedlings and created Enmity,
<i><u>Max</u> haeuj naz baenz ien</i>	The horse got into the wet-field and created Enmity.
<i>Yiengz roemx lag goj ien</i>	The goat barged through the fence and likewise created Enmity.
<i>Euj rangz <u>ndoek</u> goj ien</i>	Breaking off bamboo-shoots also creates Enmity,
<i><u>Ngoeg</u> rangz <u>fai</u>z goj ien</i>	Wiggling loose the shoots of sweet bamboo also creates Enmity.
<i><u>Lai</u> coenz <u>hauq</u> goj ien</i>	Too many words also create Enmity,
<i><u>Gauq</u> beix-nuengx goj ien</i>	Suing your elder or younger sibling also creates Enmity,
<i>Laeg bya daemz goj ien</i>	Stealing fish from the pond also creates Enmity.
<i>Guh laux vunz goj ien</i>	Being a village elder may also create Enmity,
<i>Caux guh swq goj ien</i>	Acting as a go-between also creates Enmity,
<i>Baz bae youx goj ien</i>	Wives going to their lovers also create Enmity.
<i>Buenq lwg <u>vaiz</u> goj ien</i>	Peddling buffalo calves creates Enmity,
<i><u>Gai</u> lwg vunz goj ien</i>	Selling other people’s children creates Enmity.
<i>Cuengq caengh <u>mbaeu</u> goj ien</i>	Selling things with a balance that weighs light creates Enmity,
<i><u>Aeu</u> caengh <u>naek</u> goj ien</i>	Buying things with a balance that weighs heavy creates Enmity.
<i>Laeg haeux yiu goj ien</i>	Stealing rice from a granary creates Enmity,
<i>Daeh bak lai goj ien</i>	Putting forth wordy arguments creates Enmity.
<i>Lingz sing <u>mak</u> goj ien</i>	Monkeys quarreling over fruit create Enmity,
<i><u>Nag</u> sing <u>bya</u> goj ien</i>	Otters quarreling over fish create Enmity,
<i><u>A</u> sing <u>gaeq</u> goj ien</i>	Crows quarreling over chickens create Enmity.
<i><u>Saeq</u> sing <u>biengz</u> goj ien</i>	Chieftains quarreling over domains create Enmity,
<i><u>Vuengz</u> sing <u>inq</u> goj ien</i>	Kings quarreling over Seals of Office create Enmity.

(H 53-74)

The tight formation with rhyming syllables in this text suggests that this passage is a fixed segment. Lexical repetition is, however, evidently given precedence over metrically motivated rhyme in this series.³⁶ Discursively the passage begins as an origin myth, but then is transformed

³⁶ Absence of rhyme is otherwise not uncommon in parallel verses in this text, and the proportion of non-rhyming lines would not seem to be noticeably higher than average.

quickly into a list of reasons for enmity in present-day village society. The purpose of this passage is not just to explain but to warn.

An example of an extended series of parallel lines later on in the scripture is an instance of the opposite pattern: here, it is the two syllables at the beginning of the line that are repeated. This passage, a total of 18 lines, describes the murderous enmity between Hanvueng and his step-brother Covueng, and their struggle over the inheritance:

<i>Dox sing biengz gaem inq</i>	You struggle over the realm to grasp the seal.
<i>Dox sing inq roeg venz</i>	You struggle over the seal with the lark-shaped handle,
<i>Dox sing cienz ciuh boh</i>	You struggle over the money of your father's forebears.
<i>Dox sing mboq bya raiz</i>	You struggle over the springs with their spotted murrel,
<i>Dox sing ngaenz ciuh boh</i>	You struggle over the silver of your father's forebears.
<i>Dox sing mboq ngaenz caw</i>	You struggle over the springs of silver and pearls,
<i>Dox sing re sam hoih</i>	You struggle over the fishnets three turns in size.
<i>Dox sing hoiq bingz daeuz</i>	You struggle over the slaves with their flat-topped hair,
<i>Dox sing maeuz ningx nauh</i>	You struggle over the royal bonnet with its crown of red jasper.
<i>Dox sing cauq seiq rwz</i>	You struggle over the cooking pot with its four handles,
<i>Dox sing ruz cib cau</i>	You struggle over the boats with their ten oars.
<i>Dox sing mbauq coengmingz</i>	You struggle over the smart young men,
<i>Dox sing rin baenz cax</i>	You struggle over the stone on which to grind the knives.
<i>Dox sing nangz byoem baij</i>	You struggle over the young ladies with their hair that sways,
<i>Dox sing naih fwed lungz</i>	You struggle over the women with their hair like soaring dragons.
<i>Dox sing vunz lingzleih</i>	You struggle over the people who are quick and capable,
<i>Dox sing gyu daengx gaen</i>	You struggle over the salt by the pound.
<i>Dox sing ngaenz daengx bak</i>	You struggle over the silver by the hundred.

(H 539-556)

Here the opening two syllables *dox sing* ("mutually contend") are followed in each line by a noun phrase, with a noun as the third syllable and the next two syllables following adjectivally. Waist-end rhyming is quite pervasive, and falls on the fifth and the third syllables. Here as elsewhere, lexical repetition is acceptable for rhyming syllables. Incidentally this passage is fascinating for its insight into royal inheritance and the material and social bases of chiefly power. Even modest chiefly domains could be quite rich, with wealth and power concentrated in the hands of the royal lineage. This wealth extended to ownership of people (slaves, commoners, women, and young men) as well as natural resources. This litany provides an inventory as it were of this chiefly wealth.

A very similar list is found near the final resolution of the conflict toward the end of the scripture, when Covueng is told to return all of the old king's inheritance to Hanvueng. In that

passage (lines 1466-76), however, the first two words are *Nuengx doiq* (“Younger brother return”) (various items). Most of the items listed are the same, and in the same order.³⁷

Single parallel couplets beginning with repetition of one or two words also appear, as we saw in section A3, where there is a couplet beginning with the words *Boh raeuz* (“Our father . . .”). Rather than seeing such couplets as a variation on the textual strategy discussed here, it makes more sense to see such extended series of lines as a development from such couplets.

Series of lines with repeated words in the middle of the line are also found. Here is one example, with an adjective in the first syllable position, the next three syllables repeated, and different verbs as the final syllable. The context here is that the old king has been widowed, and is living all alone without a wife to care for him. The topic of these lines is the king’s clothes:

<i>Lengq mbouj miz boux fong</i>	When they were worn out there was no one to mend them,
<i>Mong mbouj miz boux saeg</i>	When they were dirty there was no one to wash them,
<i>Ndaek mbouj miz boux dak</i>	When they were wet there was no one to dry them,
<i>Nwk mbouj miz boux sah</i>	When they were filthy there was no one to rinse them.

(H 102-05)

The rhyme pattern here is quite regular throughout, with the last word in each line rhyming with the first word in the next line.

E. Non-Parallel Lines

Typically a series of lines in parallel couplets is brought to an end by an isolated line that is not in parallel relation with the following line, and does not rhyme with either the preceding or the following line. This isolated line (or lines) can be viewed as a marked variation that serves as a kind of punctuation. The effect of this is significant. Whereas we would usually think of strictly parallel couplets as marked, and isolated poetic lines as unmarked, in this particular tradition, rhetorically, the reverse can be true.

One or more single non-parallel lines, also without rhyme, often occur at the end of long sequences of parallel couplets or parallel lines with special rhetorical patterns. Such single lines are used to insert a sonic break from the regular and insistent sonic patterning of what went before them. Typically, there is either a succinct summing up of the situation at that point, or an important transition. Changes of scene or scope are frequently signaled by a series of staccato single lines, and single lines are also used frequently in the second half of the text to signal a change of speaker. Sometimes, longer runs of parallel couplets are brought to a close by one or two isolated non-rhyming lines, but often there are longer passages consisting of non-parallel lines. The following passage describes an incident during Hanvueng’s sojourn in the land of Geu, when his father ordered two youths to find him and bring him back to his own domain:

³⁷ This is an example of what Greg Urban (1986:15) refers to as macro-parallelism, defined as “formal similarity or parallels between larger blocks of discourse, wherein a cluster of sentences, occurring at one point in the narration, is repeated with certain substitutions at a later point.”

Hanquengz cingcaux hauq
Gou mbouj dauq biengz laeng
Gou mbouj un biengz boh
Song mbauq dauq daengz ndwi
Boh caux hauq dih-danz
Sou bae raen rox miz
Song mbauq lwnh cih-cangz
Raen Hanquengz doengh-naz
Bak maeq lumj doq-cingz
Caen lumj vuengz liux-nauq
De mbouj dauq biengz raeuz
De mbouj aeu biengz boh

Hanvueng thereupon spoke:
 "I will not return to the domain that is my own,
 I will not covet the domain of my father."
 The two youths returned empty-handed
 The father then spoke emphatically:
 "Did you go to see him or not?"
 The two youths told him all a-chatter,
 "We saw Hanvueng in the midst of the fields,
 His mouth was as pink as a hornet's,
 He truly was the image of a king entirely.
 He is not returning to this domain of ours,
 He is not taking the domain of his father."

(H 630-41)

There are only two parallel couplets in this passage, the first one being the second and third lines (631-32) and the second one being the last two lines (640-41). Rhymes are also sparse: the first one is *hauq* ("speak") at the end of line 630 which rhymes with *dauq* ("return") in the middle of line 631, then *laeng* ("one's own place") at the end of line 631 rhymes with *un* ("covet") in the middle of line 632. After that we have to wait until *nauq* ("altogether") at the end of line 639 rhymes with *dauq* ("return") in the middle of line 640 before waist-end rhyming is restored. There are also two single lines announcing the beginning of direct speech, with mimetic phrases at the ends of the lines (634 and 636, *dih-danz* and *cih-cangz*); neither of these is followed by the anticipated second line.³⁸ In this short passage we have three separate direct quotations, and a change of scene from the land of Geu to the home domain. The youths' journey is not described. The long series of single lines provides a change of narrative pace, and the lack of rhyme creates an effect that is quite stark compared with the sonic landscape of waist-and-tail rhymes preceding and following it.

There is a definite relation between isolated non-parallel lines here and their actual semantic content and narratological function. Important turning points in the narrative, and lines containing salient information, are often found in the form of isolated lines or a series of isolated lines. In certain sections of the narrative, where there are passages of direct speech, the beginning of the speech and sometimes the end point of the direct quotation are marked by isolated lines. The effect heightens listeners' attention: when the normally expected second-half of a parallel couplet fails to follow on, listeners become alert to the abnormality and, as one would imagine, pay particular attention to what follows.

³⁸ Compare the example cited in Section A above, where *dih-danz* is echoed by *dih-dad* in the following line.

Concepts in Tandem

Apart from a classification of the various forms taken by parallel lines, we can also point out at least some of the main categories of words or phrases used in parallel relation to each other. These concepts include: numbers, kinship terms, personal names or titles, mimetic phrases, natural kinds (father and mother, crow and eagle), and Chinese-native parallels. All of these categories are culturally significant at different levels in the Zhuang and Tai conceptual world. As in Chinese popular religion, numbers are often generally freighted with cosmological significance, and choice of specific numbers may involve calendrical or astral categories connected with otherwise hidden constellations of benign or baleful forces (see Holm 2004:261-80, Text 12). However, some of them tend to be less meaningful than others. Numbers are sometimes chosen for the sake of the rhyming requirements, and do not necessarily refer to actual specific numbers with ritual significance. Pairing and alternation of numbers, in other words, can be one of the more mundane devices for generating parallel verses.

The same can often be said of the two-syllable mimetic phrases frequently found at the ends of lines of verse. As noted above, two-syllable mimetic phrases are a characteristic feature of parallel couplets in the poetic tradition of this region. In fact, they are also widespread in other Zhuang-speaking regions. Mimetic phrases are typically also used to signal the beginning of a speech:

Yahdaiq hauq dih-danz
Goengda han dih-dad

The mother-in-law spoke deliberately,
The father-in-law answered emphatically.
(H 267-68)

In this text the paired phrases *dih-danz* and *dih-dad* are frequently found together in successive lines, as in this example, and always in this order. These words actually have some lexical content, indicating that someone is speaking insistently, so they are translated here and elsewhere as “deliberately” and “emphatically.” Elsewhere in this text these lexical meanings are, however, often either very attenuated or inappropriate. Used in this way, they are reminiscent of the way in which epithets are frequently used in Homeric verse, that is, in a formulaic fashion. In this text, however, their main function is not to suggest ironic distance, as so often is the case in Homer, but simply to signal the beginning of direct speech by a different speaker.

Mimetic phrases operate on a different level from other word classes, that of direct sensual perception. In village society such phrases are an important part of ordinary people’s use of language, forming a repertoire of items that reflect people’s experience of the world more directly than ordinary description. Their deployment in ritual verse taps directly into this perceptual universe. Even here we find, however, that in some contexts these phrases seem semantically less full, and pairings seem to be chosen for the sake of rhyme.

Beyond these categories, the subject matter and narrative line of the poem themselves generate a set of pervasive paired oppositions, most notably between the two protagonists, Hanvueng and Covueng. Because the two protagonists are step-brothers, the terms for older and younger siblings (*beix* and *nuengx*) are also frequently in parallel opposition. Other kin terms such as father and mother, mother-in-law and father-in-law, patrilateral relations and affines, also

appear, since the plot includes the narrative about the old king's remarriage to a widow, conflict between the mother-in-law and her son-in-law, Hanvueng, and Hanvueng's subsequent death at the hands of his step-brother, Covueng. Hanvueng's ascent to the sky and his installation as a sky god further generate a set of parallel relations between the earthly domain of his step-brother and the heavenly realm he governs. Before his death, Hanvueng's sojourn in the land of Geu (Jiaozhi, present-day northern Vietnam) generates a horizontal geographic opposition between Geu and his father's old domain.

Natural Kinds

To what extent do we find paired concepts in the *Hanvueng* text in which, metaphorically, there is a relation of identity between two concepts or entities, as is well documented for some Austronesian areas? Zhuang texts seem to lack the kinds of "double names" found in Austronesian ritual languages, that is, paired names referring to the same entity (Fox 1988:168). What we do find is natural kinds with overlapping semantic fields. We have room here for only one example: the parallelism between the crow and eagle. The crow and eagle are recruited by Covueng to serve as messengers to his step-brother Hanvueng in the realm of the sky; they make their first appearance in the text at lines 1034-35, and they remain part of the narrative almost until the final resolution near the end of the scripture (lines 1349-50). *Langzyiuh* ("eagle") and *lang'a* ("crow") are found in parallel relation a total of nine times, while *yiuh* ("eagle") and *a* ("crow") are paired a further 21 times. The puzzle is how birds that are so seemingly different in size and habits can be regarded as "the same."³⁹ Both are carnivores, but eagles soar and seize live prey, while crows are black and eat carrion. Part of the explanation has to do with Zhuang ethnobiological classifications, and part to do with the identification of the species involved. It is interesting that *langz* is used with reference to both crows and hawks. This head noun seems to be connected with the Buyang word for "hawk," a word that is also found widely in the languages of mainland Southeast Asia.⁴⁰ Its use here is poetic, and it is not usually found in the Zhuang spoken register. The Zhuang word for "crow," *a*, however, is also used for large black raptors such as kites, even though the primary referent is crows.⁴¹

The Zhuang word that is usually glossed as "eagle" is *yiuh*, a Han loan from *yào* 鵟 ("hawk"), which is usually used in Zhuang to refer to short-winged hawks such as sparrow-hawks. As a generic noun-head for compound bird names, however, *yiuh* has a coverage that is much wider, including vultures and kites. Among the raptors found in the Guangxi area are a number of large, black or dark-colored species, including eagles and kites. Among these, the black-eared kite (*Milvus lineatus*) is reported to be the most common raptor in China, and is particularly salient because it is large and black. It is sometimes out of place in a text such as this

³⁹ For further detail, see Holm and Meng (2015:337-38).

⁴⁰ Buyang is a Kadai language related to Gelao, Lachi, and Laha. On the Buyang presence in Zhuang areas, see Holm (2003:160-61).

⁴¹ In Bouyei the usual word for crow is *al* or *duezal*, but the word *al* is also used for kites, as in the phrase *al daz saic* ("The kite seizes the chickens").

to make a specific identification, rather than a more general one, but at least the size, color, and habits of this bird fit the context and the parallel relation with crows (Holm and Meng 2015:429).

Both eagles and kites have the habit of soaring high above the ground, and perhaps, it is to this habit that they owe their mythical prominence. In contrast, crows are mythically salient because they “announce funerals”—unlike magpies, which “announce weddings.” Elsewhere in Zhuang verse, *a* (“crows”) and *yiuh* (“hawks”) are found in parallel relation. In the “daytime songs” (*fwenngoenz*) of Pingguo county, crows and hawks appear in their role as messengers (Luo Hantian 2009:51):

<i>Geiq saenq hawj duz a,</i>	Entrust a letter to the crow,
<i>Geiq sa hawj duz yiuh,</i>	Entrust a piece of paper to the hawk,
<i>Yiuh lawz rox daeh sa,</i>	Which is the hawk who knows how to carry paper,
<i>A lawz rox daeh saenq?</i>	Which is the crow who knows how to carry a letter?

The role of messengers is, of course, the role the crow and eagle play in the present text, as well as that of intermediaries between earth and sky.

Chinese-Native Parallels

Finally, let us look briefly at the question of parallelism between native and Chinese-derived words and concepts. An “inter-ethnic” dimension to parallelism is also found in other cultures in the Southeast Asian area. In the Indonesian archipelago, James Fox (1974:80-81) noted the pairing of words from the eastern and western divisions of the island of Roti within dyadic sets. Further afield, comparable pairings of terms from local and dominant languages have been documented.⁴² Sometimes such pairings are not immediately obvious. Let us return to our first example, the opening lines of the text:

<i>Sam gaiq sam vuengz ciq</i>	The Three Realms were established by the Three Kings,
<i>Seiq gaiq seiq vuengz caux</i>	The Four Realms were created by the Four Kings.
<i>Vuengz caux laep caux lienz</i>	The Kings made the darkness and made the light,
<i>Vuengz caux dien caux deih</i>	The Kings made Heaven and made the Earth.

(H1-4)

The point of interest here is that lines 1 and 2 both refer to cosmological schemata, but they are different in origin and reference: the first is Chinese or Buddhist and the second is indigenous.⁴³ Likewise, the “darkness” and “light” of line 3 refer to macrocosmic phenomena, as do the “Heaven” and “Earth” of line 4, but these pairs belong to different cosmogonic traditions, *laep*

⁴² See in this volume Kerry Hull on Spanish terms in Ch’orti’ Mayan ritual discourse and Eila Stepanova on Russian terms adapted into the register of Karelian laments.

⁴³ The Three Realms of the first line are a reference either to the Buddhist Triloka or to the Taoist Three Realms, while the Four Realms refer to the Sky, Earth, Seas, and Forested Mountains, each with its spirit owners. For full discussion, see Holm (2004:69-70).

and *lienz* being indigenous categories and *dien* and *deih* being Chinese. It seems as if here in each couplet we do not have two statements that can be said to metaphorically represent a single meaning, rather two statements that are “about” “the same” category but represent separate traditions in dialogic relation to each other (Mumford 1989).

This is, however, to view the matter from a scholarly, philological viewpoint. Different folk interpretations circulate locally, and also among Zhuang scholars. According to one interpretation that appears in print, the word *gaiq* in the first two lines is not a Han Chinese borrowing meaning “world” (Standard Chinese *jiè* 界), but the generalising classifier *gaiq* meaning either “lump” or “kind of stuff”).⁴⁴ There is ample evidence elsewhere in the *Hanvueng* text that local people, including the priests, who were literate after their own fashion, were often not able to tell which words were Han borrowings and which were native words. On this level then, lines 1 and 2, and lines 3 and 4, could indeed be understood to be “about” the same thing.

Elsewhere in Zhuang ritual texts, these Chinese-native parallels are more salient. As I have noted in an earlier study on a cosmogonic scripture on buffalo sacrifice (Holm 2003:36-37):

A particularly interesting feature of the parallelism in these texts is the way in which indigenous Zhuang concepts are frequently brought into parallel relation with terms borrowed from Han Chinese. Thus the Han terms *dien deih* “Heaven and Earth” in one line are followed in the next line by the Zhuang terms *mbwn ndaen* “heaven and earth”; the Han borrowing *bek singq* “the Hundred Surnames” (that is, the common people) is followed by *bouxminz* “the people” *nienz* “year” (from Ch.年 *nian*²) is used in parallel with the indigenous word *bi* “year,” *gangj* “to speak” (from Ch.講 *jiang*³) matches *naeuz* “to say,” *loh* “road” (from Ch.路 *lu*⁴) matches *roen* “path,” and so on.

I continue (37):

The incorporation of Han borrowings into the Zhuang lexicon—and the incorporation of Taoist concepts into the language of the *bouxmo*—affords a poetically useful wealth of synonyms, but one suspects something more deliberate at work here. It suggests the inter-ethnic dimension of such pervasive grammatical and rhetorical parallelism was constitutive of a relational conception of their own cultural identity.

Such pairings are also found in the *Hanvueng*, but their importance seems to be much less obvious than in the buffalo-sacrifice scripture from Donglan. The purpose of the latter, which is not explicitly stated, was to draw a continuous line of connection between the narrative of successive Chinese sage kings who created the world and civilization, and the chronicle of the succession of native chieftains who ruled the domain of Donglan—in other words, through narrative juxtaposition, to turn a southern barbarian chiefly house into the legitimate inheritors of a Chinese line of descent.

With the *Hanvueng* scripture, we are not concerned with the Chinese state, but rather with the chiefly domain itself and its governance. The essential point is the nature of chiefly political

⁴⁴ Zhang Shengzhen (1991:41 n.10); translated in Holm (2004:64 n.8).

power and position, which are seen as stolen, with the present incumbent chieftains permanently in the debt of the rightful rulers in the sky, and under obligation to pay annual rent and send sacrificial gifts. To draw out the implications in terms of current scholarly paradigms, this scripture is not about “the Chinese state and local society” nor does it describe a trajectory of “Chieftains into Ancestors,” as the title of a recent book by Faure and Ho (2013) puts it. Rather, what we have here is a trajectory of “Chieftains into Sky Gods.” Sky gods, it must be noted, are altogether different: ancestors can be assimilated, and can be understood as Chinese, or as retrospectively Chinese, but the sky gods remain fundamentally and irretrievably Thai. If the *Hanvueng* scripture is to be read as a charter myth, it is a charter myth for the institution of annual royal sacrifices to the sky gods, as practiced until recently by the Thai-style polities in mainland Southeast Asia (Archambault 1991).

I infer from this that Chinese-native parallels may be a common feature in Zhuang parallel verse, but it would be unwise to generalize too readily about its significance, as I did in the 2003 passage quoted above. Prevalence of such a device in any particular ritual text is likely to be partly a function of the overall purposes of the ritual.

Conclusion

In this essay I have surveyed some characteristics of the use of parallelism in the *Hanvueng* text, and presented a typological overview. This kind of synoptic overview is not one that is part of the cultural knowledge of the Zhuang people themselves, certainly not in this form. Rather, what I have presented is a kind of read-out of what the vernacular priests actually do, as exemplified in this selected text that is recited in particular ritual circumstances. What we have found in this analysis is that priests rely primarily on poetic couplets in strict parallel relation to each other, as the bread and butter of ritual recitation, but then also subject poetic lines in this basic mode of operation to variation: additive variation, in the case of sequences of three or four strictly parallel lines; off-centered variation, as it were, in the case of quasi-parallel lines; elaborated variation, in the case of four-line ABAB, ABBA, and AABB patterns; and extended repetition, in the case of longer sequences of lines with shared beginnings, ends, or middle sections. Finally there is one example of “macro-parallelism,” a long series of lines repeated further on in the recitation, with appropriate variation in wording. Given the additional requirements of interlocking waist-and-tail rhymes, these longer sequences are impressive pieces of verbal art, as well as rhetorically powerful, and they give the impression of being fixed sequences of lines rather than the product of extempore versification at some time in the past. It is their fixity, of course, which allows the possibility of macro-parallelism.

The resulting typology is descriptive rather than theoretical, but it nevertheless is useful as a tool for assessing whether particular types or degrees of variation in parallelism co-occur with certain contexts and content, or operate as distinct rhetorical strategies with particular effects. Such typologies may also highlight constraints on parallelism in the form of variations that are rare or do not occur. It can thus become a tool of wide applicability with the potential to produce new insights into the traditions to which it is applied.

As a second step, I have subjected this typology to re-evaluation from the perspective of the ongoing performance of the recitation as it emerges in time. This brings back into consideration a variety of emic perspectives, including those of the reciting priests, family members, and audience. In this re-evaluation, we have found that there is a tendency for some typologically distinct categories to merge, to be seen as “much the same thing” at the point of their delivery in real time and as perceived by those present at the ritual. In a sense, this approach through performance reunifies (line-based) parallelism as a pervasive and fundamental structuring principle of the oral-poetic discourse. This is not to say, however, that this re-evaluation tends toward unity, or results in the collapse of all categories. Rather, it tends to highlight the acoustic, rhetorical, and emotive contours of the performance within its cultural context, and allows us to see more clearly the often high degree of artistry in the performance from a culture-internal perspective.

I have given some examples of the way in which strictly parallel couplets and more complex poetic formations are employed for rhetorical effect, along with lines that are not parallel. The role played by non-parallel lines is actually a matter of some importance. Given the length of the text and the relatively long time it takes to recite it, what does one do, within the structural constraints of five- and seven-syllable verse and chanted recitation, to provide sufficient variation so that the effect does not become soporific? The interruption of the smooth rhythm of parallel lines one after the other, the frustration of the expectations of the parallel line to follow, and the interruption of the sonic flow of rhymed and alliterative verses serve as a form of punctuation, alerting both audience and performer that something different is on its way. As we have seen, such non-parallel lines are employed at key transition points in the narrative, and extended runs of uninterrupted non-parallel and non-rhyming lines can be used to great effect, heightening narrative and poetic tension.

We can begin to see here how the frustration of conventional expectations of parallelism or rhyme may serve, along with other means such as interludes or sudden sounds (such as that of the thunder block), to alert the assembled audience to changes in mood or to major transitions, as a form of rhetorical counterpoint. The poetic structure as a whole can then be described as one in which pervasive parallelism is punctuated by anti-parallelism. This aspect of the typology and re-evaluation I have presented here may well be worth further study.

I have also provided some examples of the categories of words and concepts that are brought into parallel relationship with each other. This is very preliminary, but it serves to show at least that the tradition is one in which there are pairings of words that are conventional, such that the appearance of one of the pair in the first line will lead to anticipation on the part of the listeners that the other member of the pair will follow in the next line. This is particularly the case in this tradition because the paired words almost always appear in fixed order. Indeed, it would be possible to produce a dictionary of Zhuang ritual language composed of such conventional pairings, along the same lines as James Fox has produced for Roti in Indonesia.

Finally, I discussed examples of parallelism between Chinese and vernacular mythic models. It is interesting here that we find indigenous concepts pervasively paired with Chinese, and we could refer by analogy to Fox’s discovery of local and metropolitan lexemes brought into parallel relation in Rotinese. In our text, however, there is evidence of both invocation and of divergence, of move and counter-move. There are times when it seems as if the temporal and

spiritual power of the Chinese state is being invoked, to be harnessed for local ritual purposes, but then, at least here, the text moves on to give an account of political power, its origins, and its own links with celestial powers and the unseen realm that are quite otherwise. I have written elsewhere of how Zhuang culture exhibits two faces simultaneously, one facing towards the capital of empire and the other resolutely autonomous and in charge of its own domain (Holm 1999). Here we have another example of the same two-fold orientation.

In ongoing social life, “inside” and “outside” perspectives are found in parallel relation to each other at every level. The village community exists for itself, but also exists in relation to outsiders. The family likewise has its own micro-culture, which exists in relation to those of other families in the village community. “People like us” exist in relation to “people who are not like us.” All of this is continuously articulated in the ongoing discursive life of the community. Likewise, people do not talk about the basic facts of social life *in vacuo*, but in parallel relation to entities in the natural world. Girls are like dry-land crops, boys are like wet-field rice, children are like flowers, and family and kin are like plants with roots and branches. These habits, taken together with evidence from the text under consideration here, suggest that underlying the surface phenomena are pervasive patterns of dialogicality in Zhuang semantics, religion, and cultural life.

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“Said a Word, Uttered Thus”: Structures and Functions of Parallelism in Arhippa Perttunen’s Poems

Jukka Saarinen

Parallelism is one of the most outstanding features of the Finnic (or Balto-Finnic) tradition of oral poetry that is found throughout areas of present-day Estonia, Finland, and adjacent parts of Russia. Performers of this poetry speak several different but closely related languages: Finnish, Karelian, Ingrian, Votic, Estonian, and Seto. Nevertheless, the poetic idiom, or register, is quite uniform, sharing the basic characteristics of meter, non-stanzaic structure, alliteration, and parallelism, with some anticipated regional variation.¹ It has various names in different languages. In Finland and Karelia, the most common designation is *Kalevala-metric* or *kalevalaic poetry*² or *runolaulu* (“runo song”).³ In Estonia it is usually called *regilaul* or *regivärss*.⁴

The poetic form has a strikingly broad range of uses for diverse genres, such as narrative poems, lyric and ritual songs, recited incantations, proverbs, and riddles. Many genres were connected to different sorts of social situations or discourse functions and a variety of modes of performance that also varied regionally. Across diverse communities and language areas where this poetry was documented as a living tradition, the poetic form exhibits great dynamism in its continuities and historical endurance in contrast to its range of uses in different practices. When considering variation in the poetic form, the most significant historical factor has been changes in language and dialect. In both western regions of Finland and to the south near the Gulf of Finland, words became somewhat shorter, but further south in Estonia the shortening of words was greater and began earlier. The metrical form historically was based on a trochaic tetrameter with flexibility in the first foot, which means that a basic line had eight syllables, although an extra syllable or two could be added in the first two positions.

¹On the meter and poetic form, see further Sadeniemi (1951), Kuusi et al. (1977:62-8), Leino (1986:129-42), and Sarv (2000).

²Anachronistically named for the Finnish national epic *Kalevala* (Lönnrot 1835 and 1849). The Finns and Karelians seem to lack a uniform indigenous designation for the register.

³From *runo* (“poem,” originally “poet,” “singer”) and *laulu* (“song,” “singing”). This designation stresses ways of performing verses but is not accurately representative of the tradition in its entirety.

⁴*Regilaul* stresses ways of performing verses (*laul* “song,” “singing”), and *regivärss* stresses the poetic form (*värss* “verse,” “line”).

Alliteration is another distinctive feature in *kalevalaic* poems, although it is not technically required within every verse line. There are two kinds of alliteration in these poems: in “strong alliteration,” words begin with the same vowel, as in *Ulappalan ukko vanha*, or with the same consonant followed by the same vowel, as in *Vaka vanha Väinämöini*; in “weak alliteration,” only the first consonant is repeated, as in *Vihannalla yainivolla*. Changes in the lengths of words and other phonological changes increase variation in the syllabic rhythm of the tetrameter to different degrees on a regional basis, while the shortening of words allows more words to be used in a line, which can enhance alliteration in some regions (see Sarv 2008:171-183 and Frog and Stepanova 2011:198-204). Semantic parallelism in this poetic form has also been observed to vary somewhat between the northern and southern regional divisions previously mentioned, with an increase in repetition of sounds and words across parallel lines in the southern region, but this has been suggested to be related to the increase in the number of words possible in parallel lines where words become shorter (Sarv 1999:131-32).

Background of Research

In Finnish research, parallelism has been recognized for a long time. Henrik Gabriel Porthan, an eighteenth-century scholar who wrote an influential study of Finnish poetry, *De Poesi Fennica* (1766-88), dedicated a substantial part of his presentation to parallelism. He calls it “repetition of thought”; according to Porthan (1766:22), parallelism was considered “quite indispensable” in this poetry. Other scholars have dealt with parallelism in their writings. Elias Lönnrot (1802-84), compiler of the Finnish national epic *Kalevala* (1835 and 1849), wrote extensively on metrics and alliteration in poetry, for example, in the preface of *Kalevala*, but he failed to write on parallelism. Lönnrot’s lack of discussion on this topic is more striking because he expanded the use of parallelism in *Kalevala* much more than it was found in original folk poetry (Steinitz 1934:17 and Krohn 1918:73).

Discussions of parallelism in the northern form of this Finnic tradition were given a central position in international discussions on parallelism by the German linguist Wolfgang Steinitz in his study *Der Parallelismus in der Finnisch-Karelischen Volksdichtung* (“Parallelism in Finno-Karelian Folk Poetry”). Steinitz studied parallelism by using the repertoire of one singer, Arhippa Perttunen (1769-1841), from Viena Karelia. His approach to the question is linguistic and very systematic. It is impossible within the limits of this paper to offer a comprehensive overview of his study, but a few key points are worth mentioning.

Steinitz’s work seems to be the only monograph thus far produced in Finland that has concentrated exclusively on parallelism. In later research Matti Kuusi has perhaps been the most influential Finnish scholar who has written on parallelism, although folklorists after Kuusi have generally focused less on the formal aspects of poetics until the last few years (Kuusi 1949:91-93, 1983:191-95, and 1952:257-61; in English, see Kuusi et al. 1977). Kuusi proposed a formal definition of parallelism that is introduced with a critical discussion and illustrative examples below. In Estonia, on the other hand, parallelism has been studied much more

extensively. Theoretical discussions on parallelism have been more prominent in Estonia than in Finland, and there are several important works on the subject.⁵

The aim of this article is to provide a general description of verse parallelism as it is found in northern areas of *kalevalaic* poetry. This essay is less concerned with theorizing parallelism and its semantics than with the formal aspects of its operation in *kalevalaic* poetry, especially in relation to patterns in usage that become observable through quantitative analysis that builds on and extends current knowledge of parallelism in this tradition.

The Current Study

My interest in parallelism arises from my study on the poetics of one of the most prominent singers of this tradition, Arhippa Perttunen (1769-1841), from the Latvajärvi village in Viena Karelia—the same singer whom Steinitz used for his own study on parallelism. Arhippa was one of the most important informants, or “singers of poetry,” for Lönnrot when he was collecting poetry for *Kalevala* (Lönnrot and Magoun 1963:365-66). Arhippa presumably was born in 1769 in Latvajärvi village in the parish of Vuokkiniemi, where he lived until his death in 1841. Lönnrot met Arhippa on his fifth trip to collect poetry in April 1834, and spent three days with the aged singer. Arhippa impressed Lönnrot with his good memory and with his songs, which Lönnrot felt were coherent and internally well-organized. Arhippa was later met by two other collectors: Johan Fredrik Cajan (1815-1887) in 1836 and Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813-1852) in 1839. Together these three collectors recorded about 85 texts and text-fragments, totaling 5,995 lines of epic, lyric, and magic poetry.

The analyses presented here are based on examples from the repertoire of Arhippa. By removing the text-fragments, I have built a corpus of 5,874 lines that serves as the primary research material for my study. I consider *poetics* to be a kind of grammar that regulates the way lines and poems are composed, and features like metrics, alliteration, and parallelism play an important role in this grammar. Though I examine the “grammar” of one singer, I do not propose that it is the singer himself who has composed the lines that he sings during the performance or prior to it. Like Steinitz, I examine the grammar of the tradition in texts selected from an individual singer’s repertoire.

Among the different areas where this poetic form can be found, Viena is a remote northern region where traditional poetry was maintained more conservatively through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth (Siikala 2002 and Tarkka 2013). This region has been considered the most conservative with regard to meter (Leino 1986:129-42). The poetic idiom is very similar on both sides of the Finnish-Russian border. Arhippa, like other people in Latvajärvi, spoke the Viena dialect of Karelian. In *kalevalaic* poetry, the linguistic divide between its use by speakers of Karelian and speakers of the adjacent Finnish dialects is mostly reflected on the phonetic level. I discuss below the form used in the northern tradition area, contrasting it to southern Finnic areas on the Karelian Isthmus, Ingria, and Estonia. Arhippa was

⁵See, for example, Metslang (1978), Peegel (1997), Sarv (2000:85-96), and Labi (2006); in English, see also Sarv (1999).

in several respects an exceptional singer, and his repertoire has provided an empirical basis for major studies of poetics that have proven historically enduring (Steinitz 1934 and Sadeniemi 1951). At least in terms of the formal aspects of the poetic system, Arhippa's poetry can be considered representative of the northern tradition. These findings on how these poetics work in Viena, however, should not be assumed to be fully representative of the tradition in all regions, but these findings remain relevant for comparison in the analysis of parallelism in those regions.

Forms and Principles of *Kalevalaic* Verse Parallelism

This essay deals specifically with a form of semantic parallelism called verse parallelism: the repetition of the same content using different words while applying the same syntax. The same content can refer to a wide range of semantic relations, ranging from strictly synonymic to many kinds of analogical relations. When speaking of verse parallelism, the unit repeated is most frequently a single line, the basic eight-syllable unit of *kalevalaic* poetry. Half-line parallelism occurs when the unit repeated is only half a line long, and line-pair parallelism occurs when the repeated unit is two lines. These phenomena resemble each other in many respects, and I include them in the notion of verse parallelism. There are also parallel sequences in which the repeated unit is longer than two lines in the poems,⁶ but these will not be discussed here.

In the anthology *Finnish Folk Poetry: Epic*, Matti Kuusi et al. (1977:66), a former professor of folklore at the University of Helsinki, defines “the principal rules” governing the composition of parallel sets of lines:

The repeated line, or lines, must not contain anything that does not have a corresponding component in the first line. In echoing the first line, the repeated line has to parallel each separate item, apart from verbs and particles.

In other words, the first line is syntactically the most complete, and the parallel line or lines can be elliptical. In the first example the words in the first line have their counterparts in the parallel

⁶See also Frog, “Parallelism Dynamics I,” in this volume.

line (indented);⁷ in the second example the parallel line lacks a counterpart to the 3rd person singular, past tense verb *puuttu* (“became caught”) owing to ellipsis:⁸

<i>Tek-i</i>	<i>tiijo-lla</i>	<i>veneh-tä</i>
make-PST.3SG	knowledge-ADE	boat-PART
<i>Lato</i>	<i>purt-ta</i>	<i>laula-ma-lla</i>
pile-PST.3SG	sailboat-PART	sing-INF-ADE

Made a boat with his knowledge,
built a craft with his singing.⁹

<i>Puuttu</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>onke-hen-sa</i>
be.caught-PST.3SG	fish	fishing.rod-ILL-3SG.POSS
<i>Taimen</i>	<i>takla</i>	<i>rauta-han-sa</i>
trout	tinder	iron-ILL-3SG.POSS

A fish bit (lit. “was caught on”) his (fishing rod’s) hook,
a trout on his fire steel’ (lit. “tinder iron”¹⁰).

Kuusi’s definition needs some refinement, even correction, because it rapidly becomes apparent from the corpus that not every word in a parallel line necessarily has its own corresponding word in the main line, as illustrated in the following example:

⁷All the examples are taken from a research corpus of reconstructed texts, built for my own study, based on texts that were recorded in oral performances from Arhippa Perttunen in 1834, 1836, and 1839 (Saarinen, forthcoming; see also Saarinen 2013). The examples are glossed following the general guidelines set out in the Leipzig Glossing Rules, which can be found at <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>. The original texts belong to the folklore collections in the Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS KRA Lönnrotiana 5:66-109. 1834, J. Fr. Cajan 3:461-89. 1836, M. A. Castrén 1:14-149. 1839) and they are published in *SKVR* I, Volumes 1-4.

⁸List of glossing abbreviations:

ADE	adessive (case)
GEN	genitive (case)
ILL	illative (case)
INF	infinitive
PART	partitive (case)
PERF	perfect (tense)
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRS	present (tense)
PTCP	participle
PST	past (tense)
SG	singular

⁹Glosses and translations are by the author and Keith Bosley (Kuusi et al. 1977).

¹⁰The word *takla* (“punk,” “tinder”) might actually be here a phonetic variant of *takra* (“bait”), which actually would make more sense in the context: “bait-iron” = “fish-hook.”

<i>Kuin</i>	<i>sie</i>	<i>valki-n</i>	<i>valjastele-t</i>
if	you	white.horse-GEN	harness-PRS.2SG
	<i>Länkitä-t</i>	<i>hyvä-n</i>	<i>hepoise-n</i>
	collar-PRS.2SG	good-GEN	horse-GEN
<i>Vihanna-lla</i>		<i>vainivo-lla</i>	
green-ADE		meadow-ADE	
	<i>Pyhä-n</i>	<i>pello-n</i>	<i>pientare-lla</i>
	holy-GEN	field-GEN	edge-ADE

If you harness the white horse,
 if you collar the good horse
 on the green meadow,
 on the edge of the holy field.

It is more accurate to speak of “components” or “elements” in a line that is described grammatically as phrases: noun phrases (NP), adjective phrases (AP), adpositional phrases (PP), adverbial phrases (AdvP) and verbs (V). In the first verse-pair the corresponding components are the verbs *valjastelet* / *länkität* (“harness” / “collar”) and the object-NPs *valkin* / *hyvän hepoisen* (“white horse” / “good horse”). In the second verse-pair the parallel components are the locational NPs with different attributes: an adjective *vihannalla* (“green”) and an adjective + genitive *pyhän pellon* (“holy field”).

Also, it is not only verbs and particles that can be left unparalleled through ellipsis, though they are the most frequent. In the following case the elided phrase is the NP that acts as the object in the sentence:

<i>Lask-i</i>	<i>virkk-u</i>	<i>vitsa-lla</i>
hit-PST.3SG	horse-PART	rod-ADE
<i>Helähytt-i</i>	<i>helmi</i>	<i>vyö-llä</i>
twang-PST.3SG	bead	belt-ADE

Hit the horse with a rod,
 clouted with a beaded belt.

In this last example the nature of the relationship between the corresponding phrases is noteworthy. The first verb *laski* (“hit”) has a literal meaning of striking the horse with a rod, whereas the parallel verb *helähytti* (“twang”) refers to an abrupt action producing a certain kind of sound. It is not a transitive verb, but in this parallel context it can be interpreted as referring to the same action as the parallel verb. Similarly the instrument used for striking in the main verse is a *vitsa* (“rod”), but its equivalent in the parallel verse designates a different type of object, a *helmivyö* (“pearl-belt” or “belt decorated with pearls”)—still, in the context of parallelism they refer to the same object. Although the verse presents an established formula of the poetic idiom, a determinant in the word choice is alliteration—*helähytteä* and *helmi*. The word used for “horse,” *virkk-u*, is also not the most common one but has the same initial letter as the word for

rod, *vittsa*. There is strong alliteration in both lines: *vi-* / *vi-* and *he-* / *he-*. Mari Sarv (1999:127) has argued that the flex in the semantics of individual words in order to meet the sound requirements of alliteration has become intertwined with the use of semantic parallelism in this form of Finnic poetry. In her view, the repetition of the same idea serves in part to resolve the semantic “haze” produced by word choices determined more by sound than by sense.

Steinitz makes the important point that parallelism is closely connected to alliteration (see also Sarv 1999:132-37). Besides the “vertical” relations between words in separate lines, Steinitz advocated that one should look at the “horizontal” relations between words in the same line as well (1934:182-83). Very often alliteration links words within a line, and its influence on the choice of words is clearly recognizable. An example from Arhippa’s poems illustrates this:

<i>Ve-i</i>	<i>sammo-n</i>	<i>venoise-he-nsa</i>
bear-PST.3SG	sampo-GEN	boat-ILL-3SG.POSS
<i>Talu</i>	<i>talka</i>	<i>pohja-ha-nsa</i>
carry-PST.3SG	keel	bottom-ILL-3SG.POSS

Bore the *sampo*¹¹ to his boat
 carried (it) to his keel-bottom (boat).

The corresponding verbs (3rd person, singular, past) *vei* (“to convey,” “bear”)—*talu* (“to bear,” “lead”), are quite synonymic, though *talu* (from *taluo*) is not a verb normally used in this kind of context. The object *sammon* (“a mythic, wealth-producing artifact”) has no parallel in the second line—there is an ellipsis—while *venoini* and *talka pohja* both refer to the boat. The word *venoini* is a diminutive form of *veneh*, the standard word for boat, whereas *talka pohja* refers to bottom of a boat, which has a *talka* (“a protecting board attached to the keel”) in the bottom. The whole is referred to metonymically, and at the same time we get some information on the boat’s appearance: it is a boat with a *talka*. *Talkapohja* is a *bahuvrihi* compound, which points to a referent by specifying some characteristic or quality of the referent. *Bahuvrihi* compounds are a typical way of composing poetical synonyms that, in a parallel line, often correspond to more referative (that is, words with a more referential meaning) words in the first line (Peegel 1997:51-54). The first line employs standard or normal words that have a neutral referential meaning, but there is still strong alliteration. The words in the second line are more unusual, and there is a descriptive designation for the boat, one that is definitely not used in everyday speech. The words share a semantic likeness with their counterparts in the first line, but their mutual bond through alliteration is similarly significant when we think about the principles on which this line pair is composed.

Words in parallel lines typically obtain their meaning in context, in relation to their counterparts in the first line. So it is quite usual that parallel lines contain verbs meaning some undefined activity, such as verbs referring only to the sound produced by the action. The reverse, however, does not occur: either the words in the first line are more referentially specific to the

¹¹ In *kalevalaic* poetry (and in *Kalevala*), the *sampo* is the magical object of indeterminate type constructed by the smith Ilmarinen.

action, or there is no difference in referentiality; this is indicated by the fact that the order of the lines can sometimes appear changed, even in the repertoire of one singer.

In half-line parallelism one line contains two parallel parts. An example of this is the title of this essay:

<i>Sana-n</i>	<i>virikko</i>		<i>noin</i>	<i>nime-si</i>
word-GEN	say-PST.3SG		thus	name-PST.3SG

Said a word, thus uttered.

Most often the eight-syllable line is divided evenly: both parts have four syllables. Structures like 3+5 syllables, however, are possible too:

<i>Kuu-n</i>	<i>luota</i>		<i>lomasta</i>	<i>päivä-n</i>
moon-GEN	from		between	sun-GEN

From the moon, from between the sun.

The line *Sanan virikko noin nimesi* is an introductory phrase for direct speech: invariably the next line repeats the words of one of the participants. The first part, *sanan virikko*, can be quite directly translated as “said a word” > “said,” though the verb *virkkoo* is not the most common for this sense. The parallel verb *nimesi* (3rd, singular, past) literally means “named” and obtains its meaning in the semantic field of “saying something,” which is derived from the first part of the line. The quite redundant object-NP *sanan* of the verb “said” has a counterpart from a different linguistic category: *noin* “thus,” which is an adverb. Lines containing half-line parallelism can have parallel lines of their own, can be independent lines with no parallels, or they can be parallel to other lines. Many kinds of combinations are possible.

If the unit that is repeated consists of two lines, we can speak of line-pair parallelism. These lines can form one clause, as in the following example, or consist of a main clause and a subordinate clause:

<i>Käkyvö-t</i>	<i>kukahteloo-pi</i>		
cuckoo-PL	call-PRS.3SG		
<i>Korja-n</i>	<i>kirjava-n</i>	<i>kok-i-lla</i>	
sleigh-GEN	colorful-GEN	prow-PL-ADE	

<i>Oravaise-t</i>	<i>juoksentel-i</i>		
squirrel-PL	run.about-PST.3SG		
<i>Aiso-i-lla</i>	<i>vaahter-is-i-lla</i>		
shaft-PL-ADE	maple-ADJ-PL-ADE		

<i>Tetryö-t</i>	<i>kukerteloo-pi</i>
black.grouse-PL	coo-PRS.3SG

<i>Peällä</i>	<i>luoki-n</i>	<i>kynnäppä-is-en</i>
on [lit. head-ADE]	collar.bow-GEN	elm-ADJ-GEN

Cuckoos are calling
 on the prow of the colourful sleigh.
 Squirrels ran about
 on the maple shafts.
 Black grouses were cooing
 on the collar-bow of elm.

Though they function very much like line parallels, parallel line pairs generally lack an ellipsis, with rare exceptions. In other words, all the phrases of the main line pair have their counterparts in other lines. In this example the activities of animals dramatize the excitement of a hero riding in his sleigh in a series of analogical processes that appear simultaneously. Animals (cuckoos, squirrels, black grouses) move around or make sounds on parts of the sleigh. The first line pair refers to the whole of the sleigh with a single pattern of alliteration that includes all the words, which can be seen as emphasizing it as a two-verse unit (see Frog, “Parallelism Dynamics II” in this volume). The other line pairs refer to the sleigh metonymically, through descriptions of its parts’ wooden materials (maple, elm). In the second and third line pairs, there is no alliteration at all within any of the lines, which suggests that in this type of parallelism the correspondence of components in the first line pair may take precedence over conventions of alliteration within a line.

Statistical Analysis

In presenting the scope and frequency of parallelism in the selected poems, I highlight two facets of the question. First, I present the percentage of lines classified as “parallel.” Second, because parallel sets can vary from two lines up to seven here, I present the percentage of sets of different length. I also consider a line that is not followed by parallel verses as a kind of “parallel set.” This way it is possible to describe how frequently those isolated lines appear in the poems.

I have divided the material broadly into three categories: narrative poems, incantations, and other poetry (mostly lyrical). Table 1 presents the number of lines and percentages of first lines (including lines not followed by parallel verses) and parallel lines in the three categories:

Table 1.

	Narrative	Incantations	Other	Total
First line	2,428	893	266	3,587
%	63.4	57.3	54.7	61.1
Parallel line	1,402	665	220	2,287
%	36.6	42.7	45.3	38.9
Total	3,830	1,558	486	5,874
%	100	100	100	100

Parallel lines are a less common in the narrative poems than in the other categories. This might be connected to the types of lines that Steinitz (1934) found most often to have no parallels at all: lines for naming (*Eigennamerverse*) and for introducing direct speech (*Sagte-Verse*). These two types are typical to epic poetry. In general, less than half, or about four lines out of every ten, are parallel lines in Arhippa's texts.

There are 3,587 parallel sets in the corpus. Table 2 gives the amounts and percentages of parallel sets of different lengths: 1) one line (lines lacking parallel verses), 2) two lines, 3) three lines, and 4) four or more lines:

Table 2.

	Narrative	Incantations	Other	Total
1 line	1,279	345	91	1,715
%	52.7	38.6	34.2	47.8
2 lines	972	451	147	1,570
%	40	50.5	55.3	43.8
3 lines	125	85	17	227
%	5.1	9.5	6.4	6.3
4 or more lines	52	12	11	75
%	2.1	1.3	4.1	2.1
Total	2,428	893	266	3,587
%	100	100	100	100

Parallel sets of only one line, or lines lacking parallel verses, are most common in narrative poems. Of those parallel sets that contain more than one line, sets of two lines are by far the most frequent. According to this data, an ideally "average" text of ten parallel sets would be comprised of five solitary lines, four sets with two lines and only one set with three or more lines. On the other hand, the number of parallel sets of only one line is 1,715, which is only 30% of all 5,874 lines of the corpus, so seven lines in ten form part of some parallel structure.

Table 3 presents the figures for half-line parallelism. The percentages in the table are of the full corpus, and the division is made between lines with half-line parallelism, which serve as the first line in a parallel set, and those that serve as parallel line. About 5% of the lines include half-line parallelism, which is more common as a first line. In the total corpus, half-line parallelism appears as a first line in about three out of four cases. At first glance, there may seem to be a pronounced difference between the percentage of first line uses in narrative poetry (80.5%), in incantations (71.3%), and other poetry (62.5%). These differences of proportion, however, should be viewed in light of the greater frequency of parallel sets of a single line in narrative poetry as shown in Table 2, and the number of instances is very low especially in the category of other verses, so the proportion of difference may be in part an accident of the sample. Notably, the line *Sanan virkko noin nimesi* occurs 57 times in the corpus; so the prevalence of first line uses in narrative poetry owes much to its popularity in Arhippa's idiom. Had he chosen to use another formula known to him in order to introduce direct speech in these situations (for example, *Niin sano sanalla tuolla* "So he said with that word"), the proportion of half-line

parallelism in narrative poetry would have dropped approximately to the same level as incantations.

Table 3.

	Narrative	Incantations	Other	Total
as first line	161	67	10	238
% of all lines	4.2	4.3	2.1	4.1
% of half-line parallelism	80.5	71.3	62.5	76.8
as parallel line	39	27	6	72
% of all lines	1	1.7	1.2	1.2
% of half-line parallelism	19.5	28.7	37.5	23.2
Total	200	94	16	310
	Narrative	Incantations	Other	Total
% of all lines	5.2	6	3.3	5.3
% of half-line parallelism	100	100	100	100

Table 4 shows the relationship between alliteration and parallelism in the first and parallel lines:

Table 4.

	First line	Parallel line	Total
no allit.	898	420	1318
%	25	18.4	22.4
weak allit.	1006	371	1377
%	28	16.2	23.4
strong allit.	1683	1496	3179
%	47	65.4	54.2
Total	3587	2287	5874
	100	100	100

Parallel lines seem to contain more alliteration, especially strong alliteration. First lines have more weak alliteration, which could be connected to the fact that first lines, on average, have more words, which increases the probability of randomly occurring alliteration. First lines often begin with short adverbs and pronouns like *niin* (“so”), *siitä* (“from there,” “then”), *silloin* (“then”), and *tuo* (“that”), which makes any words beginning with “n,” “s,” or “t” in the line alliterate—and words in Finnic languages begin with those sounds quite frequently.

Statistically verse parallelism in Arhippa’s repertoire consists mostly of an alteration of solitary (or un-parallel) lines and sets of two parallel lines. On average only one parallel set in every ten sets is longer than two lines. Only one-third of all lines, however, are solitary; because part of the solitary lines contain half-line parallelism, the proportion of lines that are not involved in any parallel structure is even smaller.

Semantics of Parallelism

In Finnish studies semantic relationships between lines have often been reduced to relationships between words, what Wolfgang Steinitz (1934:179-81) later described as *parallelismus der Worte* (“parallelism of words”). Perhaps the most significant early theorist on this topic was Kaarle Krohn, who was one of the founders of the Historical-Geographic, or Finnish Method, in folklore studies. Krohn (1918:72-83) describes “laws of thought” according to which individual words of a line relate to each other through parallelism. These “laws” are based on certain principles that define the relationship. The “law of similarity” includes identity, synonymy, resemblance, opposition, abstract versus concrete, concept versus metaphor, generic versus particular, whole versus part, and concept versus property; the “law of connection” includes spatial, temporal, and causal connection (*ibid.*). For example, *venehtä* (“boat”) / *purtta* (“sailboat”) could be defined as a synonymic parallel, while *kala* (“fish”) / *taimen* (“trout”) combines a generic category with particular variety within that category (Krohn 1918:74-78 and 1926:80-82).

Wolfgang Steinitz (1934) made a major contribution to the discussion of parallelism in the tradition and to discussions of parallelism more generally in advancing the division of parallelism in two types: synonymic parallelism (*der synonyme Parallelismus*) and analogical parallelism (*der analoge Parallelismus*). He further divides analogical parallels into many categories: opposing, varying, lists, and so on. In his opinion these two types of parallelism had not been properly distinguished in previous studies. For example, he criticizes Kaarle Krohn for neglecting the difference between them. Steinitz understands that words belonging to these two groups should be studied separately. He is also not satisfied with Krohn’s classification: he argues that Krohn’s classification is not based on the materials themselves, but it has been externally imposed. Steinitz argues that classifying thousands of parallel word pairs in Krohn’s system would not be very useful, although he admits that he could not develop a satisfying classification system for parallel words. He focuses on one category, an “especially interesting group of parallel words, namely the identical” (1934:181). Steinitz concludes his observations by giving an example of organizing parallel noun pairs into conceptual categories (*Begriffskategorien*). He defines categories like mythical and religious beings, inanimate nature, animals, humans, parts of the body, objects, time, and spiritual concepts. He lists examples of the kinds of parallels that the words in each category receive, but he does not analyze the list (179-215). In comparison to Krohn’s approach to parallelism through his “law of similarity” and “law of connection,” Steinitz’s system is very static. Krohn’s principles or “laws” can be translated as processes that are involved in the composition and transmission of tradition. Of course Krohn aimed at reconstructing the original text, and, for him, analyzing these and similar principles was merely a means to understand how a poem had changed over time. If, however, we dismiss Krohn’s paradigm of slow devolutionary change and understand the principles he proposes as features of poetic grammar, I think they can be used as a starting point for establishing refined and more developed rules of this grammar.

Steinitz (1934:41-64) does not concentrate only on what is parallel, but also on what is not. He finds certain types of lines that are more often unparallel rather than having a parallel line. The most important of these are lines including proper names (*Eigennamerverse*) and lines

used to introduce direct speech—he calls them “said-lines” (*Sagte-Verse*). These can also be combined: lines like *Sanoi vanha Väinämöinen* (“old Väinämöinen said”) always appear without a parallel line.

The division between synonymic and analogical parallelism is valid, but the distinction is not as clear cut as Steinitz claims. Semantic relationships between parallel lines are diverse and their limits fuzzy. More generally Steinitz seems reluctant to deal with meanings beyond asserting this basic division. His approach is otherwise focused on formal criteria, and when discussing word parallelism, he concentrates on word classes and morphology. He makes observations on semantic relations between words in his handling of these formal features, but his observations do not form any uniform system.

A major part of the parallel sets in Arhippa Perttunen’s poems can be characterized as synonymic: lines that refer to objects and actions that can be considered “the same” when examined from a different angle. Mostly, these sets also consist of two lines: they form couplets or pairs. But parallel sets in which each line has a more distinctive meaning are common as well. An example of these is a clause in two sets, where *Pohjon akka* (“the mistress of Pohjo”) asks the smith Ilmorini to forge the mythic *sampo*:

<i>Kuin</i>	<i>sie</i>	<i>loaji-t</i>	<i>uuve-n</i>	<i>sammo-n</i>
If	you	make-PRS.3SG	new-GEN	sampo-GEN
	<i>Kirjo</i>	<i>kanne-n</i>	<i>kirjoale-t</i>	
	colorful	cover-GEN	embroider-PRS.2SG	
<i>Yhe-n</i>	<i>joukoise-n</i>	<i>sula-sta</i>		
one-GEN	swan-GEN	feather-ELA		
<i>Yhe-n</i>	<i>värttinä-n</i>	<i>muru-sta</i>		
one-GEN	distaff-GEN	piece-ELA		
<i>Yhe-n</i>	<i>villa-n</i>	<i>kylkyvö-stä</i>		
one-GEN	wool-GEN (?)	snippet-ELA(?)		
<i>Maijo-sta</i>	<i>mahova-n</i>	<i>lehmä-n</i>		
milk-ELA	barren-GEN	cow-GEN		
<i>Yhe-n</i>	<i>osraise-n</i>	<i>jyvä-stä</i>		
one-GEN	barley-GEN	grain-ELA		

If you make the new *sampo*,
 embroider the colorful cover,
 from one feather of a swan,
 from one piece of a distaff,
 from one snippet of wool
 from the milk of a barren cow,
 from one barley-grain.

The first parallel set is synonymic: *sampo* is *kirjokansi* (“colorful cover”). In the second set *Pohjon akka* states the materials required for making *sampo*. The *sampo* is not just any object,

and it must be forged using those materials that are expressed in the parallel set. The set is structured around the use of the word *yhe-n* (“one-GEN”), which appears in every line except one. Remarkably there is no alliteration: only the line that lacks the word *yhen* has strong alliteration, and—disputably—the last line has weak alliteration, two words beginning with a different vowel.¹² These lines express ingredients, which are minimal, of one piece. All the ingredients are different and all are needed: besides sharing the qualities “minimal” and/or “impossible,” they also refer to important economic activities: agriculture, animal husbandry, or hunting. Parallelism here indicates some sort of equivalence between the items listed. The deviant line (*Maijo-sta*) expresses an ingredient that does not exist.

The same formulaic construction based on *yhen* is found elsewhere too. In a lyric poem, which would presumably be performed during a feast when people gather to drink, eat, and sing, Arhippa sings:

<i>Mikä</i>	<i>meät</i>	<i>koolla</i>	<i>soatto</i>
what	us	together	bring-PST.3SG
<i>Kuk</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>tuo-nut</i>	<i>tuku-lla</i>
who	be-PRS.3SG	bring-PERF	wad-ADE (?)
<i>Juo-ma-han</i>	<i>yhe-n</i>	<i>pikari-n</i>	
drink-INF-ILL	one-GEN	goblet-GEN	
<i>Yhe-n</i>	<i>kannu-n</i>	<i>koato-ma-ha</i>	
one-GEN	jug-GEN	pour-INF-ILL	
<i>Kuin</i>	<i>yhe-n</i>	<i>emoise-n</i>	<i>lapse-t</i>
like	one-GEN	mother-GEN	children
<i>Yhe-n</i>	<i>kanta-ma-t</i>	<i>kapoise-n</i>	
one-GEN	carry-PTCP-PL	girl-GEN	
<i>Yhe-n</i>	<i>peipoise-n</i>	<i>pese-mä-t</i>	
one-GEN	finch-GEN	wash-PTCP-PL	
<i>Yhe-n</i>	<i>sotka-n</i>	<i>suoritta-ma-t</i>	
one-GEN	scaup-GEN	dress-PTCP-PL	

What summoned us,
 who brought us together
to drink one goblet,
 to pour down one jug,
like children of one mother,
 carried by one girl,
 washed by one finch,
 dressed by one scaup.

¹² On so-called “vowel alliteration,” see Leino (1970:219-49).

There are three parallel sets: the first and the second form an interrogatory clause—who (or what) summoned us?—and the last set could be described as a parable. The singer compares himself and his audience to siblings: “children of one mother, carried by one girl.” The word *kantamat* (“carried by”), the parallel of *lapset* (the standard word for “children”), is a participle denoting something “carried” in the womb of a *kapo* (“girl”). The participle-parallels continue in the next lines, where the actions are “washing” and “dressing,” and the mother is paralleled in metaphors expressed through birds: a finch and a snow bunting. The word *yhen* links these two last sets together. Except for the first line in both sets, the lines contain strong alliteration. In this case the parallel verses present analogical equivalents that describe the same relationship in a series of metaphors; this series differs from the example about the materials needed to make the *sampo* in that there is only an accumulation of metaphors, not of the things to which they ultimately refer. Metaphors are uncommon in parallel sets: metaphors stand mostly alone and are often marked by words *niin kuin* or *kuin on* (“like”). The last set is, in a way, a metaphor in itself—a metaphor of the participants at the feast—and contains another metaphor—a metaphor of the mother and her children.

Perspectives

Verse parallelism is a poetic device that figures throughout *kalevalaic* poetic tradition and encompasses all of its genres. Over 70% of all lines in Arhippa Perttunen’s poems are part of a multi-line parallel group. If we add the number of examples of half-line parallelism and line-pair parallelism, which is not presented in tables above, the percentage would be even higher. Verse parallelism creates structures that are, for the most part, dual but can extend to longer sets of parallel lines. At least part of these longer sets is situated at points of special significance in the discourse: longer series of parallel lines code and stress meaningful elements in the poems; an example can be seen in the verse on the forging of the *sampo* cited above.

It is interesting to note that melodies and performance patterns often have a dual structure; for example, performing a song by a lead singer and a choir or by a lead singer and an “assistant” who repeats the line or lines sung by the lead singer (see Kallio, this volume). The textual and musical structures seem independent of each other, sometimes converging but diverging again to create a kind of multi-layered fabric (Laitinen 2004:182-83).

Verse parallelism deepens and extends description in the discourse and makes it richer. The relationships that emerge as parallelism are semantically varied: they repeat, expand, contrast, introduce alternative equivalents to the first parallel unit, or embellish the image by referring to it through metonymy. In the dual structure the first line, or the “main line” as it is often called in Finnish scholarly discourse, is always the syntactically valid unit, while subsequent parallel lines may be subject to ellipsis. The main line is often the most semantically valid unit. Words in parallel lines acquire their full meaning only in the semantic field set by the first line, and these words are often unusual, descriptive, and periphrastic, rather than words that form a regular part of everyday speech or conversational register. The first line normally has the full referential power of a proposition, and parallel lines add to this power. In comparison to many other poetic traditions, discourse in *kalevalaic* poetry might seem plain. For example,

kalevalaic epic poems lack rich, extended descriptions of preparing for battle, fighting, sea voyages, and other themes common in epic traditions. But a great part of the expressive and descriptive power of *kalevalaic* poetic tradition lies in parallel lines.

Speaking on alliteration in *kalevalaic* poetry, Pentti Leino (1986:134) states:

Over half the lines in Finnish folk poetry have strong alliteration. In the epic poems about a fifth of the lines contain weak alliteration, and about the same number have no alliteration; in lyric poetry alliteration is somewhat more frequent. It is thus a tendency, not a rule; a poem in the Kalevala metre [*sic*] which contains no alliteration, however, is nevertheless an anomaly, and a description of alliteration is thus added to the metrical grammar.

Parallelism has been considered one of the most important stylistic features in *kalevalaic* poetry. I disagree: parallelism is not a stylistic feature. Parallelism defines *kalevalaic* poetry as much as meter and alliteration. It is not regular like meter, but is necessary and unavoidable. There is no poem without parallelism.

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Parallelism and Orders of Signification (Parallelism Dynamics I)

Frog

Discussions¹ of parallelism in verbal art have customarily focused on semantic and grammatical parallelism between adjacent verses or equivalent units, “similarities between discourse segments that are sequentially juxtaposed” (Urban 1991:60).² It is easy to get the impression that parallelism mainly concerns dyadic pairs that form couplets, even if it is common to acknowledge extended series of parallel verses,³ figures like cross parallelism or chiasmus,⁴ and parallelism between verses separated by one or a few lines of intermediate text.⁵ However, Gerard Manley Hopkins (1959 [1865]:84) reflected that “perhaps we shall be right to

¹Research presented here was completed within the framework of the project “*The Song of Lemminkäinen: A Finno-Karelian Epic in Parallax Perspective*,” funded by the Kalevala Society. It has been developed out of the first half of the paper “Parallelism, Mode, Medium and Orders of Representation,” presented at the seminar-workshop Parallelism in Verbal Art and Performance, held 26th-27th May 2014 in Helsinki, Finland. The approach presented here is largely an outcome of discussions with other scholars leading up to, during, and following that event, among whom I would particularly like to thank Richard Bauman, James J. Fox, Karina Lukin, and Eila Stepanova. I also appreciate the valuable comments and suggestions of my peer-reviewers and the stimulating discussions with contributors to the present collection. I would especially like to thank John Zemke, for his generous feedback, tireless editorial work, and boundless patience that have greatly strengthened this article.

²See, for example, James J. Fox’s classic article “Roman Jakobson and the Comparative Study of Parallelism” (1977), which opens by introducing the potential breadth of the concept (59-60) and then discusses parallelism almost exclusively in terms of adjacent verses (60-81; a revised version of this article appears as Fox 2014:19-40). In his section on “Criteria for defining ‘canonical parallelism,’” Fox (1977:77-80 and 2014:37-40) emphasizes the operation of word pairs in parallelism without linking to his preceding discussion of extended parallel series and complex structures (1977:73-77 and 2014:32-37). He then concludes by referring to “the oral poet, speaking in pairs” (1977:80 and 2014:40), a phrase that became almost emblematic of parallelism through use in the title of the influential collection *To Speak in Pairs* (Fox 1988).

³For example, Barbara Johnstone (1991) distinguishes “[c]anonical parallelism and couplet structure” (21-27) of the A₁ A₂ B₁ B₂ type from “[t]he rhetoric of the series” (27-32) such as an A₁ A₂ A₃ . . . A_n type, implying that a series of more than two members should not be conflated with “canonical parallelism.” Johnstone’s distinction may seem exaggerated, but it represents a way of reading Fox’s “Criteria for defining ‘canonical parallelism.’”

⁴Cross parallelism describes an A₁ B₁ A₂ B₂ pattern while chiasmus describes an A₁ B₁ B₂ A₂ pattern (see, for example, Berlin 1985:83-88; Holm, this volume).

⁵This sort of proximate parallelism forms patterns like A₁ X A₂ X or A₁ B₁ C₁ X X X A₂ B₂ C₂, although these often shift into the background of discussion (see, for example, Austerlitz 1958:47-48; Fabb 2015:160-61 on Lukin 2014:122-29).

say all artifice, reduces to the principle of parallelism,” a perspective that is today more familiar from Roman Jakobson’s view that the “recurrent returns” of parallelism are “the essence of poetic artifice” “at every level of language” (1981 [1966]:98). From this perspective, “recurrent returns” at the level of sounds, words, syntax, morphology, semantic units, and so forth, all fall under the aegis of “parallelism;”⁶ alliteration and rhyme are “only a particular, condensed case of a much more general” phenomenon of parallelism (1981 [1960]:39). It may seem peculiar to some readers that parallel verses that reiterate the same information should be compared to rhyme, but this line of thinking was current at least as early as the seventeenth century,⁷ and is built into the German term *Gedankenreim* (“thought-rhyme”) for semantic parallelism.

In this article I am interested in theorizing and formalizing this broader view of parallelism with a focus on verbal art, and in developing methodological tools for its analysis. Research on verbal art tends to look at how a tradition works in terms of the surface levels of communication—what is heard and seen in a performance situation. Everything involved in the verbal part of communication tends to be viewed more or less exclusively at the level of language. A “theme” in the sense of Oral-Formulaic Theory is thus recognized as a unit of narration but is treated as a unit of language, a unit of utterance, rather than as something mediated by language (for example, Foley 1999:83-86). Here, a central concern is to peel apart the layers involved in communication, separating sounds from the words they mediate, words from the images and motifs they mediate, and these from the signs that they mediate, and so on. When these layers are distinguished, parallelism can be seen as “recurrent returns” of elements within the same layer in relation to the metered frames of units of utterance. Parallelism in each layer can then be looked at in relation to what is happening in other layers, how and whether parallelism in language relates to motifs or themes, and so on.

The approach to parallelism presented here has developed from my work on identifying and understanding units that are meaningful in a tradition, whether they are narrated through language, allusively referred to in conversation, represented iconographically, or enacted. There is nothing profound in observing that a motif is not, strictly speaking, a unit of language but rather something that can be communicated using language or in some other way. Working across language, material culture, and embodied activity motivated me to differentiate types of units in order to address how they interact in use. It became necessary to examine how these units are affected or shaped by a medium such as language and may become interfaced with it. Here, the focus is on verbal art and meaningful units mediated through language in verbal art. However, the platform for approaching the units and their relations has a much broader background. Thus, the definitions of “motif” and other units of tradition described here have

⁶For studies addressing parallelism from this broader perspective, see for example Berlin (1985); Johnstone (1991); see also contributions by Stepanova, and Turpin in this volume.

⁷A century before Robert Lowth (1753:180) famously introduced the term *parallelismus membrorum* (“parallelism of members”), Joseph Mede (1653:114) observed that *Hæbræa poesis rhythmum habuit, non in sono, nisi fortuito, sed in sensu; idem vel simile, diversa phrase reduplicans* (“The rhythm of Hebrew poetry was not in sound, except by chance, but in sense, reduplicating the same or similar phrases”). Jean des Champs refers to parallelism as an *espèce de rime* (“species of rhyme”), a *rime du sens* (“rhyme of sense”) (1754:269). In Latin discussions, *rhythmus sensus* and *rhythmus soni* became paired terms accompanied by the French (Ullholm/Aurivillius 1758:8; in the discussion of Kalevala-meter poetry in Porthan’s 1766:22), when rime and *rhythmus* referred to poetic forms that lacked meter in a narrow, classical sense.

been developed to analyse symbols and their arrangements in Iron-Age burials, how the same units can be found across medieval poetry, prose, and iconography, how verbal art may relate to actions, objects, and the environment in a ritual performance, or the anticipated outcome of violating a taboo (see, for example, Frog 2014a:360-79 and 2015a:35-47). I present an overview of what becomes observable in verbal art when language is distinguished from other signs as a medium for their use and communication.

The discussion is organized with an introduction to terms and concepts in §1. A central tool introduced is John W. Du Bois' "diagraph" analysis (2007:159-62 and 2014:362-63, 376-78). This tool was developed for studying emergent parallelism in co-produced conversation but is applied here for the analysis of verse parallelism and also adapted from use with linguistic units to semantic and symbolic units of expression. The discussion is illustrated through oral kalevalaic epic poetry, although the theory and methodology are more generally applicable. Kalevalaic epic poetry has certain formal qualities and conventions that facilitate discussion, while illustration through a single poetic system also makes discussion more coherent. This tradition is introduced in §2, with relevant consideration of aspects of poetic form, language, units of composition, and some germane remarks on verse parallelism, as well as outlines of the plots of the two epics from which most examples are drawn. In §3 and §4, parallelism based on images and motifs as minimal units of tradition is discussed, followed by what is referred to as higher order parallelism in §5, and a brief conclusion in §6.

1. Some Terms, Tools and Concepts

1.1. Parallelism, Resonance, and Reproduction

Basically, parallelism is a type of repetition with difference in which parallel units are perceived as parallel members of groups (Cureton 1992:263). More specifically, parallelism is here defined as *a perceivable quality of recurrence of sameness or similarity in commensurable units that co-occurs with difference in relation to a metered frame*. The term "metered frame" is taken from Michael Silverstein (1984:183). In an approach to discourse consistent with ethnopoetic analysis,⁸ Silverstein proposes that a unit of utterance presents a "metered frame" in relation to which subsequent co-occurring utterances are perceived (see also Johnstone 1991:33). In Silverstein's discussion, the formal correlation of metered frames and how units of language relate to them is not addressed further. As a consequence, Silverstein's parallelism converges

⁸For an example of what I refer to as ethnopoetic analysis, see Hymes (1981:200-59); see also Tedlock (1983:285-338) and Blommaert (2006:232-41). Ethnopoetics is often seen as a major step forward in Western thought, but during the Classical period, roughly two thousand years before Dell Hymes and Dennis Tedlock were writing, rhythm was already recognized as fundamental to a broader range of linguistic behavior, whereas poetry was more narrowly qualified by formalized meter. As Quintilian points out: *contra nihil quod est prorsa scriptum non redigi possit in quaedam versiculorum genera uel in membra* ("certainly there is nothing written in prose that cannot be reduced to some sort of verses or indeed parts of verses") (*Institutio Oratoria* IX.iv.lii).

with deixis: it is inclusive of anything that refers back to something previously said.⁹ Here, commensurability of units in relation to a metered frame establishes a formal condition to parallelism (see also Du Bois 2014:370). Silverstein's concept of "metered frame" remains a significant contribution to the discussion of parallelism and is further developed here.

Emergent metered frames can be viewed in the light of Reuven Tsur's emphasis on the etymological background of "articulation" as "jointed, separated into well-shaped pieces" (1992:150). Entextualization construes utterance as units: units are "articulated," distinguishing them from one another *as* units. Articulation may be through a formalized meter with regularly recurrent rhythms such as Kalevala-meter introduced below. It may be through units like the "strings" of Karelian laments that are marked by alliteration and melodic contours but are extremely variable in length (Stepanova, this volume). Articulation may also be ethnopoetically marked by breaths, expletives, syntax, melodic phrases, and so forth in aesthetically unmarked discourse as in a stand-up comedy routine (Lindfors, this volume). Each such unit presents a metered frame that allows it to be correlated with other co-occurring units.

Du Bois (2014:397-400) argues that parallelism is a phenomenon of syntax, following Charles W. Morris' (1971 [1938]:22) definition of "the syntactical dimension of semiosis" as "the formal relation of signs to one another." The syntactic role of parallelism is transparent in cases of ellipsis. In example (12) below, for instance, there is no verb in the second verse of a couplet, but it is inferred through the parallelism with the preceding verse: "veri vuodi vembelestä / rasva rahkehen nenästä" (*SKVR* I₁ 163a.6-7; following manuscript orthography) ("Blood ran from the shaft-bow / Fat from the trace's end"). Developing a sort of *Grammatik des Parallelismus* ("grammar of parallelism") was already a concern of Wolfgang Steinitz (1934:xii) in his seminal study of parallelism in kalevalaic poetry. Here, the view of parallelism as a syntactic phenomenon is extended to relations between non-linguistic signs as well.

In order to address "parallelism" as a term and concept, Du Bois has formalized the complementary terms "resonance" and "reproduction." Du Bois (2014:372) defines "resonance" as:

the catalytic activation of affinities across [units of utterance].¹⁰ Resonance is a property of relations between elements of discourse; as such it cannot be attributed to any element in isolation. It represents a developing process of activation and elaboration of certain aspects of the perceived relationship between comparable linguistic elements.

⁹Silverstein's primary concern in this discussion is how conversational participants organize relationships to one another through utterances that relate to prior utterances. He gives particular attention to deictic terms, lexical repetitions, and equivalency and contrast in semantic content. In his later address of the same material (2004), a metered or metricalized frame is referred to as "a conceptual metrics" with emphasis on what he calls "deictic metricalization" (2004:629). Rather than parallelism, the metricality being brought into focus describes the rhythms of reference in dialogue (in literature, see Hasan 2007:23-32).

¹⁰Du Bois has simply "utterances," which is consistent with his emphasis on parallelism across utterances by different interlocutors in dialogic engagement. In this context, he seems to correlate utterance with an ethnopoetic line (see Du Bois 2007:371 #5 and 7, 373-74 #8-9). This may simply be a difference in terminology: when addressing oral poetry, treating each metrical line as a discrete utterance seems to atomize the poetry and may be inconsistent with its syntax.

Resonance creates relations between utterances while parallelism is a product of generating such relations; parallelism can thus be viewed as a form of resonance (2014:374). The utility of “resonance” as a term and concept is that it provides a broader frame for considering the relationality of expressions among which parallelism can occur.

I use “reproduction” to refer to the production of a previously produced signifier in a context where a relationship between the two or more uses is salient (2014:378).¹¹ Reproduction in this sense equates to what is commonly called “repetition” (which may ultimately prove the preferred term in scholarship).¹² However, when parallelism itself is viewed as a form of repetition with variation, it is useful to have a complementary term for distinguishing signifiers that recur in parallel members.

1.2. Orders of Signification

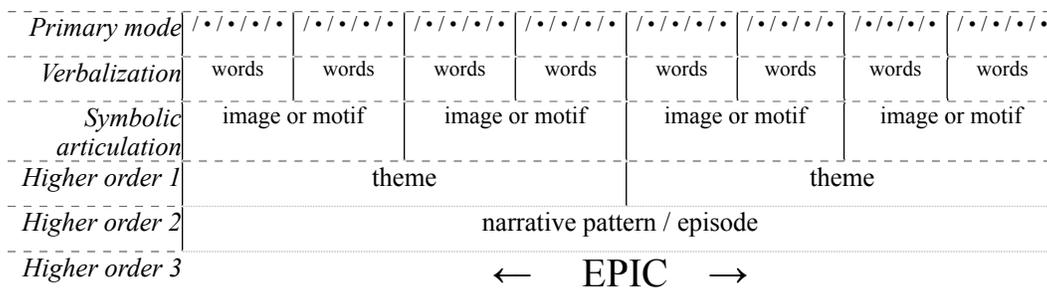


Fig. 1. Visual illustration of expressions manifesting metered frames at multiple levels in signification simultaneously. The different levels are introduced below. The diagram illustrates that the organizing principles of the primary mode of expression structure the units of language; language is in turn a mode for symbolic articulation, and so forth. Each mode formally conditions the metered frames of the following order of signification in relation to its syntax.

Parallelism is a phenomenon of signification. My approach is built on distinguishing different levels in signification. These levels include sounds or script that mediate language, language that mediates other types of signs, signs mediated by those signs, and so on, as in the somewhat idealized illustration of Fig. 1. According to Saussurean semiotics, a sign is made up of a signifier and that which it signifies (Saussure 1967 [1916]:97-103). Words are thus signs: a word is made up of a recognizable signifier and its associated meaning (signified). In Saussure’s terms, the sound through which words are communicated is a signal rather than a sign itself. Words may also mediate signs such as images and motifs. Those images and motifs may, in turn, mediate discrete meaning-bearing units that are also signs. Each level in signification becomes a potential site where parallelism may occur. In this section, the theoretical side of this topic is discussed, along with some of the issues connected with it. Some readers may be satisfied

¹¹ Du Bois includes the recurrence of structures under reproduction as well, which here is addressed as a form of parallelism when the structure recurs with different words.

¹² Use of the term “repetition” has been criticized in the discussion of oral traditions, deconstructing it to reveal its undesirable connotations (for example, Foley 1991:56-59). However, the issue is quite messy because the term “repetition” is rarely formalized and it has a wider range of uses than parallelism. Repeated deconstruction of the term leads its connotations to change, and “repetition” will quite possibly be unburdened of baggage before an alternative is widely established.

drawing the basic principles from Fig. 1 and moving ahead or first going through the empirical examples and then returning to issues of theory. In terms of processes of semiosis, however, Fig. 1 is highly idealized in higher order signification in particular, requiring some discussion.

Two closely related concepts used here are “medium” and “mode” of expression, although concern is almost exclusively with mode. The difference between them is not especially important in the discussion below, but it will be briefly clarified here to avoid confusion. A “medium” is that which mediates; it is a vehicle for signs. Thus, voice is a medium for words, and words, in their turn, can be a medium for other signs. Whereas “medium” here designates a broad category of sign vehicle, “mode”¹³ denotes a conventional way of using a medium. Thus, dictation and sung performance rely on voice as a common medium as a vehicle for language but they employ different modes. Similarly, language provides a common medium for narration in oral epic verse and an epic’s summary in prose, but these may be very different modes of language use. In order to avoid ambiguity, “primary mode” will refer to the conventional mode (or modes) for mediating language in verbal art. Meter or principles of metricalization are here considered to operate at the level of mode (Frog 2012b:52-54). However, concern here with mode (and medium) and its relationship to parallelism remains simply as a layer of signification within the performance tradition of a variety of verbal art. Shifts between modes and uses of different modes on a situational basis will not be discussed.

In an oral form of verbal art, the principles and conventions that structure the primary mode act as determinants on the entextualization of language. For example, phonic requirements of alliteration or syllabic rhythms affect the choice of words and their organization. Because the primary mode is a level of signals as a vehicle for linguistic signs, parallelism manifests as recurrent returns in sounds and their rhythms. These recurrent returns simultaneously form metered frames for units of utterance and occur in relation to them.¹⁴ In many oral poetries, phonic parallelism is particularly salient because it is regular and predicted, whether because it is metrically required or formally prominent. Regular meter and/or the reproduction of melodic or intonational structures also manifest as recurrent returns that can form parallelisms. The organized patterning of recurrent rhythms, intonational structures, and phonic patterns¹⁵ in relation to metered frames make the units of utterance more salient. In the continuous flow of performance, parallelism in the primary mode is both part of the articulation of units of utterance and also organizes them as parallel members of groups, producing cohesion so that they are

¹³ The term “mode” is adapted from Michael Halliday (1978:64, espec.) in *Systemic-Functional Linguistics* (see also Shore 2015:63-66, 68). Halliday’s use of this term sometimes blurs with medium, for example using it to distinguish oral and written “modes” of communication.

¹⁴ Although patterns of rhyme and alliteration are often described as recurrence of the same phoneme, the recurrent sounds are customarily used in the signifiers of different words. In some traditions, these patterns may also occur through *figura etymologica*, a rhetorical figure that uses different but genetically related words in close enough proximity to be noticeable (see also Stepanova, this volume; compare Johnstone 1991:53-55, 62-71 on “root repetition”). A similar effect may be produced by the reproduction of the same word in different inflectional forms, as in example (12) below.

¹⁵ Predictable phonic patterns like alliteration and rhyme have this effect whether they are organized within each unit or recur at the onsets or endings of proximate units.

perceived as being more closely related to one another than to preceding and subsequent discourse.

Of crucial concern here are the differentiation of language from signs mediated by language and the differentiation of orders of signs. The first concern is to avoid collapsing and conflating language with images and motifs as symbols mediated by language. The second is to provide a platform for understanding the workings of how different symbols interact in meaning production, and to avoid reducing them to formal units in structural hierarchies. In connection with these distinctions, another pair of closely related concepts used here is “level in signification” and “order of signification.” As visually represented in Fig. 1, signification, the production of signs, has several layers or levels. “Level in signification” designates any layer in that process, whether it is comprised of signals, like voice as a medium for language, or signs, such as words of language. “Order of signification” (not to be confused with “order of indexicality”¹⁶) refers to a layer of signs in relation to its position in a series of signs mediating other signs. As a rule of thumb, any traditional unit that can be recognized and referred to as meaningful is a sign. Signs that are mediated through language will here be referred to generally as symbols. Drawing on the terminology of John Miles Foley, these symbolic units are described as “integers,” a term that emphasizes that they operate as unitary signifiers with propositional, indexical, or ambiguous significance.¹⁷ The first order of signification is the sign system that you access directly through signals; the second is accessed through the first, the third through the second, and so forth. The relations of these orders can be illustrated as: *Signals* → *O1* → *O2* → *O3* → *etc.* Language can be mediated by voice or writing. When linguistic signs are produced vocally, voice produces signals from which sequences of sounds like /hors/ are perceived as signifiers of linguistic signs like “horse.” In this way, language is apprehended as the first order of signification, and a mythic image of, say, a winged horse communicated through language would be at the second order (*O2*). Addressing orders in terms of “first,” “second,” and “third” leads to a stumbling block when written archival sources are introduced because, technically, an orthographic sign system is interposed at the beginning of the series in order to mediate language in the absence of voice. The system of writing is then the first order of signification (*O1*), language mediated by orthographic signs is the second (*O2*), and so on. To circumvent this technical issue, I consider language as the “primary order of signification” here called “verbalization,” the level of minimal symbolic integers like images and motifs as the “secondary

¹⁶ Indexical orders (Silverstein 2003:193-94) or orders of indexicality (Blommaert 2007:116-18) distinguish the indexicality of signs (that is, associations and connotative significance) related to their denotational use or significance as the first order of indexicality from the indexicality of social uses and users of those signs and registers in society at additional orders of indexicality.

¹⁷ Foley (for example, 1995:2 *et passim*) treats formulae, themes, and story patterns as different structural types of “integers” of the tradition.

order of signification” here called “symbolic articulation,” and levels above symbolic articulation are referred to as “higher orders of signification.”¹⁸

At each order of signification, mode acts as a determinant on organizing signs in relation to syntax in the sense of “the formal relation of signs to one another” (Morris 1971 [1938]:22). In verbalization, the primary mode not only acts as a determinant on verbalization *in situ*: language and mode evolve in a symbiotic relationship (Foley 1999:66-83). Required alliteration, for example, not only conditions word choice in a single performance; it structures the linguistic register as a historical process, equipping the idiom to “say the same thing” within different patterns of alliteration (Frog 2015b:86-88). Language can become “entangled” with features of mode, such as formulaic expressions associated with filling certain metrical positions.¹⁹ Prominent and canonical parallelism similarly motivate the development of equivalence vocabulary, which may also evolve a high degree of formulaicity.²⁰ The question of syntax is relevant because the basic metered frame of the mode, such as a verse, may not correspond to a basic unit of verbal utterance, which may be at the level of a couplet or stanza.²¹ In its turn, the primary order of signification operates as a medium for signifiers at the level of symbolic articulation. The mode of verbalization consequently acts as a determinant on the organization of those symbolic integers in relation to syntax. The signifier of a symbolic integer may be greater than a basic unit of verbal utterance, such as a series of verses,²² but the syntactic boundaries in units of verbalization nevertheless structure the metered frames in symbolic articulation. These structuring principles extend, fractal-like, from each order of signification to the next.

When one order of signification operates as a mode for the next, the mode becomes one of signs rather than signals. Linguistic signs are situated in a pivotal role between the primary mode and the symbols that they mediate. Rather than symbolic integers simply becoming

¹⁸ The terms “verbalization” and “symbolic articulation” are adapted from Ruqaiya Hasan (1989:90-106; 2007:23-32), although there is a significant difference in how we each use the term “symbolic articulation.” According to Hasan (1989:98), “the stratum of symbolic articulation is where the meanings of language are turned into signs having a deeper meaning.” However, rather than considering signs mediated through language as I do here, she is concerned especially with patterns and patterning in language through a text that “provide a principle for discriminating between the crucial and the incidental” (*ibid.*) as well as constructing their meaningfulness.

¹⁹ The relationship between formulaic language and meter was of course the basis of Oral-Formulaic Theory (on which, see for example Lord 1960; Foley 1988; Foley and Ramey 2012; see also §2.3 below).

²⁰ Unlike many types of formula familiar from poetries with highly structured meters, the formulaic idiom may evolve around paired equivalence vocabulary that communicate a single unit of meaning when used in parallel lines without being linked to metrical positions (Fox 2016:3-225).

²¹ Old Norse skaldic poetry, for example, is well known for its complex arrangements of syntax across a four-line half-stanza. There is no regular correlation between the individual line or couplet and a syntactic unit. Instead, the half-stanza unit forms a syntactic capsule and the threshold between half-stanzas forms a boundary at which metered frames of the mode and verbalization are compelled to align.

²² Some traditions allow recurrent returns in the verbalization of an image or motif in the form of multiple sequences of text interspersed with other representations. This phenomenon would require the introduction of an additional poetic system and too much elaboration to discuss here, but see for example the recurrent returns to the image of the waters into which the hero will dive, interwoven even into the description of the hero donning his armor, in the epic *Beowulf* (lines 1422-54). These recurrent returns through sequences of verbalization to a coherent integer in symbolic articulation are equivalent to forms of semantic parallelism where parallel members are interwoven with other verses.

metrically entangled with verbalization as a mode, language develops connections to the symbols it mediates. The linguistic signs and symbols can then be said to index one another: they develop an association that links them in the same way that “smoke” indexes “fire.” If a performer fluent in the idiom wishes to express a particular motif, this indexicality connects the motif to phraseology that facilitates expressing it through the poetic system. Indexicality also operates in the opposite direction. The connection of particular formulae to the motif can make it transparently recognizable from the first verse before it is even described. In §3.2 below, the solitary verse *jo tuli tulini koski* (“already came a fiery rapids”) in a particular epic performance communicates a complex mythic image of a monstrous eagle. This indexicality can also produce connotative meanings and intertextual reference when such a formula is used in a different context, such as illustrated in Lotte Tarkka’s (this volume) analysis of a song about being a widow that engages mythological and ritual symbolism. In long epic forms prone to elaboration, for example, the verbalization may be highly variable and extended so that the signifier of a symbolic integer may be of considerable scope and only gradually apprehended.²³ In a shorter poetic form like kalevalaic epic, verbalization can become a highly conventionalized complex unit that functions as a “macro-formula” for people fluent in the register (Frog 2016a:7-10 and 2016b:64-65, 76-91). The expression *jo tuli tulini koski* is the opening of such a macro-formula, allowing the whole image to be recognized before it is even described because the verse’s use is so specific: indexicality becomes exclusive and contextually transparent in epic narration.

When indexicality becomes exclusive, the orders of signification begin to converge and apprehension of the symbol is immediate, without requiring further parsing and interpreting of language.²⁴ In this case, the unit of language acts like a name, even if a name always remains a word and is never identical to what it refers to. Images and motifs may similarly develop indexical associations related to higher order symbols according to regular patterns of use. In Fig. 1 above, higher orders are clearly distinguished as separate layers of signification. In practice, indexicality can make the progression much fuzzier where higher order integers of the tradition are fully internalized and can be rapidly recognized. The problem can be illustrated by applying the equation $O1 \rightarrow O2 \rightarrow O3 \rightarrow \text{etc.}$ to the ideal model in Fig. 1, where $O1 = \text{verbalization}$, $O2 = \text{symbolic articulation}$, $O3 = \text{higher order 1}$, $O4 = \text{higher order 2}$, and so forth. If we are being told a story ($O1$) and hear about a girl meeting a wolf while walking to her grandmother’s through a forest ($O2$), we can recognize a motif that indexes the complete plot of the *Little Red Ridinghood* type. When this happens, the particular theme in which the motif appears may be unfamiliar to us, but we have already leapfrogged through the ideal orders of signification on the back of indexicality. For the sake of argument, let it be supposed that the theme would ideally be recognized at $O3$ and the plot at $O4$. However, the emblematic motif activates the plot already at $O3$ even as we may still be eagerly listening to the unfamiliar theme to unfold—also at $O3$. The process becomes more complicated when recognition of the plot

²³ This can be a straightforward description, like the series of verses in *Beowulf* (lines 1422-30a) that describe the serpent-infested waters beyond which the mother of Grendel lives. Elaboration may also construct the image through references to its role in a broader narrative sequence, such as referencing what Beowulf’s armor will do during his dive as part of its description in the motif of the hero arming himself (*Beowulf* lines 1441b-54).

²⁴ See also Wray (2008:17-20) on formulaic language.

reciprocally activates other emblematic motifs and themes before they have been verbalized. The relative orders of signification retain validity and relevance in the hierarchy of relations of signs. However, internalized knowledge breaks down dependence on a strict progression through the hierarchy in order to apprehend the higher order signs. Rather than an equation of $O1 \rightarrow O2 \rightarrow O3 \rightarrow \text{etc.}$, the higher orders easily collapse and interact in semiosis in an equation of $O1 \rightarrow O2 \rightarrow n$. Where verbalization metonymically activates signs at multiple orders simultaneously, the equation may even reduce to $O1 \rightarrow n$,²⁵ yet such activation may also be contradicted by the actual progression of performance, as signs are progressively signified through integers within the hierarchy. Indexicality allows shortcuts through the orders of signification, but the activation of signs at multiple orders in this way situates them as “enabling referent[s] of tradition” (Foley 1995:213) in relation to which the actual signs within the hierarchy may meaningfully align or contrast in the course of performance.

1.3. Formal Types of Symbolic Integer

Within this approach, symbolic integers of the tradition can be distinguished according to formal type and relative order of signification. Only those relevant to the present discussion will be briefly introduced here.

The order of symbolic articulation is characterized by the operation of minimal symbolic integers that can be formally distinguished in terms of “images” and “motifs.” A cultural image is approached here as a socially recognizable static symbol that corresponds to the linguistic category of a noun. It may be simple or complex (for example incorporating additional images and indexing particular motifs as part of its symbolic identity), but it is recognized as being a conventional, coherent unit. A mythic image is a cultural image of mythic quality, an emotionally invested symbol that could be engaged in mythological thinking.²⁶ The term “motif” has been defined in various ways (see, for example, Berezkin 2015:61-62). Most commonly, it is used ambiguously for any narrative element “useful in the construction of tales” (Thompson 1955:7), often imagined as an abstract universal (see also Thompson 1955-58). A motif is here more narrowly defined as a socially conventional construction (however fixed or abstract) that engages one or more images in a relationship (“hero strikes monster”) or as undergoing change (“monster dies”). Following the linguistic metaphor, a motif is set apart from the nominal category of image by incorporating the linguistic category of a verb. As will be illustrated below, a crystallized motif may in some cases be parsed as incorporating two or more verbs. However, it is characterized as a unitary integer of the tradition in the same way that a complex linguistic sequence can form a formulaic integer in verbalization. According to this approach, both images

²⁵ Foley (1995:96) points out that the formulaic expression in the South Slavic epic tradition, “He cried out,” toward the beginning of a performance “signif[ies] the lament of the prisoner-protagonist in the Return Song.” This one formula in context activates motif, theme, its relationship to other themes and even the narrative pattern of the epic’s plot all at once.

²⁶ Mythological thinking is the process of thinking through mythic symbols as models for understanding the world and interpreting experience, and also as models for action and identity (see Siikala 2002:47-70; Frog 2015a: 38-39; Frog, “Parallelism Dynamics II,” this volume).

and motifs are assumed to be tradition-dependent and/or culture-dependent even if similar integers can be found in other traditions.

Themes and narrative patterns operate at higher orders of signification. Conventionally associated images, motifs, and/or equivalent sets of the same, can mediate more complex integers that become recognizable through the organized co-occurrence of their emblematic constituents. In narration, these integers are of larger textual scope and are here addressed as themes.²⁷ Themes remain formally distinguishable as complex units that can incorporate multiple motifs and in which motifs may be repeated.²⁸ Themes, images, and motifs may all mediate and form a more complex signifier, here generally addressed as a narrative pattern. A narrative pattern is formally distinguishable from a theme in its capacity to organize themes into larger units within which themes may also be repeated. Narrative patterns may form further hierarchies that are not terminologically distinguished. In epic narration, for example, each episode may present a narrative pattern, as may an adventure of multiple episodes, and an epic whole of multiple adventures. Each of these may constitute a discrete traditional integer mediated through other symbols. The term “plot” is used here for a narrative pattern that is a coherent and socially recognized whole from complication to resolution, even if in practice a plot might be linked to additional narrative patterns in series.

1.4. *Diagraph Analysis*

Du Bois presents a tool for the analysis of parallelism in co-produced conversation that proves valuable for the study of parallelism more generally. He refers to this as a “diagraph:” it is a method for organizing parallel members of groups on a grid for a visual rendering of parallelism (2007:159-62 and 2014:362-63, 376-78). This method was initially developed for the study of dialogic syntax as a tool to map the elements and structures reproduced across utterances, as in the exchange presented as example (1).²⁹ In the terminology used here, each of the two utterances can be viewed as realizing a metered frame. The diagraph situates the second metered frame below the first and distributes the semantic lexical elements on a grid. The grid reveals Ken’s reproduction of elements from Joanne’s utterance and its grammatical parallelism; it brings out correlations of pronouns and highlights contrasts (reproduced from Du Bois 2014:377):

(1)	JOANNE:	it	's	kind of	like	↑you	Ken	.
	KEN:	that	's	not at ↑all	like	me	Joanne	.

²⁷ Like the term motif, the term theme has been used in a variety of ways and most often without clear formal criteria to distinguish it from other structural units (see for example Propp 1968 [1928]:12-13; Lord 1960:68-98; Frye 1968; Foley 1990:240-45, 279-84, 329-35). A highly conventionalized theme may crystallize into what might be described as a “macro-motif,” a predictable system or series of images and motifs comparable to a sentence of multiple clauses that operates like a complex formulaic sequence in symbolic articulation.

²⁸ A theme is to images and motifs what a linguistic multiform (§2.3) is to words and formulae.

²⁹ Diagraph analysis can be extended to the level of the grammar of parallel members (Du Bois 2014:388-92), which is more complex and detailed than needed here.

detail” (Honko 1998:36). Individual epics and epic cycles varied in length and complexity (also regionally), but they can be roughly generalized as normally being between about 75-300 lines in performance. The stories of these epics were not variably realized in verse like the long epic traditions, the basis for the development of Oral-Formulaic Theory.³² Kalevalaic epics circulated as socially recognizable verbal texts in which lines and stanza-like clusters of lines were linked to particular epics in a singer’s repertoire.³³ Poems were sufficiently stable in oral circulation to prompt Leea Virtanen (1968:55) to observe “a researcher can usually say without difficulty to which song particular lines belong.”³⁴ Each stanza-like cluster of lines reflects a generative verbal system for producing “chunks” of text. Drawing on the terminology of Lauri and Anneli Honko (1995 and 1998), a generative verbal system of this type will be addressed here as a linguistic “multiform.” Multiforms are important for understanding the verbal stability of these poems and also for analysing some types of parallelism. They will be introduced further below, but when thinking about the transmission of poems, it is helpful to recognize that an episode may be constituted of only 5-10 multiforms, some of which repeat with different types of variation, while some epics may be constituted of only about 15 such multiform units.³⁵ The degree of stability makes the poetry a valuable resource for illustrating the organization of parallelism at different orders of signification as well as interplays between orders that may be less apparent in other poetries, and thus more equivocal for discussion.

2.1. *The Poetic Form and Register*

The Kalevala-meter is basically a syllabic, trochaic tetrameter: each line is normally eight syllables in length, although there was flexibility in the first foot (the first two positions). The meter has rules governing the placement of long and short stressed syllables (syllabic quantity rules). Verses are characterized by alliteration, although alliteration is not linked to the meter *per se*, and by semantic and syntactic parallelism, as well as by a tendency for longer words to be placed at the end of a line (unless this conflicts with syllabic quantity rules).³⁶ This is a stichic

³² On the development of Oral-Formulaic Theory, see for example Foley (1988) and Foley and Ramey (2012).

³³ On the application and applicability of Oral-Formulaic Theory to kalevalaic epic, see Harvilahti (1992a: 141-47, espec.); on the identification of poetic sequences with particular texts, see for example Saarinen (1994:190); Tarkka (2013:90-93) and this volume. Jukka Saarinen (1994:190) stresses that linking formulaic sequences to one epic as opposed to others should be viewed as occurring at the level of individual singers’ repertoires. This perspective accounts for certain descriptions being associated with different epics in different dialects of singing. The tendency points to a general emic conception of verbalization sequences being epic-specific.

³⁴ Lotte Tarkka (2013:90) stresses that Virtanen’s observation concerns the song or songs with which lines were commonly associated in the tradition, but that Virtanen’s statement is problematic because the same verses could be validly used in other contexts, as Tarkka’s contribution to this volume illustrates. For discussion and illustration of stability of this poetry in oral circulation, see Frog (2016b:66-93).

³⁵ For example, the epic known as *The Singing Competition* as performed by singers in the well-known Malinen family was constituted of only 14-16 multiforms in performance (Frog 2016b:72; Ontrei once concluded the epic abruptly with a variation in the penultimate multiform, M15; Ontrei’s sons Jyrki and Vassilei did not include multiforms M5 and M8 in their performances).

³⁶ On this verse form, see further Sadeniemi (1951); Kuusi et al. (1977:62-68); Leino (1986:129-42).

poetry, meaning it is composed in individual lines rather than couplets or stanzas of formally prescribed length. In Finnish and Karelian, an eight-position line is normally 2-4 words, of which at least two most often alliterate. The meter facilitated the crystallization of phraseology in the idiom: individual lines were inclined to evolve into formulae that were fairly stable in social circulation. Verbal conservatism nevertheless remained a social convention, which in epic exhibits an “inclination to non-variation” (Frog 2010b:99-100 and 2016b:66).³⁷

Finnic languages lack articles, so “a” and “the” in translations lack correspondence in the original text, and articles have been omitted from translations shown in diagraphs. Finnic languages are heavily inflected. In the translations, English prepositions in most cases reflect case endings. In most cases where case endings are separated in diagraphs, they have also been translated for clarity. The verb *olla* (“to be”) often functions as a sort of optional particle in verses. Its present third person singular inflection *on* (“is”) occasionally is used as a metrical filler, although more often it may seem to have a grammatical role, as in *koivuss’ on tuline kokko* (“in the birch is a fiery eagle”) in examples (8) and (33), where it is in fact optional and textural. The diction of epic poetry has evolved in relation to the poetic form. The syllable-based rhythm and conventions for the placement of long and short stressed syllables were centrally accommodated by three factors: *a*) the flexibility of the first foot, where syllabic quantity rules did not apply, *b*) variable word order, which allowed words that conflicted with syllabic quantity rules to be shifted into the first foot, and *c*) the use of grammatical forms that affect the number of syllables to match word length to rhythm.³⁸ Diminutive forms are found in several examples below, such as *vaimo* (“wife”) > *vaimo-ini* (“wife-DIMINUTIVE”) in *sihi vaimoized vajutti* (*SKVR* I₂ 703.268-69) (“so long the wife-DIMINUTIVE-PLURAL wept(?)”). Such diminutives are translated here by the adjective “dear” except where they are part of a proper name.³⁹ Lexical extension or prolongation is also done with verbs by adding an element to the stem, such as the frequentative *-lla* (inflected *-le-*), indicating repeated or ongoing action. Such verbs can be difficult to translate when the form seems to be metrically rather than semantically driven. Lexical prolongation to match a metrical shape should be considered a formal feature emblematic of the register.

Verse parallelism was fundamental to the poetry, both semantic and grammatical or morpho-syntactic. Semantic parallelism has produced uses of language that require some comment to make the examples more illustrative. Uses of words in semantic parallelism are also relevant for considering parallelism in symbolic articulation and at higher orders of signification. As noted above, each element of a parallel verse should, in principle, have a correspondent in the preceding verse, although this rule is not absolute (Steinitz 1934:157-60). Jukka Saarinen (this volume) stresses that parallel relations are between syntactic elements, so a noun may be

³⁷ The discussion here concentrates on the general conventions of conservatism in reproduction. For additional discussion of the inclination to non-variation in other poetry, see also Frog (2011a:48-50).

³⁸ For example, the word *sampo* has become widely known as the supernatural object at the center of Lönnrot’s *Kalevala*; this form *sampo*, with a two-syllable inflected stem, is actually a metrically motivated derivative of *sammas*, inflected *sampaha-* (Harva 1943:53).

³⁹ Heroic names with a long first syllable have often been shaped with diminutive affixes to produce a four-syllable form such as *Väinä-mö-inen* and *Ilmari-nen* so that they easily produce metrically well-formed lines with the formulaic system (Frog 2016b:75-76).

matched by a noun phrase. For example, *soari* (“island”) in example (6) is matched in the parallel line by *niemen tutkain* (“peninsula’s fringe”). Morphology may vary between parallel elements (Steinitz 1934:189-92), so *soarella* (“on the island”) is in the adessive case (-*lla*) while *niemen tutkamessa* (lit. “in the peninsula’s fringe”) is in the inessive case (-*ssa*). Such variations are not indicated in translations. Jonathan Roper (2012:91) emphasizes that “line-internal alliteration has high semantic demands, higher than those of end-rhyme.” The combination of alliteration and parallelism has produced rich equivalence vocabularies that sometimes subordinate a word’s semantics to its functional role in a semantic equivalence class. In the wake of this lexical variety to “say the same thing,” Mari Sarv (1999:126) argues that parallelism helps to “clear the alliterative haze,” or “the obscuring, changing, and extending of the conventional denotation of words when they are placed in alliterating combinations.” In the couplet “*siñi itki soaren immet / siñi vaimoized vajutti*” (*SKVR* I₂ 703.268-69) (“So long wept the island’s maidens / so long the dear wives wept(?)”), the words *immet* // *vaimoiset* are translated as “maidens // wives-DIM” because of their semantics in conversational speech, although both words were semantically subordinated in the poetic register as equivalents for “woman.” The verb *vajottoa*, on the other hand, literally means “to be boggy, slushy, squishy; to sink.” It is clearly used for alliteration, but its pairing with *itkie* (“to weep, lament”) is quite localized and rare, and cannot be considered generally familiar: most people would presumably have had to interpret it through *itkie* (or simply accepted it as parallel and thought no more about it). Parallelism between elements in kalevalaic verses may be based on a number of possible relations (Krohn 1926:80-84; Steinitz 1934:179-215). Semantic ambiguities between parallel verses are not necessarily resolved and some juxtapositions can be challenging or simply confusing. Metonymy is used as a device in representing images and motifs but not normally for producing semantically equivalent terms (but see example (10)). In many cases, tension is produced between the tendency for concreteness of language with semantic incongruity between parallel lines. The pair *soari* // *niemen tutkain* (“island // peninsula’s fringe”) produces semantic indeterminacy that can be interpreted as either, or as neither—a topographical ambiguity that participates in constructing the mythic quality of a location in the otherworld. Paired numbers like 6 // 7 produce rather than clear semantic haze (Steinitz 1934:201-03). Although emphasis here is on relationships of linguistic parallelism to symbolic articulation and parallelism between symbolic integers at different orders of signification, the operation of language in parallelism offers perspective on the types of juxtapositions that “in the given speech community act as a correspondence” (Jakobson 1987 [1956]:111).

2.2. *The Problem of Symbolic Equivalence in Parallel Verses*

Components of an image or motif may be represented in only a single line or couplet. In many cases, a couplet or parallel series forms parallel members of groups through reference to a common image or motif. In example (21), for instance, the couplet “*loati leppäseñ veneheñ / loat’i leppäseñ urohoñ*” (*SKVR* I₂ 809.140-41) (“[he] built a boat of alder wood / built a hero of alder wood”) refers to two distinct elements of a coherent activity, and the *veneh* // *uros* (“boat // hero”) pair is reproduced for each of three actions in a series of three couplets. Eila Stepanova (this volume) uses the term “additive parallelism” to describe parallelism in which “the

‘recurrent return’ augment[s] the semantic unit with some new detail” so that “semantically parallel members are not semantically identical.” The structure of semantic parallelism in kalevalaic poetry inhibits additive parallelism at the level of verses by requiring that each element in a parallel verse correspond to an element preceding it (although see below). Verses will, then, employ syntactic and morphological parallelism along with lexical reproduction so that each verse presents a complementary unit of information. A difference is that additive parallelism involves both semantic parallelism and new information in parallel members whereas kalevalaic epic parallelism tends to do one or the other. This couplet illustrates the difference: it reproduces the formula *loati leppäsen X* (“built and alder-wood X”) that creates a series of acts rather than lexically varying these to produce semantically parallel expressions that refer to a single act. When attention turns from linguistic semantic equivalence to a broader view of parallelism, however, the *veneh // uros* (“boat // hero”) pair comes into focus as symbolically parallel elements that are reproduced through a series of couplets in (21), where they are simultaneously distinct and complementary within coherent units of narration. From that perspective, the couplets exhibit parallelism, not at the level of semantic content, but through complementary references to a coherent element at the level of symbolic articulation. The coherent element is the process of “building” magical objects, and thus this couplet presents additive parallelism, referring twice to the same activity with reference to two of its outcomes.

In other cases, the boundary can blur between parallelism dependent on symbolic articulation and more general semantic parallelism. When components of an image or motif are represented by a parallel group, corresponding elements are inclined to converge in meaning or significance. In many cases, semantic parallelism remains purely linguistic: whether each element is semantically equivalent in the parallel members or they act as parallel signifiers for a common signified (for example *immet // vaimoiset* not as “maidens // wives-DIM” but simply “women”).⁴⁰ Sometimes, however, verses follow the principle of correspondence but seem to say different things and potentially refer to different features of the same symbolic element at the next order of signification. These cases are difficult to interpret because of the possible degree of semantic flex of individual words on the one hand and the conventionalization of word pairs characterized by semantic haze or indeterminacy on the other. This problem is illustrated by the concluding couplet in example (4-5), which links different features of the body to parallel locations of magical banishment:

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| (4) | Tuonne lauloin Lemminkäisen
Tuonen mustahan jokehen
Manalan ikipurohon
Kynsin kylmähän kivvehen [<i>sic</i>]
Hampahin vesihakohon | Thence I sang Lemminkäinen
Into Death’s black river
Into Manala’s eternal brook
By the nails into a cold stone
By the teeth into a water-log
(<i>SK/R</i> VII ₁ 840.155-59) |
|-----|---|--|

⁴⁰ Compare Fox’s (2016:xi) “simple formulae based on the strict pairing of words” across lines in canonical parallelism, so that together they form a single unit of meaning.

(5)	Kynsin	kylmähän	kivvehen	by nails	into cold	stone
	Hampahin	vesi-	hakohon	by teeth	into water-	log

Before proceeding, it is worth drawing attention to the fact that the distinction between an image and a motif blurs when analysed at the level of a couplet. The question of whether the symbolic integer is static (noun-equivalent) or dynamic (incorporating a verb-equivalent) becomes conflated with parsing phraseology referring to it. Here, “into Death’s black river” and “by the nails into a cold stone” are both process: they involve movement of a body (Lemminkäinen’s) into a river and of nails into a stone. The whole is dynamic, incorporating a verb-equivalent feature, and can be viewed as a motif. However, the process also results in a static state of the body being in the river and nails being in the stone—images. In this case, the verses quoted are direct speech: they refer to a past event and give an account of the hero’s location in the present—in the river—and the static image rather than the dynamic motif comes into focus.

At the level of propositional information, the parallel verses seem to describe different things. Morphological and syntactic parallelism make salient a correlation between “nails” and “teeth” as parts of the hero and between a “stone” and “log” as objects or locations into which these are driven. Being stuck in features of the natural environment or dissolving into it is prominent in the epic tradition. Such dissolution is connected with powerful magic and death or the threat of death. Here, each verse can be seen as expressing a different emblematic element of a system of images/motifs that form a coherent symbolic integer, and parallelism is based on equivalence in reference to that integer rather than on semantic or analogical equivalence of the words. Within the context of the poetic system, however, what is happening in this couplet is not so straightforward.

The pair *kynsi // hammas* (“claw, talon, nail // tooth”) is a conventional pairing in the poetry customarily for a predator’s emblematic capacities for harm (see also its use in example (22)). The pair is equivalent to the English “tooth and claw” or “tooth and nail.” This pair also appears in the description of an eagle in example (8) below, where “teeth” are anatomically inconsistent: “sep’ on hampahieh hivove / kynsiähä kitkuttauve” (*SKVR* I₂ 742.123-24.) (“that one is its teeth grinding / claws scraping). Although “teeth” and “claws” are semantically distinct, they also carry a shared meaning in combination. The pair *hako // kivi* (“log // stone”) is similarly established in the tradition. For example, in incantations used by a ritual specialist to “raise” his power, he may use a conventional couplet to command his power to rise “havan alta hattupiäššä / kiven alta kinnaškiäššä” (*SKVR* I₄ 11.3-4) (“from beneath the log, hat on head / from beneath the stone, mitten on hand”). In the incantations, it is contextually transparent that *hako // kivi* refers to a single location. The pair *hattu peässä // kinnas keässä* (“hat on head // mitten on hand”) seems to refer to different emblems of preparedness linked to alliterations in /ha/ and /ki/, but hat and mittens have also evolved into an established (if less pervasive) pair. In these cases, rather than the parallel word referring to the same thing as the one in the main line of a parallel group, a combination like *kynsi // hammas* can be seen as having a distinct meaning greater than either of its parts, a rhetorical figure known as a merism. However, in light of the poetry’s inclination to concreteness in language use, this perspective also becomes reductive.

Verses like “by the nails into a cold stone” or “that one is its teeth grinding” seem to invoke images concretely. The *hako // kivi* (“log // stone”) pair has established patterns of use as referring to a single location like *soari // niemen tutkain* (“island // peninsula’s fringe”). In these uses, semantic difference between the *hako // kivi* pair collapses into a single, if hazy, image. However, there is no contextual motivation to similarly collapse pairs like *kynsi // hammas* (“claw, talon, nail // tooth”) or *hattu peässä // kinnas keässä* (“hat on head // mitten on hand”). Each element in a pair may be emblematic of a broader totality, but *kynsi* and *hammas* are both used more widely outside of the pairing than in it. The words are neither systematically paired nor is the poetic system characterized by systematic semantic equivalence. In this couplet, the most natural reception seems to be “teeth” and “nails” as distinct and complementary image elements that together carry broader implications. At the same time, “log” and “stone” are inclined to a convergence into semantic haze while reinforcing cohesion between the expressions and their semantic unity. The concreteness of the poetry generates a tension between receiving these verses as presenting distinct, but complementary, features of a symbolic unit and collapsing them into alternative alliterating phrases that are semantically equivalent. This example is interesting because one set of paired image elements seems more inclined to remain distinct while the other is more inclined to collapse in what could be considered a type of additive parallelism; together both verses refer to a single integer at the next order of representation.

2.3. Linguistic Multiforms

The Honkos (1995 and 1998) coined “multiform” as a technical term to describe systems of formulaic expressions and individual words that are associated in a singer’s memory as a flexible framework for expression at the level of texture without necessarily realizing a specific unit of content or meaning.⁴¹ The Honkos’ development of this concept had a targeted aim of accounting for flexibility in the length of long epic forms that was not sufficiently accounted for by Oral-Formulaic Theory. I have developed and refined multiform theory by demonstrating that linguistic multiforms can be socially transmitted and by increasing the variety of oral poetics against which the theory is tested.⁴² I use a tighter definition of “formula” as a “morpheme-equivalent unit” (Wray 2008:11-21) or linguistic unit forming “an integer of meaning” (Foley and Ramey 2012:80). I reject Milman Parry’s (1928:16) and Albert Lord’s (1960:4) criterion that a formula is used “under the same metrical conditions.” This criterion is circularly derived from Parry’s statistical method for identifying formulae by where they occur in verses and has no independent theoretical basis. Instead, I consider formulae that regularly or invariably occur

⁴¹ See also Honko (1995, 1998:100-16, and 2003:113-22); Frog (2010b, 2016a, and 2016b). Michael Drout (2011:447) quotes the text of the Honkos’ definition of “multiform” to refer to a(ny) traditional element’s capacity to manifest in multiple forms. Drout follows use of the word “multiform” in Oral-Formulaic Theory literature (formalized in Foley 1995:2; see Honko and Honko 1998:40-41), which is divorced from the linguistic phenomenon “with a primary locus in the mind of the narrator or singer” (Honko and Honko 1998:41). Drout’s quotation thus seems misrepresentative of the Honkos’ formalization of the term to address a more distinct phenomenon.

⁴² My most detailed empirical studies have been on multiforms in kalevalaic epic and incantation, and in Old Norse eddic and skaldic poetics, and with more limited data in several other traditions (see Frog 2016a and works cited there).

“under the same metrical conditions” as an extreme on the spectrum of “metrical entanglement,” the degree to which elements of language develop conventional relationships to metrical features that organize verbalization (Frog 2016c:202-03). Rather than being merely a more or less regular set of words and formulae, multiforms may also entail lexical equivalence sets that alternate, for example to meet particular patterns of alliteration or rhyme (2009:236-42 and 2016c:163, 213-14, 216). Features of syntax may also be integrated into the system, and both lexicon and syntax may be metrically entangled (2012b:31-35 and 2016b:78-82). Increasing the range of poetry in which multiforms are explored has revealed the degree of symbiosis between multiform and poetic form (see also Foley 1999:66-83). The specific features of multiforms prove highly tradition-dependent. Multiforms also exhibit a number of formally distinct types that manifest tradition-dependent forms (Frog 2016a:7-11).

Linguistically, a multiform can be a very complex generative framework. Variation is conditioned by a multiform’s formal type and, if it is recurrent within an epic performance, how it is used (Saarinen 1994:186-87; Frog 2010a:103-08 and 2016b:76-91). Within a performance, most variation in recurring multiforms is of one of three varieties. It may be morphological, such as changes in person and tense when the same multiform is used in both dialogue and third-person narration (Saarinen 1994:186; Frog 2016b:91; compare Urban 1991:71-72). A multiform may have one or several conventional formulae or line positions with “slots” that are completed differently in each use, for example in a dialogue: “I will give you my X [= horse / boat / sister]” (Saarinen 1994:186; Frog 2016b:85-86). Variation in whole lines can commonly occur with: *a*) omission of the grammatical subject or addressee, which would otherwise be the opening line or couplet (as in example (33) below); *b*) truncation of the last line or couplet after the first use (Frog 2016b:90-91); *c*) addition of a line or couplet to mark the final use in a series or poem (Saarinen 1994:187; Frog 2010b:96 and 2011b:55-56). Singer habitus varies (Kiparsky 1976:97-98; Harvilahti 1992b:87-89, 95-96), but, generally speaking, the inclination to non-variation tends to keep variation to a minimum in epic. A recurrent multiform’s formulae tend to be reiterated verbatim and in consistent order within a performance to the degree that the alternation of one line or couplet for another is a potential indicator that the informant was having difficulty remembering the epic (Frog 2016b:89-91). Between performances by a single performer, there is some variation in the presence or absence of (mainly semantically insignificant) lines. There may be variation in line order within multiforms where this does not affect interlinear syntax or sense, and variation in the presence, absence, and number of reuses of multiforms. A singer’s phraseology of lines tends to be stable even where variation has no effect on meaning, such as saying *se on* (“it is”) rather than *tuo on* (“that is”). Semantically light phrases and verses easily vary between singers in a local or kin-group dialect. Phraseological or structural difference in multiforms between singers is an indicator of dialectal difference, although it could also be a slip, an effect of dictation on diction, idiolectal, or attributable to some unknown factor.

In kalevalaic poetry, multiforms crystallize around minimal content units. Multiforms in the Tulu long epic form analysed by the Honkos (1998:52-55) allowed one multiform to be embedded into another, extending or prolonging and elaborating it. In contrast, kalevalaic epic multiforms generally do not allow embedding or interweaving (although see Frog 2016b:77, 88). They are simply abutted into chain-like series, normally without connecting tissue. Multiforms

construct metered frames for integers of symbolic articulation, for which they can operate as macro-formulae. When a motif, theme or larger sequence of narration is transferred into a different narrative context, the respective multiforms are transferred with it.⁴³ The verbal crystallization of multiforms also makes parallelism between recurrent symbolic integers salient.

Socially circulating multiforms present unambiguous units of composition. Dyadic structuring is very common in kalevalaic epic multiforms. Whereas the potential symbolic parallelism in couplets illustrated in example (4) was ambiguous, parallelism in dyadic multiforms clearly presents complementary units of information about a symbolic integer of narration. Verse parallelism normally manifests in presenting each of the multiform's two elements. Clear, two-element structures may raise the question: why not analyse the two parts separately? The dyadic constituents can be either static, like images, or dynamic, like motifs, so it could seem natural to isolate them as units. However, motifs and images are here approached in emic terms, and multiforms provide a methodological basis for identifying what constitute unitary symbolic integers in narration (a precondition for analysing parallelism based on those units). Where two elements form parts of a consistent multiform, and especially where they are not realized independently of that multiform, they can be considered to form a coherent integer of the tradition. Rather than an image or motif being constituted of multiple images and motifs, it should simply be considered complex in the same way that a formulaic sequence is complex as an integer of language.⁴⁴ Established use as only part of a multiform, rather than as an independent unit, is an indicator that the particular element of narration is not an independent integer of the tradition.

The way multiforms work in kalevalaic epic differs from how they operate in many other types of discourse. However, they facilitate discussion and illustrate varieties of parallelism above the level of verbalization and thus illustrate a framework that may be adapted to more variable forms of verbal art.

2.4. Kalevalaic Epics from which Examples Are Taken

The Song of Lemminkäinen was arguably the most popular epic in the period of documentation. It is preserved in around 400 variants and fragments,⁴⁵ mostly in hand transcriptions but some also recorded in audio. The stable core of the epic was the hero's dangerous journey from his home to an otherworld community. The name of the hero is commonly Lemminkäinen, his destination *Päivölä* ("Sun-LOCATION"), and the festivity identified

⁴³ The process of the renewal of a multiform for a particular symbolic integer also occurs, but this process has not yet received detailed investigation.

⁴⁴ For example, a kalevalaic formula like *sanan virkko, noin nimesi* ("said a word, thus uttered") can be broken down into four lexical items. However, the whole phrase remains a linguistic integer in the register of kalevalaic epic: it simply means "said" while forming a complete verse. This formula might look like *sanan virkko* ("said a word") and *noin nimesi* ("thus uttered") are two separate formulae, but a cursory search of the *SKVR* digital database does not support this: there are some minor lexical variations and I observed one instance where the second half-line was completed differently, but neither phrase seems to have circulated socially as an independent formula.

⁴⁵ For an overview of the several hundred examples published in *SKVR*, see Frog (2010a:72-98).

in parallel lines as a *jumalisten juominki* (“drinking-feast of the gods”). Dialectal variation of names is not relevant here.

The epic customarily begins with the image of a fire that is connected with beer-brewing. Invitations to a wedding or feast are sent to everyone except the protagonist. The hero determines to crash the party and asks his mother to fetch his armor. A dialogue ensues in which his mother forbids him from making the journey and warns him about three “deaths” on the road. Her warnings unheeded, she brings the hero his armor. The hero’s journey follows: he passes each of the three dangers. When he arrives at the feast, he is received with hostility and ostensible, but life-threatening, hospitality. The plot then has two distinct branches that may also be linked in series. In one, the hero is slain by magic and ends up in the river of death. His mother learns of his death from an omen and travels to Päivölä in order to discover what has happened. She then travels to the river of death, dredges her son out with a magic rake, and (more often than not) successfully resurrects him. In the other branch, the hero enters into a duel of magic with the host, followed by a duel of swords. He wins both and the host is killed. The hero returns home and asks his mother where he should hide from the anticipated retribution. He then sails to an island of women, where he sleeps with all of the women and, finally, leaves. The epic concludes with the departure of his ship.

A few examples are taken from *The Singing Competition*, in which a young hero, normally called Joukahainen, drives his sleigh against that of the demiurge Väinämöinen and they crash together. They have a competition of knowledge to determine who should give way to the other. Joukahainen claims participation in the creation of the world, which Väinämöinen identifies as a lie and magically “sings” Joukahainen, causing him to dissolve into the landscape. Joukahainen offers his most valuable possessions to ransom his life, but only when he offers his sister does Väinämöinen accept and Joukahainen returns home to tell his mother.

Parallelism across episodes of the Sampo-Cycle are also discussed in §5.3, but the relevant information about the plot will be introduced in conjunction with the comparison.

3. Image-Based Parallelism in Multiforms

Units of narration in kalevalaic epic were characterized by mythic images. In examples like (4) above, mythic images can be integrated elements of motifs and also implicit as the static outcome of a motif. A mythic image that itself constitutes a complete integer of narration will exhibit a devoted multiform. In this section, the focus is on parallelism that is based on images in symbolic articulation. Focus is narrowly on parallelism within a multiform, of which two or more elements make reference to a coherent mythic image. Parallelism between images also occurs at the level of whole multiforms, but, in epic, image-based multiforms do not generally appear juxtaposed in series. Parallelism of images occurs in sequential motif-based multiforms, as in examples (26-27). Image-based multiforms may also be parallel elements in higher order integers, as in the example of theme parallelism in (33).

Image-based parallelism is readily observable in multiforms with a dyadic structure that can be regarded as a type of parallel construction. Example (6) presents parallelism between references to the same image in positive and negative terms. Example (8) illustrates how the two

parts of a dyadic multiform may present complementary information about the same mythic image. Example (10) presents an example of contrastive image-based parallelism without negation.

3.1. Parallelism through Negation

A common form of contrastive parallelism in kalevalaic epic is expressed through negation. Contrastive parallelism is characterized by forming “concurrency of equivalence on one [. . .] level with disagreement on another level” of expression (Jakobson 1981 [1966]:133) so that the contrast rather than the equivalence is highlighted. Contrastive parallelism in this poetry tends to be formally more complex than semantic verse parallelism of the $A_1 A_2$ type. Contrast rather than equivalence is indicated by prefixing ‘-’ to a parallel member, such as $A_1 -A_2$. Rather than two or more verses that “say the same thing,” contrastive parallelism requires verses that say different things, each of which may be expressed in two or more semantically parallel verses. Thus, rather than a simple structure of an $A_1 -A_2$ type, contrast occurs across groups in a structural hierarchy in which contrasting members are each expressed by a semantically parallel group, such as $(A_1 A_2)_1 -(B_1 B_2)_2$. Although phonic, morphological and syntactic parallelisms may produce cohesion across verses in contrastive parallelism (Jakobson 1981 [1960]:41), this type of parallelism does not operate purely at the level of linguistic signs: it depends on referring to the same symbolic integer in different ways or on creating a contrast between such integers.

A conventional opening to *The Song of Lemminkäinen* provides a simple example of parallelism in positive and negative terms referring to the same mythic image. The mythic image is rendered through a devoted, crystallized multiform that has been recorded in over 150 variants with remarkable consistency. In this case, two semantically parallel couplets are interwoven by resonant alliteration that extends across lines and couplets (underlined). The two couplets are alternative references to the same mythic image. Together, they form a complex, hierarchically organized parallelism in an $(A_1 A_2)_1 -(B_1 B_2)_2$ structure:

- (6) Šavu šoarella palavi Smoke on the island burns
Tuli niemen tutkamešša Fire on the peninsula’s fringe
Pieñi ois šovan šavukši Small it would be for the smoke of war
Šuuri paimošen palokši Great for the blaze of a shepherd

(SKVR I₂ 771.1-4)

(7)

Šavu	šoare-	lla	palavi		Smoke	island	on	burns
Tuli	niemen tutkame-	šša			Fire	peninsula’s fringe	on	

Pieñi	ois	šovan	šavu-	kši	Small	would be	war’s	smoke	for
Šuuri		paimošen	palo-	kši	Great		shepherd’s	blaze	for

Variation in this multiform primarily occurs in: *a*) the line order of the second couplet or the second couplet’s omission (although in some cases apparent omission may simply reflect

transcription practices); and *b*) occasional transposition of *pieni* (“small”) and *suuri* (“great”) or lexical variation between metrically and semantically equivalent terms such as *tuli* (“fire”) in the place of *palo* (“blaze”), and so on. Both couplets also frequently exhibit ellipsis of the verb in parallel lines.

In his preliminary survey of what he describes as negative parallelism in kalevalaic poetry, Felix Oinas (1985 [1976]:78, especially) observed that it follows a characteristic schema as a complex rhetorical figure of three parts, any of which could be presented by a single line or a series of parallel lines. He considered that the first part could be omitted but that the second and third appeared necessary: *a*) the introduction of an element; *b*) a negative antithesis or negative analogy; *c*) a new positive solution. The complex figure addressed by Oinas is frequently realized as a coherent multiform (see also examples (26-27) below). The multiform in example (6) presents a positive element in the first couplet followed by a negative comparison in the second, describing the fire in terms of what it is not, and this is most frequently followed by a positive statement: *X olutta keitti* (“X was brewing beer”) (Frog 2010a:372). Within the poetic syntax, the juxtaposition of two elements is often an indicator of a causal relation. In this case, the juxtaposition of an agent brewing beer with the mythic image of the fire yields the interpretation that the fire is for brewing the beer. Together, these realize Oinas’ three-part schema.

The formula *X olutta keitti* could appear as a discrete line but was predominantly used as the onset of another multiform describing the beer-brewing. A short opening episode to the epic would often be formed with the fire-multiform, the beer-brewing, and the sending out of invitations to a feast to everyone except the hero. The formula *X olutta keitti* may be absent and another multiform introducing the motif of beer-brewing could appear in its place, and the beer-brewing could also be elaborated with a full narrative pattern or plot of *The Origin of Beer*. In the variant quoted above, more than 50 lines are devoted to the beer-brewing (*SKVR* I₂ 771.5-59). In any case, rather than the figure of negative parallelism as a coherent multiform, the three-part structure produces cohesion between the mythic image in (6) and a subsequent multiform or episode of beer-brewing. Oinas’s full schema is here fully realized only at a compositional level above the multiform.

The second couplet in (6) implies an uncertainty that suggests the fire is perceived from a distance. The juxtaposition of the multiform with a description of the agent present at the fire involves a shift in perspective that could be described as a change in scene.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the multiform in (6) could also be used independently: the positive solution of Oinas’ schema was not required (for example *SKVR* II 196.1-4). Multiforms with a dyadic structure always appear to realize a coherent unit of narrative content, but this does not prevent multiforms from

⁴⁶ Dell Hymes (1981:170-75) uses “scene” as a formal, structural unit of narration between what he calls a “stanza” (164-70) and an “act” (175). In the narratives that Hymes examines, as in kalevalaic epic, a change in scene has less to do with location than with participants in narration and their relations (171). In relation to the terms used here, Hymes’ stanza would equate to a verbalized multiform. A “scene” could be comprised of one or several themes organized through a narrative pattern. An “act” would be a narrative pattern that forms an episode in the plot. There is a fundamental difference between Hymes’ approach and the approach used here. The formal units beyond the stanza described by Hymes concern the structure of narration at the level of verbalization. The formal units beyond the multiform described here concern meaning-bearing integers of the tradition that are mediated verbally. The approaches are fully compatible, they simply focus on different things.

being situated in relation to one another through larger parallel structures in the progression of narration.

3.2. Complementary or Additive Image-Based Parallelism

It is not uncommon that dyadic multiforms are structured so that the two elements give complementary information about a common mythic image or motif. This can be compared to additive parallelism. Each element of the multiform introduces the same image but includes complementary information. The units of information do not necessarily overlap except insofar as they refer to a coherent symbolic integer. The parallelism may therefore be seen as complementary rather than additive in the sense that it both reproduces previous information and augments it with new information.

An example is the description of a fiery eagle as a “death” to be passed by the hero on his journey to the otherworld.⁴⁷ In this multiform, the first element is normally characterized by a complex parallel structure. The opening line presents the site of the image followed by a series of syntactically parallel lines, each narrowing the field of focus with the introduction of an additional image element. The progression is built on anaphora, repeating the last word as the first word in the following line, until reaching the eagle.⁴⁸ The second part of the multiform complements this image with characterization of the bird in a parallel couplet accompanied by a line expressing its intentions towards the hero:

(8)	Jo tuli tulini koski	Already came a fiery rapids
	Kosell' on tulini korko	On the rapids is a fiery shoal
	Koroll' on tulini koivu	On the shoal is a fiery birch
	Koivuss' on tulini kokko	In the birch is a fiery eagle
	Sep' on hampahieh hivove	That one is its teeth grinding
	Kynsiähä kitkuttauve	Its claws scraping
	Peän varalla Lemminkäisen	Ready for the head of Lemminkäinen
		(SKVR I ₂ 742.119-25)

⁴⁷ On this danger, see Siikala (2002:310-14) and Frog (2010a:380-81); on the multiform, see Frog (2016b: 84-85, 89-90).

⁴⁸ This structuring of verses was described by Kaarle Krohn (1918 I:79) as “chain-type” (*ketjuntapainen*), by Steinitz (1934:120-22) as “chain verse” (*Kettenverse*), and by Robert Austerlitz (1958:63-69) as a “terrace” structure.

(9)

Jo			tuli	tulini	koski	Already			came	fiery	rapids
	Kose-	ll'	on	tulini	korko		rapids	on	is	fiery	shoal
	Koro-	ll'	on	tulini	koivu		shoal	on	is	fiery	birch
	Koivu-	ss'	on	tulini	kokko		birch	in	is	fiery	eagle

Se-	p [†]	on	hampahieh	hivove	It-	p [†]	is	teeth	grinding
			Kynsiähä	kitkuttauve				Claws	scraping

[†] -pa/-pä is an emphatic particle, hence “it”-pä is translated above as “that one.”

The quotation above is taken from the hero’s journey. It is preceded by the same multiform’s use in the hero’s dialogue with his mother warning him about the “deaths” he will meet (*SKVR* I₂ 742.69-75; see also §5.2 below). There are only two variations between reproductions of this multiform. The opening formula *jo tuli tulini X* (“already came a fiery X”), used both for this and the other “fiery” dangers, appears in the dialogue as *niin tolou tulini X* (“so will come a fiery X”). The word *koski*, here inflected *kosell’* (“on/at the rapids”), was inflected *kosess’* (“in the rapids”) in the dialogue.

The first part of this dyadic pair is the most historically stable in social circulation. It exhibits slight variation in the phraseology of the opening line and in the number of elements in the parallel series. This series also exhibits minor lexical variation in different dialects, such as between *korko* (“shoal”) and *luoto* (“skerry”) (Frog 2016b:85; see example (33) below). The second element of the multiform is less consistent and could be omitted entirely. Omitting the second element without compromising narrative coherence is comparable to omitting the second of two semantically parallel lines.

The multiform is used to represent a symbolic integer of narration through language, and we thus focus on language in order to access the symbolic integer. Within the tradition, however, the multiform is a macro-formula for that integer—a complex “word” (Foley 1999:67-70) of the registral lexicon. As such, the macro-formula communicates the image as a complex signifier with a scope of several verses. People fluent in the register need only recognize the multiform to activate the image without necessarily reflecting on the propositional information of each line (see also Wray 2008:17-20). The linguistic representation may be thought of as a sort of crystallized collage of image elements and rhetorical devices while, in practice, the symbolic integer will be activated already with the first line. In fact, this multiform can be found collapsed into a single line in performance, such as *jo tuli tulini koski* (*SKVR* I₂ 805.120), mentioning the eagle only in the following multiform to describe how the hero overcomes the threat (805.123). Reducing a multiform may not seem like good storytelling, but, for someone fluent in the register, there is absolutely no ambiguity that the whole mythic image has been introduced—at least where the particular formulaic line is exclusive to a macro-formula multiform. The potential for reduction makes it more interesting to observe that omission of the second element of the dyadic structure is a scattered phenomenon in the tradition and did not lead the first element to be used socially as a simplex multiform. Although the second element exhibits a variety of variation by dialect, the parallel structure was historically maintained.

3.3. Contrastive Parallelism of Opposed Images

The preceding examples of dyadic multiforms offered examples of parallelism in which each of the two elements referred to the same image. Image-based parallelism can also involve the juxtaposition of two images with negation (Jakobson 1987 [1960]:41) or without. The following example is taken from the hero's sword duel with the host of the otherworld feast. In the dialogue leading up to the killing, the hero proposes that the duel be taken outside. His proposal is formulated in terms of parallel images representing alternative outcomes of the duel in different locations. Each alternative is represented by a couplet of semantically parallel lines. In order to bring out certain features of the verses connected to the forms of words, glosses are included in the diagraph (COMP = "comparative;" FREQ = "frequentative;" 3rd.PL = "third person plural"):

- (10) Pihall' oñ veret paremmat In the yard is blood better
 Kagaroi-ll' on kaunehemmat In the manure is more beautiful
 Pessüt penkit hierelömmä Scrubbed benches we would spoil
 Huvään tuvañ turmelomma The good house we would ruin

(SKVR I₂ 704.187-90)

(11)

Piha-	ll'	oñ	veret	pare-	mmat	Yard	in	is	blood	better-	COMP
Kagaroi-	ll'	on		kaunehe-	mmat	Manure	in	is		beautiful-	COMP

Pessüt	penkit	hiere-	lö-	mmä	Scrubbed	benches	spoil-	FREQ-	3 rd .PL
Huvään	tuvañ	turme-	lö-	mma	Good	house	ruin-	FREQ-	3 rd .PL

Semantic diagraph of parallel couplets:

[Dirty]	outside	blood	positive (adjective)
Clean	inside		negative (verb)

These couplets are very tightly connected at several levels. Patterns of phonic parallelism are prominent, reinforcing cohesion of the multiform as a unit. Each couplet begins with alliteration in /p/. The grammatical rhymes of the comparative plural *-mma-t* in the first couplet rhyme with those of the frequentative third person plural *-lö-mmä / -lo-mma* in the second.⁴⁹ The cohesion produced by phonic parallelism is an indicator that the juxtaposition of these couplets should be interpreted as a syntactic relation. Comparative adjectives in the first couplet suggest that the relation is comparative rather than causal. The two couplets are grammatically quite different, but they have an equivalent rhythmic-syllabic organization of semantic units in the meter. This organization is reinforced by structural correspondence. In the first line, the rhythmic-syllabic structure is 3-2-3 (representing the number of syllables in each word) or

⁴⁹ In line 188, *-hem-* in *kaunehemmat* would be metrically stressed and (probably) rhythmically prolonged (on Viena region singing, see Kallio, this volume). The prominence of this syllable could potentially be perceivable as alliterating with *hierelömmä* and *huvään* in the subsequent lines (Frog and Stepanova 2011:201).

2-1-2-3, depending on whether *pihall'on* (“in the yard is”) is viewed as a three-syllable unit (giving a 3-2-3 structure) or *on* (“is”) is treated as a separate word rather than a variation in phonic contour (giving a 2-1-2-3 structure). With the ellipsis of “blood” (*veret*), the second line has a 4-4 structure or a 3-1-4 structure, distributing semantic units as half-line units. The following couplet has a repeating 2-2-4 structure, with a corresponding distribution of semantic units between noun phrases (adjective + noun) and verbs. These features of sameness make the contrasts between semantic units more salient, which are brought to the surface in the semantic diagraph. Outside, and the dirtiness that is implicit in the manure, is contrasted with inside represented as clean and good. The second couplet reinforces the message through the contrast of adjectival positive valuation and implicit negative valuation in verbs of destruction. In addition, the nouns and noun phrases exhibit a chiasmic structure across the couplets of {PLACE}—{THING}—{THING}—{PLACE}.

Contextually, “blood in the yard” transparently refers to the inevitable spilling of blood in the duel. Notably, the verses focus not on the action but on its outcome. The outcome represents an image of blood in a location as a symbolic integer. For someone unfamiliar with the tradition, the second couplet might be interpreted as making a mess of the house by having a big fight. However, the duelling referred to is highly ritualized: basically, the duellers stand facing each other and each takes one swing at his opponent by turns.⁵⁰ Thus, a concern for “spoiling scrubbed benches” does not reflect a worry that combatants will be bumping into things. Just as “blood” undergoes ellipsis between lines of the first couplet, it also undergoes ellipsis as an image element between the parallel couplets. The concern for disruption of the space allusively refers to an image of blood transposed into that location. Although it is possible to analyse many aspects of parallelism between these couplets at the level of verbalization, the contrast is best approached as setting images in opposition to one another at the level of symbolic articulation.

4. Motif-Based Parallelism

As with images, multiforms in kalevalaic epic crystallize around motifs as integers of narration. Where such multiforms have a dyadic or more complex structure, they can have internal parallelism like those in examples of image-based parallelism shown above. In this case, two or more elements are placed in relation to one another to realize the conventional motif. For motifs, the second element of the dyad will present additive information and the juxtaposition will often be interpreted as causally related to the first. The juxtaposition forms a parallelism by presenting complementary elements of, or information about, a single integer in symbolic articulation. Examples (12) and (15) illustrate motif-based parallelism within the realization of a multiform. Examples (17-19) reveal the potential for the dyadic structure of a multiform, and thus its parallelism, to dissolve in variation. Examples (21-22) illustrate parallelism in multiforms with more than two elements.

⁵⁰ The structure of the duel is simply built into narration and should not be considered a social reality of the period of collection. This type of duel is probably one of the many elements of the epic tradition that is historically rooted in an Iron-Age milieu. It corresponds to the duelling tradition of Iron Age Scandinavia that was rapidly outlawed with the spread of Christianity.

Motif parallelism also occurs across juxtaposed multiforms. The interface of the motif as a symbolic integer with a multiform as a linguistic system for its representation produces what Greg Urban (1986:26-29; 1991:79-104) refers to as “macro-parallelism,” or parallelism based on reproductions of multi-line text sequences. Sameness in the reproduction of these sequences has the potential to foreground variations between them. In Urban’s usage, linguistically mediated signs are reduced to semantic and structural sequences of language, and therefore also fall under his use of macro-parallelism. Here, macro-parallelism is addressed in the specific sense of linguistic macro-parallelism, which manifests saliently through the reproduction of multiforms that may vary morphologically and/or with open slots, reproducing a common framework. Examples (24-25) and (26-28) illustrate motif parallelism across multiforms and macro-parallelism. Nevertheless, macro-parallelism as a phenomenon can in principle manifest at any level in signification. Viewed in this way, macro-parallelism can be described as parallelism between stretches of discourse that markedly exceed the metered frames of that level of signification. As will become apparent, macro-parallelism at one order of representation commonly appears to be both a symptom and an outcome of parallelism at the next order of signification. In other words, linguistic macro-parallelism results from motif parallelism, rather than being independent of it (see also §5.3).

4.1. Motif-Based Parallelism in Dyadic Multiforms

Dyadic multiforms with internal motif-based parallelism tend to be organized as two groupings of lines, each built on some form of parallelism, even if not all lines are members of parallel groups. The interweaving of complementary elements through the repetition of words and structures tightens a multiform as a verbal system and seems to support its stability in social circulation. When I was looking at hierarchies of complexities in parallelism between verses and couplets, a remarkably stable yet versatile multiform led me to attend to parallelism in the images and motifs that it mediates. This multiform is from *The Singing Competition*, where it describes two sleighs colliding and becoming entangled. It is organized by first using metonyms for the sleighs to describe them getting stuck together, and then describing liquid running from (some of) the same metonyms as an emblem of the straining of the horses. This multiform is additionally interesting because the motif concerns a transition from movement to stasis. The dynamic quality of the motif—the process of change—manifests in the flow of performance as the transition from a description of the two heroes driving their sleighs toward one another. At the same time, the process of the motif produces a static state of two entangled sleighs with straining horses, in which these act as parallel images.⁵¹

⁵¹ The ambiguity between dynamic and static representation is also present linguistically, where the verb *puuttui* can be interpreted as either “became stuck” or “were in the state of being stuck,” and the verb *vuoti* can similarly be interpreted as either “leaked, ran, flowed” or “was leaking, running, flowing.”

- (12) Puuttu vommel vembelehe Stuck shaft-bow to shaft-bow
 Rahis rahkehen nenähä Trace to trace's end
 Veri vuodi vembelestä Blood flowed from the shaft-bow
 Razva rahkehen nenästä Fat from the trace's end

(SKVR I₁ 153a.4-7)

(13)	Puuttu	vommel	vembele-		he	Stuck	shaft.bow	shaft.bow			to
	Rahis	rahkehe-	n	nenä-	hä		Trace	trace	's	end	to

Veri	vuodi	vembele-		stä	Blood	flowed	shaft.bow			from
Razva		rahkehe-	n	nenä-	Fat		trace	's	end	from

The semantic parallelism between the lines of each couplet is augmented with lexical reproduction and features of grammatical parallelism between the couplets shown in (14):⁵²

(14)	Puuttu	vommel	vempele-	he	/	Rahis	rahkehe-	n	nenä-	hä
	vuodi	*Veri	vempele-	stä	/	Razva	rahkehe-	n	nenä-	stä

Stuck	shaft.bow	shaft.bow	to	/	Trace	trace	's	end	to
flowed	*Blood	shaft.bow	from	/	Fat	trace	's	end	from

* This word has been moved from its position in the verse to make the parallelism more visible.

The parallelism between the couplets reveals their tightly knit correspondence. They vary in: *a*) the verb in the first line, *b*) in the parallel terms for the grammatical subject, and *c*) the inflections at the ends of each couplet's lines (morphological variation). It is characteristic of this multiform that the verb and the metonym for sleigh in the first couplet are metrically equivalent (two-syllable words with a long first syllable) and can vary in order. This is not the case in the second couplet, where most terms for liquid like *veri* ("blood") have a short first syllable, which inhibits their use in the second foot for metrical reasons. Lexical reproduction and grammatical parallels reinforce the coherence and cohesion of this multiform as expressing a single unit of narrative content. The prominence of grammatical parallelism across these couplets is affected by variations in different dialects. The second element is also completely omitted in some dialects: the symbolic integer in narration is communicated unambiguously without it. The strategies for reinforcing coherence and cohesion are otherwise found across dialects from the White Sea to the Gulf of Finland.⁵³ Throughout these singing regions, the dyadic elements of the multiform operate as parallel members of a group through common reference to the same symbolic integer, or the symbolic integer is rendered through the first metonymic element only.

⁵² The diagram in (14) has previously appeared in Frog (2016b:80).

⁵³ For a survey based on 135 examples, see Frog (2016b:78-82).

In the preceding example, semantic parallelism is the basis for verses in each element of the multiform, and this is common. However, there are also other varieties of parallelism like the chain or terrace structure describing the fiery eagle in example (8). These strategies also provide means of extending forms of parallelism and reproduction in verbalization across the elements of a multiform, reinforcing its cohesion as a distinct unit. This can be illustrated by a response of the hero to the eagle of example (8):

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (15) | Laulo leppäseñ venehen | [He] sang a boat of alder wood |
| | Laulo leppäsen isännäñ | Sang a master of alder wood |
| | Melañ leppäsen kätehe | An oar of alder wood in his hand |
| | Koški koppasi veneheñ | The rapids seized the boat |
| | Kokko koppasi isännäñ | The eagle seized the master |

(SKVR I₂ 811.185-89)

(16)	Laulo	leppäseñ	venehen			Sang	alder.wood	boat		
	Laulo	leppäsen	isännäñ			Sang	alder.wood	master		
		leppäsen	*Melañ	käte-	he		alder.wood	*Oar	hand	in

Koški	koppasi	veneheñ
Kokko	koppasi	isännäñ

Rapids	seized	boat
Eagle	seized	master

* An asterisk indicates that the word appears in a different order in the text.

The motif as a narrative unit is the feat by which the hero passes the danger. Parallelism occurs in the two commensurate, juxtaposed elements of narration that together form a distinct unit. The verse structure can be described as (A₁ A₂ *A₃)₁ (B₁ B₂)₂, where the third line (*A₃) varies from the preceding two while still being perceived as parallel. In this case, the dyadic structure is unambiguous because of the change in grammatical subjects and the verb. Cohesion in each parallel group is increased by the reproduction of words in the same metrical positions in each sequence: *leppäni* (“alder wood”) and *lauloi* (“sang”) in the first; *koppasi* (“seized”) in the second.⁵⁴ The dyadic structure is reinforced by the corresponding ordered reproduction of *veneh* / *isäntä* (“boat / master”) in the same metrical positions in parallel lines. Parallelism in the syllabic structure of verses (2-3-3) is found through the whole multiform. The co-occurrence of all of these features provides the unit with strong cohesion. The lexical reproduction of *koski* (“rapids”) and *kokko* (“eagle”) link this multiform to the preceding image where it is used in a description of the danger such as (8), and to which this is the hero’s response. Linguistic parallelism and reproduction thus has the potential to produce cohesion between elements of a multiform and to create links between multiforms.

⁵⁴ Krohn (1918 I:79) called this “catalogue-type” parallelism (*luettelontapainen*). See also Austerlitz (1958:45-51).

4.2. Breakdowns of Motif-Based Parallelism

Not all multiforms have a regular or socially stable dyadic structure. Variation (for example by dialect) can also cause a dyadic structure to lose salience, or the second element may be omitted. In *The Song of Lemminkäinen*, the hero's responses to dangers on the journey vary regionally and locally more than the dangers themselves. Some of the responses are also transferred from one danger to another. The multiform reflected in (15) is one of several types of response to the eagle and exhibits several types of variation. Variations include an adaptation for passing a different danger in which the alder-man appears with a horse rather than a boat and the second element is changed (*SKVR* I₂ 784.49-53).⁵⁵ Variations in which parallelism is impacted by changes in rhythms of verbalization are more significant in the present context. The examples of dyadic multiforms quoted above show that the parallel members of the dyadic structure are commensurate in scope as paired groups of parallel verses. Changes in the rhythm of presentation change the metered frames of the elements narrated, as in the following example from the hero's dialogue with his mother:

(17)	Loajiñ leppäseñ veneheñ	I will build a boat of alder wood
	Loajiñ leppäsen isännäñ	I will build a master of alder wood
	Itē istuvuñ jälellä	Myself I will sit in its wake
	Kokko koppasi isännäñ	The eagle seized the master
		(<i>SKVR</i> I ₂ 806.95-98)

The first parallel couplet forms a clear unit, and the third line is easily perceived as forming a parallelism with that couplet, adding an element of information to the unit of action. These three verses thus produce a hierarchically structured parallelism of (A₁ A₂)₁ (B₁)₂. The fourth line presents a unit with a new grammatical subject. The verse as a linguistic unit is equivalent in formal scope to the preceding verse. However, it is neither in full semantic parallelism with that verse for an (A₁ A₂)₁ (B₁ B₂)₂ parallelism, nor does it present a third member to the parallel group for an (A₁ A₂)₁ (B₁)₂ (C₁)₃ parallelism. The fourth line is a metonym of the same motif, but the element's counterpart is the preceding three lines which formally differ in both scope and complexity. The pattern can be described as ((A₁ A₂)₁ (B₁)₂)₁ (C₁)₂. The perception of parallelism is unlikely to manifest because the metered frames are not commensurate: the fourth verse merely follows a complex, multi-verse unit.

A multiform's dyadic structure may also be blurred through variation in syntax. In some cases, the dyadic elements can be clearly presented with reproduction of the verb or a different verb in each. Where both elements involve the same grammatical subject, they may also reduce to a single subject and verb. The basic pattern of the hero's action and its relationship to the danger remain, but the change in syntax affects the organization of information. This can be seen in the comparison of two variations of a different response to the fiery eagle. Example (18) presents a dyadic structure in which the grammatical subject is reproduced with the introduction

⁵⁵ Use of a different second element can obscure the alder-man's significance at the level of verbalization (*SKVR* I₂ 774.251-56), but the motif as a symbolic integer would still be clear to anyone competent in the tradition.

of a new verb, syntactically marking a caesura-like divide in the metered frame. In example (19), the grammatical subject is introduced in a full line, the core of the multiform in three lines, and the unit concludes it with a couplet situating the danger relative to the hero:

- (18) Siitä hän tempoi teyriä ahosta Then he drove black grouse from a field
 Koppeloita koivikolta Hens from birch copses
 Ne hän työnsi syöjän suuhun Those he shoved into the eater's mouth
 Partahan palan purian Beat into the beard of the biter
 Leukahän lesottajan Into the jaw of the swift one
(SKVR I₂ 726.130-34)

- (19) Lemminkäinen lieto poika Lemminkäinen *lieto* lad
 Tempo teyriä ahosta Drove black grouse from a field
 Koppaloita koivikolta Hens from birch copses
 Syöksi syöjällä kitaha For eating into the eater's maw
 Peässä iellä matkamiestä Ahead, in front of the travelling man
 Lemminkäistä liijatenki Of Lemminkäinen oh indeed
(SKVR I₂ 742.126-31)

The difference between these examples is made more apparent through a semantic diagram, where a double line marks the dyadic division in the example of (18):

(20)

	drove	birds ²	shoved	into danger ³	
Lemminkäinen	drove	birds ²		into danger	in front of Lemminkäinen ²

* Superscript numbers indicate the number of reiterations of semantic units in parallel lines.

The dyadic elements in example (18) are observable in example (19), where they could be received as couplet parallelism forming an (A₁ A₂)₁ (B₁)₂ parallelism. However, the final couplet situates the line *syöksi syöjällä kitaha* (“for eating into the eater’s maw”) in the middle of a larger syntactic sequence. As a couplet, this conclusion disrupts the salience of the preceding parallelism because of its own structural resonance with the preceding couplet. The multiform is realized with a symmetrical rhythm of orphan-line + couplet + orphan-line + couplet. Rather than supporting the connection between *syöksi syöjällä kitaha* and the preceding couplet, this structure inclines to either grouping it with the final couplet or linking it to the opening line. In either case, the structure is counter to the parallelism in (18). In addition, the final couplet is recurrent, giving it emphasis over the preceding line. Basically, everything in (19) works against a salient perception of parallelism as a dyadic multiform.

4.3. *Extended Motif-Based Parallelism*

Kalevalaic multiforms are not limited to a two-part complexity, and they can also exhibit parallelism between more than two elements. In example (17) above, parallelism was not perceivable because *itse istovun jälellä* (“myself I will sit in its wake”) created an ((A₁ A₂)₁ (B₁)₂ C₁) structure. The difference from the (A₁ A₂ *A₃)₁ (B₁ B₂)₂ structure in (15) is not very great, but it proves significant. An additional element can also be introduced between the first couplet and the eagle’s response that participates in parallelism and reinforces it by prolonging the series (A₁ A₂)₁ (B₁ B₂)₂ (C₁ C₂)₃ structure, as in (20):

(21)	Loati leppäseñ veneheñ	[He] built a boat of alder wood
	Loat’i leppäseñ urohoñ	Built a hero of alder wood
	Tüöñsi leppäsen veneheñ	Pushed the boat of alder wood
	Tüöñsi leppäsen urohon	Pushed the hero of alder wood
	Koški koppasi veneheñ	The rapids seized the boat
	Kokko koppasi urohoñ	The eagle seized the hero
		(SKVR I ₂ 809.140-45)

This three-part series is systematically structured to make a tightly organized textual unit. Lexical reproductions within each couplet unite syntactically and morphologically parallel lines while lexical reproductions of the *veneh // uros* (“boat // hero”) pair across all three couplets unite them as three parts of a unified series. Rather than two elements, this variation on the social multiform presents a series of three, parallel, metonymic elements of the motif as an integer in symbolic articulation.

In kalevalaic epic, multiforms seem to remain around 2-8 lines in use, but longer examples can be found. The following example is taken from *The Singing Competition*. It describes Väinämöinen “singing” his adversary into the landscape. In this dialect, the multiform developed a complex four-element form. Each element has a two-part structure. The first part uses the formula *laulo X* (“sang X”) in which X is the object of the verb—the person or thing that is magically “sung” into a new state. The second part is a line or series of lines telling what the object is sung “into”:

(22)	Laulo nuoren Joukaisen	[He] sang young Joukahainen
	Suohon suoni vöistä	Into a swamp to his belt
	Niittyhyn nisu lihoista	Into a meadow to his waist
	Kainalosta kangahasen	Into a heath up to his armpit
	Laulo koiran Joukahaisen	Sang Joukahainen’s dog’s
	Kynsin kylmäh kivehen	Claws into a cold stone
	Hampahin vesi hakoh	Teeth into a water-log
	Laulo jousen Joukahaisen	Sang Joukahainen’s bow
	Kaariksi vesien päälle	Into [to become] a (rain)bow on the water
	Laulo nuolen Joukavaisen	Sang Joukahainen’s arrow
	Haukaksi kiitäväksi	Into [to become] a streaking hawk

Ylähäksi taivosella

High in the heavens

(SKVR I₁ 185.41-52)

The series of elements in this multiform can be considered symbolic equivalents. They may be seen as distinct, but they are simultaneously elements of a coherent symbolic integer. Formally, semantic parallelism in the second part of each element exhibits a decreasing progression. In the first element, there are three parallel verses, followed by two in the second, one in the third, and one in the fourth. The end of the pattern is marked in the fourth element with an additional line that is not semantically parallel. The pattern is illustrated in the semantic diagraph in (23). Mention of the teeth // claws of the hero's dog stands out in the diagraph, and should be regarded as a consequence of using a conventional couplet as a pre-fabricated unit:

(23)

Sang	hero		into	landscape location ³	
Sang	hero's dog	by teeth//claws	into	landscape object ²	
Sang	hero's bow		to become	rainbow	
Sang	hero's arrow		to become	bird	in sky

The progression in this variant is not so even in all performances in this dialect. Nevertheless, it remains apparent that the weight of duration is toward the beginning. Elsewhere in this volume, David Holm and Eila Stepanova observe that the amount of parallelism is an indicator of significance in the traditions they analyse. Here, the gradual decrease of parallelism seems to be a technique to keep emphasis on the first element, the fate of the hero. Subsequent elements reinforce the first element through symbolic parallelism without competing with its prominence. The hero's dog, bow, and arrow are not otherwise mentioned in the epic, which underscores that their appearance serves to reinforce the symbolic integer of the hero's dissolution into the landscape.

4.4. Motif Parallelism with Macro-Parallelism

Adjacent and proximate motifs may be organized in parallel structures and such parallelism is clearly situated at the level of symbolic articulation. In kalevalaic poetry, however, multiforms that operate as macro-formulae mirror and reinforce parallelism between the symbolic integers they signify. The recurrence of text sequences having the scope of multiforms produces macro-parallelism (Urban 1986:26-29). In §5.2, the hero's dialogue with his mother at the beginning of *The Song of Lemminkäinen* is discussed. In that dialogue, the hero repeatedly demands his armor (translated literally as "war-shirt"), until his mother complies. The command and compliance are expressed through the same multiform with morphological variation of pronouns, possessive affixes, verb inflections, and in the first couplet also particles. Elements that vary between these uses are shown in italic font in (24-25):

(24)

<i>Oi emoñi vanhempañi</i>	<i>Oh my mother my elder</i>
Tuo <i>sie miun</i> sotisomañi	Bring <i>my</i> war-shirt

	<i>Kanna vainovoattieñi</i>	<i>Carry my persecution-garb</i>
	<i>Pitoloissa piettävähñi</i>	<i>My holding-one at the feast</i>
	<i>Häissä häilyteltävähñi</i>	<i>My glistening one at the wedding</i>
(25)	<i>Jo emonsa vanhempanša</i>	<i>Already his mother his elder</i>
	<i>Jo tuopi hänen šot'isomansa</i>	<i>Brings indeed his war-shirt</i>
	<i>Kanto vainovoattiša</i>	<i>Carries his persecution-garb</i>
	<i>Pitoloissa piettävähñä</i>	<i>His holding-one at the feast</i>
	<i>Häissä häilyteltävähñä</i>	<i>His glistening one at the wedding</i>
		<i>(SKVR I₂ 791a.139-48)</i>

Linguistic macro-parallelism in command-compliance interaction is certainly not unique to kalevalaic epic (for example, Urban 1991:71-72). In this case, it produces cohesion between the command and compliance and performs a rhetorical function. It marks the conclusion of a longer dialogue in which this multiform is expressed six times (on its variation in reproduction, see Frog 2016a:90-91).

Combined motif parallelism and linguistic macro-parallelism may also be observed, for example, in the paired motifs of weeping associated with the hero's departure from sexual adventures on the island of women. In the dialect of the example below, the hero is called *Kaukomieli*. The description of his grief in (26) is presented through a schema of negative parallelism with *a*) the introduction of the motif of the hero weeping for a period of time, *b*) a negative statement about its cause, and *c*) a positive solution. The motif has a strong visual component. The hero does not simply weep: he weeps as long as he can see the *soaren puut* ("trees of the island"), and the trees are gradually identified as emblematic of the women living on the island:

(26)	<i>Sini itki Kaukomieli</i>	<i>So long wept Kaukomieli</i>
	<i>Kuni soarem puut näküvi</i>	<i>As long as the island's trees could be seen</i>
	<i>Ei se itke soarem puita</i>	<i>He did not weep for the island's trees</i>
	<i>Eikä itke soarem maita</i>	<i>Nor wept for the island's lands</i>
	<i>Itki soaren impilöjä</i>	<i>Wept for the island's dear maidens</i>
		<i>(SKVR I₂ 791a.292-96)</i>

This is paralleled by a corresponding motif of women on the island weeping for as long as they can see the masts of the hero's departing ship in (27). The correspondence of motifs is matched in verbalization: both motifs are built from the same linguistic template of structure and phraseology. The Karelian word for "mast," *purjehpuu*, literally translates as "sail-tree," producing a lexical correspondence that correlates the different types of "trees" in each motif.

(27)	<i>Sini itki soaren immet</i>	<i>So long wept the island's maidens</i>
	<i>Kuni purjeh-puut näküvi</i>	<i>As long as the masts [lit. "sail-trees"] could be seen</i>
	<i>Rauta-hankat haimenta</i>	<i>The iron yard dimmed</i>
	<i>Ei ne itke purjeh-puita</i>	<i>They did not weep for the masts</i>

Rauta-hankoja halaja	Wish for the iron yard
Itki purjeh-puullisia	Wept for the mast-people [sailors]
Rauta-hankan haltieta	The iron yard's tenders

(SKVR I₂ 802.297-303)

The sort of shared verbal framework observable between (26) and (27) is quite familiar in kalevalaic epic. It reflects a common multiform with open slots that are completed in different ways, illustrated in (28):

(28) Sini itki X	So long wept X
Kuni Y puut näküvi	As long as the Y trees could be seen
[PARALLEL VERSE]	[PARALLEL VERSE]
Ei [PRONOUN] itke Y puita	[PRONOUN] did not weep for the Y trees
[PARALLEL VERSE]	[PARALLEL VERSE]
Itki Y Z	Wept for the Y Z
[PARALLEL VERSE]	[PARALLEL VERSE]

X = a four-syllable name or expression for the grammatical subject

Y = a two-syllable noun with a long stressed syllable as the qualifier for “trees”

Z = a four-syllable word that identifies people in the location of the “trees”

Although both descriptions are analyzable as variations on an open-slot multiform, the open-slot multiform is only generative in principle. Hypothetically, it *could* be used to identify the abstract motif with other agents in different situations,⁵⁶ but, to my knowledge, there is no evidence of this. In practice, the open-slot multiform was a framework shared across two motifs, but the different ways that it was completed crystallized into independent multiforms. In other words, the slots were not completed anew in each situation: they crystallized into series of verses from which potential parallel verses may be omitted. Rather than being generative, the shared framework's significance is the production of macro-parallelism between (26) and (27), represented in the semantic diagraph in (29):

(29)	Kaukomieli	weep	duration: sees island	cause ≠ island ²	cause = maidens
	Maidens	weep	duration: see ship ²	cause ≠ ship ²	cause = sailors ² (i.e. Kauko)

Macro-parallelism creates cohesion across the two motifs while highlighting variations between them. These may yet vary in length (in reproduction) through the presence or omission

⁵⁶ For example, it could be hypothetically used in a conclusion to *The Courtship Competition*, an epic in which two hero's compete for the maiden of Pohjola and one of them loses. Such an adaptation would only require completing X with the losing hero's four-syllable name (Väinämöinen or Ilmarinen), Y with *Pohjo* (genitive *Pohjon*) as a common two-syllable variation on *Pohjola*, and the plural *impilöjä* could be used in the singular with a diminutive ending, *impilöini*, partitive *impilöistä*. It is also quite possible that the multiform was used outside of epic narration with reference to, for example, a living person (X), completing Y and Z to refer to an actual or potential romantic situation—but this was not the sort of poetry that collectors were interested in documenting.

of parallel verses, but the multiforms construct equivalent metered frames for their respective symbolic integers. The macro-parallelism also schematically structures the metered frames to produce formal parallelism in symbolic articulation. This structuring advances parallels from constitutive elements of the respective motifs to their relationships. Correspondences between individual features and variation are brought into focus within those structured relations. Parallelism is developed at multiple orders of signification simultaneously. Linguistic macro-parallelism makes motif parallelism more salient. If focus is exclusively on linguistic macro-parallelism, (26) and (27) may be viewed as a variety of semantic parallelism of the sadness of the scene. When focus is on symbolic articulation, symbolic parallelism exhibits a network of correlations and contrasts that do not reduce to semantic or analogous equivalence *per se*.

4.5. Motif Parallelism without Macro-Parallelism

Motif parallelism is not dependent on systematic linguistic macro-parallelism. In kalevalaic epic, “recurrent returns” of motifs tend to be made salient through lexical and structural recurrence. The sort of highly structured parallelism in symbolic articulation illustrated in the preceding section is matched with parallelism in verbalization. Manifesting comprehensive macro-parallelism in such cases is simply part of how the tradition works. Stepping away from the kalevalaic epic tradition for a moment, a stanza from the end of a medieval Scandinavian ballad *Liten Karen* (“Little Karen”) provides an illustration of how parallelism in symbolic articulation can diverge from verbalization. In this ballad, a virtuous maiden has died at the hands of a wicked king or duke. The following stanza describes the ultimate fate of each character, that of the maiden in the first couplet and of the duke in the second:

- (30) Der kommo tvanne dufvor fran himmelen neder
 Men nar de flogo dadan de syntes vara tre
 Der kommo tvanne korpar fran helvetet upp
 De togo unga Hertingen bade med sjal och kropp

There came two doves down from heaven
 But when they flew thence they seemed to be three
 There came two ravens up from hell
 They took the young Duke, both body and soul

(Text and trans. from Sands 2001:349)

In this case, line 3 exhibits lexical reproduction from line 1 with grammatical parallelism. Words that are not reproduced from line 1 form contrasts between the types of bird *dufvor* // *korpar* (“doves // ravens”), the locations *himmelen* // *helvetet* (“Heaven // Hell”) from which they come, and the deictics *neder* // *upp* (“down // up”) of their directions of movement. These contrastive pairs are powerfully charged with morally encoded cultural symbolism. The linguistic parallelism of these verses is shown in the diagraph in (31):

(31)

Der	kommo	tvanne	dufvor	fran	himmelen	neder
Der	kommo	tvanne	korpar	fran	helvetet	upp

There	came	two	doves	from	Heaven	down
There	came	two	ravens	from	Hell	up

Like in the example of the hero and the maidens weeping (26-27), linguistic units produce a metered frame for elements in symbolic articulation, and linguistic parallelism structures symbolic elements within that frame making their relationships salient. The verses establish the doves as agents of Heaven and the ravens as agents of Hell. Motif parallelism continues and is completed in lines 2 and 4. Though these lines lack linguistic parallelism, the salience of motif parallelism in lines 1 and 3 establishes parallelism as a frame of interpretation for the second member of each couplet. The contrastive parallelism of lines 2 and 4 is embedded in cultural knowledge about the symbolism being manipulated. The interpretation of three rather than two birds returning to Heaven relies on recognizing the bird as a potential image of the soul in conjunction with conceptions of what happens to the soul following death. The contrast between the apparently willing flight of the doves and the aggressive “taking” of the Duke “body and soul” also engages cultural conceptions. It relies on the mythic image of Heaven as a desirable location and that of Hell as a place of punishment and suffering to which people do not go willingly. On that background, a diagraph of elements in symbolic articulation makes the parallelism visible:

(32)

Line 1	Came	2 doves	down from	Heaven	
Line 3	Came	2 ravens	up from	Hell	
Line 2	Flew	three (3 rd = maiden)	back (to)	(Heaven)	= grace
Line 4	Carried	the Duke (+ ravens)	(back to)	(Hell)	= punishment

Symbolic articulation is here organized in the metered frames of lines and couplets and characterized by the juxtaposition of image elements and motif constituents. The juxtaposition informs the significance of each element through its identification or contrast with a counterpart in the parallel motif. Within the tradition, the motifs are placed on an axis between Heaven and Hell in a contrast of cosmological proportions.

As a more complex unit of narration, motif parallelism can manifest in the juxtaposition of multiple elements at the level of symbolic articulation. Formal aspects of verbalization, such as the reproduction of lexical items from the preceding utterance, grammatical structures or formal units such as lines and couplets, may make the parallel structure more salient. Nevertheless, the parallelism manifested is at the level of symbolic articulation, reflecting a unit of narrative content. Motif parallelism may, potentially, occur in kalevalaic epic without linguistic macro-parallelism, but this involves questions of how parallelism should be defined. When addressing motif-based parallelism within a multiform, examples of the hero’s response to a danger were built on elements of the hero’s action and the monster’s counter-action, which indicated its success. Similarly, command-compliance interaction clearly manifests as

parallelism when it is matched by linguistic macro-parallelism. The question then arises whether the image of the danger on the hero's journey and his response manifest a parallelism. Multiform structures situate them in equivalent metered frames. Lexical recurrence was noted above and is connected with a recurrent return to the image of the eagle at the conclusion of the motif. These features create cohesion between the two narrative integers: the image of the eagle precedes and concludes the hero's action, framing it. The symbolic integers, paired as a threat and response, are also matched and made coherent through the organization of metered frames and recurrence in verbalization.

Symbolic parallelism between motifs is often difficult to reduce to pure "semantic" parallelism. Parallel symbols do not necessarily mediate "the same" symbolic or semantic content; instead, they construct and develop meaningfulness and significance through the relations of symbolic elements. As a consequence, describing motif parallelism as "semantic parallelism" or even "analogous parallelism" may be misleading. The relations between examples (26-27) would be better described as "corollary symbolic parallelism," and that between motifs in (30) as "contrastive symbolic parallelism." Correlation and contrast are essential to both types, the difference is what comes into focus. These types of parallelism are comparable to linguistic semantic and contrastive parallelism operating at the level of symbolic articulation. Parallelism between the eagle and the hero's response to it, on the other hand, creates a rhetorical connection and strong cohesion between complementary integers. If an analogue is made to verse parallelism, rather than a semantic base, this type of motif parallelism is more comparable to forming parallel groups with recurrent elements in an additive or complementary series, such as the description of the eagle in its tree or the alder-wood man and his boat. Motif parallelism may, it seems, be able to take as wide a variety of forms as does verse parallelism.

5. Higher Order Parallelism

Higher order parallelism occurs when images and motifs communicate complex symbols that are socially recognizable within a tradition community, and when those integers of tradition mediate still higher order signs.⁵⁷ Discussion here begins with parallelism at the level of themes, looking at themes that are reproduced in series within a more complex episode. Example (33), used for this discussion, provides the basis for looking at parallelism between that episode and another within the same epic. The emphasis on formal aspects of higher order parallelism in these examples will advance to encompass the construction of the meaningfulness or significance of symbols participating in higher order parallelism.

⁵⁷ The approach to higher order parallelism outlined here has developed especially through discussions with Karina Lukin, who addressed parallelism in larger units of text in Nenets epic at the seminar that gave rise to the present volume (Lukin 2014:122-29).

5.1. Theme Parallelism

A theme was defined above as an integer of tradition that is mediated through conventionally associated images, motifs and/or equivalent sets of these. In kalevalaic epic, theme parallelism within an episode is particularly noticeable. The recurrent images and motifs comprising the theme are expressed through the same multiforms, producing macro-parallelisms. Sequential recurrence of a theme with variation resembles recurrence of an open-slot multiform at a higher level of structure. Its variable slots can be embedded in recurrent open-slot multiforms, slots for whole multiforms, or both. Because themes in this tradition are inclined to form a structured and organized series of images and motifs that each forms a metered frame, they can operate at the level of symbolic articulation, much as a macro-formula does at the level of verbalization.

Example (33) is taken from the hero's journey in *The Song of Lemminkäinen*. The first of the three threatening "deaths," the fiery eagle, is followed by a giant "worm" or serpent, and "wolves/bears" in iron "bridles/shackles." Each danger is presented with the hero's response to it in one recurrence of the theme template organized within the narrative pattern. A formulaic "boundary marker" (Lamb 2015:236) opens the narrative pattern at the beginning of the first theme: *läksi Päivöilän pitoho / hyvän joukon juominkihi* ("Left for the feast of Päivölä / The good group's drinking-feast"). The grammatical subject is omitted from the first use of the theme's opening multiform; the naming formula *Lemminkäinen lieto poika* ("Lemminkäinen lieto boy") is used as a boundary marker at the beginning the theme's subsequent iterations. Following the opening multiform, the theme template has an open slot for the danger faced by the hero, and then for the hero's response. The first and third instances express the hero's response with a common open-slot multiform; all uses conclude with the same couplet. The third iteration is followed by repeating the boundary marker couplet with variation in the verb, completing the episode: *peäsi Päivölän pitoho / hyvän joukon juominkihi* ("Got to the feast of Päivölä / the good group's drinking-feast"):

- (33) The example of the hero's dangerous journey from *The Song of Lemminkäinen* is here laid out with each recurrence of the theme in one of three columns. Texts have been arranged in a manner similar to a diagraph with parallel multiforms and their textual features aligned.

<i>Danger 1</i>	<i>Danger 2</i>	<i>Danger 3</i>
Läksi Päivöil'am pidoho		
Hävän joukon juomingihi		
	Lemmingäinen lieto poiga	Lemmingäinen lieto poiga
Mäni matkoja vähäizen	Mäni matkoja vähäizen	Mäni matkoja vähäizen
Kävi teidä pikkaraizen	Käüt on teidä pikkaraizen	Käüt on teidä pikkaraizen
Niin on kuin sano emoine	N'iin on kuin sano emoine	N'iin on kuin sano emoine
Oma vanhemi vakitti	Oma vanhemi vakitti	Oma vanhemi vakitti

<i>Danger 1</i>	<i>Danger 2</i>	<i>Danger 3</i>
Tuliba tuliñe koski	Mad' on t'iellä poikki-puolin	Küllöil'än kujojen suissa
Kozess' oñ tuliñe luodo	Pitelämb' om pert'in hirttä	Suzit oñ rauda-suiittiloissa
Luvvoss' oñ tuliñe koivu	Paksumb' om pert'im patsasta	Karhut rauda-kahlehisssa
Koivuss' oñ tuliñe kokko		Lemmingäizem peän varalla
Üöt heän küñzieh hiveli		
Päivät kaikki kitskutteli		Ne on süçöt soçam miestä
Lemmingäizem peän varalla		Tuhonnut tuhat urosta
“Kokkoizeñi, linduizeñi	“Mado musta moan alaiñe	“Ohtoizeñi, linduizeñi
	Toukka tuomen karvalliñe	Ohtoine metsän omena
		Mezi-kämmen källeröine
Luo sie silmäs luodehella	Piśśä peäzi mättähähä	Luo sie silmäs luodehella
Keännä peäzi päivän alla	Itse kuvote kuloho	Keännä peäzi päivän alla
Laulan karjan teürilöidä		Laulan karjañ lambahie
Süüväksezi kokkoizeñi		Süüväksezi ohtoizeñi
Kokkoizeñi, linduizeñi		Ohtoizeni, linduizeñi
		Ohtoine metsän omena
		Mezi-kämmen källeröine
Anna männä matka-miehen	Anna männä matka-miehen	Anna männä matka-miehen
Lemmingäizeñ liijatengi”	Lemmingäizen liijatengi”	Lemmingäizen liijatengi”
		Peäzi Päivoil'äm pidoho
		Hüvän joukon juomingihi
(SKVR I ₂ 717.75-95.)	(SKVR I ₂ 717.96-109.)	(SKVR I ₂ 717.110-34.)

Left for the feast of Päivölä,
The good group's drinking-feast.

	Lemminkäinen <i>lieto</i> boy	Lemminkäinen <i>lieto</i> boy
Went the journey a little	Went the journey a little	Went the journey a little
Walked the road a bit	Walked is the road a bit	Walked is the road a bit
Thus is as dear mother said	Thus is as dear mother said	Thus is as dear mother said
[His] own parent advized	[His] own parent advized	[His] own parent advized
Came indeed a fiery rapids	A worm is across the road	At the ends of Kyllölä's paths
In the rapids is a fiery islet	Longer than a house's beam	Wolves are in iron bridles
In the islet is a fiery birch	Thicker than a house's post	Bears in iron shackles
In the birch is a fiery eagle		Ready for Lemminkäinen's head
By night hones his claws		
Every day strutting slowly		They have eaten a hundred men
Ready for Lemminkäinen's head		Destroyed a thousand heroes

<i>Danger 1</i>	<i>Danger 2</i>	<i>Danger 3</i>
“My dear eagle, my little bird	“Black worm, under the earth Death’s furry larva	“My dear bear, my dear bird Dear bear, fruit of the forest Honeypaw, brown one
Cast your eye to the northwest, Turn your head beneath the sun I sing a flock of black grouse For your eating my dear eagle	Stick your head in a tussock Knit yourself into a brushfire	Cast your eye to the northwest Turn your head beneath the sun I sing a flock of sheep For your eating my dear bear
My dear eagle, my little bird		My dear bear, my little bird Dear bear, fruit of the forest Honeypaw, brown one
Let go the travelling man Lemminkäinen oh indeed”	Let go the travelling man Lemminkäinen oh indeed”	Let go the travelling man Lemminkäinen oh indeed” Got to the feast of Päivölä The good group’s drinking-feast

Each of the three dangers is highly conventional. The second danger presents only the first element of the relevant multiform. Both elements of this multiform are used in the preceding dialogue between the hero and his mother. There, the second element is “Se on sū(öt soam miestä / Tuhonnut tuhat urosta” (*SKVR* I₂ 717.43-44) (“It has eaten a hundred men / Destroyed a thousand heroes”), like the second element in the third danger’s multiform, and followed by “Lemmingäizem peän varalla” (717.45) (“Ready for Lemminkäinen’s head”). When this multiform was reproduced in the narration of the journey, it was truncated. Shortening may have continued through the completion of the theme. The hero’s response to the danger is consistently structured across the three encounters: a vocative address to the danger, followed by verbalization of a magical act for overcoming the danger. In other dialects of the tradition, the closing couplet can appear to be an integrated part of a response multiform. In this case, its status is less clear. My initial inclination was to view the reproduction of the vocative addresses to the eagle and the wolves//bears as a continuation of the preceding line in extended parallelism (Frog 2014b:197-98). However, vocative formulae tend in general to open a new unit of utterance in the epic register. If this is the case here, the vocative formula is an indicator that the singer treats the final couplet as a discrete unit, a closing boundary marker for the theme. This unit then has the potential of a multiform to either be expanded with a vocative address or to appear alone, as in the response to the worm. Whether this boundary marker should be treated as a discrete multiform remains ambiguous.

As with open slot multiforms, the potential of the theme as a generative template is not customarily realized. However, Viena Karelia, where the variant in (33) was recorded, was unusual in that migrations in preceding centuries had brought several dialects of the tradition into the same region. Some singers capitalized on knowledge of dialectal variants to incorporate more than three dangers on the journey.⁵⁸ The incorporation of additional dangers integrates them into the dialectal form of the theme. Such innovations would involve use of the theme as a generative

⁵⁸ A chart of dangers encountered by the hero covering most variants can be found in Frog (2010a:389-95).

template, whether generations earlier or in the situation of performance (for example as a display of knowledge and skill for a collector).

Each use of the theme has a simple three-part structure: *a*) a multiform indicates progress of the journey until the encounter; *b*) a multiform represents a danger; *c*) a multiform or pair of multiforms present the hero's response to that danger. The following diagraph illustrates this three-part structure as well as the three types of boundary markers as found in (33):

(34)

	<i>Departure</i>	<i>Encounter</i>	<i>Danger</i>	<i>Response</i>	<i>Arrival</i>
Boundary marker 1	Travel	Eagle	Sing A		
Boundary marker 2	Travel	Worm	Curse		
Boundary marker 2	Travel	Wolves/bears	Sing B	Boundary marker 3	

The recurrent reproduction of the same multiform at the beginning of the theme and the same couplet at its conclusion combine with structural recurrence to align the metered frames in parallelism. The mythic images of the three dangers and the responses to them are aligned as symbolically parallel integers within the theme. This motif parallelism is reinforced by linguistic macro-parallelism in the hero's responses to the first and last dangers. Thematic parallelism imbues each varying element of the theme with equivalent significance in the same way that nails//teeth exhibit equivalence across parallel verses in (4) above.

Theme parallelism is quite common in kalevalaic epic dialogues. A sequence of dialogue is often organized as a series of turns forming a theme. The theme is organized around a request or demand and a response between two interlocutors. Some cycles of dialogue recur with variations until a particular variation, such as compliance with a demand, allows the narration to proceed. Dialogic theme parallelism is an organizing principle of the hero's dialogue with his mother at the beginning of the epic, when she warns him of the "deaths" on the road. The most common structure is: *a*) the hero demands his armor (or some equivalent thing); *b*) his mother forbids him from going to the feast and warns him of a danger; *c*) the hero rejects the threat's validity, perhaps explaining how he will overcome it; and then *a*) the demand is repeated. In practice, the theme may be concentrated into three turns or expanded into several. For example, the hero can ask what the danger is after his mother forbids him from going, breaking one of her turns into two parts. In the example quoted above, the structure is slightly different. The hero simply begins preparations in a boundary-marker multiform (BM 1) that begins the episode. His mother makes a prohibition, stating that there are three "deaths," and continues directly into a description of the first danger. The hero dismisses her warning and asks her what is next. In the second and third uses of the theme, another multiform is spoken by the mother as an opening boundary marker (BM 2). Following the rejection of the third danger, the hero demands his armor and the mother complies, concluding the episode with the command-compliance parallelism illustrated in (24-25). This structure of this example is illustrated in (35):

(35)

<i>Hero's Decision</i>	<i>Mother's Prohibition</i>	<i>Warns of Danger</i>	<i>Hero's Response</i>	<i>Hero's Demand</i>	<i>Mother's Response</i>
BM 1	3 "deaths"	Eagle	Reject		
BM 2		Worm	Reject		
BM 2		Wolves//bears	Reject	Shirt	Shirt

The salience of theme parallelism in kalevalaic epic is exceptional while theme parallelism itself is common in many narrative traditions. In other traditions, this type of higher order parallelism may be less transparent at the level of verbalization and its metered frames may be more flexible.

5.2. Episode Parallelism

"Episode" is here used as a practical term for the unit of narration above the level of a theme in this tradition. As discussed above in §§1.2-3, an episode is characterized by a narrative pattern as a higher order integer, which in kalevalaic epic is mediated through conventionally associated themes. Parallelism can also occur between episodes. Episode parallelism is less common than theme parallelism and seems to manifest more frequently at the level of structures with different themes rather than reproducing the same themes in different episodes. The hero's dialogue with his mother about dangers on his journey and narration of the journey itself exemplifies this point.

The episodes of the dialogue and the journey exhibit structural parallelism in the triple recurrence of a theme as well as the specific arrangement of boundary markers. In both episodes, the three dangers are iterated through consistent multiforms in the same sequential progression across the three recurrent themes. In addition, the second boundary marker is the same multiform as the opening description of travel, but morphologically varied to be spoken by the hero's mother. As is common in this epic, the recurrent structures and patterns in the symbolic integers organize metered frames that make the two episodes perceivable as parallel members of a group, illustrated in (36):

(36)

<i>Instigation</i>	<i>Theme 1</i>	<i>Theme 2</i>	<i>Theme 3</i>	<i>Conclusion</i>
Preparation	Danger 1	Danger 2	Danger 3	Preparation completed
Departure	Danger 1	Danger 2	Danger 3	Arrival

The otherwise unusual recurrence of both the multiform of the danger and the multiform of travel in this variant enhances the salience of parallelism by opening themes in both episodes with the same multiforms in series. When both episodes are included in a performance, the reproduction of multiforms across episodes may be limited to those expressing the images of the dangers. In their context, it is not clear that their recurrence across episodes was perceived as linguistic macro-parallelism *per se*. It would certainly produce resonance and cohesion between the episodes, linking these symbolic elements in series. However, just as not every use of a formula is perceived as a parallelism, the recurrent multiform may have been perceived

practically as how the eagle must be described when mentioned again. Nevertheless, the episode parallelism produces a strong cohesion, reinforced by the fact that the journey invariably follows immediately on the dialogue. The dangers of the journey were the core of the epic, although they could be presented exclusively in the dialogue, with a jump in narration from the hero's departure to his arrival at the feast. Nevertheless, the journey was not presented without being preceded by the dialogue, unless it was separated from the epic context and performed as part of an incantation.⁵⁹ The fact that the paired episodes could be reduced to a single episode with priority on the dialogue emphasizes the cohesion between them.

Episode parallelism could also occur between the hero's dialogue with his mother and another later dialogue in the epic. If, rather than being killed, the hero slays the host of the feast of Päivölä in a duel, he flees from vengeance and ends up going to the island of women. In this case, however, the hero does not flee directly to the island. Instead, he first returns home and asks his mother where he should hide. In the ensuing dialogue, his mother proposes a series of locations, each of which he rejects until she recommends the island. This is the second episode organized as a dialogue between the hero and his mother in the epic, and both dialogues are similarly structured. Both customarily open with the hero addressing his mother with a request. The core of the dialogue is the mother giving advice and the hero rejecting it. Complexity of the recurrent themes in these dialogues and some aspects of their organization vary across dialects. The example above is a case in point: the hero's request for his armor generally opens a theme of that dialogue rather than only concluding it. Nevertheless, the core remains stable as does the structuring of the episode around dialogic theme parallelism. Both episodes structurally occupy equivalent positions in a larger narrative pattern. Each episode follows an instigating event at the beginning of a heroic adventure as a larger structural unit within the epic. Within that larger unit, the dialogue immediately precedes the hero's departure to the otherworld location of that adventure. The diagraph in (37) illustrates structural and symbolic correlations of the two episodes that produce an episode parallelism.⁶⁰

(37)

<i>Instigation</i>	<i>Dialogue</i>	<i>Theme 1</i>	<i>Theme 2</i>	<i>Theme 3</i>	<i>Conclusion</i>
Hero seeks mother with request (armor)	Mother gives advice	Reject	Reject	Reject	Hero departs on journey
Hero seeks mother with request (advice)	Mother gives advice	Reject	Reject	Accept	Hero departs on journey

The two dialogues differ in two relevant respects. In the first, the mother asserts her advice in the form of a prohibition and warning; in the second, the hero seeks out her advice. The

⁵⁹ On *The Song of Lemminkäinen* in or as an incantation, see Frog (2010a:75n.96, 79-80, 82, 84, 86-87), and see also Frog, "Parallelism Dynamics II," this volume. There are a very few examples that could reflect performances without the dialogue, but they are only short fragments of a few lines and remain either ambiguous or generally unusual.

⁶⁰ The variation in the example in (36) would alter the unit under "Instigation" from "Hero seeks mother with request (armor)" to "Hero prepares for departure." In this case, the correspondence would shift to "Hero prepares to flee" in the second episode. However, the performer of that variant did not continue the epic to include the duel and escape to the island, so the variation there had no relevance for episode parallelism.

second difference is structurally dependent on the first, because it makes them dialogues of subtly different types: in both, a variation occurs that allows the plot to move forward, but it occurs at different points and thus gives the dialogue a different structure. In the first, the recurrent theme's structure is uniform and the variation occurs at the conclusion of the third cycle, when the mother complies with the hero's request to fetch his armor. The mother's compliance is often preceded by a reiteration of the hero's request that could otherwise begin a recurrence of the dialogue sequence. However, the result is the command-compliance parallelism as in (24-25) above. The multiform produces resonance with its previous uses, when the demand is incorporated into the dialogue. Nevertheless, the command-compliance parallelism of the same multiform used in series is a use of macro-parallelism that contrasts with the dialogic theme in structure, scope, and significance. Theme parallelism does not manifest, and the variation instead marks the conclusion of the episode. The second dialogue is structured so that the variation must occur within the theme with an acceptable response. This response may lead into an alternative conclusion to the theme, or the theme may conclude abruptly. In the latter case, the initial turns of the dialogic theme are sufficient to activate perception of the recurrent theme's metered frame, even though it lacks an integer in the place of the hero's rejection of the proposal. The effect is a form of catalexis, when a verse is truncated so that not all metrical positions are completed.

The parallel members of this episode's "recurrent return" may be separated by a considerable amount of narration (at least for a short epic form), often 50-100 verses. This amount could be doubled in a performance where every verse is sung twice. The scope of the episodes facilitates the salience of parallelism in a way that smaller units would not. Reproduction of a single line or couplet following such an interlude would not necessarily be noticed at all. A corresponding recurrence of a single motif might produce resonance without being perceived as parallelism in the on-going flow of discourse. The dialogic theme parallelism within each episode foregrounds form and, thereby, resonance so that parallelism between the episodes is more easily perceived. However this example of episode parallelism is interpreted, it serves to link the adventure sequences of the epic and reinforce cohesion between episodes.

5.3. *Parallelism and Meaning Construction*

Higher order parallelism can be developed to structure the meaningfulness of images and motifs within parallel members. The so-called Sampo-Cycle of kalevalaic epic exhibits a range of variation, but can be generally described as (or historically as having been) an account of the creation and organization of the world.⁶¹ The epic centers on the creation of a mysterious prosperity-creating object, a *sampo* (interpreted in diverse ways⁶²), its theft from the otherworld, and destruction as the heroes seek to escape with it. Parallelisms appear between the creation of

⁶¹ The forms of this epic have great variation by region. The fundamental studies remain Setälä (1932:169-607); Harva (1943); Kuusi (1949); in English, see also Kuusi (1994) and Frog (2012a:222-40).

⁶² See Setälä (1932:169-91) and Kuusi (1949:142-48); in English, concentrating on Viena Karelia, see Tarkka (2012:*passim*).

the world from an egg at the beginning of this epic cycle and the events surrounding the destruction of the *sampo* in a conflict with a bird-formed adversary.

In the world-creation, a bird flies about, looking for a place to build a nest. The demiurge Väinämöinen raises part of his body as the first land, where the bird builds a nest and lays eggs. Owing to the uncomfortable heat of the bird's brooding, Väinämöinen moves and the eggs roll off (and the bird flies away). One egg breaks, and from it Väinämöinen creates the world, or parts of it (especially the celestial bodies). At the conclusion of the cycle, a group of heroes led by Väinämöinen steals the *sampo* from the otherworld and escapes by sea. The Mistress of Pohjola ("North-LOCATION") pursues in her own ship. Väinämöinen intervenes by throwing back a piece of flint, magically causing a shoal or skerry to rise from the sea behind them. The pursuing ship runs aground and breaks apart. The Mistress of Pohjola transforms into a magical bird, which may be explicitly formed from her ship and crew, and continues her pursuit in flight. She lands on Väinämöinen's ship and takes hold of the *sampo*, intending to flee with it. Väinämöinen strikes, the *sampo* breaks, and the adversary flies back to the north (with part of the broken *sampo*). Prosperity and fertility are distributed in the world with the *sampo*'s fragments, establishing the principles of so-called "limited good" (Tarkka 2012:154-59).

The parallelism between the creation of the world and the destruction of the *sampo* occurs at the level of themes, each of which is embedded in a more complex narrative pattern. Although this summary or even a transcription of an epic performance may not make the parallelism transparent and evident, it surfaces when presented as a diagraph:⁶³

(38)

Bird flies	Lands on V.'s knee	Egg on knee (bird lays)	V. moves	World-egg breaks	(Bird departs)	World is created
Adversary flies as bird	Lands on V.'s ship	<i>Sampo</i> on ship (bird takes)	V. strikes	<i>Sampo</i> breaks	Adversary departs	Prosperity distributed

Higher order parallelism correlates symbolic elements that are aligned within metered frames. Here, correlation with the mythic egg of creation image informs the significance of the *sampo* by generating a symbolic equivalence between them. This symbolic equivalence also manifests in the interpretations of singers, as witnessed by Ohvo Homanen's explanation that: "Sammossa oli kaikki moailman huvus, kuu ja päivä ja armas aurinkoinen" (*SKVR* I₁ 83a, n.19) ("All of the goodness in the world was in the *sampo*, the moon and daylight and dear sun") (see also Tarkka 2012:149). Whether understood literally or symbolically, the statement indicates a correlation between the *sampo* and the world-egg, from which the sun, moon, and celestial sphere are created in the epic.

Symbolic correlation is marked by contrasts. Whereas the bird of creation is a positive agent, the bird in the battle over the *sampo* is the Mistress of Pohjola, a powerful adversary of the heroes. Väinämöinen seeks to help the bird of creation but must defend the *sampo* from the Mistress of Pohjola. The breaking of the world-egg is a positive event that creates the cosmos; the breaking of the *sampo* is a tragedy. Its destruction distributes prosperity, much of which is

⁶³ I have previously discussed the referential relationships between these parts of the Sampo-Cycle without using the concept of parallelism or diagraph analysis in Frog (2012a:229).

lost into the sea and a significant part of which is carried to the otherworld. Only fragments of the *sampo* make it to the world of the singers, otherwise crops would grow without sowing and there would, presumably, always be enough for everyone (see Tarkka 2012:155-57).⁶⁴ These contrasts construct the bird-formed mistress of the otherworld as an antithesis of the bird of creation. Rather than introducing the egg as a mythic object with boundless creative potential, she seeks to remove its equivalent from the world. Parallelism between these narrative sequences informs the significance of the battle, expanding it to cosmological proportions.

The mythic images and motifs of the world-creation and the battle over the *sampo* remain distinct. Correspondences at the level of verbalization sometimes produce resonance between elements in the parallel themes. When such resonance occurs, it may complement parallelism between symbols, such as the bird. However, the tradition does not exhibit a tendency toward linguistic macro-parallelism across the themes that would make the symbolic parallelism salient. There is no reason to assume that everyone was sensitive to this theme parallelism. The fact that the parallelism appears to have been maintained at a social level in regions where the parts of the cycle had not comprehensively transformed or broken down⁶⁵ suggests that specialists and authorities in the transmission of kalevalaic epic recognized the relevant theme parallelism.

When this theme parallelism is recognized, resonances with the preceding theme of the destruction of the otherworld ship also become perceivable as parallelism:

(39)

Bird flies	V. raises knee/land	Bird lands on knee	World-egg breaks	V. creates world from egg	(Bird departs)
Boat pursues	V. creates land	Boat crashes into land	Boat breaks	Adversary changes self/ship into bird	Bird pursues

Were it not for the parallelism in the battle over the *sampo*, correlations between the themes in (39) would likely remain resonant without being perceived as parallelism. Although there are correlations, the resonance extends outward from the emergence of land from the sea and something breaking against it. The motif of Väinämöinen raising earth from the sea to stop the pursuing ship employs a so-called “Object Flight” motif (Thompson 1955-58:D672): a protagonist or his magic helper throws something back that magically transforms to slow a pursuer. Elements of the description can also resonate with *The Origin of Fire* (Kuusi 1949:200). Both of these associations interfere with a clear and direct parallelism with the world-creation. The correlation is also not very strong between an egg breaking because it rolls from the nest and a boat breaking because it runs aground. The motif of creation through the transformation of something broken apart is an integrated part of kalevalaic mythology and does not itself produce a referential parallelism with *The Song of Creation*. The correlation of the bird of creation’s flight with the pursuit of the boat is contrastive and comes into focus only when a metered frame is

⁶⁴ The contrast between an environment where a *sampo* produced all that was needed for subsistence and the reality of small villages with mixed-subsistence livelihoods was quite sharp in inland ecological environments near the Arctic Circle.

⁶⁵ A significant transformation is that Väinämöinen as a demiurge is deleted from *The Song of Creation* in regions to the south (see Frog 2012a:222-26), which dissolves the parallelism discussed here.

perceived. The correlation of the emerging bird that pursues the ship with the bird of creation relies on the stronger parallelism in the following battle. The theme of the boat’s destruction primes the parallelism in the following episode through resonances with *The Song of Creation*, and the latter parallelism reciprocally brings parallelism with the boat’s destruction into focus. As it does, the parallelism informs individual motifs with significance and emphasizes their power. To some degree, the contrasts help to establish the mistress of the otherworld as an antithesis of the bird of creation, but its salience should not be exaggerated.

What is noteworthy is that the two parallelisms with *The Song of Creation* are not generally coordinated with each other as parallelisms. The destruction of the boat centers on the motifs of land being raised from the sea and a transformation from the broken object. The battle places emphasis on the contrast between creating the egg and rescinding the *sampo* on the one hand and the destruction and distribution of the *sampo* on the other. Both engage the creation event, but emphasize different aspects of it. The destruction of the ship and its transformation produces a parallelism with Väinämöinen’s agency in creating the world from the broken egg. The destruction of the *sampo* does not concern creative agency but the cosmogonic consequences of the object’s destruction. The two themes are parallel in their parallel engagements with the same theme of *The Song of Creation*, but accentuate different elements of it in different ways:

(40)

<i>Event</i>	<i>C-role</i>	<i>V. raises</i>	<i>C-role</i>	<i>C-role</i>	<i>V. acts</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Bird</i>	<i>Agent</i>
				<i>Creates</i>				<i>Creates</i>
<i>Creation</i>	Flies	Land	Lands	Egg	Moves	Breaks	(Departs)	World _{1&2}
<i>Pursuit</i>	Sails	Land	Crashes		*Throws	Breaks	Pursues	Bird ₂
<i>Battle</i>	Flies		Lands	-(<i>sampo</i>)	Strikes	Breaks	Departs	Lim. good ₁

In addition to each theme parallelism appearing independent, it also appears that they are not in a symmetrical relation to the theme of *The Song of Creation*. In other words, parallelism manifests in the episode of the theft and destruction of the *sampo* so that the parts discussed here become perceivable as parallel members of groups with the relevant part of *The Song of Creation*. This parallelism seems to deeply inform the significance of the images and motifs surrounding the *sampo*. However, performance of *The Song of Creation* seems not to elicit a corresponding perception of parallelism with events surrounding the *sampo*: the significance of images and motifs of the world-creation are thus not reciprocally informed by the *sampo*’s theft and destruction (or at least not to a comparable degree). The relationship between these episodes thus exhibits a hierarchy, in which *The Song of Creation* is dominant and not necessarily affected by the engagement in parallelism.

When parallelism becomes perceivable, the “recurrent returns” at higher orders of signification shape the meanings of the implicated symbols. The shaping of meanings emerges because parallelism produces a syntactic relation (in Morris’ sense) between participating signs. This syntactic relation distinguishes recurrent returns of parallelism from independent recurrence within a text. Theme parallelism in the Sampo-Cycle manifests as theme parallelism in part because the system of images and motifs is not a commonplace. Themes may recur in epics in many traditions, but parallelism occurs when recurrence produces a perception that the themes

are parts of parallel groups. A theme or narrative pattern is itself meaningful if it is an integer of the tradition and operates as a sign. That sign will be meaningful through what John Miles Foley (1991:6-8) calls “traditional referentiality.” Traditional referentiality equates to the experience-based understanding of a sign and its patterns of use, but does not link the formula, theme, or whatever back to any single particular use as parallel members of a group. Parallelism can be a powerful tool for the construction of meanings in a tradition, but not all recurrence manifests parallelism.

6. Perspectives

Parallelism has been approached here as a broad semiotic phenomenon rather than being something exclusive to language. As such, parallelism can manifest in relation to metered frames at any level in signification. Most discussions of parallelism in oral poetry tend to concentrate on adjacent or proximate lines and groups of lines of verse.⁶⁶ In contrast, the emphasis here has been placed on linguistically mediated signs and the correlations and interrelations of parallelism at different orders of signification. This approach highlights that parallelism both operates at different orders of signification and also interacts across them. Moreover, each level in signification conditions the metered frames of the signs it mediates. When one order of signs mediates another, it also participates in organizing elements within the metered frames of that next order of signs, which is structurally significant since these higher order signs are perceived as parallel members of groups. Macro-parallelism, on the other hand, is linked to recurrent returns in the signification of integers or elements at the next order of signification. As such, linguistic macro-parallelism appears simultaneously as a by-product of parallelism in symbolic articulation while simultaneously making that parallelism salient. Recognizing parallelism as a phenomenon that can occur simultaneously at multiple levels in signification offers new perspectives and helps bring these processes into focus. Du Bois’ diagraph analysis (§1.4) proves to be a valuable tool for analysing parallelism, whether it is applied to the lexical surface of text, its semantic components, or integers of symbolic articulation and higher orders of representation. The workings of parallelism across orders of signification are particularly easy to observe in kalevalaic epic owing to particular features of the tradition, yet the principles outlined here are readily adaptable to other traditions that are open to greater degrees of variation.

The preceding discussion has advocated viewing parallelism as a fundamental and pervasive phenomenon. However, “parallelism” is an etic term: it is a word that we define and construct as a tool for research and analysis. As such, it is also flexible. Barring error and inconsistency with empirical data, any definition will be “right” or “wrong” only in relation to another definition, yet a particular definition may be better suited for certain investigations rather than others. This flexibility allows parallelism to be calibrated to particular research questions and materials. For some investigations, it will be most efficient to develop narrower models of parallelism that account, say, for the specific features of verse parallelism in a particular traditional poetry as an essential framework for analysing its uses and variations in specific texts

⁶⁶ See Notes 2-3.

(see the contributions of Holm and Saarinen elsewhere in this volume). The approach presented here is set apart by situating linguistic parallelism in relation to parallelism at the level of its primary mode of expression (alliteration, rhyme, etc.) on the one hand, and to parallelism at different levels of signs mediated through language (images, themes, and so on) on the other. The present model is oriented to parallelism in the broadest sense. Consequently, it is compatible with more narrowly specified and tradition-dependent models, and the more such models it is placed in dialogue with, the more it can be refined. Verse parallelism has received scientific attention since the mid-1700s. This study has shown that parallelism can be observed in metered frames of layers of signs mediated through language, opening an area where further research remains to be done.

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Parallelism in Karelian Laments

Eila Stepanova

Introduction

Karelian lament poetry integrates a variety of forms of parallelism—different types of what Roman Jakobson (1981 [1966]:98) described as “recurrent returns”—that are both organizing principles for the poetic discourse and also rhetorical resources that a lamenter can draw on and manipulate in performance. Parallelism operates at the phonic level of sounds, both recurrent sounds in alliteration and recurrent melodic structures. It works in different ways at the level of individual words and formulaic expressions within a phrase. Parallelism is also prominent at the level of larger structural and thematic units. The types of parallelism in Karelian laments work complementarily with one another, and in several respects may also differ from their uses in other traditions. The integrated combination of all these types of parallelism produces Karelian lament as a distinctive form of verbal art.

In this opening section of this essay, I introduce the Karelian lament tradition and features of lament performance and poetics. The second section offers an overview of the different types of parallelism at work in Karelian laments. This survey begins with the phonic parallelism of alliteration and parallelism at the level of words and formulae, continues with semantic parallelism of larger units in composition, and finally considers parallelism between the language of laments and the environment where laments are performed. The third section discusses the rhetorical functions of parallelism in laments. Forms of semantic parallelism are shown to be potentially meaningful in themselves. The potential for semantic parallelism between larger units of expression is shown to allow flexibility that makes it a resource for organizing extended sequences of lament poetry. The fourth section turns to the question of how parallelism as a structuring principle of lament can penetrate into a lamenter’s way of speaking about laments so that the metadiscourse becomes organized on the same principle. The conclusion considers how all the different levels of parallelism and their flexibility make Karelian lament a dynamic resource for personal expression.

Karelians and Karelia

Karelians belong to a Finnic linguistic-cultural group with a distinctive language, culture, and ethnic identity. They are historically associated with the transnational territory of Karelia,

situated on both sides of today's Finnish-Russian border, which extends from the Gulf of Finland to the White Sea (see Fig. 1). Before the 1930s approximately, the majority population was Karelian. However, the territories of Karelia were greatly disrupted through political conflicts and evacuation, especially during World War II. Today the large area of Karelia is populated by multiple ethnic groups, which include Finns, Russians, Ukrainians, and Karelians. Although Karelian and Russian languages and cultures were markedly different from one another, Karelians in Russia have now been largely assimilated into Russian culture. Karelian language and culture were relatively close to that of Finns; in Finland modernization and mobility have led to a significant degree of assimilation of both those previously residing within today's national borders as well as those who were evacuated to Finland during World War II. Currently, Karelians are a minority in the Republic of Karelia of the Russian Federation as well as in Finland.

Among Finnic languages, Karelian is closely related to Finnish, Ižorian, and Vepsian, and more distantly to Estonian, Votic, and Seto. Degrees of similarity in culture and traditions can also be viewed along these lines. At the same time, there is a division between eastern and western Finnic areas. The Finnic cultural areas became divided between East and West, with Russian influence and the Orthodox Church dominant among Karelians, Ižorians, Votes, and Setos, while the Scandinavian influence, the Catholic and later the Lutheran Church were dominant among Finns and Estonians.

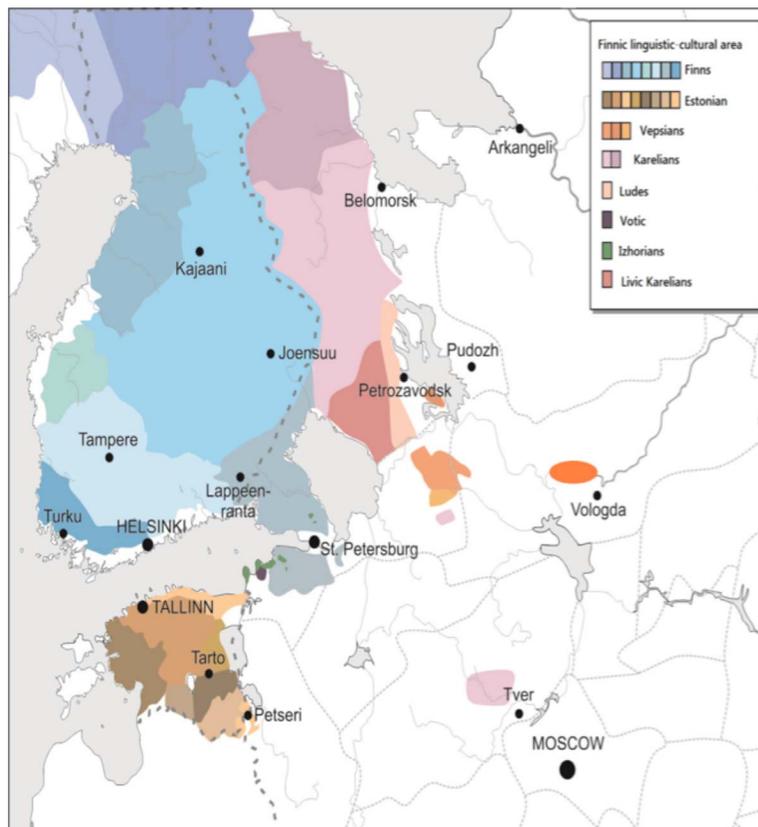


Fig 1. Finnic linguistic-cultural areas, copyright belongs to author.

Karelian Lament Poetry

Laments—also called dirges, wailing, weeping, or elegies—have been known all over the world and are still found in some contemporary cultures (see Wilce 2009). In most cultures, laments are performed by women, although men also perform them in some exceptional circumstances.¹ Scholars generally agree that laments belong to the primordial varieties of folklore, with roots in the cult of the dead (Honko 1974:9 and Tolstoj 1958:25). They can be considered one of the oldest identifiable genres of oral ritual poetry. Karelian laments belong to the broader Finnic lament tradition, which includes Karelian, Ižorian, Votic, Vepsian, and Seto laments. The Finnic lament tradition was not maintained following the Reformation in western areas, as in most of Finland and Estonia; it was preserved primarily among Orthodox populations of Russia and Estonia. I have proposed a general operating definition of laments as follows (Stepanova E. 2012:58):

[S]ung poetry of varying degrees of improvisation, which nonetheless follows conventionalized rules of traditional verbal and non-verbal expression, most often performed by women in ritual contexts and potentially also on non-ritual grievous occasions.

Finnic laments as a genre of oral poetry are forms of poetically organized discourse, whose verbal features are inseparable in practice from non-verbal features such as melody and paralinguistic elements (Banti and Giannattasio 2004:315). Finnic lament traditions all share certain pan-regional features of verbal and non-verbal expression (see further: Stepanova E. 2015). The pan-regional features of Finnic laments include but are not limited to:

- An extensive avoidance vocabulary accompanied by an abundant use of diminutive and plural forms (see Stepanova E. 2015)
- A variety of types of parallelism ranging from the phonic parallelism of alliteration or melodic units to semantic parallelism between long verbal sequences or between verbal sequences and performed actions, that will be discussed in this essay
- A descending melodic movement in a minor pentachord or tonal speech (see Niemi 2002:708-12)
- Paralinguistic elements including sobbing, voiced inhalation, cry breaks and creaky voice (see Urban 1988:386, 389-91)

In other words, there are formal elements and organizational restrictions of speech and other behaviors common to lament performances across all Finnic regions. At the same time, these pan-regional features also exhibit regional variation as well as variation by individual performer. Variation also plays a role in differentiating the context, setting, or locale of each individual performance.

¹For an example from Bangladesh, see Wilce (2002); for an example from an Uralic culture (Udmurt), see Honko et al. (1993:569).

The Karelian lament tradition is one form of the common Finnic lament tradition. The Karelian lament tradition was not wholly uniform: it is divided into four broad tradition regions, as shown in Map 2. Regional differences can be found in vocabulary, melodies, and some variation in formal features (see Stepanova A. 1985) that will be introduced below as they become relevant to the discussion.



Fig 2. Regions of the Karelian Lament Tradition, copyright belongs to the author.

I approach traditional Karelian lament poetry in this essay as a poetic register² that differentiates it as a channel of cultural expression from ordinary speech and from other genres of folklore, but at the same time provides the lamenter with means for individual improvisation. The laments were not learned by heart, but were rather created anew in each concrete situation (see Lord 1960; Foley 1995). There are no fixed texts of laments—different lamenters will give different performances in equivalent situations, and the same lamenter will create different

²In ethnopoetics, registers are identified as “major speech styles associated with recurrent types of situations” (Hymes 1989 [1974]:440). In linguistics and linguistic anthropology, registers are understood as different modes or models of speech behavior associated with specific social situations (see Agha 2007).

laments with every performance. However, all lamenters improvise within the conventions of traditional register. Thus each lament exhibits features that index its membership in a common tradition, and is also unique within the tradition (see Stepanova E. 2015).

The historical center of laments was rituals, which played a fundamental role in upholding the value and significance of lamenting across generations. The most common ritual contexts for lamenting were funerals and various commemoration ceremonies for the dead, as well as weddings and the departure ceremonies for men entering military service. The register of laments was first and foremost a register of communication. Karelians believed that lament language was the only language that the dead could understand, and it was used as a primary means for reciprocal communication with deceased kin and with supernatural beings in the otherworld (see Stepanova E. 2012 and 2014). Moreover, lamenting also provided women with a powerful medium of communication in a wide range of other contexts. Not surprisingly, the most pronounced feature of Karelian lament is its distinctive lexicon, which is characterized by nominal circumlocutions—that is, terms for avoiding personal names and most common nouns, especially for referring to individuals alive and dead, kinship relations, and the objects and actions connected with ritual activities (see Stepanova A. 1985, 2004, and 2012). The lexicon of avoiding names is rooted in naming taboos for deceased persons (for example, Honko 1963:128; Konkka 1975:178). In addition to this highly specific and idiomatic lexicon, laments were characterized by an extensive but regularized use of diminutive, plural, and possessive forms for nouns, as well as by frequentative forms for verbs and special syntax. By using the lexicon of avoidance together with specific grammatical forms, a lamenter showed great deference and affection in order to please and honor the object of her lament.³ The phonic parallelism of alliteration was an essential poetic feature that also shaped the poetic “words” (Foley 2002:12-20) or formulaic expressions and circumlocutions of the register. Although ritual uses were central to the social construction of the importance of lament practice, laments were also performed occasionally outside of ritual contexts, as a medium for personal expression of emotion and sometimes also of otherwise elevated speech.

Both verbal and non-verbal features of lament jointly give a lamenter the freedom to be creative within the traditional framework of conventions, and therefore to convey both traditional and personal meanings through her laments. Verbal and non-verbal features of laments are resources with which the lamenter could emphasize, intensify, highlight, and specify what she communicates with her poetry. Lament can thus be called a sung poetic language that a lamenter uses to create unique performances.⁴ At the same time, lament has been tightly bound to its cultural context and cultural meanings (see Foley 1995), for which it provided a channel of cultural expression (Stepanova E. 2015).

The Karelian lament poetry was not subject to a regularly recurring meter. The primary compositional and organizational units of laments are “poetic strings” (see Frog and Stepanova E. 2011:197). Poetic strings are semantic units of varying length with a melodically marked cadence and are most often united with a consistent pattern of alliteration, although there may be a transition in the pattern of alliteration within a string in some cases. Poetic strings in laments

³ See also Stepanova E. (2015) and Wilce and Fenigsen (2015).

⁴ See also Feld (1990) and Leino (1981).

from northern parts of Karelia, known as Viena Karelia (see Fig. 2) could be quite long, while in southern regions of Aunus the structure of phrases in laments could be as short as lines of verse. The following example of a lament was performed in 1967 by Nadezhda Gavrilova from Aunus Karelia.⁵ She performed the lament to her son, who had been conscripted to military service. In this lament one poetic string corresponds to one sentence of transcribed text. The meaning of circumlocutions are provided in the translation in parentheses; diminutive and plural forms are not indicated in the translation as these are not relevant to later discussion (Stepanova A. and Koski 1976:381-82.):

- (0) Kargijaine, d'o kandomuttani kaksih kymmenih vuoduzih sah kazvattelin da.
 Imehyt naine rukku, omani ijätettyy idožuttani yksin käzin ylendelin ga.
 A nygöi gui rubeinhäi, kargijaine naine rukku, kandomuani kaimaelemah kaz'onnoloih
 kamandazih da.
 Rubein atkalaine naine, aigamazeni, andelemah sinuu agjattomih artelizih.
 Pestyzeni, rubien nämile päiväzile provodiimah perättömih perehyzih ga.
 Olit kurd'azen kuvattu kuvamazeni kupečeskoilois kunnivozis.
 Saaduzeni, olit nämih aigazis sah vie sarskoilois elonaigazis ga.
 A nygöi rubein vierijäine vieraittelemah vierahih edyzih da.
 Nygöi kačo roij uskomattomat unuot maattavakse da arbaelemattomat askeluat
 astuttavakse. [. . .]

The miserable-one (= I) was raising for twenty years my carried-one (= son) *da*.
 Sad poor woman (= I) was fostering my sprout (= son) alone with my own hands *ga*.
 And now the miserable poor woman (= I) will send off my carried-one to the state troops
 (= army) *da*.
 The unhappy woman (= I) will give away my raised-one (= son) to the uncountable force
 (= army).
 My bathed-one (=son) will be in those days dispatched into the innumerable family
 (= army) *ga*.
 My raised-by-a-dismal-woman-one (= son) was growing in great honor.
 My gotten-one (= son) until these days was living a Tsar-like life *ga*.
 And now, the depressed (= I) will remit you to the strangers (= army) *da*.
 Now, look, [you] will sleep broken sleeps and will step unforeseeable steps.

This example illustrates how laments are organized in poetic strings, even if not all lamenters mark the end or beginning of their strings with a particle like *da*, *ga*, *oi*, and so on. It also makes apparent the prominent role of semantic parallelism as a stylistic means:⁶ each poetic string would normally be followed by at least one parallel string with a different pattern of alliteration. Parallelism can be seen here between poetic strings 1-2, strings 3-5 and 8, and strings 6-7. String 9 also presents a variation in a shift of vocalic alliteration from u-alliteration to a-alliteration

⁵Nadezhda Gavrilova was born in 1900 and is from the village of Vidlitsa in Aunus Karelia.

⁶See Honko (1963); Konkka (1968); Stepanova A. (2003:31-33); Stepanova E. (2015).

within the string in relation to the two clauses that can also be considered parallel. With these structures that repeat content with different patterns of alliteration, lamenters create a special heightening of poetry in performance, which helps the lamenter to mediate meanings to the listeners (see Jakobson 1981 [1966]; Fox 1977). At the same time, by using parallelism the conveyed message, the attitude or the feelings of the lamenter, become emphasized. In the next section, I discuss examples of different types of parallelism used in Karelian laments. Most examples presented here are recorded in the Seesjärvi region.

Typical Forms of Parallelism in Laments

The Phonic Parallelism of Alliteration

Alliteration can be regarded as a form of phonic parallelism (see also Jakobson 1981 [1966]), whereby the onset of different words begins with the same sound. Like all Finnic languages, Karelian language places stress on the first syllable of every word. Alliteration was a pervasive and fundamental feature of Karelian poetics (Frog and Stepanova E. 2011). In Finnic languages, alliteration that includes only initial consonants is called “weak” and alliteration that includes both the onset consonant and following vowel is called “strong” (that is, *š-* versus *ši-*). Strong alliteration was preferred in laments, although it could be mixed with weak alliteration without a violation of poetic form. In laments, alliteration functioned as a structuring feature that created cohesion across a poetic string. The scope of units joined by a single pattern of alliteration varied by the region of lament tradition (see Fig. 2) in relation to the conventional length of a poetic string. Poetic strings were shortest in the south in the Aunus region, where the example quoted above was collected. They were longest in Viena in the north, where one poetic string could potentially exceed forty words in length as shown below in example (1), which illustrates the prominence of alliteration.

Example (1) is from the beginning of a ritual wedding lament from Elena Pivojeva that was recorded in 1967 in Viena Karelia.⁷ Here, the lamenter addresses the groom’s retinue, acting as the voice of the bride on her wedding day. The first poetic string is comprised of thirty-three words, sixteen of which carry strong alliteration (*si-/ši-*) and an additional four of which carry weak alliteration (*s-/š-*). Together, these can be calculated as giving a density of alliteration of 20/33 words or 1:1.65. The second poetic string consists of thirty-five words, eighteen of which carry strong alliteration (*ka*), and an additional two of which carry weak alliteration, yielding a density of 20/35 or 1:1.75 (Stepanova A. and Koski 1976:49-50):

- (1) **Sii**rry^šennelkyä, **š**ivun omattomat **š**ilie mielijen **š**inččimäiset, ieštä **š**ileijen šyntyjen.
 Anna **š**ilmivetyšien kera **š**ivun olkuova **š**iikavaltani **š**ilmittävykšentelen ieššä
šileijen šyntyjen, ennen kun **š**ivun omattomat **š**ilie mielijen **š**inččimäiset **š**anojen
šeisattamattomiksi **š**ieklasiksi **š**ivun ašetteletta **š**iika mielialaseni.

⁷Elena Pivojeva was born in 1877 in the village of Niska of the Viena region.

Kallissukšennelkua, kajon omattomat kaunis mielijen kannettuiset, ieštä kajon ylähäisien kallehien šyntysien. Anna kajon olkuova kaiho vartuvon kajon kualelen ieššä kallehien šyntyjien kajon olkuovilla kanavaltasilla, ennen kun kaihot mielialaseni kannetut karkual’l’ah kaihuo mielialaistani šanojen kannattamattomiksi karkiesiksi.

Move, oh strangers born of the bright smart ones (= groom’s retinue), from the bright ancestors (= icons). Let [me] the one who is leaving (= bride), oh who is free as a whitefish (= with my maidenhood), with sweet eye-waters (= tears), appear in front of the bright ancestors (= icons) before the strangers born of the bright smart ones (= groom’s retinue) change my whitefish-spirit (= maidenhood) into a sieve which cannot hold words (= be married).

Move, oh strangers born of the beautiful smart ones (= groom’s retinue), from the highest dear ancestors (= icons). Let [me] the miserable body which is leaving (= bride), to come with departing chicken-freedoms (= maidenhood) in front of the beautiful ancestors (= icons) before the strangers born of smart ones (= groom’s retinue) depress my spirit with unendurably bitter words (= be married).

The lament register of Viena Karelia is distinguished by its vocabulary of meaningless filler-words or expletives that can meet any pattern of strong alliteration, normally used repeatedly as with *šivun* and *kajun* here.⁸ The expletives complete or complement an alliterative sequence in the string, both increasing the alliterative density and helping to realize the rhythm of a melodic formula.

The phonic parallelism of alliteration functioned as a determinant on word choice. This determinant historically shaped the lexicon of laments so that the vocabulary would be equipped with equivalent words and formulaic expressions capable of accomplishing different patterns of alliteration (see Roper 2012). This led to the enrichment of formulaic circumlocutions especially related to those relatives, objects, or phenomena that were most frequently referred to in laments (see Stepanova E. 2014:69-90).⁹

The process of creating different circumlocutions with different patterns of alliteration was built on the systems of metaphorical and symbolic expression (see Stepanova A. 1985). This process used Karelian vocabulary, but it also capitalized on other resources available in the multilingual environment of Karelia. Lamenters profited from the Russian lexicon to which they had access: they treated Russian words as synonyms of poetic circumlocutions (sometimes adding extra vowels to make them alliterate) and built them into compounds with Karelian words. These terms were generally handled as naturalized elements of the lament lexicon and were inflected in diminutive and plural forms as with any Karelian vocabulary (Stepanova E.

⁸The register in Viena is equipped with expletives for each pattern of alliteration, such as *aijan, helun, innon, kajon, kiran, kujin, kyhän, luavun, manun, oimun, panun, suarnan, suimun, tunnon, vallan, verran, visan, uusin*. See further Stepanova A. (2003:90). On expletives in Northern Finnish Karelian laments, see Hakamies (1993:114).

⁹On this phenomenon generally, see Frog (2015:86-88).

2014:84-86): for example, *kukla*, *kuukolka* (“doll” = girl, maiden) and *ikona* (“icon” = young boy) (Stepanova A. 2012:39, 139).

Avoidance terminology extends to a broad range of verbs used to avoid naming certain actions described in laments. These include verbs related to death and life: “burying” is expressed as “rolling” or “concealing in the earth”; “sending,” “placing,” or “wrapping to the *syndyzet* (otherworld)”; “life” or “living” is expressed through the metaphor of traveling (Stepanova E. 2014:64, 81-82; 2015). Russian lexica were also adapted in this capacity. Alliterative synonymy was particularly important for verbs, because the verb carried the alliteration. However, their number was much more limited. As a consequence, the selection of the pattern of alliteration would have to anticipate the verb with which a string would conclude or start, which ideally would have been determined with the beginning of the utterance (Stepanova E. 2014:64-66, 82).

Rhetorical Redundancy or Pleonasm

A typical form of parallelism that occurs within a poetic string occurs at the level of immediately juxtaposed lexical items. The parallel use of paired verbs that are synonymic is common, as illustrated in example (2). Examples for the present discussion on pleonasm have been selected from a corpus of about 500 traditional laments recorded in the Seesjärvi region (see Fig. 2), of which they are considered representative:¹⁰

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (2.i) | <i>arvuan i oiveldelen</i> | “[I] guess and suppose” |
| (ii) | <i>en smiettinyn engo duumainun</i> | “[I] did not contemplate nor think” |
| (iii) | <i>engo smiettinyn engo toivonun</i> | “[I] did not contemplate nor expect” |
| (iv) | <i>en uskonun engo toivonun</i> | “[I] did not believe nor expect” |

Because the paired synonyms are used in a single phrase rather than in parallel strings, they can be considered a form of tautology in the sense of presenting an unnecessary redundancy. This type of parallel structure of synonyms is called pleonasm—a type of rhetorical redundancy or use of more words than are necessary or sufficient for clear expression (for example, Lehmann 2005:119-54). In rhetoric such redundancy is often considered to have negative connotations, although it is also used in various idiomatic expressions. In poetic discourse, on the other hand, redundancy—and pleonasm in particular—is used to reinforce the message. Pleonasm is prominent in some of the formulaic sequences of the lament lexicon, where (usually) two synonymic lexical items occur in series as a formulaic unit. Whereas the examples in (2) link the verbs through a conjunction, parallelism of verbs may also involve an active verb (double-underlined) and a participle functioning as an adjective (single-underlined), as in (3):

- (3) *meeräjytti mitatut minuuttažet* “measured measured minutes”

¹⁰ See also Stepanova E. (2014:66).

Pleonasm without a conjunction is also common in adjectives and nouns, as illustrated in (4). Examples in (3-4) also employ adapted Russian vocabulary with Karelian words of exactly the same meaning, which function in the register as complementary synonyms for forming the pleonasm. In (3) the double-underlined word is derived from Russian while the single-underlined term is Karelian. A double-underline is also used to distinguish the Russian-derived word from the Karelian word in (4):

- (4.i) *jälgimmäzet posledn'oit kerdazet* “the last last times”
 (ii) *igizetti iskolivečnoit kodizet* “eternal everlasting homes (= coffin)”
 (iii) *toroka^{ti}ehyset* “road-roads”

In addition to bringing together two nouns, lamenters also use two synonymic circumlocutions in a row, one or both of which may be of multiple words. The simplest circumlocution for “mother” in the lament lexicon is a deverbal noun—that is, it is a noun derived from a verb, such as *voalie* (“to cherish”) → *voalija* (“cherisher”); *lämmittä* (“to warm”) → *lämmittäjä* (“warmer”). A simple circumlocution then works as a core word from which a lamenter can elaborate by adding elements in order to create complex circumlocution, as seen in (5). Example (5.i) illustrates a pleonasm of a complex circumlocution with a parallel circumlocution of a single deverbal noun, while (5.ii) illustrates a more extended circumlocution in which the parallel circumlocution also receives an adjective (see also example (9) below) (the parallel circumlocution is underlined):

- (5.i) *armahilla ilmoilla šiätelijä aikojaini*
 “into the dear world establisher maker”
 (ii) *kumbane olet kallehilla ilmoilla piäl'ä kaheksien kuuhuzien kandelija kalliz kandajazeni*
 “one who is into the dear worlds for eight months bringer dear carrier”

Within this type of parallelism of circumlocutions, the second circumlocution is often shorter than the first. However, from the lamenters’ emic view on the lament lexicon, the paired circumlocutions in parallelism of this type are regarded as a single “word” (Karelian *sana*).¹¹ This variety of parallelism was only viewed as part of the flexibility of a single circumlocution as a vernacular “word” or as an integer of the lexicon. The examples in (5) can thus be viewed as a variation on examples of pleonasm in (4). Pleonasm (and tautology) have been considered potentially to be a historical feature of Uralic language poetics. This type of construction in Uralic languages has received attention especially regarding verbs, where the conjunction would, in that case, characteristically be absent (Tkachenko 1979). Such tautological constructions are a common site of use for Russian words that have been assimilated into the lament register.

¹¹ See Stepanova E. (2014:69-74). See also Foley (2002:12-20) and Timonen (2004:257).

Figura etymologica

The term *figura etymologica* refers to the use of etymologically related words close enough to one another that the relationship becomes noticeable. This type of rhetorical figure is very prominent in some forms of oral poetry, including North Russian laments and *bylina*-epics with expressions like *mnogo-množestvo* (“great-greatness”) (see Harvilahti 1985:92). The Karelian lament lexicon, however, exhibits only a few *figura etymologica* at a phraseological level. One example of a *figura etymologica* in Karelian lament is a crystallized expression used by Praskovja Saveljeva¹² to express the grief of lamenter presented in (6):

- (6) *miun siämyzet on mussettu mussembie voronoloi päčinoččie mussemmiksi*
 “my inside is blackened blacker than a blacker black oven’s front” (= great sorrows)

In this expression, the *figura etymologica* helps maintain the alliteration and highlights the topic of the lament: the enormous grief that is suffered by the lamenter that turns her insides black. In this case, the three-part *figura etymologica* is complemented by a pleonasm with the Russian-derived *voronoi* (“black”), illustrating that these rhetorical devices may be used in combination.

At the level of a poetic string, *figura etymologicae* may manifest as a textual strategy that also supports the pattern of alliteration. Example (7) presents one poetic string of a wedding lament performed in 1937 by Irinja Nikonova,¹³ in which the bride tells her brother that it would be better for him to kill her than to let her marry (KA 63/88):

- (7) *Oi, ottajazen’i okluada, olizit ottanun oigeilla olgapeellä obladaittavat oigeammat oružaraudazet, olizit ottajani uul’ičalla ostrel’innun.*

Oh, my takers’ (= parents’) riza [metal cover of an icon] (= boy), you would have taken on-the-right-shoulder-being-kept-right-gun-irons (= rifle), you would in the yard of my taker (= mother) have shot [me].

In this case, the *figura etymologica* supports the cohesion of the semantically unified poetic string by linking the circumlocution for the agent (the lamenter’s brother) with the location (the mother’s yard) and possession of the instrument (“taking” up the gun), which are brought together for the concluding verb of the string (shooting the maiden). The frequency and degree with which *figurae etymologicae* were employed with strategic structural and semantic conventions at the level of composition requires detailed investigation in the future.

Semantic Parallelism

During a lament performance, a lamenter would reiterate every string or equivalent semantic unit two to three times, although each lamenter had the freedom to perform as she

¹² Praskovja Saveljeva was born in 1913 in the village of Mändyselgä of the Seesjärvi region.

¹³ Irinja Nikonova was born in 1881 in the village of Selgi of the Seesjärvi region.

thought best in a particular situation. A characteristic feature of such semantic parallelism in Karelian lament is that semantic equivalence of parallel members does not exclude the introduction of additive information. With each iteration of a member of a parallel group, the “recurrent return” (Jakobson 1981 [1966]:98) augmented the semantic unit with some new detail. As a consequence, semantically parallel members are not semantically identical, a familiar trait in many other traditions characterized by canonical parallelism. This sort of additive parallelism can be observed in example (8), a wedding lament performed by Anastasija Rigačnaja¹⁴ in 1974. In Anastasija’s lament, the ego or the “I” of the lament is a young bride, who is asking her father to unraid her braided hair for the last time before she is married and thus ceases to be a member of the family in which she was raised. She reiterates this request three times in parallel strings. The request and information in each poetic string refers to the enactment of a rite that is the climax of the wedding ritual held at the home of the bride, during which the bride loses her maidenhood once and for all (Fon. 2059/77):

- (8) En äijjä, kaksi-kolme sanua sanon, en voi enämbi, piädä kivistäy:
 Oi olovilla ilmazilla piäl’ä oznuaččija olova hyväzeni, oboidi n’ämä jäl’gimäzet i
 posledn’oit kerdazet miun kaunehie kanaliemenözie riiččimäh.
 Oi valgeila ilmoila piälä azettaja valgiene hyväzene, tule jo omassah ozakkahembih
 ozazih n’ämä jäl’gimäzet kerdazet, posl’edn’oit kerdazet miun kaunehet
 kanaliemenözet vet kataičen.
 Oi valgeila muailmoila piälä azettaja valgiene hyväzene, lähemmä kačo uširookoimbie
 uuliččapihazie myöte valgeidago kanaliemenözie kataimah n’ämä jäl’gimäzetti
 posl’edn’oit kerdazet.
 No, en voi enämbi.

I will not say much, two-three words, I cannot [lament] more, I have a headache:
 Oh, who is in the great world the adjuster, my great good-one (= father), come in these
 last and final times to take down my beautiful chicken-hairs (= to open the
 bride’s braid).
 Oh, in the white world the adjuster, my white good-one, come with your better luck in
 these last times, final times to take apart my beautiful chicken-hairs.
 Oh, in the white world the adjuster, my white good-one, let’s go, look, into the widest
 yard-yards to take apart white chicken-hairs in these last, final times.
 There, I cannot do any more.

Semantic parallelism in laments functions especially at the level of whole strings. These strings very often present a whole motif as a complex unit of information corresponding to a long, complex sentence. In this lament, each poetic string starts with the particle *Oi* [“Oh”], which is a discourse marker that indicates the beginning of a new string. Each string is addressed to the father and presents the same content three times, using the same syntactic structure, the same types of grammatical forms, and the same metaphors in circumlocutions for “father” and “braid”

¹⁴ Anastasija Rigačnaja was born in 1902 in the village of Muaselgä of the Seesjärvi region.

without restrictions against reusing the same vocabulary. However, each reiteration introduces one more detail into the content of the lament. In the first poetic string, the bride asks her father to come closer and unbraids her hair for the last time. In the second poetic string, the bride mentions that her father has better luck, with the implication that her father's luck will be transferred to his daughter through his hands while unbraiding her hair. In the third poetic string, the bride invites her father to come into the yard of the house, where the ceremony would normally take place. In this respect, the principles of parallelism in laments differ from traditions in which semantic parallelism is organized at the level of equivalence without the recurrence of words in parallel members (for example, see Fox 2017). It also differs from parallelism in Karelian kalevalaic poetry, in which each syntactic element in a parallel verse must have a correspondent in the preceding verse: for example, a verb or noun might be omitted in a parallel verse but nothing new introduced (see Saarinen 2017), noting that kalevalaic poetry existed in the same communities alongside Karelian laments (see Stepanova E. 2012). In laments, parallelism requiring lexical variation at the level of smaller units like circumlocutions for "father" manifest as pleonasm within a string as discussed above. Semantic parallelism of poetic strings builds on these circumlocutions and organizes them with grammatical parallelism. However, rather than the referent of the parallel members in the series being the preceding string *per se*, it is the rite that is being represented as a symbolic integer of the ritual.¹⁵ This rite is consistently referred to and invariant, although the additive information of the parallelism in verbal art gradually elaborates and unveils that integer in the series of "recurrent returns."

Semantic parallelism is pervasive in this tradition. Additive semantic parallelism is not necessary to the tradition (see example (0) above), although it is prominent. Parallelism could have a number of functions, from a mnemonic device to a resource for heightened fluency during improvisation, and it could be an indicator of a lamenter's competence (see Bauman and Babcock 1984 [1977]:18-19). Conversely, the performance situation as well as the mode of performance (sung or dictated, recited without melody) could crucially affect the lament as a whole and the amount of parallelism used in particular. For example, laments recited without traditional melody are significantly shorter and exhibit less parallelism than melodically organized laments. The potential dynamism of parallelism as a tool that can be utilized by a lamenter in different ways will, however, be set aside for further discussion in *Parallelism as a Rhetorical Means* below.

A Note on Melodic Parallelism

It is important to take into consideration the fact that each poetic string is (usually) performed with a special lament melody with a marked cadence, and this melodic unit is reused with each parallel string. Recurrent melodic phrases produce a form of parallelism at the level of acoustic texture that is both complementary to, and interfaces with, the phonic parallelism of alliteration and semantic parallelism at the level of poetic strings. This form of melodic parallelism simultaneously distinguishes poetic strings from one another while creating and reinforcing cohesion between them in the emergent text of performance. The complementary

¹⁵ See also Frog, "Parallelism Dynamics II," this volume.

juxtaposition of multiple types of parallelism involving different levels of text and melody occurs within the broader soundscape of lament performance. Although these different types of parallelism can be distinguished in analysis, their synthetic combination in the formation of distinct and inter-related units of utterance is dynamic in its consistency and in its potential for variation, this trait can be considered as characteristic of the Karelian lament tradition (see Stepanova E. 2014:93-97).

Between Verbal Art and Empirical Reality

Lament ritual discourse is characterized by verbal representations of both the seen and unseen worlds and what is taking place in them. Frog (2014a:202) has asserted that “Parallelism across media may converge with the construal of parallelism between performance and experiential reality.” In this case, parallelism between performance and experiential reality should be considered fundamental to the performance of the lament ritual.

In funerary rituals, for example, the lamenter narrates the activities of the funeral ritual as they occur in her laments, such as making the coffin, digging the grave, and so forth. The lamenter simultaneously communicates what is happening to the deceased and also re-envisions the places and activities through the lament language. A lamenter describes the surroundings such as changes inside the house or outside on the road with images emblematic of sadness and suffering. This can easily be viewed in simple terms of aesthetic uses of metaphor, and this aspect of lament poetics is among the resources at a lamenter’s disposal for the expression of her own and others’ emotions and the orchestration of community grief. However, it should be stressed that, in the context of ritual, laments were not presented for textual aesthetics. Their images and symbols were integrated parts of the tradition, so they were situationally predictable rather than novel, as they might seem to us today. In the context of the ritual, lament was both an essential medium of communication and also constructed the ritual significance of activities and events as they unfolded. A lamenter gave an account of what was happening in a form of language that the deceased could understand. Her own voice became the voice of the deceased and also that of the surviving kith and kin, enabling communication between them.¹⁶ She would also orchestrate interactions between them such as asking for forgiveness. In other contexts, her speech would only ostensibly be presented as affecting activities through requests and rhetorical questions, while her lament would articulate the significance of preparations. The co-occurrence of features of the environment, people, roles, and activities with their representation in lament performance leads the empirical and the verbal to be perceived as parallel members of a parallel group, sharing identity and significance. Although a lamenter did not orchestrate the funeral, through her performance she orchestrated the meaningfulness of what was occurring, for everything from why people were arriving to the coffin as a new eternal home for the deceased.

In the case of laments, parallelism between the verbal and empirical realities extends to parallelism between the verbal and unseen realities. Laments were believed to be a necessary part of the funerary ritual, because without them the deceased would not reach the realm of the

¹⁶ In wedding laments, the lamenter’s voice would correspondingly become that of the bride, for whom she would ritually mediate communication.

dead. Part of the ritual involved the lamenter describing the journey of the deceased, awakening the ancestors of the otherworld, requesting that they keep the dog of the otherworld from barking and receive the deceased with candles, bring him or her into their community, and so forth. Within the performance arena, the lamenter's narration of events converges with seen and unseen realities that she represents verbally (see Frog 2014a:203-05). The extension of this narration to events in the unseen world can be understood as actualizing them through ritual performance so that the deceased's successful journey to the otherworld takes place as an experiential reality for the deceased (Stepanova E. 2014:283-84). From this view, "the construal of parallelism between performance and experiential reality" (Frog 2014a:202) can be seen as fundamental to the ritual efficacy of laments.

Parallelism as a Rhetorical Means

Repeating the Referent of Lexical Integers

A crucial topic that has been insufficiently explored is the indexical signification of parallelism in and across discourses. In Karelian laments, the number and elaboration of the circumlocutions used by the lamenter is an indicator of the importance of the topic or object of a lament. In other words, "recurrent returns" to the same referent of a circumlocution in different ways within a single string indexes the significance of that referent to a lamenter. An example of this is presented in (9), from a lament documented in 1945, during WWII, where Anna Dmitrieva¹⁷ expressed concern about her sons. The circumlocution used for "son" was extended and characterized by what might be described as an extreme form of pleonasm. The distinct circumlocutions for "son" have been underlined separately in both the example and the translation (KA 66/21):

- (9) (i) karjojen nuorin kallehin kandamazeni, (ii) muailman kallehus kandamani, kussa olet (iii) kandamazeni ottamaissa dorogoissa, oi (iv) vieronoisissa dorogoissa olija (v) viihyttämäzeni, oi (vi) kurjan maman kukkimarjaottamazeni (vii) ottamien dorogoissa olija, (viii) monista yheksistä kirikkökubuzista kukkien kukittu kurjan iččeni kuvamazeni.

(i) youngest, most precious of the flock, my born one, (ii) my born treasure of the world, where are you, (iii) my born one on the roads of taken ones (= foreign lands), oh (iv) one who is being on the miserable roads, (v) my entertained one, oh (vi) blossom-berry-taken one of a miserable mother, (vii) one who is on the roads of taken ones, (viii) from many nines church domes dearly asked my pictured one of my miserable self.

In this example, Anna Dmitrieva uses eight different circumlocutions for "son" in a single sentence. Each of the circumlocutions could be used alone to index her son. Anna is so worried about him—she does not know if he is alive or not—that, as a consequence, her lament is

¹⁷ Biographical information on Anna Dmitrieva was not collected.

somewhat reminiscent of a magical chant, given its extensive repetition in the avoidance of naming her son or referring to him explicitly as her “son.”

This example highlights that forms of semantic parallelism can be viewed alongside alliteration as a poetic feature that has also had a historical impact on the development of the lament register (see Fox 2014:374-83). Semantically parallel strings represent the same unit of content verbalized according to a different pattern of alliteration, which motivates the development of an equivalence vocabulary capable of meeting different patterns of alliteration for whatever topic is addressed by the string.

Repeating the Referent of a Poetic String

Significance or semantic weight also appears to correlate with the degree of parallelism at the level of whole poetic strings. In the analyzed Karelian lament poetry, the amount of semantic parallelism increases according to the importance of the topic to the lamenter. Lamenters could reiterate the most important topics as many as seven to nine times. An abundance of parallel poetic strings is characteristic of Irinja Pahomova’s¹⁸ laments. She especially reiterates themes of her own unhappiness and of her worries about her children. In example (10) from part of one of her laments, Irinja says that her own mother did not provide her with luck (A); if her mother had killed her as a newborn child (B1, B2, B3, and so on), it would have been much better (C) (Fon. 2043/36):

- (10) A1. [. . .] Loadu kandajane on miun čuastittoloih čuassuloih loadu ilmazilla piälä suanun.
- B1. Hott oliz miun kukas kandajane kukkahilla ilmoilla piälä suahessa kuužettomien sijojen kuužiziksi kurikoinun.
- B2. Hott oliz miun kiero kandajane kivettömih sijoih kiviziksi kirvottanun.
- B3. Libo oliz miun armaz [tauko, sisäänhengitys, allitteraation vaihto]
oliz miun udala kandajane hot näih ei oliz laskenun maida ni ilmoi myö matkuamah, [oliz] udalien spoassuzien blahoslovittuloiksi umbilambuziksi ulauhuttanun.
- B4. Libo oliz miun viekas kandajane vezattomih sijoih vezaziksi verttynun.
- B5. Libo oliz miun näihe näh armaz kandajane armahilla ilmoilla piällä loadiessa aijattomih sijoih aidarižuziksi azettanun.
- B6. Libo oliz miun lämmin kandajane lämbimih liävän čuppuloihe läpähyttänyn.
- B7. Libo oliz miun valgie kandajane valgeilla ilmoilla piälä luadiessa vaskizien kandoin alla vadžahuttan.
- B8. Libo hott oliz miun kalliz naine kandajane ulgozilla uširookoiloilla uuličapihazilla kaheksi sylehizet kanuavat kaivan da ni miuda nihi kanuavoih oliz kattan.
- C. Miula oliz parembi ollun igä eliä.

¹⁸ Irinja Pahomova was born in 1907 in the village of Suajärvi of the Seesjärvi region.

- A2. Semmoizeksi miun on olova kandajane onehista keskizist'ä siämyzist'ä obdielainnun ozattomiksi.
- A3. Čuastittomih čuassuloih loadu kandajane on miun suanun. [. . .]
- A1. [. . .] My nice bearer [= mother] has created me in these unlucky hours, created into this nice world.
- B1. Would that my wonderful bearer, when getting me into this wonderful world, had turned me into a spruce of places without spruce trees.
- B2. Would that my crooked bearer had dropped me as a stone into places without stones.
- B3. Or would that my beloved [pause; the pattern of alliteration changes] would that my brave bearer had never let me travel the lands and worlds, [would have] melted me into lakes-without-outlets unblessed by brave *spuassuzet* [= mythical powers, gods].
- B4. Or would that my wise bearer had turned me into sprouts in places without sprouts.
- B5. Or would that my beloved bearer then, when making me into this beloved world, had made me into a stick in a fence in the places without fences.
- B6. Or would that my warm bearer had smacked me into the warm corners of the barn.
- B7. Or would that my white bearer, when making me into this white world, had thrown me under copper stumps.
- B8. Or would that my dear woman bearer into the outside wide yard-yards had dug the eight fathom long ditches [= grave] and covered me in these ditches.
- C. It would be much better for me to live then.
- A2. This way my great bearer made me from her unlucky insides, made me to be unlucky.
- A3. My nice bearer has made me at the unlucky hours. [. . .]

This example illustrates a strategy of parallelism typical for Irinja, especially when she is lamenting about something very important to her. If a topic in a lament is not that important personally, then the strategy of parallelism is employed, but reiterated only two to three times. She begins the topic with a particular thesis, such as thesis A: “mother gave birth to an unlucky child.” She develops this thesis, for example, proposing that death would have been better than that unlucky life. The parallel series of different possible ways to get rid of the child in strings B1-8 emphasizes that sentiment through its repeated reiteration, which both anticipates the decisive statement in string C and contrasts with the latter’s brevity.

In addition to reiterating a sentiment, semantic parallelism prolongs attention to a topic in performed time. In his discussion of the Siri epic, Lauri Honko (1998:55) observes: “There are signs of a growing parallelism and elaboration of details whenever the singer for some reason or another considers a passage or episode to be particularly important.” In other words, duration in performance is an indicator of relative significance to the performer. Increased use of semantic

parallelism in laments appears to follow this same rhetorical pattern of increasing emphasis through duration. James Wilce (2008) has suggested that extension, producing duration for an expression, was worked more generally as an indicator of honorification in the lexicon of Karelian lament. Uses of diminutive affixes, frequentative and “hyper-frequentative” verbs (formed through affixes), and multi-word circumlocutions, all of which increase the duration of the expression of each semantic unit in a clause, can then all be seen as manifestations of a general strategy of honoring the addressee through lengthening in expression.¹⁹ The present discussion suggests that this strategy of lengthening may have worked at a number of structural levels simultaneously, from adding multiple affixes to verbs, diminutive endings to nouns and adjectives, or individual complex circumlocutions as “words” of the registral lexicon, to the different forms of pleonasm within a poetic string, an extreme of which is illustrated in example (9), and also at the next structural level of parallelism of semantic strings as illustrated in (10). Semantic parallelism thus seems to carry meaning in communication in and of itself.

This example also illustrates that parallel strings need not be adjacent, and thus can be used in other ways for the rhetorical organization of expression in addition to reiteration and prolongation of a unit of information: the “recurrent returns” may be distributed and interwoven as a strategy to return to, for example, a previously relevant topic and give it greater emphasis. At the end of this example, Irinja returns to thesis A stated in the beginning. This delayed parallelism produces a structural frame that demarcates the larger sequence of poetic strings similarly to what has been called an “echo-word” or “responion” in other poetry (Frog 2014b: 20-21). This framing device simultaneously gives her topic further emphasis with a rhetorical effect that makes it more compelling (see Honko 1998:87). Semantic parallelism of poetic strings is thus a very dynamic expressive tool at the disposal of a skilled lamenter.

Parallelism and the Way of Speaking

Although focus thus far has been on general traditional strategies of parallelism in laments, there are also individual ways of using parallel structures that could correspond to a personal way of speaking. Over twenty-seven dictated laments with descriptions of the associated rituals were recorded from lamenter Fedosja Fedotova.²⁰ She explained that she did not perform her laments with melody because she was “too weak,” which means that her lament performance would easily turn into genuine, hard crying. In listening to recordings of Fedosja’s laments and description of the ritual practices, I have observed some similarities between her way of speaking and the way she presents laments. Her speech is calm, but at the same time very excited. It is very fluent and flowing rather than broken or interrupted by hesitations and false starts: the placement of stresses with her voice seems strategic and she prolongs some verbs that are important in the content expressed (underlined in the example below). She also uses parallelism. Example (11) illustrates Fedosja’s narration with an inlayed lament example (letter

¹⁹ This was elaborated in an unpublished seminar presentation and the research seminar of Folklore Studies, September 23, 2008; see also Wilce and Fenigsen (2015:202).

²⁰ Fedosja Fedotova was born in 1912 in the village of Jukkoguba of the Seesjärvi region.

codes indicate A: “the groom came to take the bride”; B: “the lamenter performs”) (Fon. 2396/17):

- (11) A1. Siid’ä tullaa ženihhät ottamaa, znaačit, tukat ker’ättii järellää,
 A2. siid’ä ženihhät tullaa ottamaa.
 B1. No, ženihälä viržitetää sielä,
 B2. jo ženihälä viržitetää t’ämämöistä virtt’ä, što
 A3. “Ottama odu allie ottamaistani ottamat tuldii jo ottamaa.”
 B3. Kui sielä ket ollaa stoloveh, sielä kaikki heimakunda sen ženihhän, ni viržitetää
 A4. “Mihi varoin ottamien paikkoih oboidija? Vai odu alli ottamaistani ottamaa tulija?”
- A1. Then comes the groom’s retinue to take, yes, [the bride’s] hair was put to the back,
 A2. then comes the groom’s retinue to take.
 B1. So, for the groom one is lamenting there,
 B2. already for the groom one is lamenting this kind of lament, that
 A3. [lament inlayed] “To take, my wonderful taken long-tailed-duck [= daughter] taken-ones [= groom’s retinue] came already to take.”
 B3. When there are people around the table, all the tribe-community of the groom there, then one is lamenting:
 A4. [lament inlayed] “Why do you come to the taken-one’s places? Or have you come to take my wonderful taken long-tailed-duck?”

In spite of the fact that the description of the ritual is in prose, the lamenter inlays some of the lexicon and poetic strings of lament into it. This appears to be a form of penetration of one register into another: Fedosja begins talking about the register of laments, and that activates the register in her mind so that the lexicon begins to penetrate into her spoken discourse even though she has not shifted into the mode of lament performance. Register shifts like this can be found in several interviews with lamenters where features of the registral lexicon manifest in their speech in anticipation of a “breakthrough into performance” (Hymes 1975). Fedosja’s description is striking because it also follows the same patterns of parallelism as in laments: the main topic of the lament (A: “the groom came to take the bride”) is reiterated at least three times, while adding some information in each of the utterances. In the example above, Fedosja repeats the main topic both in colloquial speech (A1, A2) and in the lament register (A3, A4). All Fedosja’s accounts of the ritual with embedded summaries of laments follow the same pattern presented above. When talking about laments, just as the lament lexicon becomes activated in her speech, it appears that parallelism as a strategy for organizing discourse is activated as well.²¹ This use of parallelism in

²¹ This phenomenon and similar cases can be compared to the theory put forward by Frog (2012:59-60) that mode of discourse functions as a cognitive filter to access the registral lexicon owing to the interface between them. In this case, the mode seems to be secondary in activating the lexicon and associated structuring devices. When the registral lexicon begins to appear in other interviews anticipating performance in the traditional mode, it seems possible that the interface between mode and register may be quite complex.

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Prayers for the Community: Parallelism and Performance in San Juan Quiahije Eastern Chatino

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Introduction

This essay examines parallelism and other essential features of ritual discourse in San Juan Quiahije, Eastern Chatino. The Chatino languages are spoken in the highlands of Oaxaca, Mexico. The essay focuses on the poetic and discursive features found in two impromptu prayers within a corpus of civic/religious ritual petitions that the members of the community refer to as *La⁴² qin⁴ kchin⁴*,¹ or “Prayers for the Community.”²

The “Prayers for the Community” are part of a ritual carried out regularly by elders and traditional San Juan Quiahije (SJQ) authorities in their official capacity as community representatives. These dignitaries come together at dawn on the first day of each month and on high holidays—the most important feast day is that of the patron saint of SJQ, Saint John the Baptist, June 24th—to petition for the well-being of the entire community, and especially for the younger generations. Both of the petitions analyzed in this essay were made at the same ceremonial event on June 24, 2009 at 5:00 a.m. in the Catholic church. The prayers were said by Simón Zurita and Wenceslao Cortés, two elders from the SJQ community.

On the evening prior to the prayers, a group of municipal envoys visited select elders of the community, including Simón Zurita, and formally invited them to join the municipal officials and participate in the worship. Wenceslao Cortés, serving his final elected position in the SJQ municipality, had instructed the envoys to invite the elders to the ceremony.

The elders who agreed to accompany the authorities to the ceremony were instructed to come to City Hall at around 4:15 a.m. to begin the ritual. A total of six elders participated in the petition and began to arrive at City Hall by 4:00 a.m. At 5:00 a.m. the group walked together from City Hall to the church. Upon arriving at the doorsteps of the church, they all knelt and crossed themselves. Then all proceeded to walk on their knees for three to four minutes toward

¹ SJQ Chatino is one of the richest tonal languages in the world, with 13 different tonal contrasts, indicated here by superscript numbers (number 1 indicates high pitch and number 4 low pitch; see the appendix for more information on the Chatino orthography). The texts discussed here are based on fieldwork that I performed in San Juan Quiahije. I am a native speaker of this language, which provides an additional emic view of the rhetorical potential of language use in these prayers. For the Chatino orthography used in this essay, see appendix 1.

² In order to provide the reader with a fuller understanding of the context and performance of the prayer, both texts are offered in their entirety in appendix 2 to this essay.

the main altar holding the offerings in their hands while reciting their individual prayers.

The church attendants (catechists), lower ranking authorities (including helpers of City Hall), and members of the community who wished to be blessed by the elders' supplications were present at the church. Upon concluding their prayers, the community representatives stood in a row facing the church door, clutching their candles and flowers, in order to allow residents to touch and kiss the offerings they had brought for their petition. The petitioner's goal is to move and persuade the spiritual intermediaries (such as saints and ancestors) to grant his wishes.

Translation is as much an art as a science. Literary and cultural translations are challenging because cultural concepts frequently do not map one to one from one language to the next. When translating a poetic text, the translator must take into account the different layers of meaning in the source text including aesthetics, phonics, and polysemy (Barnstone 2010:4). These challenges are exacerbated when the source and target languages come from completely different language families. For example, Chatino and English idioms and metaphorical phrases have very little in common.

One of the challenges I encountered when I translated the two prayers studied here is that Chatino poetics make extensive use of positional and existential predicates to achieve poetic tension, imagery, and metaphor. Verses 1-2 of example (7) illustrate this point. The positional expression *tyi²⁰ ton¹* literally means "s/he or they will stand," and *tyi²⁰ tqen²⁴* means "s/he or they will exist or spread out on the ground." However, in this context these expressions are being used metaphorically to express that the new generation will one day take charge and step up and stand for the community. For this reason I have chosen to translate these expressions as "now they are about to rise up and now they are about to establish themselves," to convey the movement and agency that form part of the poetic meaning of these phrases.

Another notable example is the English translation of example (2), below. The preposition *qo¹* literally means "with." However, in order to make the English translation flow better, I've chosen to translate verses 17-18 as "now with," while in couplet 19-20, I employed the phrase "together with." Beneath each Chatino line is a word for word translation. A poetic English translation is given in the right-hand column.

Parallelism in San Juan Quiahije Prayers

Parallelism is a central and highly developed feature of poetic discourse in the languages and cultures of Mesoamerica, especially in Mexico and Guatemala. In these traditions, semantic parallelism is governed by regular conventions that function as a primary organizing principle of verbal art in much the same way that meter provides an organizing framework for traditional poetries of much of Europe and Asia. This device has been widely studied in both ancient and contemporary Mayan (Norman 1980; Bricker 1974; Edmonson and Bricker 1985; Tedlock 1987; Hull 2003; Hull and Carrasco 2012, and Hull, this volume) and Nahuatl languages (Garibay 1953; Leon-Portilla 1969; Bright 1990). But this feature has been overlooked in most Otomanguean languages spoken in Oaxaca, Mexico, including the Chatino languages.

The two prayers discussed here reveal multiple, varied, and complex forms of parallelism. A stretch of parallel repetition in SJQ verbal art consists of two parts: the "frame"

and the “focus.” The frame is the constant that repeats in every line and the focus is a variable part that occupies a slot in the frame (Cruz 2014:118). Both the frame and the focus draw on elements from the same syntactic category: noun phrases are paired with noun phrases, adjectival phrases with adjectival phrases, and verb phrases must be paired with verb phrases.

Norman (1980), Bricker (1989 [1974]), Hull (2003), and Hull and Carrasco (2012), among others, describe a similar structure for parallel verses in Mayan poetics. What I call the “focus” in the analysis of SJQ verbal art is what Mayan scholars refer to as the “variable.” I choose to call it the “focus” because the elements that occupy the focus position are the items that are highlighted in the phrase (Cruz 2014:121). This is illustrated in example (1), a section of the speech where the petitioner wishes that the young people in the community will grow to become outstanding citizens.

Each one of the four verses in (1) is built around a fixed frame made out of the phrase *Ka*²⁴ ___ *sqwe*³ (“may s/he be a good ___”), marked here in bold underline. The focus element in each line is then filled by a subject phrase, which in this case is one of a set of nouns describing different types of humans: *nten*¹⁴ (“people”), *neq*⁴ (“a kind of person”), *no*⁴ *kiquy*¹ (“man/men³”), *no*⁴ *qan*¹ (“woman/women”), presented in brackets in (1). Cohesion in this verse sequence is achieved by the repeating anaphor *ka*²⁴ (“s/he will be”) in each line:

Example 1

33	X	<u>Ka</u> ²⁴ [nten ¹⁴⁰]	<u>sqwe</u> ³ ,	<u>May they be good</u> [people]
		POT:BE PEOPLE	GOOD	
34	X	<u>Ka</u> ²⁴ [neq ³²]	<u>sqwe</u> ³ ,	<u>May they be upstanding</u> [citizens]
		POT:BE INDIVIDUAL	GOOD	
35	X	<u>Ka</u> ²⁴ [kiquy ¹]	<u>sqwe</u> ³ ,	<u>May they be upright</u> [men]
		POT:BE MALE	GOOD	
36	X	<u>Ka</u> ²⁴ [wqan ¹]	<u>sqwe</u> ³ ,	<u>May they be upright</u> [women].
		POT:BE FEMALE	GOOD	

A Structural Hierarchy of Parallelism

The ideas developed and performed in parallel verses are organized by a structural hierarchy of parallelism. Stanza here refers to a parallel group of verses that expresses a single unit of meaning. These semantically and syntactically related stanzas can have any number of verses, including couplets, triplets, or quatrains. The four-verse structure in example (2) illustrates this. In the passage, Cortés states that his ancestors and the sacred instruments (the cross and the staff of his office) endow him with the authority to carry out prayers for the community.

The parallel verses in the example are organized into a quatrain of two related couplets. Each verse is built around the same frame, and the focus elements are all nouns. The first couplet is built with kinship nouns “mother//father” as the focus (verses 17-18), while the second couplet

³Because the Chatino languages do not distinguish number in nouns this lexical item, *sqwe*³, could be singular or plural.

contains parallel elaborations based on objects “cross//sacred staff” (verses 19-20). In the first couplet, the petitioner declares that he has come to the ceremony infused with the power of his ancestors. In the second, he states that the cross and the sacred staff he has brought to the ceremony are the symbols of his office. Each verse begins with a repeated anaphoric conjunction *qo*¹ (“with”), giving the entire structure cohesion:

Example 2

17	V	Qo ¹	sten ²⁴	ne ² ,	Now with my father
		WITH	FATHER:1SG	NOW	
18	V	Qo ¹	yqan ¹	ne ² ,	Now with my mother
		WITH	MOTHER:1SG	NOW	
19	V	Qo ¹	ksi ¹	qnya ⁰ ,	Together with my cross
		WITH	CROSS	TO (ME)	
20	V	Qo ¹	chaq ³ -jyaq ³	qnya ²⁴ .	Together with my staff
		WITH	SACRED-STAFF	TO (ME)	

Hierarchical Parallel Structures: Symmetrical and Asymmetrical

The parallel stanzas in this hierarchical parallel structure can be symmetrical or asymmetrical. Symmetrical structures are fashioned with parallel stanzas containing the same number of verses (for instance, couplets are paired with couplets, triplets with triplets, and so on). Asymmetrical structures, on the other hand, comprise stanzas with differing numbers of verses. A structure can comprise a couplet followed by a triplet, or a triplet can be found next to a quatrain, and so on. Example (2) illustrates a symmetrical parallel structure: both of its stanzas are couplets. Example (3), which consists of seven parallel verses organized into two semantically related parallel stanzas, illustrates an asymmetrical parallel structure: the entire structure contains seven verse lines divided into two couplets and a triplet. The first stanza, a quatrain, vocalizes the physical life achievements of the ancestors, namely that they survived and grew old (verses 4-7). The second stanza, a triplet, conveys the moral lives that the ancestors led when they were part of this world (verses 8-10). The entire structure is bound by a repeating anaphoric pronoun *no*⁴ (“those who”):

Example 3

4	II	No ⁴	yqu ²		Those who survived
		THE.ONE	COMPL.:SURVIVE		
5	II	No ⁴	ndlu ³		Those who thrived
		THE.ONE	COMPL.:THRIVE		
6	II	No ⁴	suq ³		Those who matured
		THE.ONE	COMPL.:MATURE		
7	II	No ⁴	sen ³		Those who multiplied
		THE.ONE	COMPL.:MULTIPLY		
8	II	No ⁴	ya ⁴²	tykwi ⁴	Those who lived entirely
		THE.ONE	COMPL.:GO.AWAY	ENTIRELY	

9	II	No ⁴	ya ⁴²	nyi ⁴	Those who lived directly
		THE.ONE	COMPL.:GO.AWAY	STRAIGHT	
10	II	No ⁴	ya ⁴²	ykwa ⁴	Those who lived evenly
		THE.ONE	COMPL.:GO.AWAY	EVEN	

Parallel Elaborations around a Single Complex Sentence

Parallel stanzas that comprise a hierarchical parallel structure are frequently elaborated around a single complex sentence. This is illustrated in a passage that captures the moment when the petitioners begin to walk on their knees from the entrance of the church to the altar in example (4). Both the main phrase and the complement of the sentence are formed through the repetition of several parallel verses. The main phrase is the couplet in verses 15-16, and its complement is formed by the prepositional phrases in verses 17-20:

Example 4

15	V	Nde ²	na ³	jnya ¹	yanq ⁴² ,	I ask this with my hands
		THIS	THINGS	PROG:ASK	HAND:1SG	
16	V	Nde ²	na ³	jnya ¹	tqwan ²⁰ ,	I ask this with my mouth
		THIS	THINGS	PROG:ASK	MOUTH:1SG	
17	V	Qo ¹	sten ²⁴	ne ² ,		Now with my father
		WITH	FATHER:1SG	NOW		
18	V	Qo ¹	yqan ²⁰	ne ² ,		Now with my mother
		WITH	MOTHER:1SG	NOW		
19	V	Qo ¹	ksi ¹	qnya ⁰ ,		Together with my cross
		WITH	CROSS	TO (ME)		
20	V	Qo ¹	chaq ³ -jyaq ³	qnya ²⁴ .		Together with my staff
		WITH	PERMISSION	TO (ME)		

Additive Parallelism

Another prevalent type of parallelism in Prayers for the Community is additive parallelism, whereby “the introduction of additive information” (Stepanova, this volume) differentiates a verse or verse group in the parallel structure from preceding members. Example (5) from Cortés’ prayers illustrates how this feature strengthens, develops, and expands the message elaborated within the structure. Each verse begins with the expression *sa⁴ nde²⁰eq²⁰ jnya¹ ___* (“this is what ___ petitioned”). The first couplet deploys a well-known formula that combines the kinship terms “father//mother” in the focus element of the verse. One might expect that the focus in the third line would be filled by another kinship term, such as grandfather or grandmother, but instead the petitioner chose to enhance the message by filling the slot with the adjective *chaq³ tlyu² riq² qnya¹* (“forgiveness or good things onto me”), which is not completely parallel to the previous stanza but serves to focalize the message of the entire construction:

Example 5

62	XVI	Sa ⁴	nde ²⁰ eq ²⁰	jnya ¹	sten ²⁴ ,	Thus was the supplication of my father,	
		LIKE	THIS		CPL:ASK FATHER:1SG		
63	XVI	Sa ⁴	nde ²⁰ eq ²⁰	jnya ¹	yqan ²⁰ ,	Thus was the supplication of my mother,	
		LIKE	THIS		CPL:ASK MOTHER:1SG		
64	XVII	Sa ⁴	nde ²⁰ eq ²⁰	jnya ¹	chaq ³	tlyu ²	Thus was their petition [lit. the forgiveness
		FOR	THIS	CPL:ASK THING	BIG		or good things they made on my behalf]
		riq ²	qnya ¹ ,				
		ESSENSE	TO (ME)				

Parallelism across Intervening Verses

Though the great majority of parallel structures in SJQ Chatino operate between successive verses, Zurita's prayer shows that parallelism also occurs between discourse units that are separate from one another. The formulaic cluster in verses 4-7 is repeated in verses 14-17, shown in example (6). These repeating parallel units exhibit morphological variation according to the context in which they appear and the semantic integer to which the textual sequence refers.

Greg Urban (1986:26–29) describes parallel text sequences of larger scope as “macro-parallelism.” Frog notes that these types of parallelisms occur, for example, in formalized dialogic poetry and narrative poetry for instance a request repeated three times that elicits compliance uses the same formulaic cluster with morphological variation (personal communication, Frog February 15, 2015, and Frog “Parallelism Dynamics I,” this volume). In the present case, the parallel sequence in verses 4-7 elaborates on the physical and moral lives that the ancestors led while the sequence of verses 14-17 deals with issues concerning the younger generation:

Example 6

4	II	No ⁴	yqu ²		Those who survived
		THE.ONE	COMPL:SURVIVE		
5	II	No ⁴	ndlu ³		Those who thrived
		THE.ONE	COMPL:THRIVE		
6	II	No ⁴	suq ³		Those who matured
		THE.ONE	COMPL:MATURE		
7	II	No ⁴	sen ³		Those who multiplied
		THE.ONE	COMPL:MULTIPLY		
14	IV	Sa ⁴ -kwa ²⁰	nya ¹⁴	kqu ⁰	So too may (they) survive
		SO.TO	APPEAR	POT:GROW	
15	IV	Sa ⁴ -kwa ²⁰	nya ¹⁴	klu ⁰	So too may (they) thrive
		SO.TO	APPEAR	POT:THRIVE	
16	IV	Sa ⁴ -kwa ²⁰	nya ¹⁴	ksuq ⁰	So too may (they) mature
		SO.TO	APPEAR	POT:MATURE	
17	IV	Sa ⁴ -kwa ²⁰	nya ¹⁴	kxin ⁰	So too may (they) multiply
		SO.TO	APPEAR	POT:MULTIPLY	

Formulaic Language and Grammar

Formulaic expressions are another key tool in Chatino verbal art. The classic definition of the formula in verbal art was coined by Parry (1971:272): “a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea” (see also Lord 1960:4). Parry proposed this definition specifically for Homeric verse, and it does not work for all metered poetries (Foley 1981:263). A metrical criterion for the formula is generally problematic for Chatino prayers because they lack a periodic meter. Formulae have been shown, however, to be a fundamental part of how language works: rather than being specific to metered poetry, formulae are simply shaped by the organizing principles of the form of discourse (Frog 2017:14-18). Semantic parallelism is a main organizing principle for Chatino Prayers. Fox (2016:xi) proposes that Parry’s definition can be modified for traditions organized on the basis of parallelism rather than periodic meter as “a group of words which is regularly employed *under the conditions of strict parallelism* to express a given essential idea” (emphasis original).

Formulaic language has been addressed in several Mesoamerican traditions based on parallelism, such as the poetic traditions of the Nahuatl (Garibay 1953; León-Portilla 1969), and the traditions of the Mayan people of Mexico and Guatemala (Hull 2012 and this volume). The term *difrasismo* was coined to refer to words and phrases conventionally paired across parallel verses to express a coherent metaphorical meaning in Mesoamerican poetry traditions. Here, I use the term formula to refer to such conventionally paired parallel words and phrases as established units of the poetic lexicon. Recurrent phraseology used in a series of verses will be referred to as “frames” according to the terminology introduced above. Some frames are a type of formula comparable to conventionally parallel vocabulary, but using the term frame avoids the thorny issue of whether a particular expression is part of the collective tradition, the performer’s personal idiom, or generated in the performance context. Formulae are part of the collective knowledge of the community and provide petitioners with an important lexical reservoir that simultaneously enables flexibility while facilitating conformity to conventions of form and style in performance.

The prayer formulae use the highly sophisticated linguistic resources of the Chatino language to elicit poetic imagery, persuasion, and contrast. Some of the most frequent syntactic categories employed in such formulae include positional, existential, and motion verbal predicates. For example, some of these expressions translate as “to hang,” “to stand,” “to sit elevated,” “to sit on the ground,” “to exist,” “to stay,” and “to fall.” Cortés employs positional and existential predicates to achieve a high level of cohesion and great contrast when he mentions the beginning of the new generation in example (7), a structure comprising eight couplets. In the first couplet, there is a combination of the predicates “to stand” in the first verse and “to exist” in the second. As the passage progresses, the positional/existential combination is briefly discontinued in the parallel couplet in verses 3-4, but resumes in the following couplet. The anaphoric adverb *ka*²⁴ (“just”) strengthens the entire construction. The structure is bookended by the repetition of the opening couplet of verses 1-2 and verses 7-8, but varied as the second is the only couplet that does not end its verses with the adverb “now:”

Example 7

1	I	Ka ²⁴ tyi ²⁰ JUST POT:AUX.TO	ton ¹ ne ⁰ , STAND NOW	Now they are about to rise up,
2	I	Ka ²⁴ tyi ²⁰ JUST POT:AUX.TO	tqen ²⁴ ne ² . EXIST NOW	Now they are about to establish themselves.
3	II	Ka ²⁴ kqu ¹ JUST POT:GROW	ni ¹ , NOW	Now they are about to grow,
4	II	Ka ²⁴ klu ¹ JUST POT:THRIVE	ni ¹ , NOW	Now they are about to thrive,
5	II	Ka ²⁴ tykwa ¹ JUST POT:SIT.ELEVATED	ni ¹ , NOW	Now they are about to sit up,
6	II	Ka ²⁴ tyqin ³² JUST POT:EXIST	ni ¹ . NOW	Now they are about to establish themselves.
7	III	Ka ²⁴ tyi ²⁰ JUST POT:AUX.TO	ton ⁰ , STAND	They are about to rise up,
8	III	Ka ²⁴ tyi ²⁰ JUST POT:AUX.TO	tqen ²⁴ , EXIST	They are about to establish themselves,

Common Themes Elaborated with Formulaic Language

The supplications on behalf of the community uttered by the two petitioners, Zurita and Cortés, share certain recurrent themes: the cycle of life, the new generation, the town of SJQ, the spirits, and civic service. It is formulaic language that communicates these themes, as discussed in this subsection.

Example (8) illustrates recurrent topics in SJQ prayers, issues surrounding birth and other biological stages of human life, elaborated with formulaic expressions. By employing an agricultural metaphor, “to sprout//to be born,” in the first couplet of this theme in Cortés’ prayer (verses 65-66), the petitioner recounts the moment when he was born. He uses a metaphor comparing the sprouting of a plant to his birth. He also describes his birth with the motion verbs “to come down” and “to drop from a high place,” perhaps from the sky (verses 67-68). Cohesion in the entire passage is maintained with the use of the word *tsan*⁴ (“day”) in each parallel verse:

Example 8

65	XVII	Tsan ⁴ ntson ⁴² , DAY CPL:SPROUT:1SG	The day I sprouted,
66	XVII	Tsan ⁴ lan ¹ , DAY CPL:BORN:1SG	The day I was born,
67	XVII	Tsan ⁴ qyan ⁴² , DAY CPL:COME.DOWN:1SG	The day I descended,
68	XVII	Tsan ⁴ ndlyon ⁴² , DAY CPL:FALL.DOWN:1SG	The day I came down,

Using formulae with lexical extensions that denote time (hour, day) and various words that describe human beings (people, woman/women, man/men), the petitioners also express their hopes and concerns for the well-being and moral and physical success of the new generation. The point is illustrated by a passage in Cortés' prayer that expresses his hopes that the new generation will follow in the ancestor's footsteps and achieve prosperity, longevity, and wisdom, as shown in example (9). The new generations are also described in SJQ prayers by synonymous pairings of the words *kwiq²//kneq¹* ("babies//infants") (verses 27-28):

Example 9

31	1X	Tya ²⁴ POT:COME	wra ¹⁰ , HOUR		When the time comes,
32	1X	Tya ²⁴ POT:COME	xa ³ , LIGHT		When the daylight comes,
33	X	Ka ²⁴ POT:BE	nten ¹⁴⁰ PEOPLE	sqwe ³ , GOOD	May they be good people,
34	X	Ka ²⁴ POT:BE	neq ³² INDIVIDUAL	sqwe ³ , GOOD	May they be upstanding citizens,
35	X	Ka ²⁴ POT:BE	kiquy ¹ MALE	sqwe ³ , GOOD	May they be upright men,
36	X	Ka ²⁴ POT:BE	wqan ¹ FEMALE	sqwe ³ . GOOD	May they be upright women.

The nouns "mountain," "community," and "people" are key formula components that express a variety of ideas relating to the town of San Juan Quiahije, its institutions, citizens, and land. The mountainous terrain provides imagery in SJQ formulae such as *qya²//kchin³²* ("mountains//people") in the frame *Snyiq⁴ ____* ("children of ____"): *Snyiq⁴ qya²/Snyiq⁴ kchin³²* ("The children of the mountains/The children of our people"), referring to the citizens of SJQ (verses 9-10). These formulae recur throughout the prayer (verses 9-10, 23-24, 37-38), in Cortés's petition (78-79), and in Zurita's prayer (verses 28-29 and 40-41).

Civic service and community engagement is an obligation for every male citizen in SJQ. SJQ culture views this obligation as innate for a man born into the community. Throughout their lives, men discharge different *cargos*, or duties, in City Hall. This service begins when a young man is initiated into service as a helper, or *topil*, at the age of twelve. These *cargos* change during a man's life time until his old age when he becomes an elder as in example (10). This passage recounts the wishes of his ancestors that one day he serve his community, and states that he is fulfilling their wishes and desires by enunciating his prayer.

In the first couplet, the petitioner uses the formula "hand//mouth" in the frame "to ask with ____" to express that his ancestors spoke prayers on his behalf when he was young. In the second couplet, employing a common formula "work//community" in the frame "so that I may become ____," he states that his parents wished that he would one day serve the community. In the third couplet, he employs a formula comprising positional predicates "to sit in front // to hang in back" to declare his will both to lead and follow his community. He concludes this passage by

using another well-known formula “mountain//community” to acknowledge the community of SJQ as the beneficiary of his service:

Example 10

72	XVIII	Jnya ¹ CPL:ASK	yaq ² HAND	qnya ¹ , TO (ME)	On my behalf, they asked with their hands,
73	XVIII	Jnya ¹ CPL:ASK	tqwa ³² MOUTH	qnya ⁴ , TO (ME)	On my behalf, they asked with their mouths,
74	XVIII	Chaq ³ SO.THAT	kan ²⁴ POT:BE:1SG	tnya ³ , WORK	So that I may become work,
75	XVIII	Chaq ³ SO.THAT	kan ²⁴ POT:BE:1SG	kchin ¹ , COMMUNITY	So that I may become the people,
76	XVIII	Chaq ³ SO.THAT	tykwan ²⁴ POT:SIT.ELEVATED:1SG	lon ²⁰ , AHEAD:1SG	That I may lead,
77	XVIII	Chaq ³ SO.THAT	tykwen ²⁰ POT:HANG:1SG	ntyqan ²⁴ FOLLOW:1SG	qin ²⁴ , That I may follow,
78	XVIII	No ⁴ THE.ONE	nka ²⁴ PROG:BE	qya ² , MOUNTAIN	The mountains,
79	XVIII	No ⁴ THE.ONE	nka ²⁴ PROG:BE	kchin ¹ , COMMUNITY	The people,

To conclude this section, Table 1 presents a summary of the most common formulaic expressions found in the two prayers. Column 1 lists the words that make the formulaic expression; column 2 provides English glosses; and column 3 reflects the metaphorical sense of the combined elements in column 1:

Table 1. Formulaic expressions in Zurita and Cortés’s prayer.

Elements	Gloss	Meaning
tyon ²⁴ /tykwa ²⁴ /tyqin ⁴ /tyqan ⁴	to stand/to sit.elevate/ to exist/to sit.ground	to rise up, to establish oneself, to protect, to prosper
kqu ²⁴ /klu ²⁴ /ksuq ²⁴ /kxin ²⁴	to grow/to thrive/to mature/to multiply	life accomplishments
qya ² /kchin ⁴	mountain/community	San Juan Quiahije, people from San Juan Quiahije
tykwi ⁴ /ykwa ⁴ /ykwa ⁴	entire/direct/even	upstanding citizen/ straight and narrow road, flat land
kwan ⁴ /wra ¹⁰	sunlight/hour/light/earth, time	time, this world
xa ³ /xa ⁴ -lyu ³²	light/earth	earth
sti ⁴ /yqan ¹	father/mother	parents, ancestors, god, authorities
kiyu ¹ kla ²⁴ /wqan ¹ kla ²⁴	old men/old women	ancestors, grandparents
Jnya ²⁰ yaq ² /Jnya ²⁰ tqwa ⁴	to ask with hands/to ask with mouth	to pray, to petition, to plead
Ndon ⁴² jneq ³ / ndon ⁴² xtyinq ³	to genuflect/to kneel	plead, to sacrifice
tykwa ²⁰ lo ²⁴ /tykwi ²⁰ ntyqa ²⁴	to sit in front/hang in back	office in municipal
Tnya ³ /kchin ⁴	work/community	officer in municipal

As a result of the long history of contact between the Chatino and Spanish languages the prayers contain many borrowings from Spanish. This is similar to what Hull describes in this volume regarding Mayan curing rites. Spanish derivations in these prayers are religious terms: God, the Patron Saint, and the Holy Spirit. In praising the spirits, the petitioners state that they are healthy, courageous, and powerful. These pronouncements are made with a combination of Chatino and Spanish words as illustrated in example (11) below.

This construction comprises four parallel verses organized into two couplets. Using Chatino words, the first couplet states that the spirits are healthy and powerful (verses 89-90). The second couplet draws on Spanish loan words. The Chatino word *jwe⁴-sa⁰* in line 91 comes from Spanish *fuera* (“strength”) and *wa⁴loq¹⁴* in line 92 comes from Spanish *valor* (“courage”):

Example 11

89	XXII	Qwen ⁴	ndwa ²⁰	qo ¹	no ⁴	lye ⁴² ,	You are seated in health,
		2SG	PROG:SIT:2SG	WITH	THE.ONE	HEALTHY	
90	XXII	Ndwa ²⁰	qo ¹	no ⁴	tkwa ³ ,		You are seated in power,
		PROG:SIT:2SG	WITH	THE.ONE	POWER		
91	XXII	Ndwa ²⁰	qo ¹	jwe ⁴ -sa ⁰	in ²⁰ ,		You are seated in strength,
		PROG:SIT:2SG	WITH	STRENGTH	INTJ		
92	XXII	Ndwa ²⁰	qo ¹	wa ⁴ loq ¹⁴ ,			You are seated in courage,
		PROG:SIT:2SG	WITH	COURAGE			

Examples (12) and (13) offer further illustrations of praise to the spirits that combine Chatino words and Spanish loan words. Each construction comprises three verses. The first two verses address the spirits with a well-known Chatino pair “father//mother,” accompanied in the third line by a borrowing from Spanish: *patron* (“patron saint”) in example (12) and *Dios* (“God”) in example (13):

Example 12

101	XXV	Tlyu ²	qa ¹	qwen ³²	nka ⁴²	sten ⁴ ,	For great you are, my father,
		BIG	EMPH	2SG	PROG:BE:2SG	FATHER:1SG	
102	XXVI	Tlyu ²	qa ¹	qwen ³²	nka ⁴²	yqan ²⁰ ,	For great you are, my mother,
		BIG	EMPH	2SG	PROG:BE:2SG	MOTHER:1SG	
103	XXVI	Tlyu ²	qa ¹	no ⁴	nka ²⁴	Patron,	For great is our Patron Saint,
		BIG	EMPH	THE.ONE	PROG:BE	PATRON	

Example 13

Part VI

82	X1X	Tlyu ²	qa ¹	no ⁴	nka ²⁴	sten ³² ,	For great is our father,
		BIG	EMPH	THE.ONE	PROG:BE	FATHER:1SG	
83	X1X	Tlyu ²	qa ¹	no ⁴	nka ²⁴	yqan ²⁰ ,	For great is our mother,
		BIG	EMPH	THE.ONE	PROG:BE	MOTHER:1SG	
84	X1X	Tlyu ²	qa ¹	no ⁴	nka ²⁴	sten ¹ en ¹ ndyo ¹⁴ si ¹⁰ .	For great is our father God.
		BIG	EMPH	THE.ONE	PROG:BE	FATHER:1INCL	GOD

Metapragmatic representation is the marriage of the spoken word to the performance event's manifestation by referring to what is happening in the verbal art. Keane (1997:50) asserts that, at their core, prayers and spells are metapragmatic: "they reflexively refer to the very actions they are undertaking." In the introduction to this volume, Frog and Tarkka add that verbal art contains "references to, reflections on, and representations of the verbal art being performed and of the performer in the act of performance."

SJQ prayers are rich in metapragmatic references regarding the petitioner's agency, identity, and authority. Many passages in *Prayers for the Community* vocalize bodily actions (kneeling, walking on knees, and gestures such as crossing themselves and pounding on their chests) that petitioners perform while they recite their prayers and advance toward the altar. The four parallel verses in example (14) illustrate these metapragmatic reflections. The metonymic use of body-part terms ("hand//mouth" in the first couplet) expresses the action of voicing the prayers out loud while concurrently performing the gestures that are included in Catholic worship. Actions performed during this ritual include making the sign of the cross, striking the breast, passing candles, and offering up a prayer using the iconography of a saint. The second couplet in this structure is a statement of identity and agency. The speaker identifies himself as the one conducting the prayers out of his love and care for the community:

Example 14

		Part V				
58	XV	Naq ⁴²	jnya ¹	yanq ⁴²	in ²⁰ ,	With my hands I ask it,
		1SG	PROG:ASK	HAND:1SG	INTJ	
59	XV	Naq ⁴²	jnya ¹	tqwan ²⁰	in ²⁰ ,	With my mouth I ask it,
		1SG	PROG:DO	MOUTH:1SG	INTJ	
60	XV	Naq ⁴²	qne ¹	qna ³	in ²⁰ ,	This is my care,
		1SG	PROG:DO	WORRY	INTJ	
61	XV	Naq ⁴²	qne ¹	xnyi ⁴	in ²⁰ ,	This is my true concern,
		1SG	PROG:DO	PINE	INTJ	

Example (15) further illustrates embodied prayer, performance, and action. In this section, Cortés voices the actions he performs during the prayer event stating that he is walking on his knees along with the other petitioners (line 93). Next, he reiterates the "hand//mouth" formula in the "to ask with ___" frame to declare that he is carrying out the prayers seen in example (14) (verses 94-95). He then states that he is kneeling in place, indicating his bodily stance (line 96). Finally, pairing the words "face" and "feet," he reflects on his actions and posture while he walks on his knees and speaks the prayer aloud as he advances toward the altar (verses 97-98):

Example 15

93	XXIII	Ne ²	wa ⁴²	re ²	ntqan ³²	xtyinq ³	wa ⁴² ,	Now we are kneeling down,
		TODAY	WE(EXCL)	HERE	PROG:GOING.AROUND	KNEE	US(EXCL)	
94	XXIII	Wa ⁴²	re ²	jnya ¹	yaq ²	wa ⁴² ,		We are asking with our hands,
		WE(EXCL)	HERE	PROG:ASK	HAND	US(EXCL)		

95	XXIII	Wa ⁴² WE(EXCL)	re ² HERE	jnya ¹ PROG:ASK	tqwa ³² MOUTH	wa ⁴² , US(EXCL)	We are asking with our mouths.
96	XXIV	Ndon ⁴² STAND	xyinq ⁴² , KNEE:1SG				I knelt down,
97	XXIV	Sweq ¹ SCRAPE	lon ³² , FACE:1SG				Scraping my face on the ground,
98	XXIV	Sweq ¹ SCRAPE	kyanq ³² . FEET:1SG				Scraping my feet.

Many passages of Prayers for the Community are dedicated to the reflection, assertion, and expression of the performer’s identity and authority. This metapragmatic assertion is vocalized when the worshiper states that he has come to this prayer event infused with two powerful forces: spiritual assistance from his parents, and the instruments of prayer in the form of the cross and sacred staff. The petitioner states that these elements endow him with the authority to represent the community. This is illustrated below in example (16):

Example 16

15	V	Nde ² THIS	na ³ THINGS	jnya ³ PROG:ASK	yanq ⁴² , HAND:1SG	I ask this with my hands,
16	V	Nde ² THIS	na ³ THINGS	jnya ¹ PROG:ASK	tqwan ²⁰ , MOUTH:1SG	I ask this with my mouth,
17	V	Qo ¹ WITH	sten ²⁴ FATHER:1SG	ne ² , NOW		Now with my father,
18	V	Qo ¹ WITH	yqan ²⁰ MOTHER:1SG	ne ² , NOW		Now with my mother,
19	V	Qo ¹ WITH	ksi ¹ CROSS	qnya ⁰ , TO (ME)		Together with my cross,
20	V	Qo ¹ WITH	chaq ³ -jyaq ³ PERMISSION	qnya ²⁴ . TO (ME)		Together with my staff.
21	VI	Qne ¹ PROGR:DO:1SG	ka ²⁴ EMPH	qna ³ CARE	in ²⁰ , INTJ	Because I care,
22	VI	Qne ¹ PROGR:DO:1SG	ka ²⁴ EMPH	xqnyi ³² WORRY	in ²⁰ , INTJ	Because I remain concerned,
23	VI	Qin ⁴ TO	kqya ² , MOUNTAINS			For the mountains,
24	VI	Qin ⁴ TO	kchin ³² . COMMUNITY			For the people.

Performance

The performance of the Prayers for the Community adheres to a specific culturally expected form, idiom, content, and organization. Each petitioner has the freedom to apply his

own personal style to the basic form. In this respect SJQ oral prayers correspond with the view of rigidity and flexibility of oral traditions around the world according to Oral-Formulaic Theory (Parry 1971; Lord 1960 and 1991; Foley 1990).

SJQ supplications are spoken in a rapid crescendo ending in almost incomprehensible speech. The beginning of each paragraph is delivered in a strong and clear voice. As the prayer progresses, the petitioner's voice becomes faint, feeble, and often times inaudible. This is illustrated in stanza II of Cortés's prayer (see appendix): *Ka²⁴ kqu¹ni¹ / Ka²⁴ klu¹ni¹* ("Now they are about to grow / Now they are about to thrive") (verses 3-4). This section is spoken loudly and clearly. As the petition progresses the rendition becomes softer and fainter. The end of stanza II —*Ka²⁴ tyqin³² ni¹* ("Now they are about to establish themselves") (line 6), is said more softly and almost mumbled. At this point the petitioner briefly pauses to breathe and gather the energy to start a new stanza. Then, at the beginning of stanza III, before starting a new paragraph, Cortés once again energetically utters *Ka²⁴ tyi²⁰ ton¹* ("They are about to rise up,") (verse 7).

Comparison of the two prayers reveals various commonalities and differences. Both prayers invoke and exalt the spirits by describing their physical and moral characteristics. Both speakers declare their hope that the new generation will follow in their ancestors' footsteps and will be able to maintain and continue the community and its traditions. While Cortés' prayer is rich in metapragmatic reflections of his own agency, authority, and identity, Zurita's prayer does not touch upon such points. Cortés recounts the personal sacrifices he has made to the community and asserts his willingness to do so because his services were offered to the spirits the moment he was born. When these prayers were spoken, Cortés was serving his last compulsory position in City Hall, and perhaps for this reason he elaborates on his service to the community. Structurally, Zurita's prayer contains macro-parallelism that is not present in Cortés' prayer.

Conclusion

The Prayers for the Community offer splendid examples of the dynamic range of parallelism found in the Chatino language, adding to the study of that found in other Mesoamerican languages. The two prayers examined here reveal assorted structures of parallelism working in conjunction with repetition, formulaic expressions, performance, as well as a wealth of stylistic features such as metaphor, anaphora, and metonymy. Parallel verses are organized around hierarchical parallel structures of both symmetrical and asymmetrical parallel stanzas.

SJQ petitioners skillfully manipulate Chatino grammar. Many hierarchical parallel structures are built from repetitions of single complex sentences. The different sentence elements, such as the main clause and the complement of the clause, are repeated a number of times. Similarly, formulaic expressions are built by pairings of positional, existential, and motion predicates. These elements provide cohesion, tension, and poetic contrast to these prayers.

SJQ petitioners spent a great deal of time rationalizing and reflecting on their gestures, bodily movements, and actions during prayer. In an effort to achieve a stronger and more forceful prayer, petitioners articulate their concurrent bodily actions through their verbal art. Each

petitioner brings his own collective knowledge and experiences to bear in their respective prayers. Both Zurita and Cortés ably represent their community, one as a community elder and the other an elected official. While both prayers appeal on behalf of the new generation that they might grow and become a force in the community, Cortés' prayer places a greater emphasis on voicing his own agency, identity, and authority in his performance.

The examples of the Prayers for the Community are consistent with the verbal art found in SJQ, Eastern Chatino. There is a long tradition of orators using formulaic expressions and parallelism with the latitude to embellish their own style within the verbal discourse. This verbal art is also consistent with poetic forms found throughout Mesoamerican poetic traditions.

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Appendix 1: Chatino Orthography

The orthography used in this essay is based on the practical orthography developed by the Chatino Language Documentation Project (CLDP). Some of the conventions for representing consonants are as follows: <q> = [ʔ], <x> = [ʃ], <ch> = [tʃ], <j> = [h], <y> = [j], <ty> = laminal alveolar; <y> before consonants = voiceless palatal glide; <y> elsewhere = voiced palatal glide. <Vn> represents a nasalized vowel. SJQ Chatino is one of the richest tonal languages in the world with 13 different tonal contrasts. Tones are associated with syllables and are expressed using numbers (0,1,2,3,4). Below is a description of the tones, their form, and their sandhi expressions in SJQ:

0 = is a floating, super high tone
 1 = High
 2 = Mid
 3 = Low mid
 4 = Low

04 = Super high to low
 14 = High to low
 24 = Mid to low
 42 = Low to mid
 32 = Mid to high
 40 = Low to super high
 20 = Mid to super high
 10 = High to super high
 140 = High to low to super high

SJQ Chatino has a set of complex tones that are the result of a nasalized vowel clitic (=Vn) in combination with a tone-bearing stem. This occurs with verb stems containing tones (1, 2, 3, 4, 20, 32, 42, and 40) inflected for the first person singular (1SG) and first person plural

inclusive (1INCL) (E. Cruz 2011). For instance, *kwi*^l (“she/he hangs”) has a double mora when inflected for first person singular: *kwen*²⁰*enq*³² (“I hung”) and the first person inclusive (INCL): *ndywen*²⁰*en*³² (“we (INCL) hang”). The rule and representation of this in the practical orthography are as follows: for complex tones, put one tone on each mora, for example: *yan*^{^42}*an*^{^32} (“we came (away from base)”). For further information on SJQ tones see (Cruz and Woodbury 2005):

INTJ = interjection
 1SG = first person singular
 2SG = second person singular
 CPL = completive aspect
 POT = potential aspect
 PROG = progressive aspect
 B = base

Appendix 2: The Prayers

Audio recordings of the prayers were transcribed into the Chatino language by the author using time aligned annotation with EUDICO Linguistic Annotator (ELAN). Breaks and sections in the text were made using parallelism. The texts are presented in four columns: Column 1 is the line number; column 2 divides the texts into stanzas; and column 3 shows the division of the text into parts, which are ultimately the themes and topics elaborated by the texts. It also holds the Chatino transcription with the gloss of each lexical item below it. This presentation follows Urban (2010). Column 4 provides an English translation of the same.

Simón Zurita's Prayer

Simón Zurita's prayer is divided into three parts and topics are largely organized in the following way. Verses 1-3, stanzas I-II, invoke the deities and ancestors. Verses 4-13, stanzas II-III, describe the ancestors and the lives that they led while in this world. Verses 14-23, stanzas IV-V, describe the young generation. Verses 27-41, stanzas VII-X, are the petitions made to the deities and ancestors, and verses 42-44, stanza XI, again invoke the deities.

Text 1. Prayer for the Community performed by Zimón Zurita:⁴

		Part I		
1	I	Sa ⁴ nta ¹⁴	A ³ yma ¹⁴	Santa Ayma
		SAINT	SOUL	
2	II	Kiqyu ¹	kla ²⁴	Forefathers
		MALE	OLD	

⁴A description of the Chatino orthography is given in the appendix below.

3	II	Wqan ¹ kla ²⁴ FEMALE OLD	Foremothers
4	II	No ⁴ yqu ² THE.ONE COMPL.:SURVIVE	Those who survived
5	II	No ⁴ ndlu ³ THE.ONE COMPL.:THRIVE	Those who thrived
6	II	No ⁴ suq ³ THE.ONE COMPL.:MATURE	Those who matured
7	II	No ⁴ sen ³ THE.ONE COMPL.:MULTIPLY	Those who multiplied
8	II	No ⁴ ya ⁴² tykwi ⁴ THE.ONE COMPL.:GO.AWAY ENTIRELY	Those who lived entirely
9	II	No ⁴ ya ⁴² nyi ⁴ THE.ONE COMPL.:GO.AWAY STRAIGHT	Those who lived directly
10	II	No ⁴ ya ⁴² ykwa ⁴ THE.ONE COMPL.:GO.AWAY EVEN	Those who lived evenly
11	III	Yan ⁴² lo ⁴ kwan ⁴ COMPL.:COME.AWAY TO SUNLIGHT	They came to the sunlight
12	III	Yan ⁴² lo ⁴ xa ³ COMPL.:COME.AWAY TO LIGHT	They came to the light
13	III	Yan ⁴² lo ⁴ xa ⁴ -liyu ³² COMPL.:COME.AWAY TO LIGHT-EARTH	They came to the world
Part II			
14	IV	Sa ⁴ -kwa ²⁰ nya ¹⁴ kqu ⁰ SO.TO APPEAR POT:GROW	So too may (they) survive
15	IV	Sa ⁴ -kwa ²⁰ nya ¹⁴ klu ⁰ SO.TO APPEAR POT:THRIVE	So too may (they) thrive
16	IV	Sa ⁴ -kwa ²⁰ nya ¹⁴ ksuq ⁰ SO.TO APPEAR POT:MATURE	So too may (they) mature
17	IV	Sa ⁴ -kwa ²⁰ nya ¹⁴ kxin ⁰ SO.TO APPEAR POT:MULTIPLY	So too may (they) multiply
18	V	Tyi ²⁰ ton ¹⁰ POT:AUX.TO STAND	May they stand up
19	V	Tyi ²⁰ kqan ²⁴ POT:AUX.TO SIT.ON.GROUND	May they sit down
20	V	No ⁴ kwiq ² THE.ONE BABY	The ones that are newborn
21	V	No ⁴ kneq ¹ THE.ONE YOUNG	The ones that are young
22	V	No ⁴ ntsu ³² THE.ONE PROG:BORN	The ones that are being born

23	V	No ⁴	ndla ³²		The ones that are sprouting		
		THE.ONE	PROG:SPROUT				
24	VI	Nka ⁴²	sten ⁴		You are my father		
		PROG:BE:2SG	FATHER:1SG				
25	VI	Nka ⁴²	yqan ²⁰		You are my mother		
		PROG:BE:2SG	MOTHER:1SG				
26	VI	Nka ⁴²	sten ⁴	renq ⁴	ndiyo ¹⁴ si ⁰	in ²⁰	You are their father, God!
		PROG:BE:2SG	FATHER	OF.THEM	GOD	INTJ	
Part III							
27	VII	Santo	Patron	San	Juan	Bautista	Patron Saint John the Baptist
		SAINT	PATRON	SAINT	JOHN	THE.BAPTIST	
28	VII	Qwen ⁴	nka ⁴²	re ¹⁴	qya ⁰		You are the lord of the mountains
		2SG	PROG:BE:2SG	KING	MOUNTAIN		
29	VII	Qwen ⁴	nka ⁴²	re ¹⁴	kchin ⁰		You are the lord of the community
		2SG	PROG:BE:2SG	KING	COMMUNITY		
30	VIII	Qwen ⁴	tyon ⁴²				You shall stand
		2GS	POT:STAND:2GS				
31	VIII	Qwen ⁴	tyqwi ⁴²				You shall exist
		2GS	POT:EXIST:2GS				
32	VIII	Sqwa ²⁰	yaq ¹				Give a hand
		POT:PUT:2GS	HAND:2GS				
33	VIII	Sqwa ²⁰	skon ¹				Give an arm
		POT:PUT:2GS	ARM:2GS				
34	IX	Tyon ⁴²	lo ⁴				Stand before them
		POT:STAND:2GS	AHEAD				
35	IX	Tyon ⁴²	chonq ⁴²				Stand behind them
		POT:STAND:2GS	BACK				
36	X	Qne ²⁴	kqu ²⁴				Take care of them
		POT:DO:2GS	CARE.FOR				
37	X	Qne ²⁴	tjoq ⁴²				Make them strong
		POT:DO:2SG	STRONG				
38	X	No ⁴	ntsu ³²				Those being born
		THE.ONE	PROG:SPROUT				
39	X	No ⁴	ndla ³²				Those sprouting
		THE.ONE	PROG:BORN				
40	X	Ntyqan ²⁴	qya ²				In the mountains
		ALL	MOUNTAIN				
41	X	Ntyqan ²⁴	kchin ⁴				In the community
		ALL	COMMUNITY				
42	XI	Nka ⁴²	sten ⁴				You are my father
		PROG:BE:2GS	FATHER:1GS				

43	XI	Nka ⁴²	yqan ²⁰		You are my mother
		PROG:BE:2GS	MOTHER:1GS		
44	XI	Nka ⁴²	sten ⁴	ndiyo ¹⁴ si ¹⁰	You are our father, God
		PROG:BE:2GS	FATHER:1INCL	GOD	

Wenceslao Cortés' Prayer

Cortés' prayer is divided into six parts. Part I describes the new generation, stating that they are young and inexperienced. Part II underscores the petitioner's responsibility for praying on behalf of the new generation. In part III, Cortés voices his hopes that the new generation will prosper, survive, and thrive, and that they become exemplary citizens and a force for their families and community. In parts IV and V Cortés emphasizes tradition, stating that the ancestors petitioned prayers on behalf of the new generation in a similar fashion. Cortés culminates his prayer in part VI by exalting the spirits and the images of the Catholic Church.

Text 2. Prayer for the Community performed by Wenceslao Cortés:

Part I						
1	I	Ka ²⁴	tyi ²⁰	ton ¹	ne ¹ ,	Now they are about to rise up,
		JUST	POT:AUX.TO	STAND	NOW	
2	I	Ka ²⁴	tyi ²⁰	tqen ²⁴	ne ² .	Now they are about to establish themselves.
		JUST	POT:AUX.TO	EXIST	NOW	
3	II	Ka ²⁴	kqu ¹	ni ¹ ,		Now they are about to grow,
		JUST	POT:GROW	NOW		
4	II	Ka ²⁴	klu ¹	ni ¹ ,		Now they are about to thrive.
		JUST	POT:THRIVE	NOW		
5	II	Ka ²⁴	tykwa ¹	ni ¹ ,		Now they are about to sit up,
		JUST	POT:SIT.ELEVATED	NOW		
6	II	Ka ²⁴	tyqin ³²	ni ¹ .		Now they are about to establish themselves.
		JUST	POT:EXIST	NOW		
7	III	Ka ²⁴	tyi ²⁰	ton ¹⁰ ,		They are about to rise up,
		JUST	POT:AUX.TO	STAND		
8	III	Ka ²⁴	tyi ²⁰	tqen ²⁴ ,		They are about to establish themselves.
		JUST	POT:AUX.TO	EXIST		
9	III	Snyiq ⁴	qya ² ,			The children of the mountains,
		CHILDREN	MOUNTAIN			
10	III	Snyiq ⁴	kchin ³² .			The children of our people.
		CHILDREN	COMMUNITY			
11	IV	Tykwa ¹⁴⁰	sqwe ³ ,			They will prosper as they sit,
		POT:SIT.ELEVATED	WELL			
12	IV	Tyqin ⁴	sqwe ³ ,			They will prosper as they establish themselves.
		POT:EXIST	WELL			
13	IV	Sa ⁴	nde ²	wra ¹⁰ ,		For all these hours,
		FOR	THIS	HOUR		

14	IV	Sa ⁴ nde ² xa ³ . FOR THIS LIGHT	For all these days.
Part II			
15	V	Nde ² na ³ jnya ¹ yanq ⁴² , THIS THINGS PROG:ASK HAND:1SG	I ask this with my hands,
16	V	Nde ² na ³ jnya ¹ tqwan ²⁰ , THIS THINGS PROG:ASK MOUTH:1SG	I ask this with my mouth,
17	V	Qo ¹ sten ²⁴ ne ² , WITH FATHER:1SG NOW	Now with my father,
18	V	Qo ¹ yqan ²⁰ ne ² , WITH MOTHER:1SG NOW	Now with my mother,
19	V	Qo ¹ ksi ¹ qnya ⁰ , WITH CROSS TO (ME)	Together with my cross
20	VI	Qo ¹ chaq ³ -jyaq ³ qnya ²⁴ . WITH PERMISSION TO (ME)	Together with my staff.
21	VI	Qne ¹ ka ²⁴ qna ³ in ²⁰ , PROG:DO:1SG EMPH CARE INTJ	Because I care,
22	VI	Qne ¹ ka ²⁴ xqnyi ³² in ²⁰ , PROG:DO:1SG EMPH WORRY INTJ	Because I remain concerned,
23	VI	Qin ⁴ kqya ² , TO MOUNTAINS	For the mountains,
24	VI	Qin ⁴ kchin ³² . TO COMMUNITY	For the people.
Part III			
25	VII	Ka ²⁴ tyi ²⁰ ton ¹⁰ , JUST POT:AUX:TO STAND	They are about to rise up,
26	VII	Ka ²⁴ tyi ²⁰ tykwa ²⁴ , JUST POT:AUX:TO SIT.ELEVATED	They are about to sit up,
27	VII	No ⁴ kwiq ² , THE.ONE BABY	The infants,
28	VIII	No ⁴ kneq ¹ , THE.ONE YOUNG	The young ones,
29	VIII	Tyi ²⁰ ton ¹⁰ , POT:AUX:TO STAND	They will rise up,
30	IX	Tyi ²⁰ tkwa ²⁴ , POT:AUX:TO POT:SIT.ELEVATED	They will to sit up,
31	IX	Tya ²⁴ wra ¹⁰ , POT:COME HOUR	When the time comes,
32	IX	Tya ²⁴ xa ³ , POT:COME LIGHT	When the daylight comes,
33	X	Ka ²⁴ nten ¹⁴⁰ sqwe ³ , POT:BE PEOPLE GOOD	May they be good people,

34	X	Ka ²⁴ neq ³² sqwe ³ , POT:BE INDIVIDUAL GOOD	May they be upstanding citizens,
35	X	Ka ²⁴ kiqyu ¹ sqwe ³ , POT:BE MALE GOOD	May they be upright men,
36	X	Ka ²⁴ wqan ¹ sqwe ³ . POT:BE FEMALE GOOD	May they be upright women.
37	X	No ⁴ nka ²⁴ snyiq ³² kqya ² , THE.ONE PROG:BE CHILDREN MOUNTAINS	They are the children of the mountains,
38	X	No ⁴ nka ²⁴ snyiq ³² kchin ³² . THE.ONE PROG:BE CHILDREN COMMUNITY	They are the children of the people.

Part IV

39	XI	Qne ³² wa ⁴² re ² kqna ³ ne ² , PROG:DO WE(EXCL) HERE WORRY NOW	This is our care,
40	XII	Sa ⁴ nde ²⁰ eq ²⁰ yan ⁴² sti ⁴ wa ⁴² , LIKE THIS CPL:COME.AWAY FATHER WE(EXCL)	This was the way of our fathers,
41	XII	Sa ⁴ nde ²⁰ eq ²⁰ yan ⁴² yqan ¹ wa ⁴² , LIKE THIS CPL:COME.AWAY MOTHER WE(EXCL)	This was the way of our mothers.
42	XII	Sa ⁴ nde ²⁰ eq ²⁰ yan ⁴² kiqyu ¹ kla ²⁴ , LIKE THIS CPL:COME.AWAY MALE OLD	This was the way of the elder men,
43	XII	Sa ⁴ nde ²⁰ eq ²⁰ yan ⁴² wqan ¹ kla ²⁴ , LIKE THIS CPL:COME.AWAY WOMEN OLD	This was the way of the elder women,
44	XII	Ndya ³² wra ¹⁰ , CPL:COME HOUR	When the time came,
45	XII	Ndya ³² xa ³ , CPL:COME LIGHT	When the daylight came,
46	XIII	Jnya ¹ yaq ² , CPL:ASK HAND	With their hands they asked,
47	XIII	Jnya ¹ tqwa ¹ , CPL:ASK MOUTH	With their mouths they asked,
48	XIII	Ndon ⁴² jneq ⁴² , CPL:STAND GENUFLECT	They prostrated themselves,
49	XIII	Ndon ⁴² xtyinq ³ . CPL:STAND KNEES	And they knelt down.
50	XIV	A no ³ mbre ²⁴ nde ⁴ ndyo ¹⁴ , IN THE.NAME OF GOD	In the name of God,
51	XIV	Jesus Sa ⁴ nti ³ si ²⁴ ma ¹⁴ , JESUS SAINT	Holy Jesus,
52	XIV	Sa ³ nto ²⁴ y ³ ma ¹⁴ , SAINT SOUL	And the holy soul,
53	XIV	No ⁴ nka ²⁴ kiqyu ¹ kla ²⁴ , THE.ONE PROG:BE MALE OLD	The elder men
54	XIV	No ⁴ nka ²⁴ wqan ¹ kla ²⁴ , THE.ONE PROG:BE WOMEN OLD	The elder women,

- 55 XIV Ndwiq³² tlyu² Speak out strongly!
HAB:SPEAK BIG
- 56 XIV Sa⁴ nde²⁰ wra¹⁰, For all these hours,
FOR THIS HOUR
- 57 XIV Sa⁴ nde²⁰ xa³. For all these days.
FOR THIS LIGHT
- Part V
- 58 XV Naq⁴² jnya¹ yanq⁴² in²⁰, With my hands I ask it,
ISG PROG:ASK HAND:1SG INTJ
- 59 XV Naq⁴² jnya¹ tqwan²⁰ in²⁰, With my mouth I ask it,
ISG PROG:DO MOUTH:1SG INTJ
- 60 XV Naq⁴² qne¹ qna³ in²⁰, This is my care,
ISG PROG:DO WORRY INTJ
- 61 XV Naq⁴² qne¹ xnyi⁴ in²⁰, This is my true concern,
ISG PROG:DO PINE INTJ
- 62 XVI Sa⁴ nde²⁰eq²⁰ jnya¹ sten²⁴, Thus was the supplication of my father,
LIKE THIS CPL:ASK FATHER:1SG
- 63 XVI Sa⁴ nde²⁰eq²⁰ jnya¹ yqan²⁰, Thus was the supplication of my mother.
LIKE THIS CPL:ASK MOTHER:1SG
- 64 XVII Sa⁴ nde²⁰eq²⁰ jnya¹ chaq³ tlyu² Thus was their petition [lit. the forgiveness or
FOR THIS CPL:ASK THING BIG good things they made on my behalf],
- riq² qnya¹,
ESSENCE TO (ME)
- 65 XVII Tsan⁴ ntson⁴², The day I sprouted,
DAY CPL:SPROUT:1SG
- 66 XVII Tsan⁴ lan¹, The day I was born,
DAY CPL:BORN:1SG
- 67 XVII Tsan⁴ qyan⁴², The day I descended,
DAY CPL:COME.DOWN:1SG
- 68 XVII Tsan⁴ ndlyon⁴², The day I came down,
DAY CPL:FALL.DOWN:1SG
- 69 XVII Lo⁴ kwan⁴, To the sunlight,
ON SUNLIGHT
- 70 XVII Lo⁴ xa³, To the daylight,
ON LIGHT
- 71 XVII Xa⁴-lyu³². To the earth.
LIGHT-GROUND
- 72 XVIII Jnya¹ yaq² qnya⁴, On my behalf, they asked with their hands,
CPL:ASK HAND TO (ME)
- 73 XVIII Jnya¹ tqwa³² qnya¹, On my behalf, they asked with their mouths,
CPL:ASK MOUTH TO (ME)
- 74 XVIII Chaq³ kan²⁴ tnya³, So that I may become work,
SO.THAT POT:BE:1SG WORK

- 75 XVIII Chaq³ kan²⁴ kchin¹, So that I may become the people,
SO.THAT POT:BE:1SG COMMUNITY
- 76 XVIII Chaq³ tykwan⁴² lon¹, That I may lead,
SO.THAT POT:SIT.ELEVATED:1SG AHEAD:1SG
- 77 XVIII Chaq³ tykwen²⁰ ntyqan²⁴ qin²⁴, That I may follow,
SO.THAT POT:HANG:1SG FOLLOW:1SG TO
- 78 XVIII No⁴ nka²⁴ qya², The mountains,
THE.ONE PROG:BE MOUNTAIN
- 79 XVIII No⁴ nka²⁴ kchin¹, The people,
THE.ONE PROG:BE COMMUNITY
- 80 XVIII Sa³² nde² wra¹, For all these hours,
LIKE THIS HOUR
- 81 XVIII Sa³² nde² xa³. For all these days
LIKE THIS LIGHT

Part VI

- 82 XIX Tlyu² qa¹ no⁴ nka²⁴ sten³², For great is our father,
BIG EMPH THE.ONE PROG:BE FATHER:1SG
- 83 XIX Tlyu² qa¹ no⁴ nka²⁴ yqan²⁰, For great is our mother,
BIG EMPH THE.ONE PROG:BE MOTHER:1SG
- 84 XIX Tlyu² qa¹ no⁴ nka²⁴ sten¹en¹ For great is our father God.
BIG EMPH THE.ONE PROG:BE FATHER:1INCL
- ndyo¹⁴si¹⁰.
GOD
- 85 XX Ay Maria Santisima! Oh, Holy Mary!
OH MARY SAINT
- 86 XX Santo Patron San Juan Bautista! Our patron Saint John the Baptist!
SAINT PATRON SAN JOHN THE.BAPTIST
- 87 XXI Nka⁴² sten⁴, You are my father,
PROG:BE:2SG FATHER:1SG
- 88 XXI Nka⁴ yqan²⁰. You are my mother.
PROG:BE:2SG MOTHER:1SG
- 89 XXII Qwen⁴ ndwa²⁰ qo¹ no⁴ lye⁴², You are seated in health,
2SG PROG:SIT:2SG WITH THE.ONE HEALTHY
- 90 XXII Ndwa²⁰ qo¹ no⁴ tkwa³, You are seated in power,
PROG:SIT:2SG WITH THE.ONE POWER
- 91 XXII Ndwa²⁰ qo¹ jwe⁴-sa¹ in²⁰, You are seated in strength,
PROG:SIT:2SG WITH STRENGTH INTJ
- 92 XXII Ndwa²⁰ qo¹ wa⁴loq¹⁴, You are seated in courage,
PROG:SIT:2SG WITH COURAGE
- 93 XXIII Ne² wa⁴² re² ntqan³² Now we are kneeling down,
TODAY WE(EXCL) HERE PROG:GOING.AROUND
- xtyinq³ wa⁴²,
KNEE US(EXCL)

94	XXIII	Wa ⁴² re ² jnya ¹ yaq ² wa ⁴² ,	We are asking with our hands,
		WE(EXCL) HERE PROG:ASK HAND US(EXCL)	
95	XXIII	Wa ⁴² re ² jnya ¹ tqwa ³² wa ⁴² ,	We are asking with our mouths,
		WE(EXCL) HERE PROG:ASK MOUTH US(EXCL)	
96	XXIV	Ndon ⁴² xtyinq ⁴² ,	I knelt down,
		STAND KNEE:1SG	
97	XXIV	Sweq ¹ lon ³² ,	Scraping my face on the ground,
		SCRAPE FACE:1SG	
98	XXIV	Sweq ¹ kyanq ³² .	Scraping my feet.
		SCRAPE FEET:1SG	
99	XXV	Nka ⁴² sten ⁴ ,	For you are my father,
		PROG:BE:2SG FATHER:1SG	
100	XXV	Nka ⁴² yqan ²⁰ ,	For you are my mother,
		PROG:BE:2SG MOTHER:1SG	
101	XXV	Tlyu ² qa ¹ qwen ³² nka ⁴² sten ⁴ ,	For great you are, my father,
		BIG EMPH 2SG PROG:BE:2SG FATHER:1SG	
102	XXVI	Tlyu ² qa ¹ qwen ³² nka ⁴² yqan ²⁰ ,	For great you are, my mother,
		BIG EMPH 2SG PROG:BE:2SG MOTHER:1SG	
103	XXVI	Tlyu ² qa ¹ no ⁴ nka ²⁴ Patron,	For great is our Patron Saint,
		BIG EMPH THE.ONE PROG:BE PATRON	
104	XXVI	Neq ² kwan ² ,	In the heavens,
		INSIDE ABOVE	
105	XXVI	Xa ⁴ -lyu ³² ,	On earth,
		LIGHT-GROUND	
106	XXVII	Nka ⁴² sten ³² ,	You are my father,
		PROG:BE:2SG FATHER:1SG	
107	XXVII	Nka ⁴² yqan ²⁰ .	You are my mother,
		PROG:BE:2SG MOTHER:1SG	
108	XXVII	En el nombre de dios de los santos,	In the name of God and the Saints,
		IN THE NAME OF GOD OF THE SAINTS	
109	XXVII	Ave maria santisima,	Holy mother Mary,
		AVE MARIA SAINT	
110	XXVII	Tlyu ² qa ¹ no ²⁴ nka ²⁴ sten ⁴ ,	Great is our father,
		BIG EMPH THE.ONE PROG:BE FATHER:1SG	
111	XXVII	Sin pecado concebido,	Conceived without sin,
		WITHOUT SIN CONCEIVE	
112	XXVII	Tlyu ² qa ¹ no ²⁴ nka ²⁴ yqan ²⁰ ,	Great is our mother,
		BIG EMPH THE.ONE PROG:BE MOTHER:1SG	
113	XXVII	Por la señal de la santa kru ³ .	By the sign of the holy cross.
		BY THE SIGN OF THE SAINT CROSS	

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Parallelism in Arandic Song-Poetry

Myfany Turpin

Introduction

The song-poetry performed by the Arandic people of central Australia is characterized by parallelism of sound, form, and meaning in both auditory and visual modalities. Parallelism here refers to the organized co-occurrence of elements to the extent that each resembles the other, but the elements are not identical to one another (for example, Frog 2014 and Fabb this volume). In Arandic song-poetry we find that adjacent elements as well as elements presented simultaneously in different modalities like song and dance, often resemble each other in a variety of ways. Consider the Anmatyerr couplet below, whose lines A and B exhibit parallelism in both form and meaning:

(1)

A **lyel ka rra tyi nha rel re rra ngka me**
 lyelkarr ayinh arlererr-angk-em
 headband 1sgPOS whoosh-sound-PRS
 My ceremonial headband is whooshing through the air.¹

B **itye ke nha tyi nha rle re rra ngka me**
 iltye-kenh atyinh arlererr-angk-em
 hand-POS 1sgPOS whoosh-sound-PRS
 My hand-held object is whooshing through the air.

(w-ilkew25)²

The rhythm in both lines of the couplet is identical, but the text differs, albeit minimally. The syntax and vocabulary are largely the same, with both lines ending with the verb “to make a

¹The translations provided in this article are as literal as possible to give the reader a sense of the poetic form of the original.

²Couplets are referenced by a code that shows their genre, song set, and number identifying the verse.

whooshing sound.” Only the initial words differ in lines A and B, though both have the same number of syllables and refer to the same intransitive subject. Line A begins with a poetic word for a ceremonial headband, *lyerlkarr*. This term is replaced in Line B with an indirect expression, *iltya-kenh*, literally “belonging to the hands,” a metonym for a hand-held ceremonial dancing prop. Each line thus concatenates different semantic aspects of a single argument: “a ceremonial headband held by dancers.” This couplet is accompanied by a dance in which the performers hold both ends of a headband while moving it through the air to create a whooshing sound. Here semantic parallelism spills into the visual domain, as the objects and sounds lexicalized in the text are enacted through the hands and movements of the dancers. A similar dance to the one that accompanies the couplet in (1) is performed by other Arandic groups who have their own set of songs, differing in form but having similar themes (see Fig. 1):



Fig. 1. Lena Ngal and Rosie Ngwarray performing the accompanying dance for the Alyawarr Antarrengeny verse “The headbands made it glisten / The shimmering horizon” (Turpin and Ross 2013:33). (w-ntarr14) Photo by M. Carew, 2011.

Parallelism thus does not only operate at the level of the verse, but also at the level of the “song,” that is, the set of inherited verses that belong to each land-holding group (often called “song sets” or “song series”). Across these land-holding groups that span multiple languages there are recurrent themes, dances, and poetic form. In traditional central Australian society,

establishing far-reaching social networks was crucial to survival. Parallelism across the song sets of different linguistic groups may have helped create relationships and cohesion at a broad societal level, since a shared poetic-musical style may have contributed to a sense of shared identity.

This essay shows that parallelism of form and meaning is a pervasive feature in Arandic song-poetry. As a point of departure, I take Jakobson's (1966) cross-linguistic survey of parallelism, in which he notes that there are gaps in many parts of the world (1966:103). Since the publication of this study, there have been numerous studies of parallelism in poetry from the Pacific (Fox 2014), Papua New Guinea (Rumsy and Niles 2011), and the Americas (Gossen 1974; Sherzer 1983 ; Sherzer and Urban 1986; and Epps et al. 2017), yet very little from Australia (although see Walsh 2010). Building on the work of Jakobson (1966), I show that parallelism operates at all levels of the structure of Arandic song-poetry (hemistich, line, couplet, verse, song, genre) and activates all aspects of language, including the visual domain of communication. I also consider the functions of parallelism, drawing on Jakobson's (1960) notion of the "poetic function," the use of language to draw attention to itself. One role of the poetic function is to delimit or constrain the interpretation of Arandic song poetry. For example, in (1) above, the line in a couplet acts as a guide or reference point for how to interpret the other line (compare with Jakobson 1966:102). Another role of the poetic function suggested here is that it does things in Arandic society, drawing on the notion that brings about "metaphysical manipulation as relevant to the goals of the incantation" rather than simply evoke (Epps et al. 2017:67). That is, the poetic function is not only evidence of the ceremonial context of Arandic-song poetry, but it also contributes to the knowledge that one is performing rituals that have the ability to transcend the everyday realm and cause effects in the world (that is, accessing supernatural powers). As suggested above, such shared knowledge may have assisted in creating far-reaching social networks.

This essay focuses on parallelism in rhythm, phonology, grammar, and lexicon of Arandic song poetry. While parallelism is also a feature of the melodic and the visual modality, such an analysis is beyond the scope of this essay. Parallelism, in all its manifestations, operates at multiple levels of the hierarchically structured poetic form. The structure of this essay is as follows: in the remainder of this section I introduce the Arandic people, give a brief outline of the genre, and discuss the current corpus. In the next section I identify types of sound parallelism, showing that these operate at a variety of structural levels. Further on, I identify grammatical and morphological parallelism and then lexical parallelism, both of which are most evident at the level of the line. Following this, I identify semantic parallelism within and beyond the level of the couplet and thematic parallelism, and I conclude with a discussion of the role of parallelism in Arandic societies.

Arandic Languages and People

"Arandic" is a linguistic term that refers to a subgroup within the broader Pama-Nyungan language family that covers the greater portion of Australia. Arandic refers to a group of closely related language varieties spoken in central Australia. The term was initially used by Hale (1962) who later referred to the group as a "language-dialect complex" (1983:78). The Arandic group

can be divided into two subgroups with a number of distinct varieties and up to eleven communalects (Breen 2001:47). Fig. 2 shows the location of Arandic varieties on which this study is based, as well as neighboring linguistic subgroups. Estimates of the total number of Arandic language-speaking people range from 4,500-6,000. The languages and their performance traditions are highly endangered and have only been orally transmitted until very recently. Traditionally, multilingualism was the norm, so it is not surprising that songs and dances draw on the lexicon and iconography of multiple varieties of Arandic.

An important ethnographic work on song-poetry from this region is Strehlow's (1971) *Songs of Central Australia*, which proved the existence of an oral literature of "high culture" in Aboriginal societies. This monumental work, however, consists almost entirely of men's song—poetry that Arandic people regard as excluded from the public domain and restricted solely to

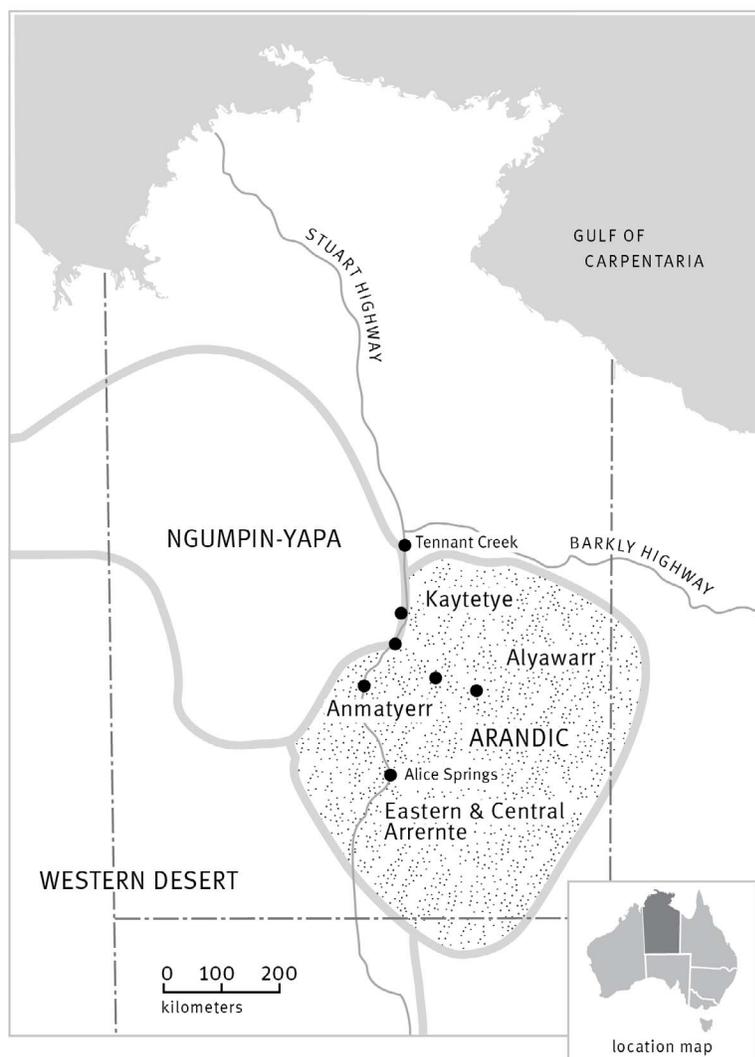


Fig. 2. Map showing the Arandic varieties and two neighboring subgroups that have similar song-poetry (Ngumpin-Yapa and Western Desert). Map by Ben Foley.

initiated men. In contrast, the present study focuses on a genre of women's non-restricted song-poetry called *awelye* [awúlɛ],³ and thus the recordings and analysis can be further investigated, and indeed many are publicly available (Campbell et al. 2009 and 2015; Turpin 2004; Turpin and Ross 2013; Turpin and Laughren 2014).

Awelye Song-Poetry

In the period known as the Dreaming, ancestral spirit beings traveled the land, created the features, and initiated lore through their actions and song. This included the creation of women's songs called *awelye*, which are practiced across the Arandic region and relate to their inherited estates. *Awelye* is sung as a series of many short verses. Each verse refers to a particular place, ancestor, or an action that the ancestor performed, such as seed harvesting. A performance involves a group of women singing verses in unison to

³For a description of this genre, its transmission, and its different names, see Barwick and Turpin (2016).

their estate's melody;⁴ and in many cases performing accompanying actions such as painting designs on the body, standing a ritual pole in the ground, or dancing. The verses and their accompanying dances and designs are said to have been created by ancestors who then gave them to their living descendants, typically in their sleep. Some have been received recently, while others have been transmitted orally since time immemorial.

These days few people receive new verses, and there are only a handful of people able to interpret their lyrics. While this is in part due to the decline in *awelye* practice, it is also due to a cultural restriction that permits only the most senior owners of the set to interpret the verses (Barwick and Turpin 2016). There is no explicit teaching of the song lyrics; people learn by observing, and when they gain confidence, they join in the singing. The dancing and the body designs, however, are sometimes explicitly taught, as are the broader meanings of the songs.

Performance of *awelye* involves singing a verse repeatedly (usually between 2-6 times) without interruption until the end of the much longer melody. This "song item" lasts approximately 30-40 seconds (Barwick 1989:13). In addition to the repetition of a verse within a song item, in performance at least two song items of each verse must be performed before the performer moves on to another verse. Thus any given verse is usually heard at least eight times and often more.

The analysis in this essay is based on my own fieldwork over many years, through which I have documented twelve sets of *awelye*, spanning four Arandic languages: Kaytetye, Alyawarr, Arrernte, and Anmatyerr.⁵ Some sets have only a handful of verses, while others have over 50. The corpus consists of some 350 verses totaling some 600 poetic lines.⁶

Sound Parallelism

Arandic song-poetry shows parallelism of phonology (rhyme sound-patterning), rhythm, and meter at various levels within the units of performance. At the largest level there is sound patterning within the level of the verse (usually a quatrain), and at the smallest, the patterning is within the line at the level of the hemistich or half-line.

Sound-Patterning

In Arandic song-poetry, two types of sound-patterning occur at the edges of lines within a quatrain: line-final rhyme and line-initial consonant repetition. The quatrain consists of a couplet,

⁴See Turpin (2007:11-112) for a discussion of the relationships between text and melody in *awelye*.

⁵The spelling of Arandic words follows the standard orthography developed for each language. These differ in significant ways despite phonetic similarities between the languages. Words that are shared across Arandic language are written here in the Kaytetye orthography (Turpin and Ross 2012).

⁶I use the term "verse" to refer to a song and its associated dance or other action.

- (4) A *weyaway lerna*
 B *peyaway lerna*
 (w-kwely22)
- (5) A *narlkenya latyawa*
 B *narlkenya latya*
 (w-kwely24)

Such parallelism is a method of couplet formation, unlike the performance-level sound patterning described below that forms a pattern at the level of the quatrain (AA₁B₁B). It is within the couplet—line formation—that most types of parallelism occur.

Rhythmic Parallelism within the Couplet

There is no fixed line length in *awelye*. Lines within a couplet can resemble one another rhythmically in three different ways:

- (a) complete identity, that is, same quality and quantity of dipods⁹ as in (1);
 (b) different quality but same quantity of dipods, as in (6);
 (c) different quality and different quantity of dipods, as in (7) and (8).

A couplet whose lines have identical rhythm never have identical texts. An example of such a couplet can be seen in (1), wherein both lines have four dipods of three different qualities. Dipods two and three are the same, and differ from both dipods one and four.

Couplets with lines of different quality but the same quantity of dipods are particularly common. An example can be seen in (6), where both lines have two dipods but Line A has six notes and Line B five¹⁰:

(6)	A	: 			: :	B	: 			:
	<i>Arrkelarr</i>			<i>tyenantya</i>		<i>Larlperral</i>			<i>perra</i>	
	<i>aherrke-le</i>			<i>arrtyenantye</i>		<i>arlperr-arlperre-le</i>				
	The sun is shining					On the copse of whitewood trees				

(w-kwely11)

Lines within a couplet may also contrast in number of dipods. In (7) Line A has four dipods and Line B has two. In (8) the two lines differ in quality as well as in the quantity of dipods:

⁹A dipod is a rhythmic unit of poetry (for example, trochee, dactyl), which can be made up of strong and weak, or short and long syllables/notes.

¹⁰There are no couplets in Arandic song-poetry whose lines make use of the same quality and quantity of dipods with a different arrangement, possibly because there is often a preferred order of dipods (see, for example, Turpin 2015:73).

(7) A  B 

Lerala rimerla nkityinya rrerneka tyawarra rrerneka
The smooth designs much envied were put on The ones from Tyaw were put on
(w-tyaw12)

(8) A  B 

kwerraty melpel pelatya rrerna priltyi ngkatya rrerna
I, a girl, put on the healing oil The delicious lerp I create
(w-kwely3)

These examples also show that the line itself can be made up of parallel rhythmic structures. For example, the two halves of (6A) and (7A) are identical, and those of (8A) are nearly identical.

Metrical Parallelism within the Song Set

Within a song set we find couplets that are identical in their rhythmic text but differ in their meter. The two meters are used throughout the couplets of any one song set, and in this sense the metrical contrast is parallel or recurring. Two such couplets are shown in (9). Here the verse of (9a) is in a slow duple time and that of (9b), which has the same text, is faster and polyrhythmic: a duple meter vocal line sung against a triple meter clap beat:

(9) A “slow”
MM♩=106 

x x x x x x x x

B “fast”
MM♩=164 

x x x x x x x x

tyarawi tyarerla tnenheka tyawanta murrarla
distantly=REL standing Tyaw-only best
In the distance they stood The ones from Tyaw were the best
(w-tyaw18)

Like the rhythm, the dances of these verses also differ, in that one is slow and the other fast. The fast verse often refers to the culmination of an extended action, such as movement towards the ceremonial pole, culminating at the point when the pole is within the reach of the dancers. Thus while Verses 18a and 18b have an identical rhythmic-text, the fast tempo and polyrhythm reflect a highpoint in an action extending over time and space. Such “twin” verses are performed sequentially, so the tempo and meter become the only contrasting elements in otherwise identically adjacent verses. Arandic song-poetry never permits total identity at the structural

levels of hemistich, line, couplet, or verse. Rhythmic, textual, or metrical (and tempo) variation, —often in the form of parallelism—is always required. This suggests that variation, as a cognitive effect, can jointly operate at both rhythmic and textual levels.

Grammatical Parallelism

Couplets frequently consist of two lines that have the same word order, despite the fact that word order is not syntactic in these languages (Turpin and Ross 2012:29). They often have the same morphological inflections as well, even when the stems differ. This grammatical parallelism is illustrated below.

Part of Speech Parallelism

Most lines of Arandic song-poetry consist of a nominal followed by a verb, as in (9A). The grammatical roles of the nouns in the couplets will be discussed later.¹¹ There are, however, some songs whose lines consist of just nominals.¹² In such cases the verb is inferred, as in (10):

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|--------------------|
| (10) | A | <i>wulpere</i> | <i>ntyinyintye</i> |
| | | quick | red_mallee |
| | | Quickly (go towards) the red mallee trees | |
| | B | <i>wulperel</i> | <i>pere</i> |
| | | quick-quick | |
| | | Quickly, quickly. | |
| | | (w-kwely13) | |

Couplets may consist of one line with a verb and one without, as in (11) which has a nominal in both lines and a verb only in Line B.

- | | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------------|----------------|
| (11) | A | <i>niwarni</i> | <i>wilarla</i> |
| | | front-LOC=REL | |
| | | Up ahead | |
| | B | <i>tywarteka</i> | <i>relhaka</i> |
| | | rain-SEMB | see-MED-PST |
| | | It looks as if it's raining | |
| | | (w-tyaw11) | |

¹¹ Line final verbs are also a feature of *Dyirbal* Aboriginal song poetry (Dixon and Koch 1996:14). Fox (2014:103) notes that noun+verb is a common line structure in poetry cross-linguistically.

¹² For example, the Kaytetye rain song set (Turpin 2005:50, Appendix 1).

Couplets in which the lines have no parts of speech in common are not attested; that is, there are no couplets in which one line consists solely of one or more verbs while the other is made up of one or more nominals. This suggests that there must be some sort of minimal contrast, rather than complete juxtaposition, in terms of the parts of speech in the lines of a verse. A preference for minimal contrast in relation to the music has also been observed in Western Australian Aboriginal songs (Treloyn 2007).

Morphological Parallelism

Arandic languages are agglutinative, so it is perhaps not surprising to find a great deal of morphological parallelism, especially in verbs.¹³ An example of morphological parallelism is shown in (12), where the verb stems differ but the inflections are the same: *-enh-ek*:

(12) 

A	<i>kurrpari</i> <i>kwerrpar</i> dancing_stick They grabbed the ceremonial pole	<i>renhapa</i> <i>renh=ap</i> 3ACC=EMPH	<i>nenheka</i> <i>in-enh-ek</i> get-PATH-PST
---	---	---	--



B	<i>lemarla</i> <i>alem=arl</i> liver=REL They cried with their hearts for the ceremonial pole	<i>mperrgarla</i> <i>amperrng=arl</i> sadness=REL	<i>nenheka</i> <i>artn-enh-ek</i> cry-PATH-PST
---	--	---	--

(w-tyaw22)

The inflection *-enh-* signals that the action happens while on a path of motion, and it is ubiquitous in the Alyawarr song sets (77 out of the 107 lines discussed in Turpin 2015:83-93).

Lexical Parallelism

Where two lines of a couplet partially share the same lexemes, they are said to be lexically parallel. Where the parallel lexemes have the same rhythm, as in (1), they are considered “formulaic frames” (Fox 2014:175). In most cases the substitute lexeme is in the initial position, although final and intermediate positions are also possible. I discuss each of these below.

¹³ Morphological parallelism in verbs is also found in many other oral traditions (Fox 2014:219).

Variable Element in Initial Position

The variable element is most often the first word of a line, and the subsequent lexeme(s) are the same. This is exemplified in (13), wherein the two place names underlined are substituted. This is the position associated with new information in spoken Arandic languages, which, like most Australian languages are syntactically free word-order languages:

- (13) A “Tyarenp-tyarenp” *akirrerrerrl-alhern* “Tyarenp-atyarenp” (we) named it and went on
 B “Arlpepenty Artep” *akirrerrerrl-alhern* “Arlpepenty Artep” (we) named it and went on
 (w-ilkew23)

Fabb (2015:116) refers to this as “line final cadence” and suggests that such regularity between lines reduces processing effort, thus increasing a person’s capacity to remember lines. Line final cadences are also common in Dyirbal song-poetry from Australia (Dixon and Koch 1996:58). In Arandic (and Dyirbal) song-poetry the substituted elements invariably have the same number of syllables, and therefore in some cases the substitution involves more than one lexeme. This can be seen in (14), wherein line A consists of three words corresponding to one word in Line B, *wetyerrpetyerrp*, a poetic word meaning “beautiful ceremonial designs”:

- (14) A *Iltyelay kwey nta athernerl-arernernek* With your finger, girl, you spread them out
 B *Wetyerrpetyerrp athernerl-arernernek* So beautifully, (you) spread them out
 (w-ilkew26)

Thematic Role Alternation

Substitution of the initial position is frequently filled by two thematic roles of a single clause, retaining the verb in both lines. This can be seen in (15), wherein the subject, a song-giving ancestral woman, is replaced with the object, a poetic word for a thorny devil lizard, in the alternate line.¹⁴ The transitive verb “to cook” is retained in both lines (as in 14):

- (15) A *Kwerrimpelarl ampernerl-anek* The ancestral woman was cooking
 B *Tharnkerrth-arnkerrth ampernerl-anek* A thorny devil lizard, (she) was cooking
 (w-ntarr23)

The substituted nominal may have other semantic roles. Example (16) has a locative phrase in Line B and (17) has an instrumental phrase in Line B (Campbell et al. 2015:40):

¹⁴ The everyday word for this lizard is *arnkerrth*. Words of the poetic register are frequently a partial reduplication pattern $\sigma_1\sigma_2\sigma_3\sigma_2\sigma_3$ such as the poetic word for this lizard (*Moloch horridus*). This is another level at which sound parallelism operates.

- (19) A *Kwerre atye mer/perle/perle atye arrerne* The girl, I make healthy
 B *Kwerrimpele atye arrerne* I, an ancestral woman, make (her healthy)
 (w-kwely3)

Variable Element in Final Position

When the variable element is in line-final position it is most frequently a verb. This is exemplified in (20) where the identically inflected verbs, both rarely encountered in speech, refer to aspects of performance. The ideophone *arlererr-angke-* (“to whoosh”) conjures up images of headbands moving quickly through the air; while *arlwert-ilpangke-* connotes the girl’s visual brilliance, either from her bright designs or fast dancing, as she appears to rise above the ground like a mirage:

- (20) A *Irrwelyelan kweyan arlererr-angkerlan* At Irrwely the girl whooshed (as she danced)
 B *Irrwelyelan kweyan arlwertilp-angkerlan* At Irrwely the girl rose in her shining brilliance
 (w-ilkew16)

This couplet illustrates how verbs can be part of a motif relating to the events within *awelye* performance itself. More will be said about this later.

Variable Element in Intermediate Position

Very occasionally the variable element is in medial position. This is exemplified in (21) where words for “oil” and “women’s ceremonial designs” are substituted¹⁵:

- (21) A *Kwerrep-kwerrel anter nte arrerneme* All the girls you adorned with oil
 B *Kwerrep-kwerrel awely nte arrerneme* All the girls you adorned with designs
 (w-ilkew2)

A further couplet (22) places “women’s ceremonial designs” in a synonymous pair with the word *arlkeny* “designs.” The semantic relationship between these can also be considered a type of part-whole relationship, as *awelye* is a specific type of *arlkeny* “design”:

- (22) A *Kwerrek-atherran awely malangk* The two girls with beautiful ceremonial
 women’s designs
 B *Kwerrek-atherran arlkeny malangk* The two girls with beautiful designs
 (w-ilkew24)

¹⁵ In everyday speech *awelye* means “women’s ceremony” but in song it refers specifically to body designs.

Lexical Parallelism within the Line

Some lines consist of a repeated hemistich (half-line). There is, however, always one minor difference to either the rhythm or the text. The second hemistich often has one less rhythmic syllable. This can be seen in (23), a line that consists of a repeated poetic word for “adorned upper arm” *kwelantya-alantye*.¹⁶ The first hemistich adds a vocable *na*, differentiating it from the second¹⁷:

(23)

kwelantya-lantya na *kwelantya -lantya*

(w-kwely1A)

In other cases the second hemistich has an identical lexicon to the first, but the repetition differs rhythmically. The Anmatyerr native current song set makes frequent use of this parallelism to create lines, an example of which is given in (24), where Line A consists of a repeated “they went west,” and line B consists of a repeated “performing a shuffling dance.” Rhythmically, the second hemistich differs significantly from the first. Note that the hemistich-final consonants form part of an anacrusis to the following hemistich/musical phrase (Hale 1984), a process also found in Tashliyt Berber (Dell and Elmedlaoui 2008):

(24)

Line A ***tu li nya la lhi nar***
altwerleny=arl alh-ern altwerleny=arl alh-ern
west=REL go-RPS west=REL go-RPS
They went west, they went west

Line B ***tye li yarnta no marr tye li ya rnta no mal***
arrtyelay rntwern-em arrtyelay rntwern-em
shuffle dance-PRS shuffle dance-PRS
Performing a shuffling dance, performing a shuffling dance

(w-ilkew13)

¹⁶ Again this word illustrates the preferred partial repetition pattern for poetic words.

¹⁷ In the neighboring language Warumungu, this genre also shows a strong preference for hemistich parallelism using the vocable *na* in this way (Barwick 2000:329).

Lexical Parallelism within the Song Set

The same line may occur in more than one couplet and, sometimes, in as many as four (Turpin 2015:88). Such couplets need not be adjacent. They are, however, usually performed in close succession and often share a single theme or meaning. Example (25) shows two couplets that share the same B line. Both A lines begin with the same word “limestone” (*ulterntan*) and while their verbs differ in form, they both have similar meanings. Both A lines connote a mirage, which makes the limestone hills appear closer than they are in reality. The B line may also be a metaphor for the dancers piercing the sky with their ceremonial headbands.

- | | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (25) | A | <i>Ulterntan alwert-ilpangkem</i> | The limestone was lifted and exposed |
| | B | <i>Alernngel iltyel rnternem</i> | The rays of sun pierced the sky |
| | | | (w-ilkew15) |

- | | | | |
|--|---|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | A | <i>Ulterntan itenty-amperlan</i> | The limestone rose |
| | B | <i>Alernngel iltyel rnternem</i> | The rays of sun pierced the sky |
| | | | (w-ilkew17) |

Couplets that share a line may also differ in meaning. Earlier, we saw how the alternate line of a couplet may reveal the object or some other theme of a single clause. In the same way, couplets that share a line may also select one couplet for one theme and the other couplet for another. This is the case in (26), wherein the A line of the couplet contains an instrumental phrase (“with the finger”), and the A line of the second couplet contains the object (“the ceremonial designs”).

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|
| (26) | A | <i>Iltyelay kwey nte athernerl-arrernek</i> | With your finger, girl, you spread them out |
| | B | <i>Wetyerrpetyerrp athernerl-arrernek</i> | So beautifully, spread them out |
| | | | (w-ilkew26) |

- | | | | |
|--|---|--|---|
| | A | <i>Arlkeny kwey nte athernerl-arrernek</i> | The ceremonial designs, girl, you spread them out |
| | B | <i>Wetyerrpetyerrp athernerl-arrernek</i> | So beautifully, spread them out |
| | | | (w-ilkew27) |

Semantic Parallelism

In this section I discuss how lines within a couplet can be semantically parallel without necessarily having parallel forms. Semantic parallelism in *awelye* is of three broad types. In one type, lines within a couplet can refer to the same thing using different words. In another type, two couplets provide complementary information to express a larger idea. In the final and most widespread type of semantic parallelism, adjacent lines and couplets refer to the theme of *awelye* performance itself. This is a powerful device for transcending the everyday world as it blends the here-and-now with the ancestral realm in a highly ritualized way. Thematic parallelism is a

regulating force in the selection of vocabulary and thus a type of canonical parallelism. Other related characteristics are the tendency to use the first person in the lines, the use of ancestral women as actors, and the use of vocabulary that refers to luminosity, which is an aesthetic quality highlighted in the visual domain of performance.

Synonymy

Commonly, one line of the couplet provides more specific or general information about what is described in the other. In (27) the term “ancestral woman” is replaced with “curly-headed,” narrowing the referent to a specific ancestral woman (Turpin 2015:79):¹⁸

- (27) A *Kwerrimparlay arnperlp-arnpenhek* The ancestral woman set off on her way
 B *Aka amikw-amikw arnperlp-arnpenhek* The curly-headed woman set off on her way
 (w-ntarr21)

In some cases the more specific term has a figurative meaning. In (28) the general word for ceremonial designs is replaced with a term denoting “yellow.” This is not the everyday word for yellow, but in the context of *awelye* this yellow-flowering plant is understood as “yellow ochre.”

- (28) A *Arlkeny-aperlay rnternelh-erlanern* The ceremonial designs were adorned
 B *Yawerrawerrarl rnternelh-erlanern* The yellow was adorned
 (w-ilkew7)

There are some instances in which the more specific term is associated with a specific context, as in (29) where the everyday word *anter* (“fat, oil”) is substituted with the less-common *rtway* (“oil/fat used for healing purposes”) (Turpin 2015:83):

- (29) A *Anterarl arrernerl-aneke* The oil was adorned
 B *Rtwayarl arrernerl-aneke* The healing oil was adorned
 (w-ntarr56)

Sometimes the synonymous pairs are place names, and they may be true synonyms or refer to nearby places, as in (30).

- (30) A *Alererrepentyarl arenherl-aniem* (The place) Alererrepenty came into view
 B *Arrkeytepenty alernelhenhek* At Arrkeytepenty they rested
 (w-ntarr5)

There are times when the synonymous pairs refer to the painting and the body part painted as in (31). In this couplet the poetic word meaning “adorned upper arm” is based on *akwa* “upper

¹⁸ See Turpin and Ross (2013:14) for a story that recalls this particular ancestor.

arm.” This word is not in the singers’ language but is used instead of Kaytetye words like *tyarlenye* “arm” or *ertnwethe* “elbow, upper arm.”

- (31) *Akwe-lantyelantyarne akwe-lantyelantye* The ceremonially painted upper arm, x2
Awelyewe arrerne The ceremonial designs were adorned
(w-kwely1)

As noted earlier, people traditionally spoke multiple Arandic varieties, and this multilingualism was exploited fully in song-poetry, as the verses select dialectal variants from across the Arandic language-dialect complex to create semantic parallelism (Turpin and Green 2010:301). While this “extends comprehension and communication beyond single speech communities” (Fox 2014:125), the language ideology across central Australia is that songs are in the language of ancestral beings rather than in dialects. Here songs are strictly associated with land ownership, and so the relegating of language to the ancestral realm may wipe the texts clean of any territorial affiliation and instead bestow upon them a common ancestral past. Evans (2003:29) notes that such ideologies may “act as a selective force favoring particular reconfigurations of structure,” and this particular ideology may have facilitated the borrowing of vocabulary and sharing of poetry and poetic forms.

Parallelism in Couplet Pairs

Some couplets form a pair as they present complementary information about a particular event. Example (32) shows two sequentially sung couplets that refer to an occasion where an ancestral woman, seeing her husband return from a hunt somewhat battered, asks him what has happened (Turpin 2015:91).

- (32) A *Irrtyartarl anperang akenherlanek?* Did the spear snap in two?
 B *Arengelamay atwek?* Did a euro attack you?¹⁹
(w-ntarr78)

- A *Kwerrimpelay angkenherl-anek* The ancestral woman said
 B *Ilekarlamay arlkwek?* “What got stuck into you?”
(w-ntarr53)

Sometimes such couplets may even form triplets, presenting multiple aspects of a single narrative event.

Thematic Parallelism

A common theme throughout Arandic song-poetry is the song-giving ancestors performing ceremonies, which I refer to as the *awelye* schema. This tendency goes well beyond

¹⁹ A euro (*Macropus robustus*) is a type of large wallaby.

central Australia, as Barwick (2006) refers to the prevalence of “songs about performance” in northern Australia.²⁰ Self-referencing has aesthetic effects at many levels. In one sense, songs about songs create a sense of infinity reminiscent of “the last visible dog.”²¹ Additionally, these couplets are accompanied by an enactment of the actions to which they refer, just as we saw in (1). Green (2014:42) similarly notes a Western Desert song in which the text and accompanying actions refer to one and the same thing—a traditional women’s sand-drawing practice. Self-referentiality can also be created through the accompanying painting-up stage of a performance, as in (33), which is a song to complete the final stage of painting-up, involving the application of white ochre on the ceremonial body designs (Turpin 2015:84):

- (33) A *Ngwenty-ngwentyarl arrernerl-aneke* Adorned with white ochre
 B *Arlkeny marany alimarranke* The traditional designs glistened
 (w-ntarr76)

Frog (2014:202) describes ritual actions performed in conjunction with a verbal text describing the activity as having a “magical effect,” whereby “the orders of representation collapse and the parallelism converges into an immediate identity.” Combined with multi-modal parallelism, the *awelye* schema establishes parallelism between the performers and their song-giving ancestors: the *awelye* ceremonies performed now are also those that were enacted by their ancestors.

Couplets that refer to the *awelye* schema occur at specific stages of performance.²² These are: the opening and closing song, which may involve the placement/removal of a ceremonial pole,²³ painting up, and dancing. An *awelye* performance is a symbolic reenactment of the physical journey taken by ancestral beings. The opening song symbolizes the summoning of spirits from underground, and the closing song puts them safely back under the earth again. They resemble what Frog (2014:197) calls “boundary formulae” which “mark both the beginning and conclusion of the journey.”²⁴ Songs that refer to other topics, such as places and historical events, frequently lack an accompanying dance. As Fig. 3 implies, *awelye* themed couplets accompany specific actions in the ceremony:

²⁰ Barwick (2006) uses this phrase in describing this same phenomenon in northern Australian Aboriginal songs. Moyle (1997:33) refers to this phenomenon in Western Desert songs as “self-referencing” and “autobiographical.”

²¹ This is a reference to Russel Hoban’s (1967) children’s novel *The mouse and his child*. “The last visible dog” refers to a can of dog food with a label picturing a can of dog food, with a label picturing a can of dog food, and so on, as far as the eye can see.

²² An *awelye* performance need not involve all stages. Painting and dancing may be omitted, in which case these stages are cut short, and performances that involve painting and dancing may leave out the couplets that do not accompany actions.

²³ Much more could be said about the symbolic identity of ritual objects and the dancing ground, especially in the use of cardinal directions, which, as Frog (2014:203) notes, reciprocally inform their own meaning in performance.

²⁴ See also “boundary markers” in Lamb (2015:236).



Fig. 3. Stages within an *awelye* performance. Songs that accompany actions are shaded, and their relative size gives an approximate indication of their length in performance.

Couplets that refer to the *awelye* schema are found in all song sets and they make up a significant proportion of the total couplets in any given set. Additionally, the substitutions are drawn from a delimited semantic domain, and thus the parallelism can be considered “canonical” (Fox 2014:15, 47). A line need not contain vocabulary specific to *awelye* to refer to this schema; the alternate line may be enough to signal a meaning in this domain. Example (34) illustrates a couplet that refers to the process of painting ceremonial designs. Line A refers to an *awelye* painting brush, *tyepal*, (which was inadequate here), and Line B, the subsequent use of a finger in place of a brush:

- | | | | |
|------|---|--|---|
| (34) | A | <i>Tyepal akengel rnternerl-arrenek</i> | With a no-good brush they were painted on |
| | B | <i>Iltyelay kweyel athernerl-arrenek</i> | With a finger, girl (you) laid them out |
| | | | (w-ilkew6) |

The use of the word *tyepal*, a special brush for applying *awelye* designs, creates an expectation that the alternate line will also refer to this domain. The breadth of meanings that these cultural images and networks (for example, finger/brush) connote has not yet been fully explored. It is, however, clear that seemingly mundane words such as “finger” or “pillow” suddenly become powerful when they occur in the context of *awelye*: they become “primed as potential symbols with the activation of a performance arena, both empirical and imaginal” (Frog 2014:205).

First Person Reference

Arandic song-poetry tends to be in the first person. This creates an ambiguity: is the referent of a song such as (35) the performer or the ancestral being?²⁵ Merging the contemporary performer and ancestor in a kind of auditory illusion in which both meanings are possible substantiates the power of song as a tool to access the extraordinary powers of their ancestors (compare Marett et al. 2013:100).²⁶ Even couplets that do not refer to the *awelye* schema are limited to the first person. For example the couplet in (35) refers to a ceremonial healing practice that is not part of *awelye* performance. The final verb in both lines is an ideophone describing the sound made by a traditional healer removing a sickness from a body:

²⁵ In West Arnhem Land songs a similar ambiguity exists in that the referents can be both living people and the dead (Marett 2000:18).

²⁶ The merging is also in other modalities: the dancer, for example, is both the ancestor and the performer.

- (35) A *Ngangkar altyerrepenhel atya* I, a traditional doctor, clicked as I worked
iymparerr-rnternek
 B *Tyawant mwerrel iymparerr-rnternek* “Tyaw are the best,” (I) clicked as I worked
 (w-tyaw9)

Mythic Images

Also related to thematic parallelism is the tendency for the participant, when overtly expressed, to be a *kwerrimp*—a deceased female ancestor who performs and gives *awelye* (Turpin and Ross 2013:3). In (36) the ancestral subject is overtly expressed and the text is in the first person—*aylernanth* “we two related as cousins” (Turpin and Ross 2004):

- (36) A *Aylernanth-arrpe ikngwerreri-iweyewe* Let’s go together the two of us
 B *Kwerrimpe kwerre* Ancestral girls
 (w-kwely18)

As the protagonists of songs are ancestral women, the use of the first person pronoun creates an immediacy and identity between the contemporary performers and the ancestral creators of the songs.

Luminosity

Finally, a recurrent subplot of the *awelye* theme is the prevalence of terms denoting whiteness or brightness, shimmering or glistening.²⁷ Such qualities are frequently found in the ritual objects used in central Australian Aboriginal ceremonies, and these ceremonies are believed to be able to bring about change (such as, alter a person’s feelings or stimulate good health). For example, white shell pendants are often used in ceremonies to bring about rain (Akerman and Stanton 1994). This is also a feature of the ritual objects used in *awelye*—white cockatoo feathers, white headbands and white and yellow ochre. These objects and their luminous qualities are frequently referred to in the text, as in (37).²⁸

- (37) A *Ayengarl arrkaylparl ilewelelhenhek* I displayed my (white) headdress
 B *Anngerrenty atnenhek* I, an ancestral spirit, stood there
 (w-tyaw13)

Shimmering objects such as sunlight, mirages, water, limestone and oiled thighs moving rapidly in dance are also frequently invoked (see Turpin 2015:76-77). Even words in the songs that do not refer to shimmering can connote luminous phenomenon in the context of *awelye*, as in (38), in which the word for dancing stick is a metaphor for a beam of light:

²⁷ See Turpin (2015:77) for a discussion of this semantic domain in one Arandic song set.

²⁸ It is interesting that there is no reference to “red ochre” or “black ochre,” which are also used in *awelye* body designs.

- | | | | |
|------|---|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (38) | A | <i>Kwerrparelarl nawirrtyernek</i> | Where a beam of light shone |
| | B | <i>Aherrkelamay alhernek</i> | Was it daylight shining (already)? |
| | | | (w-ntarr9) |

Songs can gain additional meanings by inferences that can be made in the *awelye* context, wherein words are selected for their luminous and thus potentially magical abilities. To determine the extent to which “broad principles of pragmatic inference interact with encyclopedic knowledge to generate particular interpretations in context” (Evans 2003:21) will require more detailed ethnography. Frog raises the question of the extent to which formal parallelism, such as repeated lexical items and rhythms, may foreground semantic and thematic parallelism (Frog 2014:195). It may be that formal mechanisms play a role in assessing the implications and inferences that enable enculturated performers to access the associated mythological, geographic, and cultural knowledge indexed in the verses of Arandic song-poetry.

Conclusion

Parallelism is a pervasive phenomenon in the organization of Arandic song-poetry. It is complex in the sense that it shows equivalence sequentially (for example, adjacent lines and couplets share the same theme) and simultaneously through expression across multiple modalities. When taken as a multimodal whole, the units of equivalence (hemistich, line, couplet) are never totally identical, but parallel. In considering the role of such complex parallelism, Frog (2014:202) suggests that “parallelism across media may converge with the construal of parallelism between performance and experiential reality.” Ellis (1984:160) similarly suggests that the multiple ways in which melody and text are synchronized in central Australian songs creates an iridescent quality, facilitating the merging of the everyday realm with that of the performer’s ancestors. A performance of Arandic song-poetry is a communion with the ancestors who sang the world into existence and who continue to exert influence on the living. The integration of the visual domain, enabling simultaneous parallelism across modalities, may further contribute to the effect of transcending the everyday realm. As a hallmark of shared poetic-musical style, parallelism across the songs of different Arandic language groups may have enabled groups to draw upon far-reaching social networks in times of need, which may have been necessary in traditional (pre-contact) central Australian societies.

Evans (2003:16) argues that high frequency of usage has an impact on language structure. Barwick (2006) similarly suggests that the cyclic structures of Aboriginal song act as “a type of positive feedback loop . . . in which each iteration of the cycle reinforces the first.” These forces may have helped shape the parallelism of form that we find at multiple levels in Arandic song poetry. Similarly, the language ideology of songs as being of ancestral origin, as well as the coupling of verses with action in performance, may have shaped the pervasive self-referencing *awelye* theme. This “invisible hand process” (Evans 2003:13) of cultural selection show how hyper-intentional actions can produce tightly constrained structures in creative artistic practices.

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Twin Constellations: Parallelism and Stance in Stand-Up Comedy

Antti Lindfors

This essay is located at the triple intersection between: 1) linguistic anthropological studies on poetic or tropic language use (for example, Silverstein 2004; Agha 1997); 2) performance theoretical folkloristics (for example, Briggs 1988; Bauman and Briggs 1990); and 3) humor studies dealing with the phenomena of analogy and irony (for a broad overview, see Attardo 1994). As I hope to demonstrate, parallelism, “repetition with patterned variation” (Brown 1999:224), is a concept that penetrates all three of these areas. Regarding the first field, Roman Jakobson (1960) expounded parallelism as manifesting the poetic function of language, as the poetic use of language par excellence. A staple feature of various genres of verbal art and folklore (see Frog 2014a; Fox 1977), parallelism is also a basic structural principle in conversational and co-constructed discourse (for example, Silverstein 1985; Glick 2012). Regarding the second area, the natural habitat of parallel forms and structures is the communicative and cultural context of (ritualized) performance and social interaction, which regularly foreground enactment of the poetic function (Bauman 1984; Reyes 2002). Finally, regarding analogy and irony in humor studies, the focus here is on uses of parallelism in comic routines, and a relationship between analogical parallelism and a specific type of ironic effect.

The generic context and materials for my analysis are drawn from stand-up comedy routines. Stand-up comedy is a genre of oral performance that has emerged internationally from the twin traditions of American vaudeville and European music hall during the mid-1900s (Nesteroff 2015; Double 2014 [2005]). Founded on the emulation of spontaneous conversation in an artificial performance setting, stand-up comedy revolves around what Colleary (2015, Chapter 2) has designated as comic stylization of individual persona. Individual comic persona, arguably the most important tool for a stand-up comic, is produced and stylized to a high degree through various stances and viewpoints, illustrating the combative, manifestly confrontational nature of the genre.

Routines are formally and thematically delimited comic “numbers” or units of complete stand-up performances (see Lindfors 2016; Brodie 2008:160-69). As texts, stand-up routines are highly variable in their internal structure as well as their pragmatic placing in performances. According to the conventions of stand-up, routines are stylized and presented as a (unilateral) dialogue between the comic and the audience, conventionally underscoring the contextualized situatedness and momentariness of the performance (see Brodie 2014). Not atypically, stand-up routines manifest a rich intertwining of sociolinguistic phenomena, poetically juxtaposed social positions, gestural enactments, layers of embedded reported speech, and incorporated sequences

of the comic performer assuming the voice and gestures of various persona. Recalling the Anglo-American narratological distinction between showing and telling (Booth 1969), stand-up could be construed as a mixture of mimetic, dramatic comedy constituted by play-acted enactments, and narrative, oratorical comedy (a distinction that echoes the Platonic dichotomy between mimesis and diegesis).

In what follows, I examine two routines by two contemporary comics, the British Stewart Lee and the American Hari Kondabolu. Both performances illustrate the significance of parallelism as a stock-in-trade poetic technique of verbal comedy, but each does so in different ways. On the one hand, the prominently stylized routine performed by Lee verges on the oratorical: the analogical parallelisms of his performance emerge across formally delineated and sequentially positioned discursive segments. By contrast, Kondabolu's routine highlights parallelism as a higher-order configuration that is closely aligned with the dialogic acts of stance-taking and positioning. Indeed, I advocate for an eclectic approach to the topic of parallelism as a flexible analytic tool. In this regard, a heuristic distinction is made between 1) an approach to parallelism as a textual and rhetorical device based on sequential repetition (alongside alliteration, rhyme, and so on), and 2) a more "positional" or symbolic orientation toward parallelism as a higher-order structural and functional principle.

The concept of "stance" is invoked in both analyses. Stance-taking, which can be marked verbally as well as by body posture, facial expression, and gesture (Matoesian 2005:168), is elemental in how we (that is to say, speakers of a common language) assign value to objects of interest. By assuming stances we also position ourselves with regard to the "stance objects," align or realign with other subjects, and simultaneously invoke or mobilize presupposed systems of sociocultural value (Du Bois 2007:139, 143, 169). As illustrated below, stance-taking acts are readily perceived as ubiquitous, even obligatory, in stand-up performances, they frequently invoke shared stance objects and appeals for various stances, not least in the hope of engendering a sense of community. To foreshadow my analyses, recall that Du Bois (*ibid.*:141, 149-50) notes how stance-taking acts typically invoke and respond to a "counterstance" attributed to another position, and are inherently suitable for creating structural parallelisms. That is to say, certain stances themselves, for instance those perceived to be harmful or discriminatory, often become objects for subsequent stance acts that may repudiate or oppose them (see also Jaffe 2009).

Difference and Repetition

Jakobson (1960) designated the poetic function of language as basically the text indexing itself. Poetics refers to the universally applicable principle by which phonetically, grammatically, semantically, rhythmically, or otherwise functionally covalent or oppositional syllables, words, motifs and patterns, or narrative sequences and themes are juxtaposed within a text (Pressman 1994:471; Glick 2012:344-45). To recognize such covalent units of expression requires certain formal instruction, some form of sequential "metricality" or a diagram of utterance-internal contextualization (Agha 1997:469). The most elemental sign for analyzing the linear signal is a simple pause that functions to constitute the sequential measure (meter) in both explicitly poetic and prosaic genres.

“Metricity,” in this general sense, is palpably recognizable in stand-up, typically constituted and marked by pauses, expletives, prosody (accent, intonation), and other paralinguistic features rather than by strict metric (syllabic, phonetic, and so forth) rules per se. Superficially stylized as conversational, an ostensibly free flow of discourse, stand-up as discursive production is to a high degree structurally constrained rhythmically and interactionally, proceeding through sequential chunks of discourse (ideally) partitioned by laughter. In the context of stand-up, “metricity” is more broadly seen as participating in the general ritualization of discursive interaction. Ritualization being understood here as the delimitation of (privileged, sacred) spaces through synchronized verbal, nonverbal, and choreographic coordination (Silverstein 2004:626; Stasch 2011:160-62). As a genre, stand-up is unique in that the process of ritualization is further marked, even co-produced, by the performer and the audience together, audience laughter being a prominent signal for cutting up or ending a textual or performative sequence.

Parallelism, finally, is a highly productive manifestation of poetics in which the recurrently patterned verbal and non-verbal signs (repetition) are accompanied by systematic variation (difference). Such equivalent patterns are rendered meaningful in a mutually entailing, emergent fashion that may be synonymic, antonymic, paraphrastic, analogical, cumulative, comic, and so on.¹ As “wholly emergent type of information that reflexively shapes the construal of behavior while the behavior is still under way” (Agha 2007:24-25), parallelisms are construable solely in their textual surroundings.

Though my analyses are mainly concerned with parallelism as represented by smaller-scale (co-textual) reflexivity, based on equivalences among chunks of linearly unfolding speech, parallelism can also be constitutive in producing higher-order distinctions in terms of whole genres. As Fleming and Lempert (2014:488) explain, “as it draws attention to message form over larger stretches of discourse, parallelism can also, at a higher order, help put the whole event-in-progress in sharp relief, like a gestalt erupting from the background of ‘ordinary’ communication.” That is to say, not only does parallelism bind together sequences of a single stand-up routine, thus heightening its coherence, it can also help constitute the genre of stand-up on a higher level insofar as successive routines in performance may come to resemble and parallel each other in their textual organization (compare this with instances of “canonical parallelism”, Fox 1977).

Understood as a *set of relations* between units of utterance (Wilce 2009:34; Frog 2014b), parallelism constitutes an expansive and inclusive field of study, analytically operationalized with regard to the empirical cases at hand. After all, parallelism is quite a different beast to tame

¹Parallelism is no stranger to the study of humor and comedy. Both parallelism and analogy have been included in the “logical mechanisms” that prominent humor theorists Salvatore Attardo and Victor Raskin (1991) have recognized as constitutive of jokes. In their survey and taxonomy of “all known logical mechanisms,” Attardo et al. (2002) present as many as 27 such mechanisms, including (false) analogy, (implicit) parallelism, proportion, and juxtaposition, the distinctions and relations between which remain, however, not entirely clear. For instance, proportion—a relates to b as c relates to d, or a:b::c:d—is described as a “special kind of parallelism,” essentially a double parallelism, only to be rephrased in the next instance as “analogy relations” (Attardo et al. 2002:12-13). Similarly, repetition in general is a long since identified and well-documented phenomenon in the study of humor (for example, Freud 1960; also Zupančič 2008). Repetition was already isolated by Henri Bergson (1935 [1914]) as one of the three universal processes of humor, the other two being inversion and reciprocal interference of series (“equivocal situations”), respectively.

in the context of strictly regimented oral poetry such as kalevalaic epics (entailing “canonical parallelism”; Fox 1977) or in the context of casual conversational interaction. As a preface to the following sections, I designate two methodological orientations to parallelism. However, straddling methodological boundaries, in other words combining different orientations, often produces the most interesting results.

1) The study of poetics, under the aegis of folkloristics or linguistic anthropology, typically identifies parallelism as formally delineated, sequentially positioned repetition of textual or linguistic units (for example, Frog 2014a; Glick 2007 and 2012; and Lindfors 2017). This textual approach traditionally categorizes parallelism as one conventional poetic or rhetorical device among others, placing the emphasis on sequential repetition of co-textual units. Grasping the “differential” that is felt to exist between recurring sign patterns furthermore implies some measure of reflexivity on part of the audience. This means that poetic parallelisms are ultimately “hailed into existence” by acts of interpretative construal, potentially without license from the author of the text (see Lempert 2014:381; Nakassis 2013). Interestingly, by implicating equivalences across sequences or units of utterance while simultaneously leaving their relations vague—omitting connectors, interactional premises, and so forth—parallelism builds on meaningful non-occurrence of communication, i.e. the principle of non-communication (Vesala and Knuuttila 2012:4-5). As is noted below, the poetic figuration of specifically analogical parallelisms is particularly compatible with irony, which generally plays off on mutually contrasting stances (see also Fernandez and Huber 2001:10-11). This approach is foregrounded in my analysis of Stewart Lee’s routine.

2) In positionally or symbolically oriented approaches, by contrast, parallelism is generally conceptualized as a structural or functional principle (for example, Wilce 2008; Du Bois 2007). By my reckoning, this approach understands parallelism as a specifically dualistic configuration of structural or functional elements, downplaying the sequential aspects of parallelism. It identifies parallelism as mutually entailing social or cultural *positions* or higher-order (symbolic) *phenomena*. Frog (“Parallelism Dynamics I,” this volume) distinguishes a similar form as parallelism on the level of symbolic articulation. The level of symbolic articulation represents a secondary order of signification, as Frog explains, whereas the primary order of verbalization functions as the mode mediating the articulation of symbolic phenomena or cultural positions. This approach, supplemented by positional and spatial analysis, is foregrounded in my study of Hari Kondabolu’s routine.

Finally, in my conclusion, I aim at collapsing the boundary between these two types of parallelism and, ultimately, bring them together. I suggest that both types fundamentally rely on iconic mappings across co-textual signs. The main difference between them is the degree of their formal stylization and simultaneous decontextualization from the ongoing interactional event.

Analogical Parallelism and Irony: Stewart Lee

The first example, from the contemporary British stand-up comedian Stewart Lee, is instructive for illustrating the implications of my introductory discussion. The clip is extracted from the fourth episode of his BBC2 series *Stewart Lee’s Comedy Vehicle* (Lee 2009), titled

“Credit Crunch.” After about half-way through the episode (beginning at 18:38), nominally revolving around issues of the global financial crisis, Lee offers the following diagnosis in his trademark languid, deadpan voice:

*Stewart Lee’s Financial Crisis*²

- 1a basically
 1b what’s happened is somewhere
 1c along the line
 1d as a society
 1e we confused
 1f the notion of home
 1g with the possibility
 1h of an investment opportunity
- 2a what kind of creature
 2b wants to live
 2c in an investment opportunity?
 2d [lowers voice] only man... [random, singular laughs]
- 3a [raises voice slightly] the fox has his den [scattered laughs]
 3b the *bee* . . .
 3c has his hive [scattered laughs]
 3d the stoat... umm
 3e has a... stoat... -hole [L]
- 4a [raises voice] but only man ladies and gentlemen
 4b the worst animal of all
 4c chooses to make his nest
 4d in an investment opportunity [L]
- 5a [higher pitch; addresses the camera directly] “mmm
 5b snuggle down in the lovely credit! [scattered laughs]
 5c ooh all warm
 5d in the mortgage payment
 5e mmm!”
- 6a but home

²The following typographical conventions have been adopted for the transcriptions:

[L]: laughter of the audience;

italic font: speaker emphasizing the words;

“ ”: characterizations, variations of the tone of voice;

[]: gestures or movements of the performer, additional information;

line shifts: ending of a sentence/pause/rhythms of speech.

- 6b is not the same thing as an investment opportunity
 6c home is a basic requirement of life...
 6d like food
- 7a when a hamster
 7b hides hamster food in his hamster cheeks
 7c he doesn't keep it there in the hope that it'll rise in value [scattered laughs]
 7d and when a squirrel hides a nut
 7e he's not trying to play the acorn market [L]
 7f and having eaten the nut
 7g he doesn't keep the shell
 7h in the hope of setting up a lucrative sideline making tiny hats for elves [L]
 7i and when a dog buries a bone he doesn't keep that bone buried
 7j until the point where it's reached its maximum market value
 7k he digs it up when he's hungry
- 8a and if estate agents were dogs burying bones
 8b not only
 8c would they leave those bones buried until they'd reached their maximum market value
 8d but they would run around, starting rumors about imminent increases in the price of
 bones [L]
 8e in the hope of driving up the market
 8f and they'd
 8g invite loads of boneless dogs to all view the bone at the same time [L]
 8h in the hope of giving the impression there was a massive demand for bones
 8i and they would photograph the bone in such a way as to make it look much more juicy
 than it really was [L]
 8j airbrushing out the maggots and cropping the rotten meat

The formatted transcript of the routine visually lays bare significant aspects of formal organization that regiment the performance (see Bauman 2012:104): there is an apparent sequential structure (“metricality”) within the text. In what Charles Briggs (1988:348) has referred to as the “emergence of a metatextual focus,” Lee’s performance manifests a highly organized, prominently segmentable form with clearly definable thematic units and lines marked by intonation and pauses. The basic paralinguistic unit cutting the text into sequential lines is the pause, supplementing and accentuating the syntactic and thematic contours of the text.³

The dominant theme of the routine is initially condensed in the grounding metonymical trope of the text, “home is an investment.” In the conceptual frame activated by the speaker (1f), homes as spatial locations with prototypically positive affective connotations are incongruent

³In the terminology of poetry, the implementation of meaningful line breaks in visual transcription leads to enjambment, which typically serves to heighten the expressive properties of language, such as dramatic tension (compare Jones et al. 2011:31). Here, enjambment is naturally of my own doing, through which I wanted to visually highlight the metricalized procession of the speech.

with (the possibilities of) investment opportunities, prototypically indexing the affectively neutral, calculating economic jargon.⁴ The pejorative categorization of this trope as “confusion” simultaneously outlines the recurrent, opposing stances of the routine. First, the trope itself indexes a stance, which could be glossed as “economism” (“reduction of social facts to economic dimensions”), and second, Lee realigns himself by assuming a negative stance toward the economism trope. In particular, the economism stance is strategically attributed to “us” as a “society.” Insofar as the participants in the speech event are mapped onto the categories of the denotational text (*we*, *society*) and positioned as culpable for the crisis, the routine takes on a tone of self-deprecation. Insofar as Lee is known to be politically liberal in his personal and professional life, the negative stance of the speaker is furthermore coherent.

The second segment confirms the negative stance of the speaker in the form of a rhetorical question (2a-2c). Rhetorical questions are by definition interactionally self-sufficient, indexically presupposing their entailments to be self-evident. An answer to Lee’s question is, however, provided by an anaphoric rephrasing of “we” as “man,” which dramatically abstracts the implications of the economism stance exponentially to the entire human race (2d). The historical trajectory constructed in the first segment is framed by a comparative grid on which man, a creature amongst others, is unique in his desire to “nest” in an investment opportunity.

The first proper laughs, and by causal implication, the first comic juxtaposition, emerge with line 3a. A thematic, semantic parallelism between the homes of men and various non-human animals and their abodes is made coherent by the preceding implication of man’s creatureliness. The animals are introduced in a timeless present tense as generic specimen, as predominantly members of their species. They are deployed as emblems, essentialized icons indexing the very “naturalness” of their being (Silverstein 2004:632). Segments two and three are autonomous, lacking any lexical connectors that would explicitly indicate comparison or juxtaposition; indeed, the propositional content of the third segment by itself would not make much interactional, communicative sense.

The unexpected introduction of the animals is contrasted with the dominant trope of the text, elaborating it in a reciprocally reflexive fashion.⁵ In terms of the stances being contrasted with each other, the seemingly natural and morally neutral behavior of animals reciprocally underlines the negative stance against (the “unnaturalness” of) treating homes as investments. The effect is also heightened by the idiomatic linguistic presentation of this behavior.⁶ The

⁴Without a doubt, houses and condominiums are in general bought and sold as physical structures, whereas the quality of a home is customarily differentiated by an emotional connection of the individual to the place of residence and/or a sense or ideal of permanency.

⁵For “reciprocal reflexivity,” in which the pragmatic effects of sign tokens are simultaneously reportable in contrasting metapragmatic descriptions, as the hallmark of tropic language use in general, see Agha (1997:462-63).

⁶Illustrating the rhetorical density of particularly stylized stand-up performances, one could take note of how the conventionalized phrasing of the lines, accompanied by anthropomorphic reference to singular animals with the third person “he,” carries certain stylistic overtones of some other, vaguely identifiable linguistic register. This register could perhaps be identified as one deployed in nature documentaries or such, which obviously adds to the out-of-place, comic effect of the parallelism. One is left wondering if the third segment is in fact “footed” in the sense that Goffman (1981 Chapter Three) uses the term, if Lee is indeed the principal (the primary accountant) of these lines, or if he is merely animating the position and stance of some unidentified speaker. For the question of footing, see note 8.

schema of human-animal relations is mapped onto the poetically organized chunks of discourse that are understood as indexing each other. Furthermore, poetic patterning mediates between the propositional level of discourse (and concomitant opposing stances) and the interactional level of pragmatic meaning by “measuring” the information flow into comparable units and by allowing us to infer the “movement” from one (what is propositionally said) to the other (what it pragmatically meant) (see Reyes 2002:183-84; Lempert 2008; Silverstein 2004.). In addition to the metaphorical or analogical aspects of the parallelism, the third segment also functions metonymically by elaborating on the stance of economism from several perspectives.

The five lines (3a-3e) are parallelistically positioned against the preceding economism stance, and one should also note the cumulative parallelism in the third segment itself. The grammatical and syntactic parallelism between lines 3a-3e entails a semantic parallelism (Attardo et al. 2002:12), in which the third unit (the stoat and its “hole”) lacks a conventionalized, idiomatic construction. This equivalence is coerced by the parallelisms: it is emergent as if by necessity (Wilce 2008:110; Glick 2007:298; also Glick 2012). Lee is also seen to be aware of and to play on this effect by ostensibly being “prompted” to it. Functioning as an explicit metapragmatic response to the cumulative analogy, the laughter of the audience builds in volume toward the climax of the triple parallelism, unmistakably revealing the uptake of the parallelistic effect.

The dominant stance of economism is mimetically enacted in the fourth segment.⁷ Lee “voices” (Bakhtin 1981) an arguably imaginary, deanthropomorphic character that indexes the social, and in this case species-related, position of a human. The segment is not explicitly framed as reported speech, but, rather, is foregrounded by a marked shift in prosody and voice quality (see Holt 2007 for similar examples of enactments in what she terms “joking scenarios”).⁸ The mimetic sequence (5a-5e) blends the notions of man and animal in a way that the former comes to “nest” in his “investment”, investment being metonymically represented by credit and mortgage payment (for an influential treatment of cognitive blends, see Fauconnier and Turner 2002). The prosodic and intonational qualities as well as the affective expletives (5a, 5e) of the voiced figure are construed as indexing animalistic or child-like behavior: the affective expletives (5a, 5e) seem especially appropriate for this human-animal hybrid. While the multi-voiced figure is portrayed as blissfully ignorant of the implications of his predicament, the actual propositional and affective content of the comic’s lines ironically enacts the tragicomedy of reducing homes to investments. Needless to say, the evaluative stance projected onto Lee himself with regard to the play-acted character is a negative one. Lee stresses the dramatic irony of the mimetic sequence by simultaneously addressing the camera. It is as if he is directing his words at “us humans,” verbally indexed through “the viewers at home.” The participants in the speech event (performer and audience *in situ* and at home) are collectively anchored to this human-animal hybrid, and the mocking irony targets all of them in self-deprecating fashion.

⁷For such “instant characters” in stand-up, see Double (2014 [2005]:393-408).

⁸Manifesting a prominent shift of footing, the fifth play-acted segment also positionally parallels the third segment. In this, it can be seen as anaphorically implying that the third segment was also, indeed, “footed” in the sense that Lee primarily animated the stance of another speaker.

With respect to what she terms “moral irony” as a form of stance-taking strategy that indirectly indexes “shared community values,” Robin Shoaps (2009:92-93; compare Lindfors forthcoming) underscores the dimensions of the speaker’s role or the “production format.” She contends that the role of principal—the person responsible for the stance expressed in the message, its primary accountant (Goffman 1981:144-45)—for the moral position taken through irony is not necessarily attributable to the speaker. In moral irony the negative evaluation can be strategically directed at the imagined stance or position of an indexed principal, rather than the actual words of known persons (Shoaps 2009:108). In Lee’s routine, the negative evaluation is similarly directed at an unnamed or vague principal responsible for the stance of economism. Further still, this deliberately generic principal (us, society, man) is set in opposition with the “shared values” invoked through animals in the sense that the latter here represent the natural and good life. The shared values and norms invoked are not norms about language use in context, but “rather about the appropriateness of particular stances with respect to a realm of the ‘ought’ and ‘should’” (*ibid.*). By opting for an indirect parallelistic construction in which the unadulterated “facts of nature” vindicate the negative stance directed at economism, Lee essentially manages to invoke an authority (shared values) surpassing his own. The moral authority of shared values, in addition to the fact that irony by its nature necessitates active interpretative work on the part of the audience, grants the irony with social and rhetorical power.

Segments 6-8 expand the analogical-indexical network of equivalences by building on the collocation *food and shelter*. The social logic of the routine is further complicated by the introduction of the figure of an estate agent, counterfactually compared with a dog burying his bones. Revealing as they are from the perspective of analogical blending, these segments merely elaborate on the already-established poetic configuration. I leave their closer analysis for another occasion.

Parallelism as Positional Spatialization: Hari Kondabolu

My second example is from a YouTube clip by the New York comedian Hari Kondabolu (see also Krefting 2014:196-230). The performance was documented on the BBC2 program (at the time BBC3) *Russell Howard’s Good News*, a comedy and topical news show that mixes stand-up, sketches, and guest appearances by media personalities.⁹ A relative newcomer to stand-up, Kondabolu is of Indian-American descent, and he routinely addresses such topics as racism and environmental and human rights issues in his comedy. In contrast to Lee’s highly oratorical stylized performance, Kondabolu’s routine about everyday racism is distinctively conversational. My transcription records the beginning of his performance. On the video recording it is preceded only by the inaugurating presentation by the host, Russell Howard, and the opening greetings from Kondabolu himself. The transcription cuts before Kondabolu reaches the reflexively framed ending bit of his routine; the transcription thus represents the first half of the complete routine:

⁹See Kondabolu (2011), “Hari Kondabolu on Russell Howard’s Good News.” As of April 4, 2015, the video has garnered more than 470,000 views. My transcription starts at about 25 seconds into the video clip and ends around 2:15.

Hari Kondabolu's White Chocolate Joke

- 1a it's very strange
 1b to be an American
 1c in the UK
 1d mmm, because in America
 1e I'm not always "*an American*"
 1f when people come up to me they usually say:
 1g "hey man,
 1h where're you from?" [L]
 1i and I tell them:
 1j "I'm from New York City"
 1k and then they're like:
 1l "no I mean,
 1m where are you *really from*?" [L]
 1n which of course is code for:
 1o "no I mean:
 1p [suspiciously] why aren't you white?" [L]
- 2a which is offensive right?
 2b I'm being judged based on the color of my skin
 2c and not by my most important qualities
 2d which of course
 2f are the softness
 2g and smoothness
 2h *of my skin* [L]
 2i traits I have carefully cultivated
 2j with the extensive use
 2k of cocoa butter [L]
- 3a yes friends:
 3b Hari Kondabolu uses cocoa butter
 3c I use cocoa butter because it makes me smell like *chocolate*
 3d and I love chocolate
 3e [retains seriousness] for political reasons [L]
- 4a no cause you see
 4b in America
 4c an American is assumed to be white
 4d unless otherwise specified
 4e and that's why I like chocolate
 4f because when you first think of chocolate
 4g you think of something brown

- 4h [laughingly] and if you think of white chocolate first well
 4i [contentiously] then you're a fucking racist [L]
- 5a honestly who thinks of white chocolate in that situation?
 5b and that brings up the bigger issue
 5c why did we need white chocolate to begin with?
 5d what was wrong with chocolate exactly
 5e it's chocolate—
 5f it's great
 5g why would you need to make white chocolate?
- 6a [significantly lowers his voice, talks downwards] “do you love the taste of chocolate
 6b but can't stand looking at it?
 6c [resumes an upward position, presents an imaginary chocolate bar] well then try some
 white chocolate!
 6d it's from the people that brought you *white Jesus* . . .” [L]

By focusing on the text's construction around various positions and the stances taken or implied about those positions, I uncover the recurring structural-functional configuration (parallelism) behind its interactional, rhetorical, and comic effects. Positioning refers to the process of discursive, dialogical identification, in general implicating a spatial approach to the nature of the self and identity (Hermans 2001:249). According to the narrative psychologist Hubert J. M. Hermans (2001; Hermans and Dimaggio 2007), it is a basic technique of identification for speakers to discursively draw on both internal positions (aspects of oneself) and external positions (“my friend John”, “people”) so as to simultaneously self-position themselves. The external voices can be more or less imaginary, closely intertwined with certain identifiable “actual” others, or as in the present case, unrecognizable, fuzzy, and generic (“people,” “we,” “the Americans,” “you”) (Hermans 2001:250). By necessity, the act of positioning has to be understood as two-directional, reflected in the distinction between self-positioning and other-positioning speech acts (Harré and van Langenhove 1991:398). Internal and external positions are in a mutually constitutive relationship: the “[e]xternal positions refer to people and objects in the environment that are, in the eyes of the individual, relevant from the perspective of one or more of the internal positions.” (Hermans 2001:252)

Positioning is organically intertwined with stance-taking. The sociolinguist John W. Du Bois holds that stances are understood as something *done* by perceptible communicative means, something *taken* in relation to others and to prior stance acts, and thus inherently dialogical, constituting shared frameworks for co-action with others (2007:171). Positioning, then, may be defined as follows: 1) the subject-oriented facet of stance-taking; the remaining facets include 2) object-oriented evaluation of stance objects, and 3) intersubjective alignment. With these three facets of stance in mind, I draw attention to the functions of the gradually introduced external positions in contrast to the stance taken by Kondabolu himself. The analysis aims to uncover the systematic repetition of these positions and stances vis-à-vis each other so as to justify speaking of parallelism as a recurrent, particularly dualistic positional spatialization.

Performing in the United Kingdom, Kondabolu's first interactional move is to explicitly identify himself as an American national. An experientially grounded, discordant juxtaposition between his present location (here) and America is initially based on a paradox, in his home country, he maintains, he is not necessarily thought of as an American. This state of affairs is explicated by the first external voice introduced into the text, "the people"—referentially coherent with Americans—that is simultaneously distant in relation to the speaker's present interlocutors. The recurring (deictic) opposition of the text is thus established: the external position of the people in America and the ongoing interactional event that includes the performer and his audience.

By reconstructing his everyday correspondence with the aforementioned "people" in the form of reported speech, Kondabolu narratively thematizes the experience of being subjected to implicit other-positioning and an externally imposed identity (see Pöysä 2009:327-29). The narrativized dialogue proceeds by allusive questioning on the part of Kondabolu's generic interlocutor, and focuses on the alleged disjuncture between Kondabolu's physiognomy and his national or local identity. The seemingly innocent interrogation indexes the discriminatory normative assumption that phenotypically Indian, or Other in general, bodies cannot be categorized as authentically American identities (compare Chun and Walters 2011:259). Simply put, the external voice indirectly imposes a non-American national or ethnic identity on Kondabolu, or, alternatively, his externally imposed ethnic or racial identity overrides his internal national identity position. The motives of the interlocutor are unveiled by Kondabolu's insistence on the pragmatic motives in the questions posed about issues of skin color over their denotational meaning (1n-1p).¹⁰

In contrast to the explicitly ideational aspects of racism (the notion of "races" as hierarchically ordered), Kondabolu lays out racism's mode of operation as an everyday practice of coercive other-positioning. The progressive verb form chosen by the speaker to review the stereotypical event ("I'm being judged") codes the other-positioning as ongoing and permanently relevant beyond the narrative storyline.¹¹ Expressing his own evaluative and affective stance regarding racialization, Kondabolu repudiates the practice, labels it offensive, and simultaneously misaligns himself from his narrated interlocutor with an appeal to intersubjective alignment between himself and his audience ("which is offensive, right?"). By thus positioning his audience with himself—the experiencing-I of the narrative—Kondabolu positions them against other discourses that claim a "monolithic voice of authority"—discourses indexed and figured here by the external voice of the American "people" (Herman 2007:316-17; Pöysä 2009:329). At a global level Kondabolu performs a narrative self-positioning, even while at a local level the narrative itself recounts another person's attempt at other-positioning Kondabolu (see Herman 2007:316).

¹⁰ The analogic state of affairs in Britain regarding racialization is thus rendered ambiguous by the opening lines. Is Kondabolu rhetorically appealing to his present audience by implying an absence of racialization in Britain? Is he ironically pointing to its inverse, to the colonial and racist history of Britain?

¹¹ The explicit narrativized dialogue unfolds in the generic present tense (1f), predicated by the adverb "usually," both indexing the typicality of actions (see Reyes 2004:181). The generic reference to the "people" also participates in coding the narrativized event as stereotypical. On the functions of generalizations with respect to evaluative stance-taking, see Scheibman (2007).

Symptomatic of stance, and the interactional climate in general, the verbal formula *be + like* is briefly adopted for voicing the external position (line 1k). Reflective of an essentially polyphonic style that is preoccupied with moral assessments and value judgments, the *be + like* formula has been described as intending to communicate not factual information *verbatim*, but rather, “to convey the opposition between conflicting moral viewpoints and styles of interpersonal communication” (Jones et al. 2011:30; Jones and Schieffelin 2009). Emergent in the morally and affectively charged narrative is a suggestion of the first negative stance object, “the practice of racializing other-positioning” and the inherent stance that accompanies it (Du Bois 2007:141, 159; also Jaffe 2009:16). Commuality between performer and his audience is forged through a shared stance toward the external voice/stance rather than shared ethnic or cultural identity (cf. Chun and Walters 2011).

Having established a critical stance against racialization, Kondabolu opts for a rhetorical redescription of it. Through a complex embedding of self- and other-positioning acts, Kondabolu re-positions and self-identifies—somewhat ironically—with tactile qualities of his skin, achieving an implicit other-positioning of the discourse of the “people” (see Herman 2007:316). By foregrounding tactile skin qualities, “his most important qualities,” in a manner that seems both “strategically essentialist” (Spivak 1988:205) and playful, attention is drawn to the arbitrary nature of the qualifying traits by which our perceptions and interpretations of others are constructed.¹²

A mediating element, cocoa butter, smoothes the way for Kondabolu to arrive at chocolate...” the dominant trope of the routine (its eponymous title: “My White Chocolate Joke”; see Kondabolu [2014]). This object of his “love” is unconventionally categorized under political issues, suggesting a connection with his preceding, politically charged dialogue. Chocolate, and, the affective sociopolitical domain associated with it, are analogically juxtaposed with the everyday social relations between Americans and their concomitant ideological articulations. Kondabolu invokes another unrecognizable external voice, here in the passive voice (4c), plainly spelling out this articulation. Lines 4a-4d constitute an explicit reiteration of the implications made in the first segment. Racialization is now thematized as “first thoughts,” the unreflective, habitual, and highly affective presumptions made about others. Chocolate, by contrast, becomes emblematic of a neutral, racially conscious worldview, evoking (now racially motivated) associations of “brown” in opposition to “white.” This articulation is brought home by another generalization (4f-4g) when Kondabolu augments his stance by broadening its indexical field and appealing to the experiences and beliefs of his interlocutors (Scheibman 2007:131-32).

From the perspective of the emergent parallelistic configuration, chocolate is seen to be the second and emblematically positive stance object of the text (first “loved” in 3d, secondly “liked” in 4e). The two stance objects are set in an analogical, antithetical relationship, invoking two divergent stances. As the central nodes of the parallelistic configuration, the external position of the “American people” is portrayed by the dialogue as the practice of racializing other-positioning. This external position constitutes the first negative stance object in the text. Next,

¹² Notice also the comically motivated mini-parallelism, a rhetorical epistrophe, on lines 2b-2h as Kondabolu emphatically repeats the words “of my skin.”

there are the unreflective associations involving chocolate, the second stance object, which is rendered proximal by the affective predicates “love” and “like.” The analogical mapping, finally, moves between the two domains. It is characteristic of this parallelism that insofar as the positional configuration is projected through the internal position of the speaking subject himself—unreflective first associations with chocolate are aligned with Kondabolu—the speaking subject also functions as a sign in the emergent poetic structure. The result is a form of parallelism that is apprehended through the diagrammatic iconicity of the configuration and is prominently contextualized with respect to the ongoing interactional event.¹³

An emergent analogical network that involves discriminatory unreflective “first thoughts” prompts Kondabolu to consider the artificially superfluous existence of white chocolate, the diametric opposite (in the ideologically determined poetic configuration) of the positively esteemed counterpart, brown chocolate. Coordinated through diagrammatic iconicity with the practice of racialization—the voice/position personifying unreflective white-orientation, retrospectively designated as “fucking racist” (4h-4i)—white chocolate thus constitutes the third, and emblematically negative, stance object.¹⁴ The complete parallelistic configuration is presented in the following table:

The Parallelistic Configuration			
S t a n c e s		Parallel positions/stance objects set in an analogical relation	
	Positive	the internal position of Kondabolu, participants of the present speech event, racially conscious worldview (“here,” “the United Kingdom”)	the unreflective associations of (brown) chocolate
	Negative	the external position of the “American people,” the practice of other-positioning, racialization, <i>in America</i> (“there”)	the unreflective associations of white chocolate
←←Diagrammatic Iconicity→→			

At an apparent high point in the routine, in the sixth segment Kondabolu enacts an “instant character” who embodies the recurrent external position of the text. Parodically elaborating on the historical, or etiological, implications of ideologically dubious white

¹³ Paul Kockelman (2016:314) describes diagrammatic iconicity as a relation between two sets of signs: “it is not that a sign has a quality in common with its object; it is that the relation between signs has a quality in common with the relation between objects.” In stand-up performances, there is often a diagrammatic iconicity between the comic-as-character engaging socially with other characters in a narrated story-world, and the comic-as-performer engaging with an audience in the here-and-now.

¹⁴ While it is arguably true that, by association, the prototypical semantic field of the concept of chocolate prominently features the quality of brownness, associating chocolate with the color white hardly constitutes a racist act. Nor is the commensurability between associating chocolate unreflectively with whiteness and associating Americanness with white skin color at all self-evident. More likely, this analogy between the two articulations is perceived as comic because it is far-fetched *yet* still makes sense on its own terms. In other words, the analogy is (at least somewhat) valid, given that it “is focused on one of the central, essential traits of the two entities being compared” (Attardo et al. 2002:10-11). Metaphorical or analogical links are, after all, creative acts, constituting similarity by themselves and making us attend to proposed likenesses (Davidson 1990:431).

chocolate, this voice unmistakably—even, suitably, given its alignment with the “people” of America—indexes the voice of a male advertiser. This is achieved by a lowered voice pitch and stereotypical question-answer structure reminiscent of the advertising register, more specifically, a mock-register of advertising. The irony of the sequence emanates from a voiced advertisement implying racism so profound that it eschews and shuns the color brown, no matter the context.

The contrasts between the external position and Kondabolu himself, and between the opposing stances actualized by the routine, emerge during the shift from the fifth to the sixth segment. The ensuing mimetic parody (6a-) establishes a shift onto a diametrically opposite stance, condensing the parallelistic configuration into a single parodic sequence that also functions as the climax of the routine (cf. the third segment in Lee’s routine, similarly preceded by a rhetorical question). From the perspective of stance, parody is emblematically parallelistic, built on an inherent duality of stances. Like all revoicings, factual or imaginary, parody dialogically presupposes and responds to a prior stance and constitutes tension between two stances of voice or two conflicting figures. In the context of verbal art such as stand-up comedy, the speaker implicitly distances herself from the parodied figure or persona while simultaneously embodying it, producing a superposition and collision of voices and stances (Chun and Walters 2011).

Conflating white-chocolate manufacturers with the supposed manufacturers of standard, traditional representations of white Jesus iterates another expansion of the parallelistic configuration, achieving a rhetorical high point in the play-acted sequence. Representations of white Jesus become emblematically equivalent with the existence of ideologically suspect white chocolate. The message of the routine is brought forward by a final metonymical addition to suggest that the sphere of influence exercised by discriminatory racialization is wider than the petty realm of chocolate.

Introduced initially as a rudimentary configuration of contrastive social positions and stances, the positional configuration has expanded into an analogical network of associations. This network is built on poetically accomplished mappings through the apprehension of diagrammatic iconicity in the configuration of its three nodes: 1) the practice of racialization, 2) white chocolate, and 3) white representations of Jesus. Even though formally distinct, the three nodes remain functionally, or in this case, “etiologically” comparable signs. The so-called positional type of parallelism described here is formally stylized and decontextualized from the ongoing interactional event to a lesser degree than was evident in the Stewart Lee routine. However, the positional type of parallelism is ultimately commensurate with the first type (that lays emphasis on sequential repetition) in building on iconic comparability or resemblance between separate but mutually implicating co-textual signs. Semiotically stable in the manifestation of indexical iconicity, the flexibility of parallelism affords diverse manifestations at the level of discursive presentation.

The Flexibility of Parallelism

In this article, I have endeavored to promote and argue for operationalizing the concept of parallelism with regard to the materials and empirical cases at hand (see also Frog 2014b). I have

corroborated and ratified the original observation of Glick (2007), who identified parallelism as one of the central poetic devices in stand-up comedy. Two somewhat distinct approaches to parallelism—the textual and the positional approaches— have been reviewed and deployed to analyze two cases drawn from commercially edited stand-up comedy recordings. Illuminating the polarizing and confrontational character of stand-up comedy, parallelism often figures in comedic contexts as a coercive technique suggesting analogical inferences, and its rhetorical power is derived from juxtaposing contrastive or otherwise frictional stances in recurring twin constellations. An indirect form of expression that presupposes a measure of reflexivity on part of the recipient, parallelism that entails divergent analogical pairs is particularly suitable for creating ironic effects.

In the first case study, parallelism was described as constituted by formally delineated and sequentially positioned segments of discourse. In this case, the efficacy of parallelism can be readily conceptualized as the performativity of formal text-metrical structure across separate discursive segments (see Agha 2007:60-61). Thematically this parallelism established an analogical relational network between the domains of humans and non-human animals. Analysis of the performance revealed its play with strong moral stances, set in an oppositional, reflexively reciprocal relationship by the emergent parallelism. These stances were identified as one of economism and another represented by self-evident “shared values,” euphemistically indexed in the routine by the descriptively recounted “facts of nature.” This case demonstrates how, although ubiquitous in many conversational genres, the poetics of parallelism may be “exaggerated” for pragmatic effect in other, “relatively ritualized discourse genres—spells, taunts, verbal duels, political oratory” (Lempert 2014:384)—not to forget stand-up comedy.

On the other hand, analysis of the second case study reveals parallelism as a specifically dualistic positional spatialization of discursive interaction. Here parallelism is recognized by and associated with the recurrent structural relation of a configuration of positioning, a configuration that manifests a variety of diagrammatic iconicity through which constituent signs and their relationships become comparable. The juxtaposition between the positions of the “American people” (there) and Kondabolu himself (here, in the UK) is gradually foregrounded in performance, and, finally, rendered diagrammatically iconic with another pair of signs, the two varieties of chocolate. The process of iconization of the configuration (motivated by “unreflective first thoughts”) subsumes the varieties of chocolate to an emblem in the initial ideological frame and, thus, indexically corroborates the message of the routine, the critique of racialization. One of the main characteristics of this case relates to the fact that insofar as the positional configuration is projected through, and intimately associated with, the speaking subject himself, it is also being mapped onto the participants of the speech event who, in turn, become activated as signs in the emergent poetic structure. The result is a parallelism that is prominently contextualized and anchored to the ongoing event.

Whereas in the first example parallelism was seen as emerging fully formed over adjacent discursive segments—the high level of formal stylization adding to its rhetorical and comic effect—the second example allows us to observe the development of parallelism from a rudimentary configuration of social positions and stances to a complete analogical network of associations. Though perhaps superficially different—by a degree of formal stylization and decontextualization from the ongoing speech event—both types of parallelisms fundamentally

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Multimedial Parallelism in Ritual Performance (Parallelism Dynamics II)

Frog

Ritual performances create situations in which language, movements, spaces, and objects can all be coordinated in powerfully symbolic ways. The turn to performance expanded studies of verbal art from viewing tradition as text to tradition as embodied behavior wherein language is only one part.¹ This expanded view on verbal art was well established already decades ago and continues to evolve.² However, frameworks for analyzing relationships between linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of performance, relationships between speech, gesture, and movement through space, have remained less developed. The present article contributes to discussion by applying parallelism as a tool for approaching some of these relations in ritual practices that engage with unseen forces. On the one hand, the social perceptibility of parallelism between speech and other aspects of performance can be less ambiguous where it appears connected to a ritual's efficacy. On the other hand, this type of parallelism in ritual leads into significant questions about imaginal understandings of the world where the unseen referred to in verbal art is considered no less "real" than empirical experience. Emphasis is on theory and discussed in relation to a variety of traditions, including those addressed by other authors in this special issue of *Oral Tradition*, traditions of magic and ritual of cultures in the Baltic Sea region, and some traditions of shamanism.

Parallelism is here viewed as a general semiotic phenomenon of sameness or similarity and difference in commensurable units that allows those units to be perceived as parallel members of groups (see also Cureton 1992:263). In traditions involving verbal art, parallelism is customarily treated as a purely linguistic phenomenon of co-occurring sequences of text that are similar in form and/or meaning without being identical (for example, Fox 1988:*passim*; 2014:3-199; Fabb 2015:140). Roman Jakobson (for example, 1981 [1966]) considered parallelism more broadly as "the essence of poetic artifice," organizing everything from sounds to meanings and structures. Nevertheless, he only considered the phenomenon at "every level of *language*" (1981 [1966]:98, emphasis added) rather than extending it to other aspects of performance. Restricting parallelism to linguistic signs is an outcome of text-centered

¹Emblematic works associated with this turn are for example Abraham (1968) and Bauman (1975; developed into Bauman 1984).

²Classic works include Hymes (1981), Sherzer (1983), Tedlock (1983), and Bauman (1984); see also works such as Foley (1995) and Agha (2007).

approaches. When verbal art is viewed not as text but as embodied behavior or performance, restriction to language becomes arbitrary and potentially inappropriate. Parallelism between linguistic and non-linguistic expression is here described as “multimedial parallelism” (distinguished from other potential terms below). Parallelism is here revealed to be a phenomenon of intersemiotic syntax, viewing syntax in Charles W. Morris’s (1971 [1938]:22) broad sense as “the formal relation of signs to one another.” Intersemiotic syntax of parallelism is related to the metrical structuring of performance discourse (see also Kataoka 2012:117-23).

This approach to multimedial parallelism is developed from my work on parallelism at different levels of signification in verbal art (“Parallelism Dynamics I,” this volume). There, I address parallelism not only in sounds (alliteration, rhyme) and language (semantic, grammatical, morphological parallelism), as familiar from the approach of Roman Jakobson (for example, 1981 [1960]), but also in signs or symbols mediated by language, from basic images and motifs to more complex units. Put simply, once parallelism is considered between two images or motifs mediated through language, it is a small step to consider a verbally expressed motif and its coordinated enactment as a form of parallelism. The present article is intended to be accessible without knowledge of my broader approach to parallelism in verbal art. Relevant terms and principles are outlined in §1. In §2, forms of multimedial parallelism between ritual speech and non-linguistic features of performance are introduced. The emic perception of unseen realities is discussed in §3, where it is argued that people naturalized to a tradition can undergo a shift in how they think about and perceive the world in relation to a performance. In §4, relations between verbal art and imaginably projected agents, forces, and events are discussed as dialectically constructed through parallelism between expressions in performance and their presumed reality. In §5, symbolic correlation between verbal art and the performance space or environment is discussed as a means of construing its meaningfulness through parallelism. A brief summation is then offered in §6.

1. Terms and Concepts

1.1. Metered Frames

In order to address the correlation of expressions across different media, I employ the concept of “metered frame.” As David McNeill (1992:19) stresses, “[l]anguage has the effect of segmenting and linearizing meaning.” For the analysis of parallelism in co-produced conversation, Michael Silverstein (1984:183) proposed that each unit of utterance presents a “metered frame” in relation to which co-occurring utterances can be perceived. In oral discourse, language organizes meaningful units of communication in time at levels of words, phrases, clauses and so forth, each of which can be construed as forming a metered frame of different scope. The concept of metered frame is here extended to non-linguistic expression, such as gestures, music, discreet actions, and also activities that may be ongoing but that are nevertheless recognized as having a beginning and ending, forming a unit in time. The metered frames of each medium can then be coordinated within the uniting rhythms of performance, construing such frames across media.

Following McNeill (1992:23-25), speech and bodily expression are aspects of a single system of communication. Generally speaking, speech and gesture are synchronized (26-29) and “[a]s a general rule there is one gesture, one clause” (94), although there may be many clauses without gestures. In the terminology used here, the clause forms a metered frame in relation to which the gesture is coordinated. The timing of a gesture is according to its stroke and duration. The stroke and duration of the gesture are coordinated with verbal units and rhythms in the clause’s “linearization of meaning.” The stroke must first be anticipated, for example by positioning the hand to make the gesture, and thus may precede the clause’s metered frame (25-26). When multiple gestures are coordinated with one clause in spontaneous speech, McNeill observes that “utterances are often accompanied by dysfluencies” (94). In order to coordinate units of meaning, pauses are introduced in speech. This coordination is made visually apparent in example (1) by adapting John W. Du Bois’ (2014:362-63, 376-68) “diagraph.” The diagraph was developed for analysing parallelism in conversational speech by aligning parallel elements on a grid. Here, elements of speech and gesture are aligned (with additional adaptations below). Example (1) is adapted from McNeill’s example of a narrator whose first gesture is completed before continuing the spoken clause (1992:21-22, 94):

(1)	Speech	. . . and she . . .	grabs	the knife
	Gesture	HAND GROPE IN CIRCLE	HAND TURNS & CLOSES IN FIST	

Dysfluencies in spontaneous speech are instructive concerning the coordination of units of expression across media. A tradition of ritual speech will most likely equip a competent performer to express him- or herself with abnormal fluency. Such fluency will integrate non-verbal aspects of performance at least insofar as these are part of the performance tradition. In (1), speech may seem semantically dominant in the expression because the gesture is not intelligible without it. However, the clause’s metered frame does not subordinate gestural expression as secondary: gestural expression extends the rhythm of speech with pauses in order to coordinate the relevant signs of each medium.³ Coordinated rhythms can similarly be observed at the level of signs in the simultaneous use of speech and indigenous sign language among the Warlpiri of Australia (Kendon 1989:299-301). The word-based rhythm produces slight pauses in signs and speech so that the expressed words are synchronized (304-09; McNeill 1992:54-55). Although clauses or similar units might be considered the primary units of utterance as discourse, the word-based rhythm construes a metered frame for each word and aligns them across sign systems. The coordination of signs across media in relation to emergent metered frames of expression appears as a primary strategy for producing the relation between them. This relation can be described as “intersemiotic syntax,” viewing syntax in the sense of Morris (1971 [1938]:22).

³McNeill (2005:93) asserts that “[n]either speech nor gesture is primary” in such coordinated communication. However, linguistic parallelism can organize verses in a semantic hierarchy (for example, Steinitz 1934:136). Even if linguistic and gestural signs are dialectically engaged in communication, there also seems to be a semantic hierarchy when gestural signs only carry relevant meanings in conjunction with speech. The ritual formalization of speech and gesture may also give rise to one or the other being primary.

Metered frames vary considerably in scope. Signs like motifs are organized in metered frames of broader scope that are structured by the language or expressive behavior that mediates them (“Parallelism Dynamics I,” this volume, §1.2). Gestures do not generally combine to form more complex units of gestural expression (McNeill 1992:21). However, a discrete action like donning a belt or an ongoing activity like walking may have a longer duration that can be perceived as a metered frame of greater scope. Larger frames can be coordinated across media, as shown in Fig. 1:

<i>Mode rhythm</i>	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•x•
<i>Verbalization</i>	words	words	words	words	words	words	words	words
<i>Symbolic articulation</i>	image or motif		DONNING A BELT [metapragmatic unit]		image or motif		image or motif	
<i>Higher order</i>	theme				theme			
<i>Higher order</i>	ritual’s narrative pattern							
<i>Embodied action</i>	[anticipation of action]		DONNING A BELT		action			

Fig. 1. Visual illustration of expressions manifesting metered frames. The levels of signification from the rhythm of the mode of expression, through language, and symbols mediated by language, are shown as structuring one another in a hierarchy. Embodied actions manifest their own metered frames, which can be coordinated in order to produce a multimedial parallelism (shaded).

1.2. Medium and Mode

“Medium” and “mode” are used here as complementary terms. “Medium” is used in a broad sense of that which mediates communication, such as language versus movement, gesture, and posture of the body, costuming, props, and so forth. “Mode” involves a structuring of a medium’s use in ways that produce predictable, socially distinguishable formal differences in expression. For example, “sung performance” and “dictation” are different modes of verbal art.⁴ A single mode may also coordinate and formalize multiple media. Following Richard Bauman (1984:9), “the nature of performance” is “conceived of and defined as a mode of communication.” Where performance coordinates different media (some of which may exhibit formalized modes), it can be considered “multimedial.” Some scholars use “mode” the way “media” is used here, and would thus use “multimodal” (for example, Bell and Gibson 2011:558, 566-67). Even if modes of speech are distinguishable, not all media coordinated in a performance necessarily qualify as being in one particular “mode” as opposed to another. Gesture, for example, is not generally subject to standards of well-formedness like units of language (McNeill

⁴The term is adapted from Michael Halliday’s treatment of “mode of discourse” as a determinant on register (1978:64, espec.). However, Halliday did not develop this concept more than superficially (see also Shore 2015:63-64), with a primary distinction between speech and writing, which would here be considered different media for language. Foley did not use this concept in his application of register theory to oral poetry, although he mentions it with reference to Halliday’s approach (1995:50). I earlier addressed this problem with a more basic concern of arguing that poetic meter should be distinguished as an aspect of mode and not conflated with register (2012:52-54, espec.); in that discussion, mode blurs with medium.

1992:22) and may be integrated into a performance mode without being markedly formalized. It also seems dubious to extend “mode” to media like props. Adapting Jakobson’s terminology, parallelism between “verbal signs [and] signs of nonverbal sign systems” can also be called “intersemiotic” parallelism (1959:233, on intersemiotic translation),⁵ but this term would refer to a more specific phenomenon. Multimedial parallelism is not restricted to sign systems *per se*. It may include, for example, the coordination of formal parallelism between units of verse and rhythmic units of music. It may also include parallelism that engages objects and spaces that come into focus and become meaningful through parallelism: rather than intersemiotic parallelism *per se*, things in other media can take on the quality of signs through parallelism.

Mode is a determinant on the structure and organization of expression. This quality is particularly clear where sung rhythms with strict poetic meter structure language into regularly recurrent metered frames. Where signs are mediated by another system of signs, such as motifs mediated by language, the mediating system operates as a mode and is a determinant on the structure and organization of the next order of signs. To oversimplify somewhat, this basically means that the metered frame of a motif communicated through language will be structured by the units of language, for instance countable in verse lines. Dell Hymes (for example, 1977) revealed that even speech we might describe as prose, organized on the basis of syntax and prosody rather than metrical and poetic devices, is organized in what are here described as metrical frames of different scope (lines, verses, stanzas, and so on). A unified mode of performance implies that structuring principles such as rhythms are interfaced across media. In other words, language, melodies or music, kinesics and choreography are linked through the rhythms of a mode of expression; the performance mode’s rhythms govern and coordinate the meter of each medium.

Although “meter” is normally considered exclusively in terms of language, it can be applied by analogy to principles structuring signification in any medium. Just as meters organize language according to sounds, syllables, and so forth, meters for other media will be based on the features of the particular system of signification. In other words, a meter of choreography will not include rhyme—or at least not a rhyme based on phonology. However, where meters for different media are interfaced with a common performance mode, they must be somehow compatible in order to be coordinated in time, aligning and abutting metered frames, for example of melody, verbalization, and choreography. The alignment of frames at one level does not necessarily mean that they align at higher levels of complexity. For example, Kati Kallio (this volume) shows that, in kalevalaic poetry, units of melody and units of language correlate at the level of the line but can remain independent in how each of these organizes lines in larger groupings. Metered frames of choreography may be fully aligned with those of music and language, even at the level of internal rhythm (Kataoka 2012:118, 120). Choreographic units may also be equivalent to several lines of language in scope, more similar to a unit communicated through language, even if their internal rhythm coordinates with line-units. Because choreography operates alongside language rather than being mediated through it, the boundaries of its metered frames may potentially be staggered relative to frames of other media

⁵“Intersemiotic parallelism” has been narrowly defined by Yu Liu and Kay L. O’Halloran (2009:372) to refer specifically to relationships between visual images and linguistic text in printed discourse.

rather than aligned (see also Kataoka 2012:121-22). If choreography only begins at a certain stage of performance, it might have an (unmetered) anticipation phase in which the performer gets into position while other media of performance are engaged with the performance rhythm. Although different media may have quite different metered frames, the mode of performance coordinates them within a unified rhythm.

1.3. Register and Levels of Syntagmatic Relations

Socially predictable expressive behaviors are here approached in terms of “registers.” “Register” emerged as a term in social linguistics to designate language varieties associated with recurrent social situations.⁶ The concept has gradually extended to include a broader range of expression, and “a register’s linguistic repertoires often comprise only a part of its semiotic range, the range of devices deployed routinely and appropriately in its use” (Agha 2001:40). Register was developed as a framework for approaching performance traditions of oral poetry by John Miles Foley.⁷ Today, register is a calibratable tool, which may be adjusted to different degrees of inclusion or exclusion according to the investigation (Frog 2015b:89-97).

Generally speaking, register-based approaches in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology have been centrally concerned with social aspects of registers as alternative varieties of expression (for example, Agha 2007). Registers are normally addressed as “context-appropriate alternate ways of ‘saying the same thing’” (Silverstein 2010:430). In research on oral poetry, concern has instead been with the internal workings of the particular register and its capacities to produce meanings (for example, Foley 1995). In all cases, register is viewed in terms of the primary system(s) for signification like language and gesture while what is expressed is either reduced to semantic content or to a complex unit of language, such as a “theme” in Oral-Formulaic Theory (for example, Foley 1999:83-86). The approach here acknowledges that a sign system like language can mediate other signs and that the same meaningful unit of tradition, such as an image or motif, can be mediated verbally, visually, or enacted.

The term “register” here refers to the system of semiotic resources that characterize a socially distinguishable expressive behavior *at a particular level of syntagmatic relations*. Basically, this means that the register of speech is distinguished from both its mode of performance and a register of signs communicated by speech. Words can mediate motifs but words and motifs do not combine to make a sentence: they are at different levels of syntagmatic relations. However, words and basic gestural signs enter syntagmatic relations such as saying “Look at that!” while pointing, or saying “The rabbit went along” while making a bouncing motion with one hand. Speech and expressive behavior can be collectively referred to as a “performance register.” The performance register can mediate meaning-bearing units of tradition, signs, which, for simplicity’s sake, are here referred to as symbols or symbolic units (even if specific signs might be, for example, more iconic than symbolic). Images and motifs are minimal

⁶Register-based approaches to language are most widely known through the seminal work of M. A. K. Halliday (espec. 1978; see also the survey in Shore 2015).

⁷See Foley (1995:49-53, 82-92, 110-15, 150-75 and 1999:65-88); see also Frog (2015b:78-82).

symbolic units. An image is static, analogous to the grammatical category of a noun. A motif is dynamic, involving change or placing images in a relation. A motif is here considered equivalent to a rite as a minimal symbolic integer of ritual behavior. Minimal symbolic units operate at a level of syntagmatic relations here called symbolic articulation,⁸ where they form a symbolic register. Images and motifs may be used in combination to mediate complex symbols at higher orders of signification such as a theme, as a socially recognizable constellation of images and motifs forming a complex unit, and a narrative pattern, which may incorporate themes as well as images and motifs.⁹

1.4. Multimedial Semantic and Symbolic Parallelism

Parallelism is here considered a perceivable quality of recurrence of sameness or similarity in commensurable units that co-occurs with difference in relation to a metered frame. Units of language are always organized in time. The history of considering parallelism as a purely linguistic phenomenon has given rise to the presumption that “parallelism involves the replication of units *over time*” (Urban 1991:80, emphasis added). However, synchronized spoken and signed Warlpiri express the same semantic units in multimedial parallelism with sign to sign equivalence. This type of parallelism can be used for emphasis or other rhetorical effects, as well as redundancy (Kendon 1989:299-300). On the other hand, Adam Kendon points out that parallel signing and speaking does not normally add semantic information, in contrast to uses of gesture with speech (298; see also McNeill 1992:55). Gesture can simply add to communication through deictics like pointing or nodding in the direction of something. When verbal narration is accompanied by gestures that describe the size and shape of objects, imitate events, and so forth, this manifests a form of semantic parallelism across media of expression (Lindfors, this volume). In example (1) above, speech telling about grabbing a knife is coordinated with gestures illustrating the actions described. The commensurable units expressed in relation to the metered frame of the clause lead speech and gesture to be interpreted as alternative representations of a coherent unit of information. Within this syntax, parallel imagery and language manifest a dialectic that resolves difference into coherence of communication (McNeill 2005:87-163).

Coordination of a gesture within a metered frame of speech may only manifest parallelism with part of the spoken unit of utterance, as is also found with some forms of verse parallelism.¹⁰ To take a clichéd expression, the statement “I caught a *really big* fish” can be coordinated with a gesture of holding one’s hands a relevant distance apart. When I do this, I anticipate the gesture as I begin to speak, bringing my hands into position. I then slow my speech, affecting my voice for emphasis, and slightly bob my hands in time with stresses on

⁸The term “symbolic articulation” is adapted from Ruqaiya Hasan (1989:90-106 and 2007:23-32), who, however, uses the term to refer to linguistic patterns within a text rather than a level of signs that are linguistically mediated.

⁹For discussion of signs at these different levels and how they interrelate, see “Parallelism Dynamics I,” this volume.

¹⁰In this volume, see for example also Hull on parallelism in Ch’orti’ Maya ritual discourse and discussion in the introduction.

“really,” “big,” and to a lesser degree or with a slightly varied motion on “fish.” Parallelism is coordinated in relation to the series of semantic units “*really big fish*” and rhythmically in the linearization of meaning through language, as illustrated in (2):

(2)	Speech	I caught a	<i>really</i>	<i>big</i>	fish
	Gesture	[anticipation]	BEAT	BEAT	(BEAT)

The coordination of speech and gesture aligns the metered frames of each medium so that their relationship is salient even without a deictic term (for example “a fish *this big*”).¹¹ A syntactic relation is inferred: the gesture presents an iconic representation of the size of the fish (“*really big*”). Of course, the meanings produced by this parallelism depend on whether the coordinated gesture suggests more or less accurate equivalence of a sizable fish. When I was growing up, this cliché was in vital (and near-exclusive) use through humorous adaptations, whether contrasting verbal “big” with a gesture indicating something small, or with a gesture of clearly exaggerated size. The correlation of word and gesture is through an image “fish.” Even if the words of speech are interpreted as referring to the gesture or vice versa, the meaningfulness of communication is dependent on the activation of the image “fish” as a sign or symbol that becomes the referent for interpretation.

2. Multimedial Symbolic Parallelism

2.1. Metapragmatic Representation versus Parallelism

A commonly observed feature of ritual speech is that verbal expression presents a metapragmatic representation of performance itself (Keane 1997:50-51). In other words, ritual speech describes what is being performed or parts thereof. When speech and action or activity come into formal alignment, the expressions in different media can be viewed as semantically or symbolically parallel. Metapragmatic representation is a broad category that is not exclusive to ritual activity (for example, Silverstein 1993; Agha 2007:16-23), and it is only one form of reflexivity in practices of oral poetry (Tarkka 2013:128-30). Parallelism is not an automatic outcome of metapragmatic speech. Interestingly, metapragmatic statements can even be embedded in the speech of characters within a historiola (that is, a mythic narrative integrated into a charm). In the following Danish charm of the Second Merseburg type, metapragmatic speech is attributed to Jesus (underlined). This offers a simple example that helps to illuminate boundaries qualifying parallelism, while anticipating parts of the discussion below (all unnecessary punctuation is omitted from verse examples; unless otherwise noted, translations are my own):

¹¹ See also McNeill (1992:23-29, 218-44 and 2005:87-163).

- (3) Jesus Christus op ad Berget Red
 og da forvred sit Fodled
 nu satte han sig ned ad Signe og sagde
jeg signer eder
 Sener i Sener
 i Aare i Aare
 i Kjød i Kjød
 Blod i Blod
 etc.
 (Hansen 1960-61 [1942]:166, line breaks added)

Jesus Christ up to the mountain rode
 and then his [horse's?] ankle was sprained
 now he set himself down to charm and said
 “I charm you
 sinew to sinew
 to vein to vein
 to flesh to flesh
 blood to blood
 etc.”

A metapragmatic announcement such as “I charm you” is not necessarily perceived as parallelism because there is no clear formal correlation of metered frames in the performance. Within the text, resonance (Du Bois 2014:372-75) emerges between this announcement and “he sat down to charm” through reproduction of the verb. However, the two clauses differ both syntactically and in scope, which instead aligns “I charm you” with the units of the conjuration (the magically effective words): the two clauses do not form a clear parallelism as members of a parallel group. Within Jesus’ performance (and in the historiola narrative more generally), the charming activity seems to be purely verbal. The metapragmatic speech “I charm you” is not an essential part of the conjuration in the tradition.¹² It seems to introduce and explain the 4+ line conjuration. Explanation entails a syntactic relation, but does not manifest parallelism.

2.2. Metapragmatic Representation and the Alignment of Metered Frames

The mode of performance coordinates metered frames so that parallelism may manifest across expressions in different media even if these differ in scope or duration. Example (4) is a description of an Evangelical Lutheran anointing service (Hauser 1987:69):

- (4) The minister lays both hands on the head of each person, and following a brief silence, says:

¹² This is particularly evident in the corpus, where such metapragmatic statements are absent from the vast majority of variants of this charm-type.

I lay my hands upon you in the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, beseeching him to uphold you and fill you with grace that you may know the healing power of his love.

Then dipping a hand in the oil, the presiding minister makes the sign of the cross on each person's forehead and, addressing him or her by name, says:

I anoint you with oil in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

Each of the two parts of the ritual involves a physical action and a coordinated statement. The spoken text of the ritual varies while the coordination of speech and action is dependent on the customs of local ministers. In each part, the physical action and ritual speech are recognized as two elements of a whole. First, the laying on of hands is enacted, followed by a pause that emphasizes intention and significance. Ritual speech then represents the action ("I lay my hands upon you"), the source of its power ("in the name of"), its pragmatics ("beseeching him"), and aims ("to uphold you and fill you"). The laying on of hands begins prior to the speech and establishes a static position. The speech is coordinated and co-occurring in performance with this position in an immediately perceivable parallelism. The physical enactment of anointing with oil in the sign of the cross follows. Ritual speech represents the action ("I anoint you") and the source of its power ("in the name of"). In this case, speech is coordinated with the symbolically central element of the action of making the sign of the cross with oil (see also McNeill 1992:26-27). Dipping the hand in oil anticipates the anointing proper, while the duration of speech may exceed that of making the sign of the cross. In the first case, the metered frames of speech and action may seem to overlap without being fully correlated while in the second the frames of speech and action may seem staggered, as shown in (5):

(5)	Speech		SPEECH			SPEECH	Amen
	Action	[ANTICIPATION]	LAYING ON HANDS	(END)	[ANTICIPATION]	ANOINTING	

In the laying on of hands, the action establishes a metered frame to which the speech is linked as a metapragmatic expression. A distinct metered frame may be construed from the unit of speech. However, the metered frames of these media are coordinated by the rhythm of performance. Within that rhythm, silence preceded the speech in the metered frame (in (5), the transition from speech to silence is indicated by a dashed line). In the anointing, ritual speech begins at a particular point in the action sequence and continues beyond the conclusion of the action. Within the rhythm of performance, speech and action are coordinated but the differences in duration are compensated, as was seen in example (1) about grabbing a knife. Here, a pause follows the action (in (5), the transition from action to pause is indicated by a dashed line), and the metered frame of greater scope concludes before the next unit begins. In both cases, the conclusion of speech marks the conclusion of the metered frame of the performance mode. Performance coordinates frames of different scope across media within metered frames of the

performance rhythm. At the same time, the metered frames of performance are structured by onsets and conclusions of the metered frames that they coordinate.

Rather than a discreet action, an ongoing activity may be subject to metapragmatic representation. The activity manifests its own metered frame, but this may be as great in scope as the ritual itself. In contrast, the metapragmatic representation in speech may be only a motif, a basic symbolic unit that is mediated through language. In terms of scope, these units are not commensurable. However, the rhythm of performance leads metered frames to be construed across media. The ongoing activity occurs in relation to those rhythms and their metered frames. Metapragmatic speech can thus bring ongoing activity into focus and produce multimedial parallelism for the duration of a metered frame although the activity as a whole forms a unit of much larger scope, as illustrated in Fig. 2:

<i>Mode rhythm</i>	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•x•
<i>Verbalization</i>	words	words	words	words	words	words	words	words
<i>Symbolic articulation</i>	image or motif		motif [metapragmatic unit]		image or motif		image or motif	
<i>Higher order</i>	theme				theme			
<i>Higher order</i>	ritual's narrative pattern							
<i>Embodied activity</i>	ongoing behavior		ongoing behavior		ongoing behavior			

Fig. 2. Metapragmatic representation of an ongoing activity brings that activity into focus during the metered frame of speech, enabling multimedial parallelism in relation to that frame (shaded).

An example of this is found in references to kneeling and praying in Chatino prayers discussed by Hilaria Cruz:

- | | | |
|-----|--|--------------------------------|
| (6) | Ne ² wa ⁴² re ² ntqan ³² xtyin ³ wa ⁴² | Now we are kneeling down |
| | Wa ⁴² re ² jnya ¹ yaq ² wa ⁴² | We are asking with our hands |
| | Wa ⁴² re ² jnya ¹ tqwa ³² wa ⁴² | We are asking with our mouths |
| | Ndon ⁴² xtyinq ⁴² | I knelt down |
| | Sweq ¹ lon ³² | Scraping my face on the ground |
| | Sweq ¹ kyanq ³² | Scraping my feet |
| | Nka ⁴² sten ⁴ | For you are my father |
| | Nka ⁴² yqan ²⁰ | For you are my mother |

(Text and translation from Cruz, this volume: Text 2, II. 93-100)

The first three lines render a motif of embodied prayer that corresponds to the speaker's ongoing activity, also describable as a motif. The performed activity significantly exceeds the scope of the verbalized motif in duration, beginning well before it and continuing well after (see Cruz, this volume). The verbalized and enacted motifs can be considered equivalent or identical. Their co-occurrence allows the verbal expression to unambiguously refer to the performed

activity. The performance mode coordinates and links expressions across different media, and its rhythm manifests a framework for the unitization of those expressions. From this perspective, performance involves an ongoing process of organizing expressions into metered frames and construing relationships between them. When the linguistically mediated motif converges with the bodily performed motif in the performance rhythm, symbolic parallelism manifests in relation to the corresponding metered frame(s). In other words, parallelism only manifests for certain metered frames of the ongoing performed activity rather than the metapragmatic representation referring to it in its duration.

The precise duration for which parallelism is perceived in a case of ongoing activity is ambiguous and should be considered subjective. The parallelism is most salient with the verses rendering the motif. The second set of three lines in (6) uses the past tense and refers to the whole preceding period of the activity. However, parallelism seems to remain in relation to concurrent metered frames: rather than manifesting parallelism, reference to the beginning of the activity situates the metered frame relative to a broader unit of performance. Once the parallelism is apprehended, it might continue to be perceived for the duration of a unit of greater scope if it is perceived as an element within a parallelism on that scope. Otherwise, it might also shift to a resonance, a perception that the ongoing action links back to the metapragmatic representation.

2.3. *Actualizing the Mythic Side of Actions*

Metapragmatic representation may still manifest parallelism although it is not in empirical agreement with embodied action. Symbolic parallelism based on contrast can fill a variety of functions. It may accomplish ritual deception, explicate or redefine ritual action, actualizing its mythic significance, or it may remain ambiguous, without resolution. In contrastive parallelism involving verbal art, the verbal element often seems to be semiotically dominant. In ritual deception, for example, language expresses what should be believed.¹³ Uralic bear hunting rituals can incorporate counter-factual claims to avoid the bear's retribution by reassigning responsibility elsewhere or redefining what occurs. During an Ob-Ugric bear feast:

- (7) Each person received the first mouthful on the tip of a knife and had to croak like a raven. Those present repeated from time to time the sentence: "The ravens came, the ravens eat." (Honko et al. 1993:130)

Speech assigns responsibility for eating the bear to ravens rather than to the human community participating in the feast (who also perform raven identities by croaking). In this case, parallelism between speech and activity is not manifested only for the duration of a single unit of utterance. The intermittent but ongoing reproduction of "The ravens came, the ravens

¹³ Of course, not all referential contrasts across media produce parallelism. While a slain bear's snout and claws were being removed, Karelian hunters would sing that they had been incompetent and that the bear had died of a fall owing to its own clumsiness (Honko et al. 1993:137 and 184, #45.11-20). The counter-factual claims refer to an earlier event and redefine it; the event and the unit of verbal art do not enter into a structural relation that produces a parallelism.

eat,” by different participants shifts it from a discreet action to an ongoing activity. That activity produces an extended metered frame that correlates with the duration of the portion of the feast, which is redefined through language. In other contexts, examples of which can be found below, language seems to redefine the parallel action in some way or to actualize the mythic side of the action. However, the reverse parallelism seems far less common for ritual: deception is not performed through action while speech is not deceptive; action does not actualize the mythic referent of otherwise more mundane speech.

Contrastive parallelism is not infrequent in healing rituals and apotropaic magic. Speech frequently seems to redefine a performed action or ongoing activity, whether spoken by a lone performer or co-produced dialogue (for example, Vaitkevičienė 2008:135-36, 718, #84). Of course, redefining an action through speech does not necessarily resolve its ambiguity. The following is part of a description of a Lithuanian practice for healing *grižas* (an affliction of the joints):

- (8) Ir paskui padėt ant slenksčio tą skaudamą ar koją, ar ranką, kur jau susinarinęs būni, I kirst su atbulu kirviu. I reik sakyt:

- Ne aš kertu, grižas kerta. Ne aš kertu . . .

Irgi 55 kartus. Ir tas grižas prapuol (Vaitkevičienė 2008:143, #105).

Then you must take the hand or leg that hurts and place it on the threshold and strike it with the backside of the axe. Then you must say:

“I’m not chopping, ‘grižas’ is chopping. I’m not chopping . . .”

You do it 55 times and that “grižas” disappears (Vaitkevičienė 2008:719, #105).¹⁴

Here, the performed motif of “chopping” with an axe is correlated with a verbal statement that refers to the motif of chopping. In this type of a ritual, correlation does not necessarily mean synchronized. In (5) above, action and speech are timed to coincide although they are of different duration. As is common in descriptions of rituals like that in (8), only the necessity of coordinated action and speech is clear, not whether they should be concurrent, as shown in (9), or sequential, as shown in (10):

¹⁴ In this particular case, the informant considered the charm something silly that people used to do in the past. The individual’s view of whether such performance activity would be effective on bodily ailments does not, however, affect the general pattern of construal and interpretation of a syntactic relationship between units of verbal expression and units of performed activity, even if (the ambiguity of) that syntactic relationship and its significance might be interpreted differently by different people in different times.

(9)	Speech	SPEECH		SPEECH		SPEECH	
	Action	CHOP		CHOP		CHOP	
(10)	Speech		SPEECH		SPEECH		SPEECH
	Action	CHOP		CHOP		CHOP	

Even if the units of expression occur sequentially rather than simultaneously, they are readily interpreted as formally equivalent and dyadically paired members forming a group. They exhibit parallelism in their coordinated reference in different ways to a common symbolic motif. Whether synchronized or sequential, the recurrent sequence constructs a distinct metered frame in the rhythm of performance. The parallelism is contrastive in that the actor in the performative chopping (the healer) does not correspond to the actor identified in the verbal unit (the *grīžas*). The members can also be interpreted as complementary and exhibiting “additive” parallelism (Stepanova, this volume): speech presents additional information about the enacted motif (that is, assigning it to an agent). This contrastive parallelism is comparable to forms of semantic parallelism in which one parallel term defines and specifies what a corresponding term in a parallel member refers to (for example, Hull, this volume).

The materiality of ritual performance can be redefined through correlation with a verbalized mythic image or motif. Symbolic parallelism may ascribe supernatural quality or identity to what is empirically perceived in the ritual. The Finno-Karelian ritual specialist known as a *tietäjä* (“knower, one who knows”) would enter into a hyperactive trance state for ritual performance and then manipulate material substances and objects while relying on incantations in interaction with the unseen world.¹⁵ Example (11) presents a description of a ritual to magically secure the specialist from supernatural harm. The *tietäjä* first creates a type of “belt” of out of wood. When girding himself with this, he performs an incantation. The performer thus describes his symbolic action as girding himself with a “belt”/“collar” not of wood but of metal:

- (11) Kun taikoja ruppee taikomaan, niin sen pittää ottoo ja veäntee juurillaan kolome pihlajata ja ne kiertee yheks pannaks ja panna ympärilleen ja sannoo:

Annappahan kun minä vyölle vyöttelen
 Rautapantoihin panelen
 Vaskivöissä on vaikea olla
 Hopeavöissä on huokea olla
 Tinavöistä en tiijä

(SKVR XII₁ 3512.1-5)

When one starts to work magic, then one should take three rowan saplings by the roots and twist them together to make one band and put it around oneself and say:

¹⁵ On the *tietäjä* and his ritual technologies, see Siikala (2002:71-120).

Let me gird myself with a belt
 Let me put on iron collars
 It is hard to wear a copper belt
 Easy to wear a silver belt
 Of tin belts I do not know

(Siikala 2002:285, punctuation removed from verses)

The rowan trees from which the material artifact is prepared hold mythic significance in the tradition (for example, Krohn 1932:40-46). Rowans are also used in preparation rituals intended to “raise”¹⁶ the *tietäjä*’s *luonto* (literally “nature”), his innate power and supernatural agency, for example preparing and drinking a potion made from rowan sap (*SKVR* I₄ 17). In incantations, “iron,” “copper,” and “steel” are symbolically parallel substances that indicate the supernatural quality of what they describe (for example, Siikala 2002:186); rather than variation between substances, the word for the metal used is normally dependent on alliteration. The preparation of the rowan belt is distinct from the motif “donning a belt.” The metered frame of enacting this motif is coordinated with that of the motif’s verbalization within the performance mode to produce a multimedial parallelism. The verbalized and enacted motifs fully correspond, juxtaposing different physical and poetic belt-images as symbolically equivalent. Parallelism ascribes the two images a shared identity. In a sense, the symbolic equivalence remains ambiguous: it is unclear whether the verses are interpreted as poetic and metaphorical, whether the woven rowan was reconceptualized as iron, or whether the belt was conceptualized as both and neither—becoming a supernatural attribute itself. However, resolution is not necessary for the parallelism to successfully assert and reinforce the mythic quality of the belt as an attribute of power and protection for the specialist. What is most relevant here is simply that parallelism across media in a particular performance register can involve equivalencies that would not be valid in other contexts, much as canonically parallel words are not necessarily synonyms outside of a particular speech register.

2.4. Additional Types of Symbolic Parallelism

Multimedial parallelism can manifest through correspondences between embodied performance and events and actions of others described through verbal art. The self-referential expressions to kneeling and praying in (6) above participate in additional patterns of parallelism or “recurrent returns” (Jakobson 1981 [1966]:98) within the Chatino prayer itself. Use in (6) is preceded by a description of earlier generations’ practices, presented in (12):

- | | | |
|------|--|-------------------------------------|
| (12) | Sa ⁴ nde ²⁰ eq ²⁰ yan ⁴² sti ⁴ wa ⁴² | This was the way of our fathers |
| | Sa ⁴ nde ²⁰ eq ²⁰ yan ⁴² yqan ¹ wa ⁴² | This was the way of our mothers |
| | Sa ⁴ nde ²⁰ eq ²⁰ yan ⁴² kqyu ¹ kla ²⁴ | This was the way of the elder men |
| | Sa ⁴ nde ²⁰ eq ²⁰ yan ⁴² wqan ¹ kla ²⁴ | This was the way of the elder women |

¹⁶ In this tradition, increase of the power and potency of dynamic forces connected with the body was referred to through the metaphor of “raising.”

Ndya ³² wra ¹⁰	When the time came
Ndya ³² xa ³	When the daylight came
Jnya ¹ yaq ²	With their hands they asked
Jnya ¹ tqwa ¹	With their mouths they asked
Ndon ⁴² jneq ⁴²	They prostrated themselves
Ndon ⁴² xtyinq ³	And they knelt down

(Text and translation from Cruz, this volume:text 2, II. 40-49)

The motif parallelism produces a linguistic “macro-parallelism” (Urban 1986:26-29; 1991:79-104), or concentrated recurrence of language with variation. Here, parallelism between the embodied performance and corresponding verbalized motif is also perceivable, although they are identified with different actors. If perceived, symbolic parallelism within the metered frame would suggest a convergence of symbolic identity between the performer’s activity and that of the ancestors. However, reference to historical activities might also remain only resonance, without creating a strong enough correlation with the performer’s behavior to produce a clear syntactic relation across media (see also Cruz, this volume). The symbols combined in performance may resonate across media without manifesting multimedial parallelism *per se*. Manipulating a sword in conjunction with an incantation that refers to men fighting with swords produces a resonance across the two co-occurring uses of the image “sword” (*SKVR* I₄ 473a), but that resonance will not advance to parallelism without a formal correlation in relation to metrical frames (Frog 2009:14-15). Caution should be used when considering where such parallelism occurs.

Symbolic parallelism may manifest among images rather than motifs. In Arandic *awelye* ritual poetry discussed by Myfany Turpin (this volume), thematic couplets are linked to particular phases of ritual performance. A couplet sung in the completion of the final stage of body painting refers to the image of the painted bodies rather than to the action as a motif:

- (13) Ngwenty-ngwentyarl arremerl-aneq Adorned with white ochre
 Arlkeny marany alimarrankeq The traditional designs glistened
 (Text and translation from Turpin, this volume:example 33)

Although the linguistic units involve the grammatical category of a verb, they mediate a static image that co-occurs with the image of the performers’ painted bodies. Performance of this poetry involves a series of repetitions of each couplet, which means that each couplet manifests a metered frame as a unit of utterance while the period of repetition forms a metered frame of larger scope for the semantic or symbolic unit mediated by that couplet. Within those metered frames, the verbalized image focuses attention on the co-occurring physical image, activating symbolic parallelism during the phase of performance in which the couplet is repeated.

Ritual speech may represent empirically observable discrete actions, ongoing activities, people, and things beyond the performer and the performance. Eila Stepanova (this volume) stresses that laments were an essential part of Karelian funeral rituals, which would last for a period of days. Laments were performed in connection with each major activity of the ritual, including washing the corpse, building the coffin, and digging the grave. For example, the

lamerter would go to where the coffin was being made and lament to the coffin makers. Laments would be organized in statements, requests and rhetorical questions that structure the situation and the activities of the coffin makers within the broader context of the ritual. Laments were first and foremost for communication, whether the lamenter spoke as her own ego, provided a voice for the deceased or for others. Two aspects of communication were particularly important: direct communication with the dead, and representing and discussing each part of the funeral in a way that the deceased could understand, even when he or she was not addressed directly. In other words, ritual laments were oriented to communication with supernatural beings (see also Keane 1997:51), even if individual performers varied in their concern for how much should be explicated to those beings (see Metcalf 1989:266). The lament register was believed to be the only language that the dead could understand, deviating markedly from other forms of speech (Honko 1974:43; Stepanova 2011:129 and this volume). The circumlocutions or avoidance terms of this register¹⁷ often confer ritual or mythic significance on what they refer to, such as referring to the coffin as *igäzet kodizet* (“eternal home”) (Stepanova A. 2012:76). The very vocabulary that the lamenter used would symbolically structure the significance of activities like coffin making in relation to the unseen world.

Activities like coffin-making and digging the grave are independent of lamenting and thus the rhythm of the lamenter’s performance mode is not synchronized with the activity she refers to. From the perspective of lament performance, co-present activities like coffin making are nevertheless activated in relation to the metered frames produced by the performance, as in Fig. 2 above. In this case, performance actively implicates these activities in the lament itself, allowing parallelism to be perceived by the lamenter, her addressees, and ratified overhearers. Put another way, the lamenter verbally mediates images and motifs that activate co-present objects and activities in her vicinity as she refers to them and describes them, bringing them into focus. As a result, these co-present activities and objects become perceivable as symbols and their parallelism with verbally mediated correspondents becomes salient (see Stepanova, this volume). This parallelism constructs and explicates the significance of these activities and objects within the broader funeral ritual.

3. Performance Arena and Reality Orientation

A particular point of interest here is the potential for mythic or unseen realities to transform and supersede the empirical as an outcome of multimedial parallelism. Multimedial parallelism has the potential to transform objects and spaces in the ritual performance environment. An old sword or piece of burning tinder may be used as a concrete realization of a mythic symbol (for example *SKVR* I₄ 9; I₄ 473a); a post or tree may be engaged as a physical manifestation of the world pillar (Holmberg [Harva] 1922:142-45). When objects and spaces are engaged in this way, performance results in their explicit or implicit semioticization: the burning tinder or tree becomes a sign, something that has meaning. Material things may be fully integrated into the symbolic register of performance. For instance, some shamans claimed that a

¹⁷ See Aleksandra Stepanova (2012); on this register more generally, see Eila Stepanova (2015:262-71).

ritual performance was not “real” if a particular piece of costuming is lacking (Eliade 2004 [1964]:154). Not all multimedial parallelism has this mythic dimension even in ritual,¹⁸ but even so, the engagement of props and objects in the environment enables parallelism between them and verbally mediated symbols. This type of parallelism is linked to expectations about performance and the semioticity of objects, artifacts, and so forth in relation to performance.

A useful tool here is what John Miles Foley describes as the “performance arena,” the semiotic “locus where the event of performance takes place, where words are invested with their special power” (1995:47). Rather than a physical location, the performance arena is an experience-based framework that is internalized through exposure to, and participation in, a performance tradition. When the tradition is encountered, the performance arena is reciprocally activated as a framework for the reception and interpretation of relevant expressions. It extends from the performance register as a system of signifiers and their conventions of use to ideas about what a performance tradition is, how, when, why, and by whom it is used, and so on. For example, the activation of the performance arena of Karelian laments entails a shift in the appropriate speech register of a lamenter so that circumlocutions such as “eternal home” are as natural to the discourse as “coffin” would be unnatural (Stepanova 2015:263-68; see also Foley 1999:74-75). The performance arena would further identify the performer with a feminine gender role (Stepanova 2015:271) and mandate an embodied expression of grief, without which the performance would be interpreted not as “lamenting” but as “singing” (168). Such criteria for qualifying lament are directly comparable to a shamanic ritual not being considered “real” if an element of costuming is lacking. In both cases, the activation of the performance arena extends to expectations concerning the performer as an embodied signifier. Although the performance arena is a semiotic locus, its activation affects perception not only of language but of all elements that have been established in the tradition as relevant, significant, or meaningful in relation to performance. Such elements include embodied behavior, costuming, props like a piece of burning tinder, and may extend to physical spaces and environments in which performance takes place.

Within the performance arena, symbolic articulation through language semiotizes co-present elements in the performer’s physical environment to produce parallelism between the experiential world and imaginal renderings in verbalization. Objects and environmental features that are customarily engaged in performance become primed for semioticization when the performance arena is activated: they become latent symbols pregnant with potential significance *for the performance* in the event that they are engaged by performer(s). This priming or semiotic staging turns empirical objects and experienced spaces into potential symbolic media. Thus, lament performance activates a performance arena that entails expectations of semioticity of a co-present activity of coffin making, the coffin makers, and the coffin itself. These are primed as latent, relevant symbols, which may be activated in relation to metered frames of performance and the construal of symbolic parallelism. In the case of Karelian laments, this priming extends from actors and objects specifically connected with a funeral to the cultural and ecological

¹⁸ For example, a lamenter will describe paths to the home as dark, cold, and overgrown, producing a parallelism between verbal description and the observable paths (for example Stepanova 2011:136). This symbolic parallelism is easily apprehended by audiences as a metaphorical signification of grief without having necessary implications for the unseen world.

environment in which lamenting occurs. Verbal art renders the road, house, surrounding natural growth, and so on as symbolically charged and meaning-bearing when these are engaged in performance. The performance area entails the expectation that the verbal engagement of elements in the environment will render them as significant through symbolic parallelism (Stepanova, this volume).

In his approach to performance arena, Foley concentrated on signs and meanings, but the phenomenon extends to mythic understandings. For example, Karelian lament is one of many traditions where the performance arena entails unseen agents as addressees or overhearers (for example Lintrop 2012:403-04, 406-07, 409). The performance arena may thus induce a shift in the “reality orientation” of performers, audiences, or other participants so that they anticipate these unseen agents and their ability to affect the world. In her analysis of Siberian shamanism, Anna-Leena Siikala (1978:49-52) adapts Ronald E. Shor’s (1959) concept of “generalized reality orientation,” which he discussed in relation to hypnosis. She develops the term “reality orientation” to refer to the difference between experience with focus on the empirical world as opposed to focus on an imaginal world construed through verbal art. Siikala argues that the symbolic register mediated through verbal art plays a crucial role in a shaman’s (or similar ritual specialist’s) internalization and organization of knowledge of the otherworld (see also Siikala 2002:84; Stepanova E. 2012:261-63; Frog 2015a:47-50). Siikala argues shamanic singing connected with accomplishing the ecstatic state focuses the shaman on the oral poetry through which his knowledge of the mythic world has been internalized. She proposes that, in ritual performance, the shaman’s generalized reality orientation gives way and “experiences become related only to the sphere of special orientation, that is the shamanic world, which now becomes the only possible reality” (Siikala 1978:51). Siikala’s concern focuses on the shaman’s subjective experience of ecstatic trance as a real-time engagement with the unseen world. I propose that such a shift in reality orientation is encoded into the performance arena for audiences as well. Although they may not have first-hand perceptions of the unseen world, those naturalized to the performance arena are inclined to attend away from to the empirical to the symbolic world mediated and actualized through performance.

The shift in reality orientation is an operation of “mythological thinking.” Rather than approaching mythology narrowly in terms of “stories” about gods and the creation of the world, mythology can be considered more broadly in terms of symbols of mythic quality—emotionally invested symbols that provide models for understanding the world and interpreting experience.¹⁹ From this perspective, mythology is a semiotic phenomenon in which the “mythic” is not a formal aspect of signs but rather a quality of signification. Mythic quality is linked to the symbol being emotionally charged or invested (Doty 2000:55-58) as a thinking model connected with convictions. Mythology thus forms a framework for understanding social, empirical, and unseen worlds as well as subjective experience (Barthes 1972 [1957]:110-36 *et passim*; Lotman and Uspenskii 1976 [1973]; Frog 2015a:35-38). Mythological thinking is the process of thinking through mythic symbols. It is not concerned with truth claims in relation to an absolute reality; it

¹⁹ This is the approach to mythology that has developed with the shift to research on “mythic discourse,” or how mythology operates through engagements in social practices; on mythic discourse see, for example, Urban (1991:1-5), Siikala (1992:38-63 and 2002:43-70), Schjødt (2013:11-13), Frog (2015a:35-47); see also works collected in Frog et al. (2012).

is concerned with emotionally invested frameworks for understanding and experiencing “reality,” whether we think the sun is a ball of fire flying through the vacuum of space or a god in a very shiny hat. From the perspective of mythological thinking, Siikala’s account of the shift in reality orientation undergone by a shaman results from increasing attendance to the symbolic register of performance as a register of mythology (Frog 2015a:48-50). This symbolic register constitutes the knowledge and understanding of the unseen world, which becomes the performer’s dominant frame of reference in the trance state.

We all go through life engaging with frameworks of assumptions about how the world works. What we tend not to notice is that those frameworks shift in relation to context and situation (for example Kamppinen 1989:18-19). Simply put: we are more likely to believe in ghosts in the dark. Someone who is intellectually certain that “there is no such thing as ghosts” but who has internalized the relevant mythology can still get freaked out under the right circumstances, even if he or she is determined to resist it. For a shaman, the ritual performance context becomes an integrated part of inciting the shift in reality orientation, which s/he embraces. The shaman’s experience is individual and subjective whereas a performance arena concerns a socially constructed intersubjective framework as a semiotic field for interpreting and assessing performance. The performance arena of such ritual practices is built on the model of engagements with the unseen world. It is reasonable to consider that this semiotic field itself is characterized by a distinct, socially constructed inclination to a shift in reality orientation. Even if individuals engage with that field and performance in different ways (vary in subjective “belief”), the performance arena may equally instate, be oriented to, or socially imply its own “only possible reality.” In other words, assumptions about how the world works are built into the performance itself and must be presumed for it to seem practicable or functional to the performer or to the audience. The specialist does not shift his reality orientation alone, but rather engages a performance arena that is subject to a shift in reality orientation. In addition to the shaman, other participants are subject to a socially constructed expectation to attend to the symbolic and unseen and let their general reality orientation give way.

Activation of a performance arena evokes the frame of reference for semiosis of the particular tradition. That frame both enables the understanding of words and other signs of the particular performance register and also enables the assessment of the performer and performance. The position taken here is that this frame of reference extends from the propositional and indexical aspects of signs to their quality. From the potential of signs to produce meanings, metaphors and associations, the frame of reference extends to signs’ ability to operate as mythic models for understanding the world and interpreting experience. Thus, sounds produced in a Nenets shaman’s performance do not simply index associations with relevant animals and their movements as imitations; in ritual performance, such sounds directly signify the presence of unseen beings in the forms of those animals within the “only possible reality” of the performance arena.²⁰ This engagement occurs *for those acculturated to the performance arena*. Lacking access to the performance arena’s frame of reference (see Foley 1995:48-49), an

²⁰ The role of sound in Nenets shamanic performance has recently been highlighted by Karina Lukin (2015:124), who hypothesizes that auditory evidentiality is primary in this tradition: the unseen world is perceived primarily through sound and aural communication from the otherworld rather than visually perceived and represented.

outsider witnessing the same performance would not necessarily have any sensitivity to the relevant shift in reality orientation. For those with access, the reality orientation of the performance arena may bring the unseen, narrative world into sharper focus than the experiential world in which the performance takes place. With this shift in reality orientation, performance actualize that reality as experience.

4. Representation of the Unseen World

When the performance arena is extended to the quality of signs and inclination to reality orientation, verbal art becomes a medium for information about unseen realities, and it simultaneously actualizes and orchestrates those realities (Frog 2010b:17-20, 26-29; Stepanova 2015:271 and this volume). From this perspective, representations of unseen realities through verbal art are equivalent to representations of what we would otherwise distinguish as empirical reality. For example, in the healing rituals of the Finno-Karelian *tietäjä*, the perception and handling of materially conceived causes of illness are expressed through incantations. The widely found concept of illness as caused by an unseen projectile (Honko 1959:32-33 *et passim*) is prominent, and is the cause of the ailment addressed in (14):

(14)	Pihet Pilvelän pajasta	Tongs from Cloudland's forge
	Hohtimet alinomaiset	Eternal pincers
	Joilla nostan noian nuolet	With which I raise the sorcerer's arrows
	Amputautia ajelen	Shot-illnesses I am driving ²¹
	Ihosta alastomasta	From the naked skin
	Varsin vaattehettomasta	Right out of the unclothed one
		(SKVR I ₄ 35.41-46)

In this case, verbal art mediates the motif of the specialist removing an unseen cause of affliction from his patient. Symbolic articulation includes the construction of both the observable and unseen. Communicated through verbal art, mythic images and motifs structure the perception of the unseen world for the performer and make parallel objects, actions, and activities of performance understandable for the patient. The “sorcerer’s arrows” receive presence in the location of the ritual although they belong to the unseen world.

The *tietäjä*'s healing rituals follow a basic pattern structured as a drama in which the performer is the hero, whose supporting and antagonistic counter-roles are perceivable to others only through his performance (for example, Honko 1959:202-07; Siikala 2002:100-01). Ulla Piela (2005:13) describes the *teitäjä*'s incantations as “narratives that heal” in ritual performance. The performance was conceived as actualizing the script of the ritual as real-time engagements with the unseen world, actualizing the events as experience that, if accomplished correctly and with sufficient power, would successfully heal the patient (Frog 2010b:26-29). Representations

²¹ This verb is determined by alliteration and can be considered semantically equivalent to *nostaa* (“raise”) in the preceding line.

of unseen realities in the *tietäjä*'s incantations thus extend to agents who may be active in remote otherworld locations. These agents are actualized and manipulated through verbal art, often by commands that are conceived as simultaneously implemented, compelled by the power of the specialist and his incantation, as in (15):

(15)	Kivutar hyvä emäntä	Pain-Maiden, good mistress
	Vammatar valio vaimo	Injury-Maiden, outstanding woman
	Kääri kivut helmohisi	Gather the pains in your skirt-hems
	Vaivat vasten rintoasi	Troubles to your breast
	Puohda kivut puohtimella	Clean out the pains with a washing staff
	Vaivat seulalla selitä	Sort out the troubles with a sieve
	Ota kivut kippasehen	Take the pains in your little bowl
	Vaivat vaskivakkasehen	Troubles in your little copper box
	Kivut tuonne viedäksesi	Thither may you take the pains
	Vammat vaivutellaksesi	May you draw down the injuries
	Keskelle kipumäkeä	To the middle of Pain Hill
	Kipuvuoren kukkulata	Pain Mountain's heights
	Siellä keittäös kipuja	There boil pains
	Pikkusessa kattilassa	In the tiny kettle
	Rautasessa riehtilässä	In the iron dish
	Yhden sormen mäntävässä	Which you plunge with one finger
	Peukalon mahuttavassa	Work them in with a thumb

(SKVR XIII₃ 9040.17-33)

The unseen world is dialogically constructed in relation to verbal art through parallelism. This passage constitutes a theme comprised of several concentrated motifs. It is one of several themes that describe the banishment of the patient's affliction to the otherworld location inhabited by Pain-Maiden and how she will torture it there (SKVR XIII₃ 9040.1-55). Within the ritual performance, verbalization actualizes Pain-Maiden and directs her activities in a remote otherworld location. The reality of Pain-Maiden is inferred: the verbal representation that actualizes her does so by projecting a parallelism in relation to that inferred, unseen reality.

Within a ritual healing drama, the stretches of discourse that engage in parallelism with unseen realities may differ considerably in scope. The healing ritual as a whole need not exhibit uniform parallelism. As in other examples of multimedial parallelism above, parallelism may occur in relation to certain metered frames of performance and not others. For instance, example (14) is a section from a longer incantation, which begins with a historiola that narrates the ultimate origin of magic shot in mythic time. The historiola is relevant to the healing: it provides a supernaturally empowering back-story to the event. However, it is not an engagement with the unseen world that produces a real-time parallelism with its inhabitants. Alternately, an incantation may be more or less completely devoted to engagements with agents and events in the unseen world, but make abrupt shifts between them and the locations they inhabit. The engagements of Pain-Maiden in example (15) extend across 55 verses, at which point there is a change in counter-roles and the thunder-god in the celestial sphere is brought into focus. In each

case, a narrative pattern or equivalent series of ritual themes manifests a distinct metered frame in the course of the ritual. The parallelisms with the unseen world that this can manifest is illustrated abstractly in Fig. 3:

<i>Mode rhythm</i>	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•x•
<i>Verbalization</i>	words	words	words	words	words	words	words	words
<i>Symbolic artic.</i>	images motifs	images motifs	images motifs	images motifs	images motifs	images motifs	images motifs	images motifs
<i>Higher order</i>	historiola		mythic themes		mythic themes		mythic themes	
<i>Higher order</i>	ritual's narrative pattern							
<i>Activity in unseen world</i>	[—]		otherworld events		otherworld events		otherworld events	

Fig. 3. Visual illustration of stretches of expression manifesting parallelism projected onto the unseen world within the performance arena (shading indicates distinct parallelisms by color).

The performance arena (ideally) effects a shift in reality orientation that allows verbal representations of the unseen world's inhabitants and their activities to be perceived as manifesting parallelism. In this way, performance actualizes the unseen world and what transpires there as experience for those participating. The rhetorical structuring of this actualization may vary according to the tradition. For example, the *tietäjä*'s incantations render the otherworld through aggressive assertions as commands; laments build corresponding models by requests or questions (Stepanova E. 2012:276 and 2014:216-17). Such parallelism may also vary considerably in scope, from images and motifs to themes and whole narrative patterns. Representations of unseen realities differ from empirically perceivable phenomena because the metered frames of verbal art inevitably align with metered frames in the unseen worlds that they project. Metered frames of perceivable phenomena are either coordinated within the performance mode or independent of it (as in the case of laments and coffin-making). The metered frames of unseen realities always align with frames of the performance mode because the unseen world is imaginably projected through those frames.

5. Symbolic Correlation

5.1. Juxtaposed Symbolic Categories

Symbolic parallelism offers “an objective criterion of what in the given speech community acts as a correspondence” (Jakobson 1987 [1956]:111, with reference to linguistic parallelism). Parallelism tends to be particularly salient between metapragmatic representation and embodied enactments or between verbal art and imaginal projections. Other forms of parallelism are dependent on symbolic correlations that may be difficult to apprehend without relevant cultural knowledge and may even be idiomatic to a single performance register. Accessing such parallelisms can offer valuable insight into the interpretive frameworks of a

culture that produce correlations like the identification of a belt of rowan saplings with an iron collar in (11) above.

The ritual practices of the *tietäjä* present certain patterns in symbolism that, when recognized, favor the apprehension of multimedial parallelism. For example, one of the power-raising rituals of the *tietäjä* involves the opening couplet:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (16) Nouše luontoñi lovešta | Rise my power from the hole |
| Havon alta haltieni | From beneath the log, my spirit |
| | (SKVR I ₄ 11.1-2) |

This couplet was verbally very stable with a key position in power-raising rituals on a wide-spread basis (Siikala 2002:250). The couplet is somewhat obscure, but it seems to situate the *tietäjä*'s *luonto* or "nature," his supernatural agency, in relation to a *hako* ("log") in a material landscape. The literal sense of *lovi* would seem to be "cleft, hole," but here may be related to the idiomatic expression *langeta loveen* ("to fall into a trance;" literally "to fall into a *lovi*") (260-63). For the most part, power-raising incantations were recorded only as text-scripts without accompanying information about the performance context. In one case, the *tietäjä* is said to situate himself in a hole in the earth beneath the roots of a tree that has been felled by a storm (SKVR I₄ 17; Frog 2009:16-17). A symbolic correlation is produced between the performer's physical position in the landscape and the location from which personal power is summoned through the verses. Other accounts indicate that performance should take place at an "earth-fast stone" (*alakivi*) (SKVR I₄ 15, I₄ 16; see also Frog 2009:11). The connection of this location with the verses is not transparent without access to the performance arena, which activates the referential associations of the tradition. The term *lovi* is not used in parallelism with *hako* ("log") outside of variations of the couplet in (16) and the connection with a stone is not transparent. Within the performance arena, *hako* has a well-established pairing with *kivi* ("stone").²² In northern regions, this verbal pairing also occurs in power-raising incantations. The example in (16) continues:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| (17) Havon alta hattupiäššä | From beneath the log, hat on head |
| Kiven alta kinnaškiäššä | From beneath the stone, mittens in hand |
| | (SKVR I ₄ 11.3-4) |

When the log–stone pairing is recognized as conventional and the hole–log pairing is seen as context-specific, the use of *lovi* ("hole") appears related to forming an alliteration with *luonto* ("innate power"). The variation in the location of the ritual at a stone or under a fallen tree can be recognized as reflecting the symbolic parallelism encoded in the verses.

²² This pairing is found in verse couplets like "künšiñ külmähä kivehe / hampahiñ vesi-hakoho" (for example, SKVR I₁ 172.21-22) ("Fingernails into a cold stone / Teeth into a water-log"); see also "Parallelism Dynamics I," this volume.

5.2. *Cosmology Actualized in the Performance Space*

The space in which a performance occurs may be implicitly or explicitly semiotized in symbolic terms. For example, an Iban shaman arranges his performance as a circuit moving through space within a hall. His movement through that space mirrors the verbalized description and choreographed enactment of a journey through imaginal otherworld locations and his eventual successful return (Sather 2001:156-59).²³ The shaman creates a formal correlation between the spaces in which the ritual is performed and the cosmos through which the journey takes him.²⁴ This correlation realizes a parallelism that confers symbolic identity on areas and directions in the hall and reciprocally informs their meaningfulness in performance.

The *tietäjä*'s power-raising rituals can similarly actualize cosmologically significant locations in the immediate landscape. Further contextualization of the mythic modelling behind the power-raising rituals reveals that use of an earth-fast stone for acquiring power can activate the mythic image of a cosmological stone as a center of power (Frog 2009:11-14). This cosmological image may be symbolically actualized in the performance landscape in the same way that a pole or other symbolic object may be erected as a symbol of the world pillar or world tree in connection with certain shamanic rituals. Without contextualization in the tradition, this parallelism is by no means transparent. Parallelism with the cosmological stone is not always unambiguous, nor was it consistent for every performer. This variation is unsurprising when power-raising rituals were not publicly performed so the interpretations of their symbolism was not shared and negotiated on a broad social level. They were transmitted as secret knowledge in what I have described as "closed-conduit transmission" (Frog 2009:13). Indications that this cosmological symbolism was carried with the tradition suggests that it was transmitted in at least some conduits.

Turpin (this volume) points out that the symbolic dynamics of space may also be constructed rhythmically in relation to metered frames of movement. She illustrates this in the case of repeated couplets and dance movements with a slow rhythm as the performer approaches within reach of a ceremonial pole, the highpoint of the action, alternating with a fast rhythm as the dancer moves away again. In this way, the meaningfulness and emphasis of movements are embedded in the metered frames of performance and correlated with the rhythms of verbalization. Among the Minusa Tatars, the shaman initially engages the Yurt as a natural social space, for example going to the door to look for the arrival of his helping spirits from the west (Siikala 1978:296-97). Later in the ritual, his journey in the otherworld can be performed in relation to the interior space of the yurt so that his position relative to the fire becomes an expression of the direction he is traveling (298). Within this space, his movements and speed "constitute a symbolic language at least partly familiar to the spectators" that allow them to interpret the course of his travel, such as when riding through a river in the otherworld (299). The

²³ I would like to thank Karina Lukin for introducing me to this example.

²⁴ Cosmological structures may also be materially organized for a ritual space, for example, to enable vertical movement of a performer (for example, Eliade 2004[1964]:120-27) or to the manifest the world axis or levels in the celestial sphere of a shaman's journey (for example, 190-97, 232-33).

symbolic relationships between movements, rhythms, and space can become quite complex as an integrated part of a tradition.

5.3. Temporally Construed Symbolic Parallelism

Many magical practices are based on a temporally oriented parallelism. This is often associated with what James Frazer described as “sympathetic magic,” such as when a symbolic act performed in the present causes an equivalent symbolic outcome in the future. In some cases, the practice itself may involve an explication of the parallelism or parallelisms, as in (18), an example of Lithuanian love magic:

- (18) Pavasari, kada varlės ant viena kitos sulipusios, reikia perdurti vinimi ir sakyti: “Kaip jos sulipę tai kad ir mes butum taip sulipdyti” (Mansikka 1929:106).

In spring, when the frogs lie on each other, one must drive a nail through them and say: “As they are fixed together so will we become fixed” (adapted from Mansikka 1929:106).

Rather than manifesting a parallel member to the enacted motif of nailing frogs together, the verbal component explicates that the resulting permanence of the frogs’ otherwise transient (sexual) union anticipates a symbolic parallel in an equally enduring (sexual/romantic) union of the ritual performer with his or her beloved. Without such explication, the relationship between the symbolic act and anticipated parallel as an outcome would remain opaque and mysterious to most readers. This example highlights that, as with other symbolic parallelism, temporally construed parallelism is characterized by socially and culturally constructed patterns of linkages of equivalence.

The conventionalization of temporally construed parallelism may be selective as to which equivalences are foregrounded and why. For example, the Finno-Karelian kalevalaic epic *The Song of Lemminkäinen* was performed by a *tietäjä* as a ritual incantation to protect a wedding party on the journey from the home of the bride to the home of the groom. The epic recounts a dangerous journey on which the hero overcomes the series of dangers when travelling to a wedding in the otherworld (see also “Parallelism Dynamics I,” this volume). In ritual use at weddings, the whole epic could be performed as an incantation or only the hero’s successful journey; the journey might be separated from the epic and performed with additional verses (Frog 2010a:79-80, 82, 84). At a cross-regional level, the hero’s successful journey is unambiguously the symbolic center of this ritual use. One informant reported that, if performed by a powerful enough *tietäjä*, the epic could kill anyone intending harm to the wedding party (SKVR VII₁ 818). Co-occurrence is sequential between the ritual narration of the hero’s journey and the subsequent journey of the wedding party that it will protect. A parallelism is construed between the respective journeys of the hero to a wedding and of the wedding party to the portion of the wedding celebration at the home of the groom. The hero’s use of powerful magic on his journey is paralleled by the magical protection of the *tietäjä* who performs the ritual. The efficacy of the epic adventure appears rooted in a conception that the hero’s ability to magically thwart any threat on his journey is conferred on the protective magic of the *tietäjä* to ensure the

wedding party’s arrival at their destination. The parallelism of the hero’s movement between worlds and the wedding party’s movement between communities engages general symbolic correlations of movement between communities in the tradition. The bride’s movement to the household of the groom was analogous to the movement of a deceased member of the household to the otherworld community of the ancestors—it was conceived as a movement between worlds (Stepanova and Frog 2015:112-14):

(19)	Epic	Departure	Danger 1	Danger 2	Danger 3	Arrival
	Wedding	Departure	Movement			Arrival

When positive parallels are brought into focus, it is easy to overlook that they are selective. Such selectivity leaves other potentially corollary aspects “invisible,” or outside of the perceived frames of meaningfulness. In *The Song of Lemminkäinen*, the hero is not a member of a wedding party, in contrast to the *tietäjä* who performs the ritual. In fact, the hero disrupts the mythic wedding rather than securing it: more often than not, he kills the host or groom. Contrastive parallelism with this epic could also have easily been developed. Whether the whole epic or only the journey sequence is performed, parallelism was conventionally conceived as limited to the dangerous journey and the ability of the traveler to overcome any danger along the way. Within the epic, the journey follows a simple narrative pattern: the hero departs, the theme of his encounter with a danger is repeated (usually three times), and he arrives at his destination (see also “Parallelism Dynamics I,” this volume). In a wedding, the journey between communities is also structurally defined: departure, movement, and arrival. Here, the parallel members exhibit a formal equivalence of the narrative pattern “journey,” though the equivalence of journey-type is not bound by equivalence of metered frame, as shown in (19). This widespread ritual correlation in practice illustrates that such symbolic coordination is constructed through social conventions.

5.4. *Historiola, Healing Ritual, and the Assumption of a Mythic Identity*

Many healing charms present a narrative *historiola* that describes a mythic healing event. Such *historiolae* are themselves metapragmatic representations of healing practices. They describe people performing a healing and thus have potential to produce a parallelism with the healing ritual being performed. The narrative may be symbolically structured by the incantation genre so its representation of healing practices may be simplified in form or otherwise deviate from the embodied practices to which it refers (cf. Tarkka 2013:176-79, 189-92). A particularly striking form of parallelism emerges in incantations where the conjuration, the effective magical words, follow directly from the *historiola* narrative as words spoken by a character. The tenth-century Second Merseburg Charm is a classic example:

(20) Phol ende Wuodan fuorun zi holza
 du wart demo balderes folon sin fuoz birenkit
 thu biguol en Sinhtgunt Sunna era suister
 thu biguol en Frija Folla era suister

thu biguol en Wuodan so he wola conda
 sose benrenki
 sose bluotrenki
 sose lidirenki

ben zi bena

bluot zi bluoda

lid zi geliden sose gelimida sin

(Domstiftsbibliothek Merseburg Cod, I, 136, 85 recto; line breaks added)

Phol and Wuodan travel to the woods
 then that lord's foal's foot became sprained
 then sang it Sinhtgunt Sunna of her a sister
 then sang it Frija Folla of her a sister
 then sang it Wuodan thus he well knew how
 thus that bone-sprain
 thus that blood-sprain
 thus that limb-sprain

bone to bone

blood to blood

limb to limb thus be stuck together

In incantations like this, ritual performance and the entextualization of the charm are unambiguously coordinated. However, this does not mean that the parallelism of the *historiola* corresponds to the ritual whole, even if it may be emblematic of that whole. For example, such charms are often accompanied by additional activities that extend beyond the scope of the text. Charms of the Second Merseburg type were widely documented even in the twentieth century in forms more like that of example (3) above. Additional activities associated with performance could include performing additional texts such as prayers like Hail Mary or Our Father. The charm as a whole might also be repeated. Generally speaking, parallelism between a *historiola* and a healing performance does not require parallelism at the level of individual images and motifs; it may involve only a general correlation in the narrative pattern as a healing event.²⁵ When such a charm is used, the *historiola* occurs within the healing narrative actualized as a ritual performance. The narratives of the *historiola* and the ritual may manifest various parallelisms. When, as in most charms of the Second Merseburg type, the *historiola* narrative culminates in a mythic character stating the conjuration, the distinction between linguistically mediated narration and the healing ritual itself collapses. The parallelism of ritual performance and narration of the exemplar event converge into an immediate identity: the healer verbalizes the very words that actualize the healing event in the narrative. This convergence “establish[es] a double scene that will transform the spectator’s or listener’s perception of reality” (Lönnroth

²⁵ See also David Frankfurter’s (1995) broad discussion of narrative in charms and how these may (or may not) relate to the ritual performed or what the charm is intended to do.

2009:57).²⁶ When this parallelism is fully realized (or capitalized on), convergence of the ritual and narration around the role of “healer” identifies the performer as a supernatural agent, the primordial healer, while the role of patient is identified with the successfully healed patient in mythic time. Consequently, within the paradigm of mythological thinking, the successful healing of the patient becomes an inevitable outcome.

The range of varieties of symbolic correlation that can be manifested through parallelism extends to the construction of a direct identity between the performer and supernatural beings or mythic events performed. In incantations like the Second Merseburg Charm, performance advances to a convergence of symbolic identity. In the Arandic tradition discussed by Turpin (this volume), the correlation of the performer with a mythic ancestral identity is an integrated part of the performance tradition. In the examples from a Chatino prayer in (6) and (12), the correlation remains at the level of parallelism in the ritual activity of the performer to that of previous generations. Correlation and convergence of performer identity with the identity of a mythic agent in earlier time has not received attention as something widely found across cultures that can be looked at as a form of “parallelism.” Here, examples only open the door to more work with broader, detailed comparisons. Questions raised by how performer identities are constructed in relation to parallelism can be extended to the question of whether the performance arena itself is encoded with a performer identity like “lamerter,” with which the embodied performer forms a parallelism. The examples reviewed above foreground the need for a better understanding of how multimedial expression works in the contextual actualization of identity.

6. Concluding Remarks

The preceding discussion has been concerned with distinguishing the sites and interrelationships of parallelism as a pervasive phenomenon in the organization of discourse. It has taken as its thesis that parallelism is a semiotic phenomenon not exclusive to language. On that basis, forms of parallelism are considered that manifest especially between verbally mediated signs and signs rendered through other media in ritual contexts. Parallelism is of course a phenomenon of perception, and perception always involves people. Trying to pinpoint the perception of parallelism is problematic. Not only is it subjective, but asking whether someone perceives multimedial parallelism may be like asking whether he or she perceives syntax in a sentence. Parallelism is here approached precisely as construing a syntactic relationship across media organized within the rhythms of a performance mode. To experience multimedial parallelism in the flow of performance is to experience intersemiotic syntax: it might get missed, or it might get perceived; especially in the rituals discussed here, some individuals may engage with mythic models, others may apprehend the same parallelism as metaphor, and still others may even identify it as charlatanism. Discussion here has thus remained a step back from specific individuals to consider traditions and circulating discourse. Even if individual

²⁶ Lars Lönnroth (1978) has described this as a “double scene” that can be produced in any performance. The phenomenon has been further theorized by Lotte Tarkka (2005:133-36 and 2013:175-79) as a “doubling scene.”

perceptions and understandings vary, the preceding discussion offers evidence that multimedial parallelism is an integrated part of many ritual traditions around the world.

In order for multimedial parallelism to operate, the performance mode constructs metered frames that coordinate signs and units of expression across media. Co-occurring objects, activities, agents, or artefacts may also be activated as symbolic in relation to those frames. Construal of coordinated meaningfulness is primed by the performance arena, which entails internalized understandings of not only a register of signifiers but also of the operation of intersemiotic syntax. I propose that the performance arena entails the quality of signs in the associated symbolic register, or signs that form a register of mythology. Consequently, the performance arena inclines acculturated individuals to shift their reality orientation from empirical perceptions to attend to the mythic world opened through performance and to engage with its symbols through mythological thinking. Performative expression may then presume parallelism with unseen realities or, where parallelism is temporally oriented to produce effects in the future, presume the inevitability of an outcome.

Looking at parallelism across multiple media presents new ways for considering how parallelism manifests in different cultures and reveals new information about what operates as symbolic correspondence in these cultures (Jakobson 1987 [1956]:111). Parallelism holds great potential as a theoretical tool for examining the interfaces and complementary engagements of multiple media in a coherent performance. This tool can be engaged at the level of the performer producing expressions and how those expressions are organized. Multimedial parallelism is also a basic instrument for conferring cohesion across expressions in different media. Within the contexts of ritual engagements with the unseen world, such parallelism affects the semioticization of empirical and imaginal elements that are primed to be potential symbols by the performance arena. Although emphasis in discussion has kept focus on parallelism, the approach and strategies for analysis here offer foundations for further work on the dialectic construction of the otherworld and on the analysis of syntax uniting signs across media more generally.²⁷

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²⁷ This paper was developed from the second half of "Parallelism, Mode, Medium and Orders of Representation" presented at the seminar-workshop Parallelism in Verbal Art and Performance, held 26th-27th May 2014 in Helsinki Finland. Research presented here was developed within the framework of the project, "*The Song of Lemminkäinen: A Finno-Karelian Epic in Parallax Perspective*" funded by the Kalevala Society, and completed within the framework of the Academy of Finland research project "Mythology, Verbal Art and Authority in Social Impact" (2016-21) of Folklore Studies, University of Helsinki.

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