the modern *h aspiré*). There is abundant evidence from grammarians to this effect. Fouché (1952–66, 3:580–81) says that the sound did not begin to disappear from Parisian cultivated speech until the seventeenth century, although popularly and dialectically it had deleted as early as the beginning of the thirteenth. Perhaps the late retention in cultivated speech was an affectation influenced by the orthography. There is no evidence that it involved any words except loanwords or a few native words which were confused with them (Fouché 1952–66, 3:583–85).

The variant forms *mihi* ∼ *michi* ∼ *mici* and *nihil* ∼ *nichil* ∼ *nicil* present another complication. Various authorities have advocated various interpretations (see Guerreau-Jalabert 1982, 44 n. 105 for a list). These spellings may indicate an articulated consonant which could not be handled orthographically—some possible alternatives are [h], [k], the ich-laut, and the glottal stop—but they could equally well indicate that *no* consonant was pronounced, leaving identical vowels in hiatus and orthographic confusion as a result. Another possibility is that the spellings are purely orthographic conventions with no phonological implications.

H was used as the second element in diagraphs in Greek words. *Ch* was [k], but *sche-* and *schi-* were [se-] and [si-]. Abo of Fleury prescribes these pronunciations in the tenth century (Guerreau-Jalabert 1982, 104–105). Johannes de Garlandia (earliest MS from the second half of the thirteenth century) shows spelling variants *schema* ∼ *sema* ∼ *scema,* indicating [sema] (Lawler 1974, XIX). *Ch* in native French words was [tš], so the digraph had two pronunciations depending on the origin of the word, as in modern French or English—*church choir*; cf. also *eschiper* > *équiper,* from Norman *skip* 'ship'. *Ph* was [f]: Johannes de Garlandia says that the former is the Greek consonant corresponding to Latin *f.*[37] *Th* varied freely in spelling with *t,* and therefore must have been pronounced the same.

[37] "*Phi* muta est Grecis, sic *f* sit muta Latinis" (Haye 1995, 76).

J (consonantal *i*). As *g* before *e* or *i;* that is [dž], eventually becoming [ž]. Confusion of *ge* and *ie* was very frequent. *Ih* was identical, perhaps originating in the Greek capital letters, specifically the word ΙΗΣΟΥΣ (Rigg 1996, 80), perhaps simply another use of orthographic *h* to form a digraph—the deliberate creation of the symbol *ih* to differentiate the consonantal from the vocalic value of *i,* as happened occasionally with *u* ∼ *v* (*vhe;* Knapp 1965, 126–27). The digraph occurs most frequently before *e* (*Iudea et Iherusalem*), lending credibility to the first possibility. Some of the Basel glossary scribes use a special double symbol ȳ̄ <$\overline{\text{yy}}$> which corresponds to the ỉ used by other scribes (Banitt 1972, 50–51).

L. Spelling variants indicate that, as for the other double consonants *ll* was pronounced as a single consonant. Following *i,* French *l* was [lʸ] (the first sound in Italian *gli*), so Latin *ille* would have been [ilʸə]. The Basel glossary has a special double symbol for the double letter *ll*, ł̓ł <łl>, which is used in positions that would follow a *i* in Latin-character orthography. This can only indicate palatalization, which interpretation is confirmed by one scribe's use of <yy> either before or after the <l> to indicate the same sound. See also **n**.

Postvocalic *l* preceding another consonant was probably vocalized to [w] (Fouché 1952–66, 3:853–56; Herslund 1976, 36–7; Walker 1981, 18). This sound change had been completed in French towards the end of the eleventh century (Fouché 1952–66, 3:858); the first syllable of *alter* would have sounded the same as the first syllable of the French *altre*, namely [aw]. (Spellings with *ul,* such as *aultre,* were introduced after the Gothic period; Beaulieux 1927b, 181–87.) Following [ɛ], the result was *eau* (e.g., *bel* + *s* > *beaus* Fouché 1952–59, 3:856–57). This is generally believed to be [ɛáw] during the Gothic period (Herslund 1979, 35). Following [i] and [u], the [w] eventually deleted in French, probably by the Gothic period (Pope 1952, 154–55); whether it would have been pronounced in declamatory Latin is unknown.

M and **n** represent a nasal consonant pronounced at the same point of articulation as a following consonant: [m] before [p] or [b], [ŋ] before [k] or [g], [n] before [t] or [d], and so on, both in the same word and in a closely following word (Walker 1981, 18). Spelling variants testify to this linguistically common process (see p. 163, below). Thus, Hugo of Orléans rhymes *invento*:*adempto* [-ɛ̃ntu] and *ante*:*diligam te* [-ãntə] (Langosch 1954, 192 and 212).

Word finally, *m* and *n* were pronounced alike; the pausal form was [n]. Chrétien de Troyes and many others write *Abrahan, Adan* (Beaulieux 1927b, 76).

The Basel glossary has a special symbol for <ñ>, ȷ̃, which is used consistently for words such as <señor> and sporadically following written <i> (<dekliñərā> ~ <dəkline>; Banitt 1972:2, 322). It is likely that there was an automatic (non-distinctive) palatalization following *i* (the Basel glossary's <señor> is written *seignor* in Latin characters).

Qu and **gu**. [k]/[g] not [kw]/[gw]. Bernard de Morlais (twelfth century) rhymes *antiquus*:*inimicus* and *mecum*:*aequum* (Norberg 1958, 48). Leonin rhymes *mecum*: *equum* sometime between 1154 and 1159 (Wright 1986, 24).

Petrus Helias (twelfth-century Priscian commentator, quoted in Thurot 1869, 143) can be interpreted as supporting the pronunciation [k]:

> Indeed, we say that *u* is clearly a letter and vowel there [in "quis"]. But it is said not to retain there the value of a letter in meter, for in no way does it count in meter, nor does it have a full sound, but it is elided. Thus in order that it not be entirely silent, it is produced with a certain hiss.[38]

The "certain hiss" likely refers to an articulation of [k] slightly higher in the throat before [i], a linguistically natural process (compare English *kit* and *caught*). There

[38] "Nos vero dicimus quod *u* ibi est littera et vocalis plane. Sed quod non retinet ibi vim littere propter metrum dicitur, quoniam in metro nichil operatur, nec sonum plenum habet, sed collisim, ita tamen ut non omnino debeat taceri, sed cum quodam sibilo proferri."

is also the possibility that Petrus is referring to a voiceless bilabial fricative (blowing through the lips, as in the formerly widespread pronunciation of the first sound in "what"), although the rhymes cited above argue against this.

R preceding a vowel was tongue trilled, as in Italian and Spanish. The changes which culminated in the modern uvular gargle did not begin before the sixteenth century and the exact sound itself dates only from the seventeenth century (Martinet 1952, 205). Preceding a consonant, /r/ tended to delete in normal speech, presumably lengthening the preceding vowel (as in many varieties of English today). Pope (1952, 156–57), citing rhymes by Chrétien de Troyes (Champenois) such as *braz*:*pars, lais*:*travers, Grezeis*:*veirs, sorpirs*:*ententis*, says that it deleted especially frequently before *l* and *s*. In the Basel glossary (also Champenois), however, the scribes use a variety of symbols to insure pronunciation of pre-consonantal *r,* both in Hebrew and French (Banitt 1972, 1:83); that document, nevertheless, shows great inconsistencies in spelling <r> preconsonantally and word-finally. Whether r-deletion applied to Latin is, therefore, a sociological matter, and the prestige pronunciations of Champenois Jews cannot be extrapolated to the gentiles of the Île de France.

As mentioned above (p. 133), *rr* between vowels may have been pronounced doubled. A likely pattern for *r* distribution is that found today in western Occitan, Catalan, Spanish, and conservative varieties of Portuguese, namely "strong"—multiply vibrated—word initially and when doubled between consonants, and weaker—a single tongue tap—when single between vowels. Bonioli (1962, 197–98) interprets Abo of Fleury's unclear comments on the pronunciation of *r* as implying a uvular pronunciation for the strong form (as in most varieties of Portuguese, where it is a recent development [Teyssier 1982, 65]). Abo wrote that a single *s* before a vowel sounds so weak that the Greeks wrote it with a simple aspiration sign, as ἥμις for *semis* and ἓξ for *sex.* "On the other hand," he continues, "the canine letter *r* always

sounds aspirate, except in the middle of a word when it begins a syllable following a vowel."[39] It is possible that Abo is referring to a "strong" pronunciation of *r* in word-initial position, as Bonioli believes, but his use of the Greek orthographic term "asper" raises the suspicion that he is alluding to the Greek orthographic rule which places a *spiritus asper* mark on every word-initial rho.

S. There is evidence that the Old French *s* was [ś], a sound intermediate between [s] and [š].[40] Joos (1952) first described *s* as [ś] based on evidence of loan words such as English *cash* < *casse.* Galmés de Fuentes (1962, 145–49) adds the evidence of Arabic transcriptions of place names, and the existence—or persistence—of [ś] in the peripheral patois of the Ardenne and Lorraine. In the Hebrew texts of the Basel glossary, שׁ <š> and שׂ <ś> are confused, while ס <s̲> was probably pronounced the same as צ <ç>, namely [ts]. David Qimḥi, writing in Narbonne, said that the northern French could not pronounce <š> correctly (Banitt 1972, 1:54). In the French texts of the Basel glossary, a neutral symbol ש (one scribe uses the medially dotted *shin degushah* ﬩) is used for <s>, and ס is not used at all (Banitt 1972, 1:62).

In a Bible dated 1232, there is a little treatise on the pronunciation of Hebrew which says, "*samech* [<s̲>] sonat sicut c.e. vel i." It continues that שׁ <š> sounds as ".s. apud latinos" and שׂ <ś> as צ <ç> or ס <s̲> (Banitt 1992, 54). Banitt does not say where this Bible originated. All of the Hebrew data point to a two-way distinction [ś] and [ts], although the character שׂ was pronounced differently in

[39] "E contra illa canina littera *r* semper aspere sonat, nisi cum in media parte orationis post uocalem inchoat syllabam." Guerreau-Jalabert (1982, 232–235) gives classical sources for the characterization of *r* as "canine." She translates this passage differently: "Au contraire, la lettre canine *r* sonne toujours durement, à moins qu'au milieu d'un mot, elle ne commence une syllabe après voyelle."

[40] For [s], "the tongue tip is idle . . . [typically] the tip touches the lower incisors or gums or both, and the sibilant squeeze is made against the upper alveolar ridge by the upper surface of the tongue. . . . " The "intermediate" sound [ś] "has the tongue tip raised, and the tip itself makes the sibilant squeeze" (Joos 1952, 222).

different communities.

According to Joos (1952), Galmés de Fuentes (1962), and Fought (1979), original [ts] became [s] rather than [ś] sometime in the thirteenth century; i.e., written *c* before *e* or *i* was [ts] > [s]. At the same time *ch-* in French became [š], making a three-way distinction, [š], [ś], and [s]. This system can be found in contemporary northern Portuguese (Teyssier 1982, 48–54). The changes in French are connected as an areal characteristic with similar changes in western and southern German. There was no place (or orthographic representation) for [š] in Latin, however, and given the frequent confusion between *ce-/ci-.* and *se-/s-* beginning in the middle of the thirteenth century (Norberg 1968, 51), it seems likely that the distinction between [ś] and [s], if there had ever been one, was no longer maintained.

sC and sCC (*st-, str-,* etc.) were not possible at the beginning of a word in French (Walker 1981, 15), or in Spanish. Some Spanish Latin verse requires an initial *e-* or *i-* to scan, but French Latin verse does not, nor do syllabic musical settings indicate it. Furthermore, there are loan words in Gothic French without the supporting vowel (*scorpion, spondée, stable*), as well as with (*escalve, espèce, estomac*). A guess is that the supporting *e-* or *i-* was used in conversational, but not in declamatory Latin; the variant forms of loan words would be due to varying influence from the orthography.

Intervocalic *s* was probably [z], as in Gothic French (Fouché 1952–66, 3:599) and in most of the neighboring Romance varieties (Occitan, Northern Italian, Catalan). Theorists seem to imply this pronunciation (Jellinek 1920, 13–15).

Syllable-final *s*. During the early thirteenth century, *s* between a vowel and a following consonant deleted, lengthening the vowel. Pope (1952, 151), followed by Fouché (1952–66, 3:861–2), suggests on the basis of English loan words that when C was voiced, and /s/ therefore realized as [z], the sound deleted early (*aim* < *ezmer, blame, dinner,* etc.), but that when C was voiceless, the /s/ persisted longer

(*beast, castle, escape,* etc.). This relative chronology is unexceptionable, but Pope's dating of the loan words "at the time of the Norman conquest" is too precise and too early: except for *castle,* which may have been influenced by an earlier loan, none of the words in Pope's and Fouché's lists is recorded in English from earlier than the thirteenth century, according to the *OED.* Other scholars suggest that the deletion was completed by the middle of the twelfth century (Morin 1981, 35).

The *nature* of the deletion was not simple. It is usual for [s] to delete through [h] rather than directly, as in Indo-European *sept- > Classical Greek [hɛpt-] > Modern Greek [ɛpt-]. Fouché (1952–66, 3:861) finds orthographic evidence for the [h] stage in forms such as *ehmeier* (< *esmaier*) and loan words in German such as *tschahtel* and *foreht* (the latter rhyming with *reht* and *sleht*). Fouché also prints an explicit prescription for this sound from the *Orthographia gallica,* an Anglo-Norman treatise from the end of the thirteenth century.

Many varieties of Spanish have undergone a similar deletion. Scholars have often used the Spanish process to model the earlier French process (Morin 1981, 35; Seklaoui 1989, 41–43). The realization of Spanish /s/ is extremely complex and varies widely depending on geography, social level, speed of speech, and many other factors.[41] Seklaoui reports that in much contemporary Spanish, syllable-final postvocalic /s/ tends to aspirate before a consonant and delete prepausally.

The /s/ deletion in Old French was probably no less complex than that in contemporary Spanish. In the Basel glossary's Hebrew-character transcriptions of Champenois, <s> is sometimes used, in Morin's (1991, 51) words, "as a diacritic for length, as in אַשְׁטְרָא <astre> *altre,* probably pronounced [ātre]" (i.e., [ātrə]). Banitt (1972, 1:85) also adds הָאשְׁטֵיצָא <hāsteçə> *haltece* ('hautece') with multiply redundant length indications: the long vowel ָ, א, and שׁ; and בְיָאשְׁטֵיה <biyāste> *biyalte*

[41]There is a large bibliography on Spanish /s/ deletion; see Seklaoui 1989 for a list.

('beauté'; with the same redundant length indications).[42]

Borrowings in Gothic French provide little useful evidence. Orthographically they show the etymological *s,* as might be expected. Their descendants in the modern language sometimes have [s] and sometimes do not, and there are even doublets (*épice* and *espèce,* both from SPECIES; *épar* and *espar,* both from ESPARRE). The forms with [s] probably represent a spelling pronunciation: a similar process is known to have occurred with *triste,* which formerly rhymed with *ermitte* (Posner 1996, 13).

In both Latin and Hebrew characters, orthographic <s> is frequently used, even where not etymologically justified, as in *desfandre,* or the future of *croire: cresrai, cresra,* etc.[43] Banitt suggests that the <s> indicates [ɛ] rather than [e], but it may be more likely that it indicates either length or nothing at all except a conventional spelling, given that its occurrence is extremely erratic (e.g., <de(s)cliner>; Banitt 1972, 2:5 and 34).

Word-final *s*, as the other consonants, was deleted relatively early in normal speech except pre-pausally (see p. 131 above). To a certain extent the Old French case system was a scribal artifact (Cerquiglini 1976, 187–91). In Old French verse, word-final *-e* regularly elides with a following *e-* in the same hemistich, but this elision is blocked by a final *-s*. In the following, written by Conon de Béthune in 1181, there are elisions in lines 3 and 5 (quoted from Rocaglia 1971, 72):

1 mon langage ont blasmé li François
2 et mes chansons, oiant les Champenois
3 et la contessê͡encoir, dont plus me poise.

[42]All of these <ā>s are lengthened due to deletion of a historical [l] which normally produces [aw] rather than [ā]. The use of orthographic <s> for [w] is unexpected. Perhaps [ā] is a specific Champenois development corresponding to Parisian [aw]; neither Morin nor Benitt addresses this problem.

[43]These examples are Champenois, from a copy of Chrétien de Troyes' *Roman* (Banitt 1972, 85). Merger of *an* and *en* is a specifically Champenois trait at this period, although it later became standard.

4 La roïne n'a pas fait ke cortoise,
5 ki me repist, el͡e͡t seu fieus [1 syllable] li rois.

However, in the following, written between 1172 and 1175 by Garnier de Pont-Sainte-Maxence, the final *-s* prevents elision in the second line (quoted from Rocaglia 1971, 71):

> mis lenguages#est bons, car en France fui nez.[44]

which does not imply that the *-s* was pronounced, still less that it was [s]. It might have been [h] or silent: the exact equivalent of the modern *h aspiré.*

In Latin, similarly, word-final *s* prevents elision; there is a strong tendency to avoid vowels in hiatus. Johannes de Garlandia discouraged them (Lawler 1974, 92–93). It cannot be determined whether the line-final pronunciation (pausal form) would be generalized to all word-final *s*'s in declamatory style. Was it pronounced [s] or [h]? Modern Spanish speakers who realize word-final /s/ as [h] do not identify that sound as a plural marker (Sekalaoui 1989, 191–92). If an analogy can be drawn between modern Spanish and Gothic Latin, and if we assume that Gothic Latin speakers would not have identified word-final [h] as a grammatical marker and that declamatory pronunciation was influenced by the orthography, then (at least pre-pausal) word-final *s* was most likely [s]. (The *liaison* pronunciation [z] is a later development from a generalized plural marker; Morin 1981, 41–44.)

T. The spelling *et* in French was etymological: the Old French word was always pronounced without the final *t,* which is the modern textbook pronunciation. Hebrew-character French texts invariably spell it without the final *t,* even before a vowel—before <a> or <e>, it may be spelled <i> (Banitt 1972, 1:137). Presumably the Latin word was also pronounced without the final [t].

[44]Roncaglia says that the author is pleading because he was writing from Canterbury, but that the poem is excellent standard Francien.

X. Equivalent to orthographic *s* (*ss* intervocalically). Bernard de Morlais rhymes *enixa*:*amissa* (Norberg 1958, 48); Hugo of Orléans rhymes *velis*:*felix* and *iuxta*: *venusta* (Langosch 1954, 100 and 212)—the latter with *x* and *s* either [h] or deleted. *X* was silent before [ts], as indicated by spelling variants such as *-xce-* ∼ *-xe-* (*ex*[*c*]*ercitus*) and *-xci-* ∼ *-xi-* (*ex*[*c*]*ium*) (Camargo 1995, 35).

5.6 Vowels

5.6.1 *A*

Modern normative French differentiates between *a* [a] and *â* [ɑ] although the distinction is of low functional yield. In Parisian speech, in fact, the distinction is obsolescent, many speakers not distinguishing between *Anne* and *âne.* This merger is recent—since the end of the last century. The traditional differentiation is presently stigmatized, leading at least one scholar to advocate that foreigners learning French not use [ɑ] at all (Martinet 1970, 122).[45] The source for modern *â* is a historical long *a.* It is not clear when the long *a* became backed to an [ɑ], although the process was certainly erratic and extremely complicated (Delattre 1957). Straka (1981, 214–16) believes that the difference may go back to the late twelfth or thirteenth century; other scholars believe that the sounds may not have differentiated in this way before the eighteenth century (Posner 1996, 240). This [ā] represents a secondary development in French, not a continuation of the Latin differentiation between *ă* and *ā.*

[45]Note for English speakers: A curiosity of our language is that, although [a] is the single most common sound in the languages of the world, it does not exist in most varieties of English. The first vowel in *father* is [ɑ], which is pronounced farther back in the throat. [a] is intermediate between [ɑ] and [æ], the characteristically English vowel sound in *cat.* This might seems to be a small matter acoustically, but many foreigners consider the use of [ɑ] instead of [a] to be a virtual diagnostic for an English (or American) accent. Some varieties of southeastern American English do have the sound [a], for example in the word *bye.* These varieties make a threeway distinction [ɑ] ∼ [a] ∼ [æ] (*bar/bye/bat;* Bailey 1969, 641).

The majority of instances come from compensatory lengthening of the vowel due to deletion of a following consonant, such as [pas] > [pā] or [barrə] > [bārə], or from contraction of two vowels in hiatus, such as *gaagne* > *gagne* (i.e., [gaañə] > [gāñə]) or *ëage* > *age.*

To support his claim for an early date for [ā], Straka lists some Latin and Greek loan words in Old French which show modern *â.* His examples are: *classe, base, case, phase, phrase, esclave, grave, cadavre, fable, diable, oracle, miracle, candélabre, il déclame, il diffame, rare, casier, quasi, Jacob, scabreux, passion, nation, vacation, considération.* The implication is that there was a difference in Gothic Latin pronunciation between [a] and [ā], but his list does not present strong evidence. Some of the words, according to *Le Petit Robert,* were learned creations from as late as the sixteenth century (*phase, phrase*). The classical antecedents of others had short ă (*classe, base, case, phase, phrase, grave, quasi, scabreux*). Others had no classical antecedents, so the quantity was not assigned on historical principles (*esclave,* ultimately from German; *Jacob,* ultimately from Hebrew). The [ā]'s in these words nearly all fit into similar phonological contexts,[46] implying that length developed from the context, and was not a feature inherited from Latin. Straka's suggestion has not been taken up by other scholars.

The exact quality of [a] in the Gothic period is uncertain. The pre-Gothic change CA- > *cha-* implies that *a* was a front vowel, perhaps [a] (as opposed to the [ɑ] of the English *father,* which is a back vowel), but perhaps [æ]: "The affinity of French [a] to [e] was still stressed by sixteenth-century commentators" (Posner 1996, 240).

In Hebrew script, there are two symbols for *a,* one for short and one for long.[47]

[46]They are followed by consonants resembling the ones which in later French lengthen preceding vowels ([r], [v], [z] and [ž]), or they are followed by consonant+liquid ([r] or [l]) or semi-vowel ([j]); for these environments in later French, see Montreuil 1995, 26–30.

[47]X̲ and X̣ respectively—this is a statement of the linguistic facts as understood in Gothic

In the Hebrew of the Basel glossary, there is a tendency to use <ā> in accented open syllables and <a> otherwise (Banitt 1972, 47–8), an over-generalization of the rules of Hebrew grammar (Kautzsch 1910, 45–6). In the French of the Hebrew glossary, some scribes use a similar principle; other scribes do not use <ā> at all.

5.6.2 *E*

Unstressed. Posttonic *e* reduced to schwa, as in modern French. Modern authorities generally agree that the schwa was not rounded—the modern sound resembles a short [ö] more than a schwa proper. Walker (1981, 11), writing of pre-Gothic French, alleges that it did resemble the modern sound. There is no evidence as to its exact phonetic realization, but there was no tonic [ö] in the stage of Old French described by Walker, which might indicate that the schwas were unrounded as well.

Pretonic *e* also reduced to schwa, but Hebrew-character spellings (which differentiated <ə> and <e>) indicate that the reduction occurred only on every other open syllable, which is compelling evidence for a system of sécondàry accents, as in English (Morin 1991).

Stressed. Old French had three realizations of stressed written *e:* [e] (modern *é*), [ɛ] (modern *è*), and [æ] (the vowel of Standard American English *cat*). The difference in French was not predicatable from the environment; it depended on the ancestral vowel (*vert* [vert], *pert* [pɛrt] 'he loses', *pert* [pært] 'it appears'; Herslund 1976, 9). The later system of [e] in an open syllable and [ɛ] in a closed syllable—with

France, without any implication about the phonology of Biblical Hebrew. Chomsky 1952 (31–32, n. 22) says that medieval grammarians describe Hebrew as having five short and five long vowels as in, and probably by analogy with, Latin. Arabic influence is likely as well: the orthographic rules the grammarians prescribe are similar to those of that language. Banitt believes that the long sound was backed to [ɑ], and so transcribes it, but there is no evidence for this. X̣ could also represent a short /o/; in Northern France this was probably realized [ɔ].

some exceptions—was not yet in effect. The distinction between the various *e*'s was not maintained in either the Hebrew or the French of the Basel glossary (Banitt 1972, 1:44 and 65–6), but the difference was not necessarily automatic. The lack of distinction in Hebrew-character French might be due to the influence of Latin-character orthography, and the lack of distinction in Hebrew is explicable in terms of the contemporary understanding of Hebrew grammar (Banitt 1972, 1:48–9).

It is possible that an analysis of rhymes in Latin might shed some light on the distribution of these sounds—this is how the French [æ] sound was discovered by modern scholars (Walker 1981, 9–10).

5.6.3 *O* and *U*

Stressed. In Franco-Romance (the change affected Occitan and geographically contiguous varieties of Italian as well as French), [u] became [ü] in all contexts. The date of this change is not known. As Posner (1996, 237–39) points out, there is no orthographic information about the change, as [ü] was always spelled *u,* and "we have little information about pronunciation before sixteenth-century commentaries." Some authorities attribute the change to a Celtic substratum, meaning that it would have been present from the earliest Latin spoken on French soil. Most suggest a later change, perhaps in the eleventh or twelfth century, and perhaps through an intermediate step [ju] or [uj] (Walker 1981, 35; Posner 1996, 237–39). Banitt (1966) points to a few occurrences of the vowel X̌ in the Basel glossary, and concludes that these might represent [ü] instead of the normal [u]. The spellings he cites are purposeful, not random: they tend to occur in the environment of <y>, which is a reasonable environment for the conditioned change [u] > [ü] (which presumably would have then spread to all occurrences of [u]), but the variant vowel sound could as well be [ju] or [uj], and it is possible that there is no variant vowel sound but only an ortho-

graphic convention. In any event, the value of these conditioned, and possibly local Champenois, variants as witnesses to Parisian pronunciation is dubious.

O represented two sounds, ancestrally [o] (the vowel of *saute*) and [ɔ] (the vowel of *sotte*). Before the Gothic period, the original [o] had changed and was pronounced very high, approaching [u]; most authorities believe that it reached this stage through [ow] (resembling the English "long oh"). This would explain assonances such as *maison*:*grabatum*:*dolour.*[48] Languages which lack an underlying /u/ usually have [u] as a positional variant of /o/,[49] which implies that original *u* must have shifted earlier, otherwise original *o* and original *u* would have merged.

There was no graphic confusion between pretonic and tonic *o* and *u* in Latin, nor do the two letters rhyme, suggesting that they were pronounced differently. (Nasalized vowels are exceptions; see p. 154.) The easiest suggestion is that *o* was [ɔ] and [u] (in some distribution), and *u* was either [ju] ∼ [uj] or [ü] (depending on which sound written *u* represented).

Posttonic, there are infrequent rhymes such as *morituros*:*mundaturus, bonos*: *sanus,* and the last two syllables of *íncola*:*uérnula.*[50] (Word-final *-um*:*-on* is discussed in the section on nasal vowels.) In conversational Latin, all posttonic vowels were probably [ə], as in the vernacular, but not all posttonic vowels rhyme, indicating that they were differentiated in declamatory Latin. The occasional rhymes of posttonic *o* and *u* indicates that they may have overlapped, presumably as [u]. This is the situation in Occitan, which also underwent the same shift [u] > [ü] in all contexts that French did, but without the subsequent reduction of posttonic vowels to [ə].

[48]From *La vie de Saint Alexis,* ca. 1045. Quoted in Batany 1972, 54–6.

[49]Herslund 1976, 134 n. 24 gives some examples. For some further examples, see Seiler and Zimmerman 1962, and Young and Morgan 1987, XII.

[50]*Analecta hymnica* 21367, Fassler 1993, 327, and Lawler 1974, 196. The two-syllable rhyme of the second example is clear from the context. The context is not clear in *apóstoli*:*discípuli* (Lawler 1974, 178).

5.6.4 Y

[i], not [ü]: there was no consciousness that Greek υ had once been [ü]. In contemporary Greek it was already [i]. Hugo of Orléans rhymes *audire*:*lyre* and *viris*:*Syris* (Langosh 1954, 174 and 208).

5.6.5 Vowel combinations

Au was pronounced [aw], as evidenced by Latin loan words which entered French at this time, such as *cause* (Beaulieux 1927b, 58). *Æ* and *œ* were levelled under *e* (Thurot 1869, 140–41). Foreign names, of course, could be exceptions. Hugo of Orléans rhymes *iussum*:*Esaü sum* (Norberg 1968, 185) and *Laërtes*:*superstes* (Langosch 1954, 212). *Eu* was probably the rising diphthong [eü] (= [eẅ]) rather than [ew]; the latter did not occur in French. Other written combinations of two vowels were generally pronounced in hiatus in both rhythmic prose (Murphy 1974, 251, quoting Paget Toynbee), and in verse; the diphthongization process of antiquity (p. 135 above) was no longer in effect, as indicated by the following excerpts from *Analecta hymnica* 350:

> Ad honorem, t**uu**m, Christe,
> Recolat eccles**ia**
> Praecurs**oi**s et baptistae
> T**ui** natalit**ia**.
> Laus est regis in praeconis
> Ip**iu**s praecon**io**,
> Quem virtutum ditat donis
> Sublimat offic**io**.
> Promittente Gabr**ie**le
> Sen**ioi** fil**iu**m
> Haesitavit et loquelae
> Perdidit offic**iu**m.
> . . .
> Martyr D**ei**,
> Licet r**ei**
> . . .

So, [uu], [ia], [oi], [ui], and so on, rather than [wu], [ja], [oj], uj] or [wi], and so on. Written *suV,* however, was pronounced [swV], as Johannes de Garlandia prescribes, and his quantitative hexameter shows:

> You can discern [written] *u*'s lurking after *q*'s, *g*'s, or *s*'s.
> For surely the sound is made contracted by Herodian
> In san|guis, **suā**|det, man|suescit, | suavia, | squalet.[51]

Several theorists state that *ii* was pronounced as a single [i] (Thurot 1869, 139–40), and there is no reason to doubt them for conversational Latin, but *ii* could represent either one or two syllables in poetry: *dīı̂ nostri sint animi* (seven syllables; Knapp 1965, 120) as opposed to *Ámor pátris fíliíque* (*Analecta hymnica* 22393).

5.6.6 Nasalization

The Modern French system of vowel nasalization involves two distinct processes. One is merger: although all the vowels in the language can be nasalized, there are only four nasal vowels (and one of these is marginal), so when a vowel is nasalized, it is also mapped onto one of the four allowable nasal vowels. For example, *an* and *en* are pronounced the same, as [ɑ̃].[52] If merger occurred during the Gothic period, and the evidence is not clear that it did, then it affected only *an* and *en.* The other process is deletion of a following nasal consonant, producing alterations such as *plan* [plɑ̃] ∼ *plane* [plan]. Because of this second process, a word such as [plɑ̃n] is not possible in the modern language. (There are a few well-defined exceptions or, better, complications to this second process.) This deletion of the nasal consonant may date

[51] "Post *q,* post *g* vel *s* latebras *u* poscere cernes. / Namque sonus fertur contractus ab Herodian / Ut *sanguis, suadet, mansuescit, suavia, squalet*" (Haye 1995, 70).

[52] The number of allowable nasal vowels continues to be reduced in modern French: *un* is merging into *in,* and *an* may be merging into *on,* especially among younger speakers (Martinet 1980, 229–30). Martinet suggests that this process will result in two nasal vowels in French, [ɛ̃] or [æ̃] and [ɔ̃].

from as late as the seventeenth century (Schmid 1988, 132); it did not occur in the Gothic period.

As there were no restrictions on the occurrence of nasalized vowels in Gothic French, a word like *plan* would be pronounced with a nasalized vowel followed by [n].[53] The nasalization was automatic (Herslund 1976, 109; Walker 1981, 11), so Latin vowels would also have been nasalized. In Latin-character French texts, a nasal vowel is often spelled *-n,* even before a following *m,* as in *onme* (homme) or *sonmes* (Herslund 1976, 109–111). This orthographic practice was carried over to Hebrew-character texts in the Basel glossary, e.g., קַנְפּ <chanp> or קַנְבְּרֹשׂ <chanbərs> (Banitt 1972 2:137 and 139).

In the Basel glossary, the representation of the nasal is somewhat erratic. Banitt (1972, 1:68) suggests that the representation is especially erratic in weak syllables, but note אַנְקוֹנְטְרָא <ankontrə> followed by אַנְקוֹטְרָא <ankotrə> in accented syllables (Banitt 1972, 1:68).

In Latin-character texts, there is graphic confusion between *an* and *en* as early as the eleventh century. This does not imply that the two sounds had merged. As Schane (1968, 190) points out, the two sounds developed differently in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. (So also Fouché 1952-66, 2:369–70, and Posner 1971, 190.) Therefore the graphic confusion indicates that the nasal vowels were different from their non-nasal counterparts, not that they were identical with each other. Schane suggests that the nasal /ɛ̃/ might have been [æ̃]; indeed it might have even lowered to [ã] if the nasal /ã/ was backed to [ɑ̃], as in the modern language. Martinet (1965) suggests that the difference was one of length, as indicated by subsequent developments, /ɛ̃/ being short and /ã/ being long. Either Schane's or Martinet's

[53]Pope's (1952, 169–78) chronology of gradual nasalization from the tenth to the fourteenth century is now generally believed to be wrong (Posner 1996, 29).

suggestion would explain the orthographic confusion. In the Basel glossary, <an> and <en> are used indiscriminately. This may be a result of the same process that caused graphic confusion in Latin-character texts. In the Gothic period, *an* and *en* confusion was especially characteristic of the region east of Paris (Beaulieux 1927b, 45; 50–51; and Reenen 1988a and 1988b). In his versified Bible, Macé de la Charité rhymes *-an* and *-en* freely, which might imply that the sounds had merged in Berry—but Dees (in Landheer 1988) points out that such rhymes are avoided by Chrétien de Troyes and Jean de Meun, and suggests they indicate only Macé's lack of technical ability.

The phonetic value of the nasalized *i* is unknown. In modern Parisian French it merges with nasalized *e* as [ɛ̃] or [æ̃], but other varieties of Romance, such as Portuguese and Quebec French, simply nasalize [i] without any change in the position of articulation. All modern authorities give [ĩ] as the ancestral vowel.

Norberg (1968, 70) points to characteristically Gothic French rhymes such as *quondam*:*undam, responde*:*unde,* and *abscondi*:*profundi,* which he says shows that the Latin words were pronounced under the influence of Old French *onde, ont,* and *parfont.* This conclusion is unexceptionable—but how were the French words pronounced? The most likely possibility is that the difference between *o* and *u* was neutralized under nasalization, both vowels being pronounced [ũ]. This would explain the (eleventh-century) assonance *maison*:*grabitum*:*dolour,* quoted above (p. 150). So also Pope 1952, 176.

Post-tonic word-final *-um* and *-on* rhyme in post-Gothic Latin as [-ɔ̃(n)], and Beaulieux (1927b, 120) assumes this sound for the Gothic period, which is possible, word-final *-m* being [-n]. Another possibility is that the sound was [ũ], as in the tonic syllables.

5.7 Pictures of dinosaurs

A weakness of prescriptive works such as Copeman 1990 or McGee 1996 is that they do not differentiate between what is known for certain about historical pronunciations, what is the subject of current dispute, and what is guesswork. A great deal is unknown about the pronunciation of Gothic Latin in speech, and we know nothing at all about the pronunciation under the very special conditions of singing. Reconstructed pronunciations have the scholarly value of pictures of dinosaurs.

Still, people want to know what dinosaurs looked like. Below are two texts representing different modes of delivery, made under a number of assumptions which I hope are reasonable.

The consonants are not too problematic. As Morin (1991) says, their values are much better known than those of the vowels. *S* is represented as [s] rather than [ś], arbitrarily. Raised letters are weakly articulated; they may have deleted, lengthening the preceding vowel. l^y indicates a palatalized *l* (as in Italian *gl*); palatalization is automatic for *lV* and *nV* following *i*. Stress is on the penult unless otherwise indicated.

The stage of the language represented is after the shifts $u > \ddot{u}$ and $o > u$ have been completed. The tonic vowel system is: [ü], [i], [e], [ɛ], [a], [ɔ], and [u]; there is no [o]. The tonic system applies in syllables with primary and secondary stress.

Sometimes the two values of orthographic tonic *o* ([ɔ] and [u]) can be differentiated by reference to an obvious French cognate, such as [nuvəs] for *novus,* by comparison with Old French *novel,* modern *nouveau.* More usually, in default of anything better, I have differentiated by reference to the classical Latin vowel length. The historical development from Latin to French was $\bar{o} >$ [u] and $\breve{o} >$ [ɔ]. Gothic Latin speakers did not recapitulate this historical development every time they opened their mouths, but

this general procedure stands a reasonably good chance of leading to a French form (which may or may not survive in historical documents) that Gothic Latin speakers would have recognized. Whatever its value in roots, this procedure is unlikely to be reliable for grammatical endings.

The two tonic *e* sounds, [e] and [ɛ] are differentiated in the same way as the sounds of tonic *o*: by reference to an obvious French cognate if there is one, and otherwise by appeal to the historical developments Ē > [e] and Ĕ > [ɛ].

The (non-nasal) tonic vowel system was thus identical to that of modern Occitan. It is usual for languages with a large vowel inventory to have the complete inventory available only under stress, as in modern Portuguese, French, Catalan, and Italian, among Romance languages. For unstressed pretonic vowels, Morin (1991) describes a simple system in which orthographic *a, e,* and *o* were [ə], but says that it may not have been productive by the thirteenth century. I have not found many spelling variants to indicate this system, so I assume an unstressed pretonic system such as that of Occitan: five vowels [ü], [i], [e], [a], and [u], orthographically *u, i, e, a,* and *o.* Under secondary stress, *e* is [e]; unstressed it is [ə]. Some occurences of Gothic Latin pre-tonic *e* might conceivably have been [æ] (the vowel in *cat*), but I ignore this possibility, because we do not know how to detect it.[54]

Postonic, the only vowel in Gothic French was [ə]. In declamatory, although not conversational, Latin there must have been a larger inventory, to account for rhymes, but orthographic *o* and *u* were pronounced the same. This points to a four-vowel system: /i/, /e/, /a/, and /u/, with /e/ probably realized as [ə] when unstressed

[54]Its most frequent known occurrence in French was in the (accented) final syllables of first-declension verbs such as *chanter* [čə̃ˈtær] < CANTÁRE, and there were no similar finals in Latin except a few monosyllables, such as *per,* which would be unlikely to bear the accent in connected speech. The French [æ] was discovered by examining assonance patterns; whether it occurred before the accent—in syllables with secondary stress—is unknown, as these do not participate in assonance.

and [e] when stressed (i.e., when the primary stress is on the antepenult). This system can still be found in scattered parts of Occitania, although most of that area underwent a shift after the Middle Ages of posttonic [a] > [o] (not reflected in the orthography). A similar four-vowel posttonic final system can be found in medieval Portuguese/Gallician, although there is dispute about whether $o \sim u$ was pronounced [u] or [o] (Teyssier 1982, 85). Under nasalization, many of the differentiations are neutralized for both tonic and atonic vowels; I have spelled the resulting sounds [ĩ], [æ̃], [ɑ̃], and [ũ].

The first text is a following story by Johannes de Garlandia, perhaps suitable for reciting out loud at conversational speed. There is a certain amount of assimilation between words; this occurs in the modern Romance languages without any weakening of the word-based accent. Pausal forms are used before a punctuation mark.

If everyday Gothic Latin was pronounced anything like the following, then learning to write Latin involved a good deal of grammatical parsing—as learning to write modern French does (*tue, tues, tuent; tuez, tué, tuée, tués, tuées,* and, for many speakers, *tuai, tuais, tuait*).

Spiritus malignus in partibus Gallie cuidam se immisit sisterne, et transeuntibus
ˈspirətə malĩñə ĩm ˈpaʳtəbə ˈgalijə küjdɑ̃n se ĩmizə tsihtɛʳnə e trɑ̃nsəˈũntəbə

et euntibus dabat responsa. Ad quem quadam die rusticus quidam forum petens
e əˈũntəbə daba rəhpũnsə a kæ̃ŋ kadɑ̃n diə ˈrrühtəkə kidɑ̃ fɔrũn pɛtæ̃n

venit dicens, "Quis uocaris?" Cui diabolus respondit Gallica uoce, "Guinehochet
vɛnə ditsə̃ns kiʰ vukaris küj dziˈjabələ rəhpũndə ˈgaləkə vɔtsə ˌgiñəˈʰɔčə

vocor." Et dixit rusticus, "Quot pueros habeo? Cui Guinehochet, "Duos." Rusticus
vɔkəʳ e disə ˈrrüʰtəkəs kɔ püẅɛrə abeə küj ˌgiñəˈʰɔčət düẅəs. ˈrrüʰtəkə

cum cachynno subiecit, "Mentiris, quia quattuor habeo pueros." Cui Guinehochet,
kũŋ kakĩñə süǰetsət mæ̃ntirəs kiə ˈkatuəʳ abeə ˈpüẅərəs küj ˌgiñəˈʰɔčət

"Immo tu, rustice pessime, mentiris quia duo pueri sunt presbiteri uille tue."
ĩmə tü ˈrrüʰtətsə ˈpɛsəmə mæ̃ntiri kiə düə ˈpüẅərə sũm preʰbiterə vilʸə tüə

Cui rusticus, “Quinam sunt illi? Cui Guinehochet, “Vade rustice, pasce et illos et
küj rrü^{h}təkəs kiñãn sũn il^{y}ə küj ˌgiñəˈ^{h}ɔčət vadə ˈrrü^{h}tətsə pasə e il^{y}ə e
illos.”
il^{y}əs

> Syllable-final *s* is aspirated. Word-final *s* is deleted unless the word is proclitic; prepausally, *s* is retained. The pronunciation of *sisterne* is backformed from *cisterne,* following the Old French form (the MSS all postdate the middle of the thirteenth century, after [ts] > [s], and one of them has *c* in any event).

The following is a declamatory, highly “artificial” pronunciation, very close to the orthography. Pausal forms are generalized to all word endings. The differentiation between primary and secondary stress may be, in view of the overriding importance of the musical accent, pedantry. Because we know nothing about singing technique, the pronunications indicated for this text involve more guesswork than for the previous text. (From Knapp 1965, 42–43.)

Crucifigat omnes	krütsifigat ũnəs
domini crux altera,	ˈdɔmĩñi krüs ˈawtəra
Nova Christi vulnera!	nuva krihti ˈvüwnəra
Arbor salutifera	a^{r}bu^{r} ˌsalüˈtifəra
perditur. Sepulcrum	ˈpɛ^{r}ditu^{r} səpüwkrũn
gens evertit extera	ǰæ̃ns əvɛ^{r}tit ˈɛhtəra.
violente. Plena gente	vijulæ̃ntə plæ̃na ǰæ̃ntə
sola sedet civitas.	sula sɛdət ˈtsivitas
Agni fedus rapit edus	ɑ̃ñi fedus rrapit edus
Plorat dotes perditas	plurat dutəs ˈpɛ^{r}ditas
sponsa Syon. Immolatur	spũnsa sijũn ĩmulatu^{r}
Ananias. Incurvatur	ɑ̃nɑ̃nijas ĩŋkürvatu^{r}
cornu Davit. Flagellatur mundus.	kɔ^{r}nu davit flaǰəlatu^{r} mũndus
Ab iniustis abdicatur,	ap ĩnǰühtis adikatu^{r}
per quem iuste iudicatur mundus.	pɛ^{r} kæ̃n ǰühtə ǰüdikatu^{r} mũndus
O quam dignos luctus!	U kɑ̃n dĩñus lütus
Exulat rex omnium,	ˈɛsülat rɛs ˈũnijũn

baculus fidelium	ˈbakülüs fiˈdelijũn
sustinet opprobrium	ˈsühtinet uˈprɔbrijũn
gentis infidelis.	ǰæ̃ntis ˌĩŋfiˈdelis
Cedit parti gentium	tsedit paʳti ˈǰæ̃ntsijũn
pars totalis. Iam regalis	paʳs tutalis. ǰũn rrəgalis
in luto et latere	ˈĩn lüˌtu e ˈlatəre
elaborat tellus, plorat	elaburat tɛlus plurat
Moysen fatiscere	ˈmuwiˌsæ̃n faˈtisəre
Homo, Dei miserere	ũmu dɛji ˌmizəˈrerə
Fili, patris ius tuere	filʸi patris ǰüs tüẅerə
In incerto certum quere, ducis	ĩn ĩntsɛʳtu tsɛʳtũn kɛrə, dütsis
ducum dona promerere	dükun duna prumərerə
et lucrare lucem vere lucis.	e lükrarə lütsə̃n verə lütsis
Quisquis es signatus	kihkis e siñatus
fidei caractere,	ˈfidəi kaˈratərə,
fidem factis assere	fidə̃n fatis ˈasəre
rugientes contere	rrüǰijæ̃ntəs ˈkũntərə
catulos leonum	ˈkatülus ləũnũn
miserans intuere	ˈmizəˌrɑ̃ns ĩnˈtüwərə
corde tristi danum Christi.	kɔʳdəˌtrihti dɑ̃nũn krihti
Longus Cedar incola	lũŋgus tsedaʳ ˈĩŋkula
surge, vide, ne de fide	süʳǰə vidə ne də fidə
reproberis frivola.	ˌrrɛpruˈberis ˈfrivula
Suda, martyr, in agone	süda maʳtiʳ ĩn agũnə
spe mercedis et corone.	spe məʳtsɛdis e kurũnə
Derelecta Babilone, pugna	derəlita babilʸũnə pũna
pro celesti regione,	pru tsəlɛʰtiˌrrɛǰiˈjũnə
aqua vite. Te compone pugna.	aka vitə te kũmpũnə pũna

In luto forms one accent group, as permitted in poetry and indicated by the rhythm of the music. The first vowel in *Moysen* is a guess. Modern performers may find the aspiration of syllable-final preconsonatal *s* unacceptable; if desirable, a pronuncation [s] can be justified as a spelling pronunciation (see p. 144).

6 Du Fay's Italian works

Two points must be mentioned at the outset. One is the low status of the Italian language in the period between Petrarch and Boccacio (on the one hand) and Bembo (on the other). The well-described lack of music with Italian texts and the dominance of French musicians (Fallows 1982, 22) mirror the state of Italian letters. Notwithstanding a large amount of devotional and light poetry and the eventual development of a technical prose style to meet Latin on its own terms, Italian was not much cultivated for artistic purposes. If Croce's (1965, 179–92) famous chapter heading "Secolo senza poesia" was deliberate exaggeration, it is nevertheless indicative of a commonplace of Italian literary history:

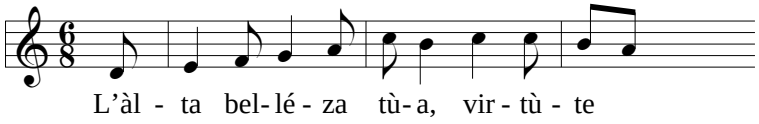
> The humanists' exaltation of Latin lowered Italian in public esteem in the early Quattrocentro, and it was mostly confined to humble purposes. It is true that some writers produced prose and verse in it; but there was nobody who cultivated it with both love and great artistic ability.[1]

In the case of Italian MSS, therefore, one would expect *a priori* the Italian texts to show, at a minimum: (1) local ("dialect") scribal forms, (2) Tuscan and Latinizing forms, which could originate anywhere, and (3) local forms from the poet. Additional local forms may have accrued during transmission.

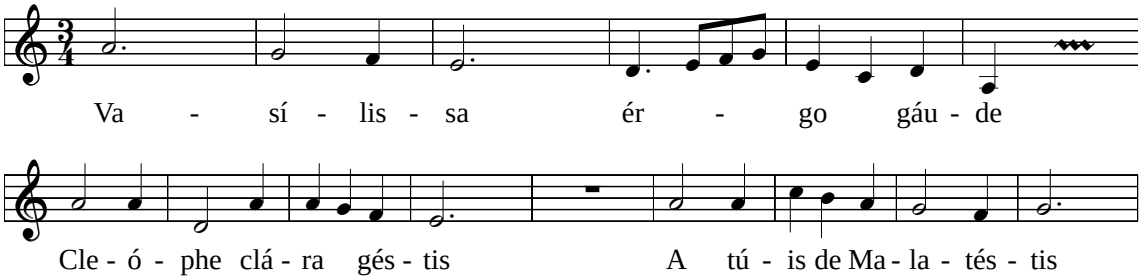
The other point concerns du Fay's knowledge of the Italian language. Not only were his early pieces for the Malatesta family in Latin or French, but his household and working language with that family, and subsequently in Bologna, was French (Planchart 1988, 125–6). This does not imply that du Fay set words which were meaningless to him—Arlt (1981) shows that du Fay was alert to the meanings of the words and even some details of the line structure. But he might not have been aware of Italian poetic forms. Fallows' (1994, 29) observation that du Fay "often tried

[1] Migliorini and Griffith 1984, 160. Thus also De Sanctis 1925, 378–79, Dotti 1991, 140, and Vitale 1978, 20-22, among many others.

new solutions to the received Italian forms" can be interpreted as a euphemism. Furthermore, if his settings are any kind of guide at all, he may have pronounced Italian with a French accent, sometimes stressing the ends of words, as in (accents indicate normal Italian stress):



which agrees with much of his Latin pronunciation, as in (accents indicate classical stress):[2]



Whether due to French accentuation or not, du Fay's text setting often does not follow the normal linguistic accentuation, and modern scholars have commented negatively on it. But if these settings are "clumsy" or "surprisingly perverse" (Bent 1989 and Fallows, respectively), why were they accepted by du Fay's Italian contemporaries, such as the scribe of Oxf?[3] Absent any evidence on this matter, we can only speculate—they might have thought the pieces hilarious, for all we know—but

[2]The first word is Βασίλισσα; whether du Fay would have placed the accent in accordance with Greek or with an assumed Latin/Italian *vasilíssa* is unknown. See Holford-Strevens, 1997, who points out that nothing in the structure of the poem itself indicates end-accentuation.

[3]MSS sigla: **BL** = Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q15 (olim 37). **BU** = Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2216. **Cord** = *Cordiforme*; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rothschild 2973 (I.5.13). **EscA** = Escorial, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Biblioteca y Archivo de Música, MS V.III.24. **F26** = Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Panciatichi 26. **Mellon** = New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 91. **Niv** = *Nivelle de la Chaussée*; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département de musique, MS Rés.Vmc.57. **Oxf** = Oxford Bodleian Library, Canon. Misc. 231.

the settings do not appear so hopeless if we view them from the standpoint of traditional Romance text settings which allow, although they do not encourage, disregard of word accents.

It is not possible to use the dialect forms in the poems du Fay set to localize the texts with any precision. There are two reasons for this. One is that the orthography does not distinguish many of the relevant sounds consistently. [ts], [dz], [z], and [ž] are not indicated unambiguously, for example; there is never a clear distinction between [o] and [ɔ], and orthographic *e* can represent at least three sounds ([e], [ɛ], and [ə]). Sounds which may have been obviously regional thus do not find their way into the spelling. The other reason for the imprecision of the dialect forms is simply that most of the forms are very widespread. In fact, some of them cannot be localized further than "non-Tuscan"—standard Italian, or at least its Tuscan base, is also a local form. An example is the series of personal pronouns *mi, ti, si,* which in most of the areas outside of Tuscany (and in some areas within) is *me, te, se* (the vowel generally being [e] or [ɛ] in the north and [ə] in the south; Rohlfs 1966–69, 2:151). And even in documents of pure Tuscan, one can find *me, te,* and *se* as Latinisms.

This said, however, it is possible at least to show that certain poems have specifically central (southern Tuscany to Northern Lazio) or Lombard features, and that all of the poems have a distinctly northern or (explicable) northern-and-central flavor. There are no southern features or unexplained dialect mixtures.

Four songs appear only in Oxf, which was copied by a single scribe probably working in Venice (Schoop 1971, 33–46; Fallows 1995b, 4). One would expect the Italian texts to show (1) Venetian forms, presumably scribal (except in the case of Venetian poets), (2) Tuscan and Latinizing forms, which could originate anywhere, and (3) local forms from several areas, depending on where the poem originated and how it

was transmitted to the scribe.

On f.40^{v}:

> [underlaid in superius and tenor; text from superius:]
> 1 LAlta belleza tua virtute ualore /
> 2 ache so don*n*a mai donnato amore.
> 3 Qua*n*to piu miro eltuo lizadro aspeto /
> 4 angelico real digno dinpero
> 5 damor s'enfiama piu lardente peto./
> 6 Suilando ogn'altro ferm[at]o el pe*n*sero
> 7 i*n* te sola dea signor mio dileto
> 8 ch*e* farti ancor *con*tenta certo spero.
>
> Tenor variants: **1** virtute] v*ir*tute **2** amore.] amore / **8** ancor] anchor certo] zerto
>
> 'Your lofty beauty, virtue, goodness /To one to whom, I know, lady, you never granted love. // The more I regard your smooth face / angelic, royal, worthy of empire, / My ardent breast is inflamed the more with love. // Dismissing every other, my thought is fast / on thee alone, goddess, chief of my delight / that to make you satisfied I surely hope.'

Virtute is presumably a Latinism for *virtù*; as Fallows (1994, 30) points out, this simplifies the underlay and gives the correct number of syllables in the line.

Inpero for *impero* shows a level of linguistic abstraction more sophisticated than that of the standard orthography. In Italian speech, as in Latin and very many other languages (including English), nasal consonants are articulated in the same position as an immediately following consonant (see p. 139, above, for Gothic Latin). Thus the nasal consonant preceding a [t] or [d] (*context, condemn*) is [n], articulated with the tip or blade of the tongue (Italian and English respectively) towards the front of the mouth. The nasal consonant preceding a [k] or [g] (*concubine, congregate*) is [ŋ], articulated at the back of the throat. The nasal consonant preceeding a [p] or a [b], is [m], articulated with the two lips. There are several other places of articulation as well, each with a "matching" nasal consonant. All of these nasal consonants are spelled *n*—except for [m] which, for historical reasons, is spelled *m*. One could argue

that the orthography is overspecific: since the occurrence of [m] in this context is as predictable as the occurrence of any other nasal consonant, one might well use *n* as a cover symbol for "nasal consonant" (the reason for choosing *n* rather than *m* as the symbol is that the value is [n] in neutral contexts, such as before vowels). And this is just what many medieval scribes did, albeit not consistently. This analysis would have been familiar to them because of the common tilde ˜ abbreviation for "nasal" (*n* or *m*). The graphic *n* can thus be seen as equivalent to this abbreviation.[4]

S'enfiama for *s'infiamma* reflects (1) a general uncertainty in the vowel $e \sim i$ in initial syllables, which was not settled in the standard language until recently (Rohlfs 1966–69, 1:162–63; in English, too: *enquire, inflame*); and (2) a general northern disinclination to double intervocalic consonants. The emendation in line 6 (*fermo* to *fermato*) was proposed to Fallows by Giuseppe Tavani, Besseler's (1964) four-syllable reading of *suilando* (= *svilando*) being impossible. Fallows emends to *sol'* in line 7, which is not necessary if *dea* is taken as one syllable, as is permissible even in the strictest artverse. *Certo* $\sim$ *zerto* points to a pronunciation [ts], which could be from anywhere north of Tuscany (Rohlfs 1966–69, 1:201–2), although in much of this area it later developed into either [θ] (the first sound in *thing*), [h] or, most commonly, [s]. The local features of the poem are "northern."

On the top half of f. 73^{r}:

[4]This brings up the related, and not very interesting, issue of how to expand abbreviations of the word *composuit* when discussing Oxf. Boone (1987, 100), and following him Fallows, writes "*con*posuit" or "co*n*posuit," on the grounds that this was the normal spelling of the scribe. But the idea of a single "normal" spelling is anachronistic, and this practice leads to oddities such as "co*n*posuit" versus "co*m*plaindre" (Fallows 1995b, 33 and 31) or *con*paignie" versus "*com*paignon*s*" (Fallows 1995b, 41 and 34). It should be noted that all but one of the scribe's spellings-out of *conposuit* occur in a single bunch (numbers 304 through 310) with a straggler at number 322. The only reason to expand the abbreviations at all is to suit modern readers; the decision between *conposuit* and *composuit* is an esthetic one. *Composuit* has the advantage of being less exotic.

[underlaid in superius and tenor; text from superius:]
1 Quel fronte signorille In paradiso /
2 scorge lanima mia
3 m*en*tre che i*n* suo balia
4 streto me tiene mirando il suo bel viso.
[residuum:]
5 Iochi trapassa tutj dei altrj el viso
6 c*on* s*i* dolce armonia.
7 che icor nostrj senuia
8 pia*n* pia*n* i*n* suso ⟨i⟩va*n*no in paradiso.
9 Quel &

Verse 1 from superius. Tenor variations: **1** In] in **3** m*en*tre] mentre **4** me] mi Index: In paradiso] i*n* paradixo

'That noble brow to paradise / guides my soul,/ while in her power / she holds me tight, [I] looking upon her fair face. // Her eyes surpass all others'; her face / with such sweet harmony / sends our hearts on their way,/ most gently on its wing, to paradise'.

Suo balia is not a simple misprint: the scribe wrote it twice, once in the superius and once in the tenor, so he meant it. Besseler corrects the phrase in his critical notes, but not in his score (1964, 11) to *sua balia* without comment. Pirrotta gives *suo' balia,* presumably an unusual plural of *suo balio,* also without comment. (Plurals in *-a* were slightly more common than they are now, and did not necessarily have a collective meaning.) But *balio* refers only to people such as rulers or magistrates, and "power" in the abstract sense required by the poem finds no support in historical dictionaries.[5] The normal process is for specific nouns ending in *-o* to form abstract nouns ending in *-a,* not the other way around (Rohlfs 1966-69, 2:65). In any event, if we allow dialect forms, no editorial emendation may be necessary. The scribe's own dialect likely did not inflect for gender (old Venetian *soi* [Rohlfs 1966–69]), so he readily accepted variant forms. Other variant—non-Tuscan—forms in the MS include: *mjo amorosi* [f. 25]; *mj melodia* [f. 135]; *suo virtu* [also f. 135].) *Suo*

[5]Namely, in Accademia degli Crusca (1612), Battaglia (1961–), Colussi (1983–), and Tommaseo (1865–1929).

balia might represent an inept attempt at Tuscanizing, but it is difficult to imagine anyone inept enough to botch the gender agreement here (unlike *suo virtù,* which might be construed as masculine given a misapprehension of both the etymology—it comes from Latin VIRTUTEM, not VIRTUS, as the stress placement shows—and the Latin gender, VIRTUS being feminine). It may be that the poet came from an area where the form *suo* was used for all genders and numbers. This construction is not characteristic of Rome (which had something like *sio/sia*), but of Northern Lazio and Southern Tuscany, particularly Siena (Rohlfs 1966–69, 2:120).

The *x* in the index entry . . . *paradixo* is ambiguous: it could represent either [z] or [ž], both of which were widespread in the north (Rohlfs 1966–69, 1:407). The latter would indicate a derivation from PARADISIO; the former may be more likely—see page 170.

Fallows (1994, 45) writes, "Dufay has treated the text as though the 11-syllable lines are each two lines of 7+5 syllables; indeed the hypermetric lines [4] and [5] suggest that he could have received the poem in this form." This is possible, although line 4 cannot break 7+5. It might have broken 5+7, or the poem may have originally scanned with *tien'.*

The reuse of *Quel*'s music in *Craindre vous vueil,* which has the acrostic CATELINE DVFAJ has troubled some commentators; Edward Roesner has pointed out to me that recycling dedicatory pieces is not uncommon in music history (e.g. Bach). Boone (1987, 230–32) shows that *Quel*'s music follows the form of the poetic lines and the accentuation of the text whereas *Craindre*'s does not, "mak[ing] it certain that *Quel fronte* was the original setting."

On the same page in Oxf as *Quel:*

> [underlaid in superius and tenor; text from superius:]
> 1 Donai ardenti ray /

2 di vostri ochi suauj
3 che de mj tie*n* le chiave
4 me i*n*fiama el pecto auera gentileza.
[residuum:]
5 le fiame ardente chay /
6 neliochi nel bel fronte /
7 son le chason i*m*pronte
8 chel cor me acese aseguir tantalteza. 9 Dona *etc.*

Verse 1 from superius.

Tenor variations: **2** di vostri] diuostri **3** mi] mj **4** pecto] petto

'Lady, the burning rays / of your gentle eyes / which for me hold the keys,/ inflame my breast to true compassion. // The burning flames which you have / in your eyes, in your fair brow / are the grave reasons / which arouse my heart to follow such nobility'.

Le chiave, intended to rhyme with *suauj,* may represent a conflict between local pronunciation and the standard language. Besseler silently corrects to *le chiavi* in his critical notes (not in his score), and Fallows (1994, 43–4) also corrects, but the correction is unnecessary. There was a widespread, if somewhat deprecated, tradition of not inflecting words of this type for number (*la chiave, le chiave*), especially in an area running from Rome north to southern Tuscany and then east, including all of Umbria and most of the Marches. In this area, final *-i* and *-e* are identical, that is, there is no difference in the final vowels of *la chiave, le chiave,* and *suauj.*[6] The plural in *-e* can also be found in Venice. In the north today, this form is found in the Veneto and Istria (modern Venetian [le čave]; it used to be more widespread (Rohlfs 1966–69, 2:34).[7] Thus also the plural form *ardente.*

[6]Ernst 1970, 63 and 123–24; and Rohlfs 1966–69, 1:179 and 2:32–3. Ernst (1966, 146) reports a fifteenth-century Roman text with the form. The actual sound of *le chiave,* as opposed to its representation on paper, is not easy to recover from historical documents. In an area which today lies just west of Rome (from Subiaco to Castro dei Volsci) but which may have been more extensive in the fifteenth century, final *-i* is lowered to a closed *e,* orthographically either *e* or *i* (Devoto and Giacomelli 1972, 91). *Le chiave* [le kjave] thus rhymes with *suauj* [swave] as opposed to *la chiave* [la kjavɛ], with an open *e.* But in most of the area which writes *le chiave,* the singular and plural sound alike.

[7]Pirotta (1966) reads *la chiave* and corrects to the grammatically odd *la chiavi* "for the sake of the rhyme." In any event, the tenor clearly has *le,* and other scholars read *le* in the

All the other non-Tuscan forms in *Dona* and *Quel* are either Latinisms (*suavj* for *soavj, pecto,* possibly *ochi*), or too widespread to localize (*dona, infiama, streto, tutj* are generalized northern; *cason* for *cagion* can be from almost anywhere in Italy, as the orthographic *s* is ambiguous).

On f. 133^{v}–134^{r}:

[underlaid in superius:]
1 Passato eil te*m*po / omaj di quei pensieri /
2 che misolea tuor paçe.
3 *Et* hor forte mi spiace
4 tal che mi diede gia longi martirj.
5 ancor piu mi tormenta il grande erore.
6 che ma *con*duto a ta*n*ta extrema vita.

[residuum:]
7 Se amato auesse cosa diualore,
8 seria mia pena *con* me*n* doglia vsita.
9 p*er*o *con*vegno al tuto far partita.
10 dal passato piacere.
11 et q*ue*sto p*re*vedere
12 p*er*der lieltate *et* rinouar sospirj.
13 Passato *etc.*

'The time for those thoughts is ever past / which is wont to take away my peace / and now displeases me strongly / such that it has already given me long sufferings. // My great error torments me yet more / which has led me to the very end of my life. // Had I loved a thing of value / my pain would have left with less sorrow.// But I must completely part / from past pleasure / and foresee this: / [I must] lose happiness and renew sighs.'

Tuor may be a monosyllabic form of the infinitive *torre* (< *togliere;* Rohlfs 1966–69 1:133 and 388). Harris-Warwick (in Duffin 1983), translates: "Gone is the time when my thoughts / used to give me peace," perhaps reading an aberrant form of *dar,* which makes more sense but is difficult to parse.

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superius as well.

The *ç* in *paçe* represents [ts], which is recorded in Old Lombard and Old Venetian (Rohlfs 1966–69, 1:410–11). Note that it must rhyme with *spiace.* I cannot account for the second *l* in *lieltate*; it may be a misprint. The other non-Tuscan forms are either generalized Northern (*erore, tuto*) or Latinisms (*et*).

Oxf 128^{v}–129^{r}, and F26 17r–18, contra ii mis; BU 75:

[text from Oxf; superius:]
INuidia nimicha
de zascum virtuoxo/.
quel chaltro ten ascoxo/
ati co*n*vien che dicha.

In fra fiolj *e* patri
inuidia tu ponj/.
In fra sorelle *e* fratrj
discordia tu doni./

ogni pensierj *e* dani/.
p*er* dir *e* far[e] malj/.
In fin ai<ı> animalj
no*n* teuol p*er* amicha.

[residuum:]
Seuidi algun i*n* corte.
che abbia uirtu o paze.
tosto p*er* darlj mo*r*te.
trouj lituo seguaze.

senza caxon veraze.
dice*n*do gra*n* boxia.
no*n* posa notte e dia.
chi deti se nodricha.

Invidia nimicha *etc.*
O dio p*er* tua potenza.
dal mio groso stato.
se so[n] cazato senza.
auer mal op*er*ato.

no*n* seguiro may cato
de questo seporazo.

28 de fero ponzerazo.
29 chi m'a ponto de lorticha.
30 Invidia nimicha *etc.*

'Envy, enemy / of everything virtuous / that which another keeps hidden /to you it is proper that I speak. // Between fathers and sons /you put envy. / Between sisters and brothers / you make dischord. // Every thought you condemn / to saying and doing ill / even the animals / do not want you as a friend. // If you see someone who at heart / has virtue or peace, / Straightaway to do him in / you find for him your follower. // Without true cause /saying great falsehoods, / he does not let up night or day / who feeds himself on you. // O God, by your power, / From my considerable state // I am hunted without / having done wrong. // I will not go on, I find my way / by this "joy" [?] / by the iron barb / which has stung me with the nettle'.

BU variants: **1** nimicha] inimica **2** zascum] çascaun virtuoxo] virtuoso **3** ascoxo] abscoso **7** sorelle] sorele **9** pensieri] penseri dani] dampni **10** dir *e*] dire **11** In fin] Perfin ai<ı>] ay **13** algun] alcun corte] core **14** abbia] abia **16** seguace] seguaze **17** cason] caxon verace] veraze **18** boxia] bosia **19** posa note ni dia] non posa notte e dia **20** de] da nodricha] notricha **21** Invidia nimicha] Invi **22** potenza] potencia] **23** graso] grasso **24** se so cazato] Si son chaciato **26** cato] catto **28** fero] ferro **29** m'a ponto de l'orticha] ponto m'a d'orticha **30** Invidia nimicha] (om)

F26 variants: **1** nimicha] nimica **2** zascum] ciaschun **3** quel chaltro] caltro ascoxo] ascoso **4** ati] a te

The variant forms *zascum* ∼ *çascaun* ∼ *ciascun* are recorded in old Lombard (Rohlfs 2:220–21) with a final *-n.* The variation *-m* ∼ *-n* points to a nasalization of the vowel, also a Lombard characteristic. *Fioli* is widespread in the north, although it is unlikely to be Venetian (Rohlfs 1966–69, 1:396–97). *Pensieri* is a Tuscan form; *penseri* is general outside of Tuscany. *Algun* is specifically Lombard (Rohlfs 1966–69, 2:214). The development of pretonic Ū> *o* (*nodricha*) is common in northern and central Italy, although the normal Milanese development is Ū > *ü* (Rohlfs 1966–69, 1:167). The variation *tr* ∼ *dr* in that word is generalized northern (Rohlfs 1966–69, 1:370). The variations *-ce* ∼ *-ze* point to a northern [tse]. *Potencia* is probably a Latinism; it rhymes with *senza.* *Cazato* is also generalized northern, probably [katsato], although the orthographic *-z-* is ambiguous. The frequent variations *-x-* ∼

-z- point to a northern pronunciation [-z-] (Rohlfs 1966–69,1:407). The poem most likely originated in Lombardy.

Lines 26 through 29 are difficult to understand (and, in fact, puzzled several authorities I consulted). Harris-Warwick (in Duffin 1983) translates: "I will never follow Cato / from this isolation / with the iron barb / which has stung me." "Barb" for *ponzerazo* is not a problem; it implies the development of pretonic Ŭ > *o* for the vowel in the first syllable, which is frequent (Rohlfs 1966–69, 1:165). The objections to "Cato" are: (1) the BU variant *catto,* and (2) the meaning. Cato of Utica locked himself into his house, sent his attendants away, and cheerfully stabbed himself to death. This seems to be the reverse of the sense demanded by the text, unless "never" is wrong. *Seporazo* is unlikely to mean "isolation." The problem is the second vowel; there is little precedence for pretonic A > *o* (Rohlfs 1966–69, 1:38–9). Finally, Harris-Warwick has concealed the troublesome nettle. My own translation is an alternative, but not an improvement. I read *me cato* instead of *may cato,* with the Venetian verb *se catar,* which also survives as *se cattar* (Boerio 1856; Folena 1993). At least as problematic as assuming a scribal (or compositorial?) corruption is the unexplained presence of a Venetian form in what appears to have been originally a Lombard text. The enjambment is not an objection: line 24 is as heavily enjambed. For the mysterious *seporazo,* I use the archaic literary word "saporazza" (reported in Battaglia 1961–), which is the wrong gender and which will fit the sense only with a suffocating dose of irony. (The development A > *e* in the first syllable is unusual but not impossible; Rohlfs 1966–69, 1:161–2.) The last two lines seem to contain a metaphor which is worse than mixed—it is blenderized. The possibility that the text emanating from du Fay may have been corrupt, and uncomprehendingly copied by the scribe, cannot be ruled out.

Oxf 133^{v}–134^{r}; BL 208^{v}–209^{rv} (= 237^{v}–238^{r}); BU 70–71:

[text from Oxf; superius:]
1 Vergene bella, che di sol vestita.
2 choronata di stelle al somo sole.
3 piacesti si chentte sua luce aschose.

4 Amor mespigne adir dite parole.
5 Ma no*n* so comi*n*zar senza tuaita /
6 E dicoluj comando in te si posse.

7 In voco lei che ben sempre respose.
8 chi la chiamo co*n* fede
9 uergene s'a mercede.
10 Mixera estrema delle humane chosse.

11 Gia maj tiuolsse almio priegho tinchina.
12 Sochori alla mia guera.
13 Ben chi sia terra. *e* tu del ciel raina.

'Lovely virgin, who clothed with the sun / Crowned with stars, you pleased the highest Sun / So that he concealed his light in you, / Love urges me to speak of you / But I do not know how to begin without your aid, / and his, who commanding placed himself in you. / I invoke the one who answers always / [those] who have called upon her with faith. / Virgin, if toward mercy / for the extreme misery of human things / You have ever turned, bend toward my prayer. / Help me in my war / Although I am of earth and you are queen of heaven.'[8]

Oxf tenor and contra variants: **7** In voco] Invocho (tenor and contra)

BL variants: **1** Vergene] Virgene **2** Chrononata] Coronata **3** chentte] che in te aschose] abscose **4** di] de **5** cominzar] commenzar tu'aita] tua iuta **6** Colui] choly comando] chomando si] sy posse] pose **7** In voco] Invocho (superius and contra) lei] ley respose] rispose (tenor??) **9** Vergene] Virgene (superius and contra) **10** Mixera] Mizera delle] de le chosse] chose **11** mai] may volsse] volse priegho] pregho **12** Sochori] Secor alla] a la mia] mya (tenor) guera] guerra **13** Bench'i'] Benche et] e (superius and contra) ciel] celo (superius) cello (contra) raina] reyna (superius and contra)

BU variants: **1** di] de **2** Chrononata] Coronata **3** sì] sy che in tte] te aschose] ascose **5** cominzar] comenzar te] to **6** E] et Colui] coluy **6** comando] cumando posse] pose **7** In voco] Invocho lei] ley (superius and contra) respose] ripose **8** Chi] Che (contra) **10** Misera estrema] extrema delle] de le chosse] cosse **11** mai] mar volsse] volse priegho]

[8] After the translations in Armi 1946 and Musa 1996.

prego **12** Sochori] Secori alla] a la **13** Bench'i'] Benche del] de raina] regina

Fallows (1994, 40) says "The musical sources have a certain consistency in their divergences from [Petrarch's autograph] . . . [they] may represent the state of the poem as Dufay set it." Line 6 is corrupt; Petrarch wrote: *E di Colui che amando in te si posse* 'And his who loving placed himself in you'. BU's *cumando* has no geographical significance (Rohlfs 1966–69, 1:165–66).

Tte may be a hypercorrection, influenced by Tuscan *i tte,* with the definite article *i* (Rohlfs 1966–69, 2:102–3) followed by a possessive pronoun (Rohlfs 1966–69, 2:121).

The spelling *chosse* in line 10 may represent [kosa] as opposed to [koza], a pronunciation and spelling Rohlfs (1966-69, 1:284) records from Liguria, the Piedmonte, Lombardy, the Veneto, and Bologna.

Reyna $\sim$ *raina* is an old Italian form (Rohlfs 1966–69, 1:300); the standard *regina* may be a later borrowing from Latin. The variation *e* $\sim$ *a* is widespread (Rohlfs 1966–69, 1:164). The other variant forms are either generalized northern (*mixera, delle* $\sim$ *de le, priego, alla* $\sim$ *a la, guera*), or represent lack of standarization in Italian (*Vergine* $\sim$ *Virgine, respose* $\sim$ *rispose*).

The following song does not survive in Oxf:

[text from Mellon:]
1 Dona gentile, bella come l'oro,
2 Que supra le altre portate corona,
3 Como par l'universo se rasona,
4 Datime secorso, stella, que moro.
5 Que piu no stago in questo purgatoro,
6 Tranquillitate enver di me Fortuna,

7 Lasso ja sono di tale martiro
8 Que viver non posso salvo en una.
9 Qui mi trovo chom[e] voy, chara luna,
10 Por sempre servire quella qu'adoro.

'Gentle Lady, lovely as gold, / Who above all others wear[s] the crown / As is known throughtout the world; / Help me, O Star! for I am dying. // Because I am ever in this purgatory, / Be kind to me, O Fortune. // I am so weary of such martyrdom / That I cannot live, save in one alone; / Here I am, like you, bright Moon, / Ever to serve the one whom I adore' (trans. Garey in Perkins and Garey 1979, 2:327).

Cord variants: **1** Dona] Donna (index) gentile, bella] gentile he bella **2** Que] Che portate] porti **3** Como] Come **4** stella, que moro] stela, che yo no moro **5** Que] Che in questo purgatoro] en chesto purgatorio **6** enver] en ver **7** ja] yo tale martiro] talle martyrio **8** Que viver] Che vivere **9** Qui mi] Che my chom] con chara] clara **10** Por] Per qu'adoro] c'adoro

Pav variants: **1** gentile, bella] gentille belle **2** Que] Quy le] li **3** rasona] razone **5** stago] estago purgatoro] plogatoro Tranquillitate enver di me Fortuna] Transquillata en vers de my fortune **7** tale] talle martiro] martirio **2** viver] vivie salvo] (om.) **9** mi] me trovo chom] (om.)

Fallows (1994, 46-48) says that this piece is transmitted in three French sources from the 1460s and 1470s, and suggests that it may have been written after du Fay's return to Savoy. The text is garbled by all three French-speaking scribes.

Garey (Perkins and Garey 1979, 2:328-30) covers most of the phonological points; here are a few addenda. Garey describes the language as a mixture of southern and northern dialect forms. I do not find any unambiguously southern characteristics; the poem seems clearly northern with a few orthographic French traits.

Que, ja (= già), and *qu'adoro* are, as Garey says, probably French spellings; the first may be a Latinism as well. Cord has *yo* instead of *ja,* which is also possible; *ja* would then be simply a garble. The extra syllables, including the negative particle, in line four of Cord are a French construction. *Chom* $\sim$ *com* for *con* may represent a combination of a French pronunciation [kɔ̃] and scribal squeamishness. (The Italian sound, in context, is [koɱ], the nasal being articulated in the same position as the following [v], with the lower teeth on the upper lip.)

Garey suggests that *Dona* for *Donna* may represent a conventional spelling rather than a pronunciation, "since [1] all the other doublings are respected and [2] there

are no examples of incorrectly doubled consonants." But the first clause negates the second: even if "all other doublings" *were* respected, the lack of any hypercorrections (which would be complimentary errors) would not prove anything—the statistical sample space is far too small. We would have only the single error in a short text. However, in sources other than Mellon, there are other examples of single consonants where the standard language has doubles (*stela, tranquilitate,*) and there are hypercorrections as well (*gentille, talle*), so *Dona* may indeed represent a pronunciation.

The form *moro* 'I die' is a literary one, familiar to opera goers (cf. Donna Anna's "ch'io mora"—the subjunctive form.) It is native to many northern dialects and presumably maintained as a literary form by analogy with Latin.

Du Fay set the piece as a rondeau, but that form does not exist in any Italian poetic source from the period. Fallows (1995a, 256–7), pointing out that the approximate rhymes form a pattern, suggests that the composer may have adopted a "*ballata* with a four-line stanza and two-line piedi—rhyming, therefore, ABBA, CDCD, D??A." The original rhyme scheme thus would have been perfect: *oro*:*corona*:*razona*:*moro*::*purgatorio*:*Fortuna*:*martorio*:*una*::*luna*:?:?:*adoro*.

Why did du Fay find the approximate rhymes acceptable in his rearrangment? Perhaps his standard for Italian texts was low, but there are several other possible—speculative—reasons. The rhymes *oro*:*moro*:*purgatorio*:*martorio*:*adoro* point to an end-accentuation: they will work for Italian pronounced with a French accent. Alternatively, Garey suggests that the rhyme might have been considered "sufficient." If that were indeed the intention, than it would be further support for Fallows' supposition of a rearranged original, and specifically a rearrangement by a Frenchman, because the concept of "sufficient rhyme" is a French one, not an Italian one.

The rhymes *corona*:*rasona*:*fortuna*:*una*:*luna* might have been familiar to du Fay due to the (literary) Italian convention of the "Sicilian rhyme," in which *o* and *u* can

rhyme with each other (and so can *e* and *i*). The convention comes from Tuscan copying of twelfth-century Sicilian poetry (the oldest Italian vernacular poetry)—the rhymes really sound as rhymes in Sicilian, but they were also taken over into Italian as a convention. A second possible explanation is that there are areas in Italy, even in the north where the rhyme will work. Garey writes that "there is no dialect in which Latin tonic Ū> *o,*" but Rohlfs (1966–69,1:61) reports that development in the Marches. Furthermore, according to Rohlfs, the development Ū > *o* before a nasal (such as the *-n-* in *Fortuna*) is characteristic of Emilia-Romagna. The vowel typically nasalizes as well, so the rhyme would be [-õna]. Rohlfs says this development is found in old Emilian documents, particularly in old Bolognese, and also in old Arentino; various modern dialects of Emilia-Romagna also show it. Du Fay might have found the rhymes in nasalized vowels congenial due to pronunciation patterns dating from his service in Bologna and reinforced by the proclivities of his native tongue.

One further piece, *La dolce vista,* survives in a corrupt form in Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb.lat.1411; see Fallows 1994, 37–8. I have nothing to add to Fallows' comments.

7 Local linguistic forms in MSS

This chapter compares the French texts in Oxford, Canon. Misc. 213 (Oxf) and Escorial V.III.24 (EscA), both of which were copied in the 1430s. Because of the nature of the French writing system, it is not possible to say anything about the exemplars the scribe used—the situation is very different for Italian; see chapter 6—but it is possible to draw conclusions about the scribes themselves. Specifically, the widely held view that the (Italian) scribe of Oxf was ignorant of French can be bolstered, and it is most likely that the two scribes of EscA were Picards.

Fifteenth-century French orthography was chaotic. This chaos arose from several factors. One, the most common source of spelling problems in many languages, was the change in the spoken language since the system of orthography was developed—spelling is always more conservative than speech, but there was pressure from the spoken language to modernize the spelling. A second factor was pressure in the other direction, as it were: Latinizing forms were extremely common. A third factor was the force of analogy: letters could be used ornamentally if they were used in similar contexts elsewhere. Most modern authorities on the subject have not described the orthography dispassionately.[1] Brunot's (1966–68, 1:551) condemnation is typical:

> The preservation of an inherited alphabet with both superfluous letters and gaps, the maintaining of a host of traditional sounds although they had ceased to be pronounced, the extension of the use of certain letters by analogy to places where they could not keep their proper value, the annoying obeissance to the authority of Latin which could remodel words based on an already remote form that phonetic evolution had reshaped, letters put in "fore fyne writynge" and inconsiderately multiplied, and finally, to top it all off, a constant indecision which prevented any progress until the bitter end of its own whimsies: these were, in brief, all the various reasons for the absurd spelling of the fifteenth century.[2]

[1] For negative comments, see, e.g., Beaulieux 1927b, 132 and 152; Pope 1952, 284.

[2] Conservation d'un alphabet héréditaire, où il y avait d'une part des superfluités, de l'autre des lacunes; maintien traditionnel d'une foule de sons alors qu'ils ont cessé de se

Some of the more common of these variations are: final *-x,* originally an abbreviation for final *-us,* which could replace any final *-s* or even appear as a silent letter at the end of a word; *o* ∼*ou* (in certain contexts; Bourciez and Bourciez 1967, 90–91 and 112–13; Gossen 1970, 80–85), the variation of these with *eu*∼*ue* and insertion of post-vocalic *l* (*au*[*l*]*tre*).[3] These were as idiosyncratic and inconsistent as the use of $u \sim v$ or $i \sim j \sim y$; scribes might easily use several different spellings for a word even within the same document.

Chaotic as it appears, this orthography represented a single spelling system which was used for all the varieties of French. Each word had a range of acceptable spellings, based on inherited spellings or Latin or scribal whimsy or local forms, but there were definite sets of ways of writing things down which applied to the entire system of local varieties that made up the French "language." Parisian documents written in Paris can show Picard characteristics, not because the scribe was Picard but because "Picard" forms were acceptable in the Parisian spelling system. A single "local" form in a French document may prove nothing. This situation contrasts strongly with that in Italian, where there was no single spelling system for all the varieties of the language *taken as a whole.* Of course, there was a spelling system for the literary language (based on Dante's usage), but the majority of writings in the fifteenth century show numerous local spelling systems or even simply idiosyncratic forms. A Lombard or Venetian form in a Roman document would be worthy of comment.

Philologists and linguists dealing with French of this period, therefore, speak

prononcer; extension analogique de certaines lettres auxquelles il aurait fallu garder leur valeur propre; fâcheuse sujétion à l'egard du latin, qui pousse à remodeler sur un type déjà éloingé des mots auxquels l'évolution phonétique avait donné une physionomie nouvelle; lettres mises « pur bele escripture », et redoublées inconsidérément; enfin, brochant sur le tout, une indécision constante qui empêche d'aller jusqu'au bout des fantaisies mêmes: telles sont, en raccouci, toutes les raisons diverses de l'absurde graphie du XV^{e} siècle.

[3]Some examples from EscA: *voloir* f. 8^{v}, and *vouloir* f. 20^{v}; *mamo*r and *mamour* on f. 4^{v}.; the rhyme *doulour*:*viguer*:*labuer* on 16^{v}.

of statistical tendencies based on the observation that local forms tend—sometimes not very strongly—to be more prevelant in documents where they reflect the local speech. The difficulty for musicologists is that, by comparison with the lengthy texts that philologists work with, song texts are almost vanishingly small; statistical inferences drawn from them have a high probability of being invalid. Furthermore, our lack of information on the nature of the exemplars, such as how many pieces they contained and whether the scribe copied them in their entirety or not, adds a further randomizing element to the statistical set.

7.1 Oxford Canon. Misc. 213

Although all recent scholars accept Venice as the place where Oxf originated, some (e.g. Reaney 1955, 75, and Fallows 1995b, 4) have also repeated Nicholson's opinion (in Stainer and Stainer 1898, IX and XVII) that the scribe shows indications of Milanese dialect, and it may be worthwhile to show that Nicholson was mistaken. Nicholson wrote that the scribe "was apparently a Lombard, for in copying "çascū" [into the index] he writes *zaschum,* using *m* for *n* after the labial vowel *u*"; and he cites Meyer-Lübke 1890, 159. Nicholson continues, "In Milanese we even have "famm" (*ib.*) where the vowel is not labial; and, as [the scribe] writes "reuiem" and "plaim" [in French], he was possibly Milanese." Nicholson later mentions two instances of *leysom* for [e]leyson and one *Amem,* and repeats that final *-m* for final *n* "is a Milanese . . . characteristic."

According to Meyer-Lübke, Nicholson's source, writing *m* after the "labial vowels" *u* or *ü* is not characteristic of Milan, but rather of Ticino. Milan has a nasalized vowel where Ticino has [-m].[4] However, since Meyer-Lübke describes Ticinese as selecting

[4]The entire passage reads as follows (1890, 158–59); Meyer-Lübke uses *ṅ* for [ŋ] and *e̥* and *o̥* for the closed vowels [e] and [o]: Davon abgesehen können wir als allgemeine Regel für

the nasal consonant based on the quality of the preceding vowel, Nicholson's next sentence, that Milanese has *famm,* shows we are dealing with an [-m] from a different source and the Ticinese examples are not relevant. The *-m* which ends some Milanese words comes from Latin -M; all of Meyer-Lübke's examples are of this type.[5]

As Meyer-Lübke says, use of *-m* for *-n* indicates that the two were pronounced alike, but Milanese contrasts *parlamm* 'to say to me', for example, with *parlann* 'to say to us' (Beretta 1984, 133). (In current Milanese orthography, doubled *-mm* or *-nn* indicates a single [-m] or [-n]; a single final *-n* indicates a nasalization of the preceding vowel.) In fact, final *-m* for final *-n* is not a Milanese trait according to both Meyer-Lübke and more recent work (Rohlfs 1966, 1:427–28). The scribe's *-m* and *-n* confusion indicates only that he had some trouble with a sound unfamiliar to him. Most central and northern Italian dialects, including the Veneto, lack [-m], so the scribe's native speech area cannot be precisely determined from this characteristic,

das ganze oberitalienische Gebiet feststellen, dass tönende, auslautende Konsonanten tonlos werden und dass *n* zu *n̈* wird oder mit dem betonten Vokal z[u]m Nasalvokal verschmilzt. Was die letztere Erscheinung betrifft, so können wir die verschiedenen Mittelstufen verfolgen. Das Mailändische bietet einfach *bõ, mã, sõ,* und zwar erhalten wir »una vocale nasale molto più piena e molto più lunga che non sia la vocale nasalizzata dei francesi. Dal vezzo francese si scosta il milanese anche in ciò che le vocali nasali *e* ed *o* si assordiscono: *bõ̜, pĩ̜e*«. [C.] SALVIOLINI, [*Fonetica del dialetto moderno della città del Milano,* 1884] 206. In den tessiner Mundarten am Lago Maggiore begegnen dagegen ganz andere Formen. Es richet sich nämlich der Nasal nach dem vorhergehenden Vokal, so zwar, dass er nach palatalem Vokal, auch nach *a,* palatal ist, nach labialem labial, also *viñ, piñ, fiñ, vesiñ, feñ, beñ, sareñ, teñ, pieñ (piano), greñ (grano), mañ, sañ, tröñ, n[e]ssüñ,* aber *resom, bom, padrom,* auch *vüm, tröm.* Dieser Wechsel zwischen *ñ* and *m* [i]st nur möglich bei einer sehr engen Verbindung zwischen Vokal und Nasal. . . . Für die übrigen Gegenden fehlen so genaue Angaben. In bemerkenswerthem Unterschied zum Französischen schein *m* zu bleiben, vgl. mail. *famm, koramm, nomm, fümm,* u. s. w. Dagegen wird im Romagnolischen auslauten *m* »selbstverständlich zu nasalem *n* [A.] MUSSAFIA, [*Darstellung der romagnolischen Mundart,* 1875] §130: *aldan, ligan, lon,* vgl. dazu in älterer Zeit: *ugolim, perfim, Bazam* Bazz. [?] 24, wo die Schreibung *m* statt *n* die Gleichwerthigkeit von *n* und *m* beweist.

[5] *famm* < FACIMUS 'we do' (Beretta 1984, 155), *koramm* < popular Latin CORIAMEN 'leather' (Menicanti and Spiller 1973, 55), *nomm* < NOMEN 'name', and *fümm* < FUMUS 'smoke' (Angiolini 1897).

but Milan is definitely ruled out.

Scholars who have studied Oxf agree that the scribe was ignorant of French. One indication of this ignorance is the scribe's occasional misinterpretation of minims in his exemplar, such as *qua nenir* for *quavenir* (4)[6] or *nõuelle* (195) which might be a misinterpretation of *nouuelle.*

The frequently incorrect word divisions are also indications of the scribe's ignorance of French. Incorrect word division can be found even in the residual texts, where there is no possibility that the scribe—or his exemplar—could have been influenced by the music. Single words are sometimes divided (82 *uo droye,* 196 *biaul te*), and the suffix *-ment* is frequently written as a separate word (181 *doulce* m*ent*). Words are frequently conflated as well, but the evidence of the Italian texts indicates that the scribe simply tended to join short words with the following word (Schoop 1971, 66).

The examples just cited are from fascicle 5, the earliest fascicle copied. By time the scribe copied the later fascicles, his command of the language had not improved. In fascicle 4, *-ment* is still liable to be written as a separate word (10 *brief* m*ent*, 136 *large ment*, 138 *doulce ment*), and other words are separated as well (127 *ja mais*, 163 *en vie*).

As Stanley Boorman has pointed out to me, these incorrect separations may imply that the scribe tended to copy letter by letter. By comparison, all of the residual Latin texts show the correct word divisions. In the Italian texts, setting aside the tendency to combine a short word with the following word, the only possibly incorrect word divisions in the Italian texts involve words which have puzzled modern authorities and may have puzzled the scribe as well.[7]

[6]Pieces as identified by their inventory numbers in Fallows 1995b.

[7]For *seporazo* in 304, see p. 171; the scribe separates the *se-* from the rest of the word

Another indication of letter-by-letter copying from the latest part of the MS is the residual text *Estre + ioyeus* in 10. The written line—although not the poetic line—breaks after the odd cross-like symbol which Boorman identified as an *i* that was struck through. The scribe began the following word, that is to say, then realized he would not have room to complete it. Needless to say, if the scribe copied letter-by-letter, he was almost certainly ignorant of French.

If the scribe's numerous corrections show that he was trying to copy his exemplar carefully, and if the scribe was copying letter-by-letter, as the evidence seems to indicate, then we can regard Oxf as a fair representation of a collection of French texts more-or-less free of Italian influence.

Boone (1987, 23–4), taking units considerably larger than the individual song, lists several trends in the orthography of Oxf, specifically differences between the earliest fascicle and the rest of the MS. He attributes these trends to the scribe's increasing competence in French. Unique spellings he finds in fascicle five are: *amor-, prinse,* and *mastresse*; *ceur* (for *cuer*) is rare outside of this fascicle. Do these variants reveal anything about the scribe's knowledge of French or do they reflect only a change in his exemplars? All of these variants are common in French sources. *Amor-* is an instance of the common *o* ∼ *ou* variation; it may also be a Latinizing form.[8] *Prinse* for *prince* is similar to *dance* ∼ *danse,* a common variation (Beaulieux 1927b, 179; Pope 1952, 285–86). *Mastresse* is a Picard form (Gossen 1970, 52–53). *Ceur* is not a "misspelling." The digraphs *ue* and *eu* represented the same sound

by one-half of a word space, as if equivocating. In 315, the scribe writes *le galeaço*; Fallows (1995b, 58) suggests this may be a *senhal* "legale a ço." There is a space separating the letters of *la* in 302; even Homer nodded.

[8]The word *amour* is something of an oddity. The expected French form would be *ameur.* The standard etymological dictionaries suggest that the word might have been borrowed, perhaps from Occitan, but Bruneau (1937, 188) reacted to this suggestion as if the national honor had been impugned.

and were often interchanged (Beaulieux 1927b, 171; Pope 1952, 284); later, an *o* was added to *cœur* to clarify the value of the *c*; cf. *aceuil* in 196. These variants do not necessarily indicate that the scribe became increasingly fluent in French.

Boone (1987, 24, n. 21) mentions several non-existent substitutions of *o* for *ou,* namely the forms **do*[l]*cour*, **doulor,* and **sohait* (asterisks indicate unattested forms). As mentioned above, there were some restrictions on the use of *o* for *ou,* for historical reasons (Beaulieux 1927b, 166-167 and 175). The patterns of use are complicated by local variants and analogy, but *o* for *ou* is much more likely in certain positions than others. For example, *ou* most commonly represents [u] before the accented syllable, and especially in the first syllable of the word, making **do*[*l*]*cour* and **sohait* unlikely.[9]

Six pieces, by Binchois and Grenon from an early fascicle in the MS were compared with six Binchois pieces from late fascicles.[10] The comparison showed no consistent spelling variants or trends, not are there any striking spellings that turn up elsewhere in the MS. Many of the variants are found within one or the other of the groups, as the "early" *douce, doulce,* and *doulx,* or *biaux* and *biaulte* or the "late" *veul* and *vueil* or *aultre* and *altre.* Other variations are simply inconsistent. The "early" songs have *amoreux* (with *o* in the pre-tonic syllable) while the "late" songs have *renouvelle* (with *ou*), but this variation is reversed in the case of the "early" *tousjours* and *doulchour* versus the "late" *oir* (the concordant EscA has *ouir*) and voloyr (the concordant Jard has *vouloir*). The scribe's activity may be linguistically transparent, but it is not yet possible to peer through it at his exemplar.

[9]In the sixteenth century, a *querelle* developed between the *ouistes* and the *non-ouistes* on the whole *o* ∼ *ou* question.

[10]Numbers 180, 181, 182, 192, 195, and 196, from fascicle 5; numbers 135, 136, 140, 152, and 163 from fascicle 4; and number 10 from fascicle 1; together with their texted concordances.

7.2 Escorial V.III.24

The situation is different for EscA. The MS (facsimile in Rehm 1958), which was copied in the 1440s, had two scribes whom Kemp (1976, 100-101) calls A and B, in chronological order. There is enough text in each scribe's portion so that we can make reasonable inferences about their linguistic backgrounds.

The MS as a whole shows many Picard forms. One of the most striking features of Picard is *ch* corresponding to Parisian *c* before *e* or *i* (pronounced [č] > [š], paralleling Parisian [ts] > [s]). It is important to point out that while *merchi* and *Franche* are Picard forms, *merci* and *France* are not non-Picard. Rather, they are not regionally marked at all, because the Picard sound could be spelled either *ch* or *c* (Gossen 1970, 91–92), as indicated by scribe A's rhyme *pusissanche*:*desplaisance*:*alianche* (f. 33^{v}, and scribe B's *cerchez* for *cherchez* (f. 17^{v}). The form *cerchez* is a hypercorrection which is characteristic of Picard

Both scribes write *c* and *ch* in roughly equal proportions. Scribe A writes *c* 54% of the time and Scribe B writes *c* 48% of the time. Some examples of *ch* from Scribe A's portion: *deschachier* f. 32^{r};[11] *che* f. 41^{v}, *chi* f. 51^{v}, and *merchi* ∼ *merchy* ff. 44 (twice), 50^{v}, and 51^{v}. From Scribe B's portion: *doulcheur* f. 2^{v}, *cheluy* f. 4^{v}, the rhyme *desperanche*:*Franche*:*apparanche*:*deplaisance*:*souffisance* f. 14^{v}, *merchi* f. 24^{v}. Another Picard form (shared with Walloon), the possessive adjective *men* (Gossen 1970, 125–26), appears on f. 21^{v}. In theory, there is no ready way to tell whether these forms are normative for the scribes or reflect their copy, as all the composers represented are Picard or Norman (with the exception of Dunstable, although his French may have been Norman); but the presence of Picard forms in EscA where

[11]Possibly a Picard form of *deschausser* < *deschalcier* lit. 'to un-shoe', also 'to uproot, rouse' (Greimas and Keane 1992), which fits the context: *Dont amours me fait deschachier.*

concordances lack such forms may indicate scribal activity.[12]

Scribe B was the more careless or poorly trained of the two scribes. His many inconsistencies reflect uncertainty about normative spelling and a tendency to write what he heard, but there are no errors such as the misinterpretation of minims which would indicate that he did not understand what he was attempting to write. Kemp (1976, 108–9) provides a useful list of interesting points in Scribe B's portion:

(1) "[I]nconsistent treatment of the second person plural [possessive] pronoun." The scribe varies between *vo* and *vous.* All the occurrences of these forms are before a consonant; the normal form before a vowel is *vostre,* the last vowel of which would elide. *Vostre* appears before a consonant when the poet required two syllables. When modifying singular nouns, the monosyllabic forms are characteristic of the north, specifically Picardy. Two centuries earlier, they had inflected for case and gender as well as number (Pope 1952, 328; Gossen 1970, 127),[13] but that distinction was long dead and is not observed by either scribe. Scribe B's varies between *vo* and *vous* at random. Scribe A, by contrast, prefers *vo,* but he uses the possessive *vous* at least once (. . . *quant je vevray le doulx samblant / de vous belle plaisant ionesse*) where the archaic paradigm requires *vo. Vo* and *vous* were pronounced [vo] and [vu]; the difference may be nothing more than instances of the ubiquitous variation *o* ∼ *ou.*

(2) The form *sartain* in the single Dunstable piece (f. 4^{v}). Confusion of preconsonantal *ar-* and *er-* in the initial syllable of a word was widespread, and particularly

[12]A few examples. EscA / Oxf: *doulche* (12^{v}) / *doulce* (4); the hypercorrect *bouce* (22^{v}) / *bouche* (119); *merchi* (24^{v}) / *merci* (176); *peusse* (23^{v}; see Gossen 1970, 130–31) / *puisse* (151). EscA / *Le jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethorique* (Paris, 1501; facs. ed. Eugénie Droz and Artur Piaget, Paris, 1910–25): *feusse* (4^{v}) / *fusse* (277) / *franche, puissanche, alianche* (33^{v}) / *france, puissance, aliance* (328); *che* (41^{v}, twice) / *ce* (125); *dangiers* (34^{v}; see Gossen 1970, 59–61; this characteristic is shared with Walloon and the area around Hainaut)/ *dangers* (364).

[13]Pope gives *nos* for the feminine singular nominative, an obvious misprint for *no.*

common in Picard (Bourciez and Bourciez 1967, 102; Gossen 1970, 50–51).

(3) *Entcheulx* (f. 25^{v}) for *ainchois* (concordances in Oxf and the Codex Reina). The explanation is straightforward. The initial vowel is a Picard pronunciation (Gossen 1970, 65). The *tch* represents the Picard/Norman [č]. *Eu* is a phonetic spelling.[14] The *l* is purely graphical, as shown by the rhyme *mieux*:*vieux*:*cieulx* on f. 13^{v}. The scribe knew how to pronounce the word in Picard, but he did not know how to spell it. It is possible, as Kemp suggests, that the scribe was recording a text he had heard but not seen, but it is perhaps more likely that he was simply copying in units larger than the individual word and not paying close attention to the orthography of his exemplar.

(4) "The scribe mistakenly uses the graphic form *vilz* for what must be read as the infinitive *villir* on f. 19′."[15] Kemp may be right: the scribe might have absentmindedly written the *z* on the line instead of above it, where it would function as the *-ir* abbreviation. More likely, the reading is correct. The first-person singular *vilz* makes perfect grammatical sense, unlike the infinitive *villir*: *car jay perdu toute liesse / et vilz en mon grant desir* ('for I have lost all joy / and grow old in my great yearning'). The line comes up one syllable short but, as shown in the next paragraph, this is not the only line in the poem with a wrong syllable count; it is not out of the question to supply an editorial *je* before the verb.

(5) Numerous scribal errors, listed by Kemp in his critical edition of the anonymous pieces in the MS,[16] which indicate that the scribe knew French, but was not counting syllables as he copied: tout mo*n* uiua*n*t en quelque lieu que ⟨je⟩ soye (f. 12^{v});

[14] A phonetic spelling for [wɛ] < [ɔ] (Bourciez and Bourciez 1967, 83–4). The scribe confused this with the longer-established [wɛ] < [e], spelled *oi* (Bourciez and Bourciez 1967, 72).

[15] *Villir* 'to grow old' is Picard (= viellir; Gossen 1970, 89).

[16] Kemp 1980; the edition is dated thus in the preface to Kemp 1990, but 1979 in the bibliography of the same work.

Mais quan je sens ⟨q*ue*⟩ retourneroye (f. 11^{v});[17] sans sentir jamais ⟨ne⟩ grief ne painne (f. 18^{v}).

Scribe A is more careful than Scribe B, and his language is more standardized, hence he is linguistically less interesting. But he copied two songs with texts in Dutch.[18] These songs have characteristics of western Flemish; they do not imply that Scribe A was a native Flemish speaker.

The first song is on f. 30^{v}:

[underlaid in superius:]
1 Al eerbaerheit weinschic wort an
2 ghenucht solaes e*n*n vroylicheit
3 Om een ghezicht van reinicheit
4 Dat men vulprisen niet en can.[19]

and the second is on f. 54^{v}:

[underlaid in superius:]
1 Ope es In minnen groot ghenuecht
2 wie mint hoopt al naer vruechts ghewi*n*
3 In minnen rein es ope dueght
4 ghee*n* aercheit mach *er* com*m*men in
5 In ope v*er*heught elc minle zin.

[at end of superius; lineation original]
6 Hoe zal hem ope gheuen vruecht
7 die dan zir minnen gheen bekin
8 en can ghedoen en zij outwuecht
9 al oopt hi han dijn vruecht es din

[17] Kemp's editoral notes incorrectly list *retourneroye* instead of the previous superfluous word as an error. The entire verse was accidentally omitted from the edition and inaccurately printed in his later corrigenda list (1990, 13).

[18] On the relationship between French and Dutch in this period, see Armstrong 1965.

[19] 'Only chastity wish I henceforth. / [May] comfort and joy be sufficient / For a countenance of purity / which one may not fully praise'. The entry in Kemp's MS inventory (1976, 118) has *weinche* for *weinschic*. My thanks to Robert Kendrick, Rob Wegman, Michael Schulz and, above all, the Medieval Dutch specialist Colette van Kerckvoorde for assistance with this and the following translations.

10 hem naect bet lidens een beghin.[20]

Wegman (1991, 268) identified the texts as Flemish in origin based on several orthographic characteristics. One Flemish characteristic not mentioned by Wegman is *dun* for *din* in line nine of the second poem (van Loey 1948–49, II:25; and van Kerckvoorde 1993, 156).

It may be possible to refine the geography a bit. The first word of the second poem, *ope,* shows the typically Flemish deletion of word-initial *h,* which represents the deletion of [h-] in speech.[21] Verwijs and Verdam (1885–1929) say, under the entry for the letter *h,* that sporadic appearance of initial orthographic *h-* is characteristic of the western part of Flanders. It is well known that western Flemish to this day deletes initial [h-] (see, e.g., Sercu 1972, 54). There are a few other western

[20]'Hope in love is a great joy / Who loves, hopes to gain all joy. / In pure love, hope is virtue; / no evil may intrude. / In hope is every loving sense rejoices // [But] how shall hope give joy to him / who then to his beloved no confession / can make, so she flees. / Even if he then hopes, his joy is scant. / For him the beginning of sorrow nears'.

[21]As Wegman points out, Kemp's (1990, 105) identification of this word with an unusual Frisian-dialect word meaning 'kiss' is untenable. Among other problems, "kiss" instead of "hope" would be ungrammatical, and the (ungrammatical) line "kiss in love is quite enough" would sit uncomfortably next to Lenaerts' (1949) observation, repeated approvingly by Kemp, that the poem is "somewhat melancholy or moralizing." Kemp's wording, that *ope* "was restricted in Dutch to only a few dialects and appeared most frequently in Frisian," might be taken by a careless reader as implying that Frisian is a dialect of Dutch, which is not the case. Frisian and Dutch are separate languages with no dialect continuum between them. The question is of Dutch spoken in Friesland. Incidentally, the word *ope* 'kiss' is extremely slippery. It is not listed in a large dictionary of modern West-Friesland Dutch (Pannekeet 1984). There is a heavy Frisian substratum in Dutch, especially in the north (Hutterer 1975, 263), and one might expect a Frisian loanword, but the word does not appear in dictionaries of Old (Holthausen 1925; Nauta 1926) or Modern (Dijkstra 1900–11; Zantema 1984) Frisian. Verwijs and Verdam endorse the suggestion of a connection with Scandinavian *op* 'mouth'. That word has an etymology which will work only in Scandinavian (de Vries 1962, 411), and it may have been borrowed into, and subsequently disappeared from, northern Dutch—but the Scandinavian word is recorded only from the western Nordic languages (West Norwegian, Faeroese, Icelandic), and the Scandinavian languages which have had the most contact with Dutch are the Eastern ones, Danish and Swedish (Wadstein 1922, 15).

characteristics as well. The vowel in *dueght* and its rhyming words (for *doeght*) is from West Flanders or Holland (van Loey 1948–49, II:43), and the second vowel in *minle* (= *minlijk*) is characteristic of southwestern Flemish, including Flemish spoken on French territory (van Loey 1948–49, I:48–49). On the other hand, the poems lack the typically western prefix *ye-* (for *g[h]e-*), but this characteristic is not diagnostic. A western Flemish origin is suggested but not proven.

Lenaerts, Kemp, and Wegman have all called attention to the accuracy of the scribe's copying, concluding that the scribe knew Dutch, and may even have been a native speaker. Since not all the words in the poems are completely transparent, this conclusion may be premature. *Outwuecht* (second poem, line eight) may represent a misreading of two minims by the scribe: Lenaerts transcribes *ontwuecht* 'flees'. (Both EscA scribes carefully differentiate *n* from *u*.) Another possibility, though, is that the scribe copied accurately; van Kerckvoorde (private communication) suggests that *outwuecht* may be a variant of *uteweght* 'escapes'. One other possible scribal error is *minle*: assuming that it is a form of *minlijk*,[22] the scribe may have left off a final *c* or *k*. The scribe was certainly careful, as the accuracy of his French texts demonstrates, but we cannot say more.

The local forms in the French texts appear centered on Picardy and the Dutch texts appear to have originated right next door, so both scribes were most probably Picards. Kemp's minor conclusion, that the MS is literally from Burgundy, cannot be endorsed, but since the Burgundian court was centered in Picardy, his major conclusion, that the MS is a product of the Burgundian court, stands.

[22]"I don't see what else it could be" (van Kerckvoorde, private communication).

8 German chorales, Swedish verse, Buxtehude's Swedish-texted works

8.1 Early German chorales

German chorales before the first part of the seventeenth century scanned irregularly by later standards: the lines counted syllables, but the accents were not carefully placed. Burkhart Waldis's setting of Psalm 13 (with the original of the melody of the Swedish chorale *Herren vår Gud*) is an example (acute accents added to indicate irregular stress):

1 Ach Herr, wie lang willſt du jezt mein
2 ſo gar und ganz vergeſſen,
3 verbirgſt das fröhlich Antlitz dein,
4 weil mich Unfáll beſeſſen?
5 Wie lang ſoll ſich ängſtén täglích
6 mein Seel, und Herz verſchmachten?
7 Wie lang ſoll doch der Feind mir nach-
8 ſtellén und gar verachten
9 und über mich erheben?

'O, Lord, for how long will you now / so utterly forget me, / conceal your joyful countenance, / for misfortune['s] possed me? / For how long shall my soul and heart / suffer daily from anguish? / For how long shall the Fiend perse- / cute and even disdain me / and exalt [himself] over me?'[1]

The assonance in line 5 (ſich . . . [täg]lich) and lines 6 through 8 ([ver]ſchmach[ten] . . . doch . . . nach- . . . [ver]ach[ten]) and the enjambment of nachſtellen bear an unfortunate resemblance to techniques later used by Lewis Carroll (although the resolution of the enjambment on a spectacularly misaccented word fragment does

[1]Text from Zahn 1889–93, 5:21. Fraktur type in this chapter and in appendix B indicates a diplomatic transcription; the typographical models for this practice in English are pre-World War II German bilingual books such as grammars and dictionaries. Respelled sources, including normalized titles, are printed in Roman type, as are quotations from the poet Samuel Columbus, as he advocated (see p. 205).

not). Zahn (1889–93, 6:34) quietly remarks that Waldis's melodies seemed to him of a higher quality than Waldis's verse, but in fact Waldis's tendency to disregard accents was typical for the period.

Some authorities (e.g., Blume 1975, 66; Fransén 1940, 1:123) attribute the irregular accentuation to the influence of popular verse, maintaining that the chorales became increasingly regular in the early seventeenth century as they outgrew their origin. The image of an inchoate, amorphous chorale style gradually solidifying to regularly stressed stanzas by the first part of the seventeenth century is generally accepted for music, but it is unlikely that the irregular accentuations which characterized chorales in the sixteenth century could have come from popular verse. Extreme freedom with accents is not characteristic of the earliest generation of chorale *texts.* Furthermore, evidence for a syllable-counting popular verse is lacking; pre-Reformation popular verse counted stresses, even if the syllable count was irregular (Breuer 1981, 145–49). One type of such verse, rhymed couplets with four stresses per line, is sometimes called *Knittelvers,* a term deriving from an old word for "rhyme," and with a convoluted history (Breuer 1981, 136–45; Preminger and Brogan 1993, 671). When applied to seventeenth-century non-satirical verse, the term is derogatory.

Knittelvers is specifically secular, but there were other traditions more directly ancestral to the chorale, and these also counted stresses but not syllables. They tended to avoid the rhymed couplets characterstic of Knittelvers. Following are the first verses of a Christmas song from a MS from the first half of the fifteenth century (Hoffmann 1861, 164; acute accents added):

Nu frőu dich, chriſtenliche ſchár
der hímelíſche kónig clár
nám die ménſchheit óffenbár,
den úns gebár
die réine máit María.

Es ſüllen álle ménſchen zwár
mit gánzen frőuden kómen dár
dá man vínt der ſélen nár,
die úns gebár
die réine máit María.

Uns íſt [or Úns íſt] gebórn Emánuél,
als úns verkőndigt Gábriél,
des íſt gezéug Ezéchiél.
o vrómes él!
dich hát gebórn María.

O éwiges váters éwiges wórt,
war gót, war ménſche, der túgenden órt,
in hímel, in érde, híe und dórt
der ſálden pfórt,
die úns gebár María.

'Rejoice ye now, O Christian host! / the heavenly king illustrious / is made as human manifest, / and born for us, by the pure virgin Mary. // All mankind should straightaway / come thither fully joyfully / where they find their souls' salvation / which is born for us / by the pure virgin Mary. // To us is born Emanuel, / proclaimed to us by Gabriel, / as prophesied Ezechiel. / O, holy El, / thou hast been born by Mary. // O eternal father's eternal word / is god and man at the noble place / in heaven, on earth, here and yon / at the precious gate / which is born to us by Mary'.[2]

The earliest chorales owe much to this popular song tradition: many early chorales were outright contrafacta, and even in the chorales that were newly composed there is an awareness of stress. If the verses are irregular, the irregularity is limited; foot inversions (trochaic substitutions) tend to occur only at the beginning of the line, for example, and there is an effort to make the strophes isochronous, that is to match the stresses in different verses.

As an example of the style of the first generations of chorales, Breuer cites Luther's *Ein feste Burg* of 1524:

Ein feſte burg iſt vnſer Gott
Ein gute wehr vnd waffen /
Er hilfft vns frey aus aller not /
die vns izt hat betroffen /
Der alt boeſe feind /
mit ernſt ers izt meint /

[2] I do not understand the second-last line, but see John 10 : 7, 9.

gros macht vnd viel liſt /
ſein grauſam rueſtung iſt /
auff erd iſt nicht ſeins gleichen.

Although not all the lines are identical, rhyme, syllable count and line endings (masculine or feminine) are strictly regulated according to the pattern

$$a_8\ b'_6 \mid a_8\ b'_6 \parallel c_5\ c_5\ d_5\ d_6\ x'_6$$

and all strophes agree with this pattern. The placement of accent within these lines is not strictly controlled, but Luther's evident concern for rhythm automatically generates a fairly regular cadence. The five-syllable lines show the widest range of accentuation (using Breuer's scansion):

Némen ſie den léib / . . .
gút / éhr / kínd vnd wéib / . . .
las fáren dahín / . . .

while the longer lines are more constrained.

This stress-consciousness contrasts strongly with practice later in the century (Breuer 1981, 149–53). Breuer compares Luther's isochronous work with Phillipp Nicolai's freer (or more chaotic) *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern* (1599). The verse counts syllables, and some lines pay no attention to accentuation at all. Breuer (1981, 153) scans various ones as follows:

Wie ſchőn leúchtet der Mórgenſtérn . . .
eý mein pérle, du wérthe Krón . . .
Vnd erfreúw mích, daß ích doch bléib . . .
Zwíngt die Sáyten in Cýthara . . .
hóch vnd ſéhr prächtig erháben . . .
mein hérz, durch liébe verwúndet . . .
gróß iſt der Kőnig der Éhren . . .

Nicolai's accentual freedom represents an entirely different approach to prosody from Luther's and, arguably, one not suited to the rhythms of the German language.

Why did accentuation come to be disregarded during the course of the sixteenth century? Of the numerous influences on the sixteenth-century German chorale—Blume (1975, 14–72) lists popular song, chant, the Meistergesang, Italian villanelle—one conspicuously did not exist before the Reformation, namely Protestant French practice. French hymns (almost entirely psalm paraphrases) were written by the leading poets of the century, above all Clément Marot, and were set by the leading composers (Claude Goudimel, Pierre Certon, Claude Le Jeune); as a repertoire, their artistic level surpassed anything in German at the time. French also had a well-articulated body of theoretical poetic doctrine, such as Iacques Pelétier's *Art poêtique* of 1555, and Pierre de Ronsard's handbook, the *Abbrégé de l'Art poêtique françoise* of 1565.

French theory and praxis influenced the Germans at many points. They were referred to and imitated by Germans such as Melissus, who published works on spelling reform (1564 and 1571–72), poems in the French style (1575 and 1586)—and psalm translations (1572) nach Franzöſicher melodien unt Sylben art (Taubert 1864, 6–10). The earliest French Protestant hymnbook was published in Strasbourg, German-speaking territory, in 1539. Marot began his psalm translations in 1532 (Blankenburg in Blume 1975, 517–18) and Ambrosius Lobwasser's influential German psalter of 1573 was explicitly a translation of Marot and de Besze's (= Beza's) psalter of 1553. (The French-speaking) Calvin's desire for a dignified and idiomatic text setting may have ironically contributed to the development of an unidiomatic verse type in German.

As far as German speakers were concerned, a syllable-counting verse would work in non-metrical hymns, but it proved less satisfactory in more metrical settings, and

a movement arose to reform German poetry. Although there is no doubt that these reforms were made necessary by the unsuitability of a purely syllabic poetry for a Germanic language, perhaps to a certain extent one immediate trigger (or result) was musical, specifically the increasingly regular metrics of the hymn settings. One of the earliest manifestations of this movement was Johannes Engardus's *Prosodie* of 1583. Literary societies were formed to encourage the cultivation of German; the earliest was the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, founded in 1617. The most important single product of this movement was Martin Optiz's *Buch von der deutschen Poeterei*, published in 1624. Blume (1975, 35) refers to "the pretentious poetic theory of Opitz and his successors," but does not explain this characterization which both slights Opitz's contemporaries and fails to account for the vast improvement in technique which Opitz and his school occasioned.

Opitz's (1624, 348–49) primary concern was with the mechanics of verse construction: "The most important thing for a poet to strive for is to force the words and syllables into appropriate places and manipulate the verses."[3] He discusses rhymes from the viewpoint of sound, not spelling, specifically cautioning that some letters may represent several sounds (1624, 372–73). Accented syllables explicitly substitute for long syllables in the classical languages. Opitz's statement adapts the prestigious classical legacy to the realities of the vernacular:

> Further, each verse must be either iambic or trochaic, not indeed that our syllables have a fixed length which we can heed in the Greek and Latin manner, but that we can recognize from the accent and the tone which syllables should be set high and which low. An iambic is this: Preserve us, Lord, in thy command. The following a trochaic: In life's midst we find ourselves. For in the first verse, the first syllable is pronounced low, the second high, the third low, the fourth high, and so on; in the second verse the first syllable is pronounced high, the second low, the third high, etc. Although as far as I

[3]Die worte vnd Syllaben in gewiſſe geſetze zue bringen / vnd verſe zue ſchreiben, iſt das allerwenigſte was in einem Poeten zue ſuchen iſt. This idea was lifted from Horace via Ronsard; see Optiz 1624, 349, n. 7.

> know no one, including myself, has before now heeded this truth, it seems to be of the highest necessity. . . . [4]

Several commentators have noted Opitz's tendency to self-aggrandizement; his claim to be the first to practice this principle is exaggerated (Bjorklund 1978, 137 n. 44). But Opitz was the first to set out the principles of a strict accentual-syllabic meter explicitly and clearly. He championed 3- and 4-stress lines and (especially) the 6-stress alexandrine with a midpoint caesura so that it forms virtually two 3-stress lines, all with strict regulation of syllables, thus making available a wide range of verse types suitable for setting to music.

The principle of aligning text accents with metrical accents was immediately applied to music. Opitz's verse was set more frequently than that of any other poet (Thomas 1963, 34–38); and for the first time, contemporary writers condemned wrongly stressed syllables, using Opitz's terminology. The following is by Philip von Zesen, from his collection of Lied texts *Deutscher Helicon*, 1641 (quoted in van Ingen 1992, 68):

> In this the composers also err quite frequently and set the musical accent on the syllable where the verse accent does not sit, thus disrupting both. . . .
>
> Therefore it is also most important for German poetry that Kapellmeisters and composers set the musical accent only according to the nature of the verse, following the pitch [toon] of the word. So, a trochaic verse setting must consist of pure trochees and an iambic setting of pure iambs, of which [principle] the composers should also know and take heed.[5]

[4] Nachmals iſt auch ein jeder verß entweder ein iambicus oder trochaicus; nicht zwar das wir auff art der griechen vnnd lateiner eine gewiſſe gröſſe der ſylben können inn acht nemen; ſondern das wir aus den accenten vnnd dem thone erkennen / welche ſylbe hoch vnnd welche niedrig geſetzt ſoll werden. Ein Jambus iſt dieſer: Erhalt vns Herr bey deinem wort. Der folgende ein Trochéus: Mitten wir im leben ſind. Dann in dem erſten verſe die erſte ſylbe niedrig / die andere hoch / die dritte niedrig / und ſo fortan / in dem anderen verſe die erſte ſylbe hoch / die andere niedrig / die dritte hoch / ꝛc. außgeſprochen werden. Wiewol nu meines wiſſens noch niemand / ich auch vor der zeit ſelber nicht / dieſes genawer in acht genommen / ſcheinet es doch ſo hoch von nöthen zue ſein / als hoch von nöthen iſt . . . (1624, 392–93). "High" and "low" can refer to pitch or to volume.

[5] Hierinnen irren auch die Componiſten ſehr oft / und ſetzen den Singe-toon (accentum melicum) auff die ſylbe / da der verßaccent (accentus metricus) nicht ſteht / da doch beyde gleich fallen ſollen. . . .

In German poetry and musical settings, there is none of the "counterpoint" of stress characteristic of English poetry and musical settings (in Dowland's songs, for example; Thomas 1963, 37–38), nor would there be before Klopstock and Lessing. It is at this stage that German poetic theory and practice entered Sweden.

8.2 Swedish verse and chorales

Sweden dominated the Baltic coast politically in the seventeenth century, but Germany dominated it culturally. The area was, as Grinde (1990, 102) says, a single, German *Kulturgebiet.* German was very much a prestigious and commonly understood language in seventeenth-century Stockholm. French, English, and Dutch were also widely known in various circles. The social position of Swedish was only a little higher than that of Finnish, the native language of half the kingdom (Göransson 1992, 66). Thus, Buxtehude composed a cantata in German, *Klinget für Freuden,* BuxWV 119, for the marriage of the Swedish King Karl XI in 1680; and Gustav Düben, the Kapellmeister to the royal Swedish court and organist of the German Church in Stockholm, crossed out the word "Lübeck" in the vocal part of Buxtehude's aria in praise of that city, *Schwinget euch Himmelan,* BuxWV 96, substituted "Stockholm" (Grusnick 1957, 80) and performed the work in German.[6] Fransén (1940,

Derhalben iſt auch die Deutſche Poeſie den Capellmeiſtern und Componiſten auch hoch von nöthen / daß ſie hernach nicht den Singaccent anders ſetzen als die Natur des Verſes und der toon der worte erfodert: muß alſo ein trochäiſcher Vers auff lautern reinen Trochäis / und ein Jambiſcher auff lautern reinen Jambis beſtehen / welches die Componiſten auch wiſſen und in acht nehmen ſollen.

[6] In spite of having been born and raised in Sweden, Düben pronounced his name in the German rather than in the Swedish manner, that is with the accent on the first syllable. This pronunciation is demonstrated by his own spelling *Dübenn* (Kyhlberg 1979, 113–14), and also by a slightly awkward trochaic memorial poem published shortly after his death. Each of the nine muses has a verse, two of which are:

> URANIA:
> Så långt över världen vida Solen sina stråler sår,
> Skall oss Fama kringdom sprida DÜBENS Lov evart hon går,

1:182) specifies Low German, which he says was the Hanseatic culture language, but by the seventeenth century, the decline of the Hansa and the prestige of the language of Luther's bible and the central-German theological and poetic works conspired to stunt the development of Low German as a medium of culture (Keller 1978, 375–79); that language flourished only in the Calvinist and Roman Catholic areas on the North Sea.

Düben's choral works from around 1663 may not have been precisely the earliest choral works in Swedish, as sometimes stated (Lindberg 1954, 867)—they are antedated by a scattering of works from the preceding decade (Norlind 1942, 40) and a very few pieces from earlier in the century (Norlind 1944–45, 2:42–40)—but concerted works of any kind in Swedish were rare before the 1670s. In many private homes, psalms and chorales were often sung in German rather than in Swedish, in part reflecting the lack of printed Swedish chorale books before the end of the century (Liedgren 1951, 49). The thorough penetration of German, even into church, received sour comment from the pseudonymous Skogekär Bergbo ("Forest-lover Mountain-dweller") in his Swenſka ſpråkes klagemål ("Complaint of the Swedish language"), published in 1658:

> Hwem adels nampnet gifwes,
> ehurudant thet är,

> Kvä[n]da skall hon, var hon far: Vår Apollo varit har.
>
> CALLIOPE:
> Far nu väl du all vår fägnad Oss med frid i graven sov
> På din mull vi dig tillägna Ett förtjänt och billigt lov.
> DÜBEN, som vår glädje var Här sin lemmar lämnat har.

(Text from Norlind 1942, 20) 'As far o'er the world's extension As the sun bestrews his rays, / Fame for us around shall broadcast Where she travels Düben's praise, / Where she goes she shall proclaim: Our Apollo [he] has been. // Farewell now, you who so gladdened Us, sleep gently in your grave / To your earth we dedicate you, A well-earned and fair repose. / Düben, whom our joy was in, Here his members left have been'. The verb-last order in the final line was a common affectation in writing, dating back to the German-influenced bible translations of the previous century and continually reinforced by the prestige of German, but it had no counterpart in the spoken language, and the stanza ends with a whimper.

thet effter tyſkan ſkrifwes,
ſom them nu är ſå kär.
The hälla ſigh för wara
mehr ädle medh tyſkt nampn,
och låta migh ſå fahra
rätt ſom then andras hampn.
Jagh finner många bära
i ſwenſka kyrckior in
rätt ſåſom för en ähra
the tyſke bökren ſijn. . . .
Men offta får iagh höra,
hwar gudztienſt hållas ſkal,
at tyſkars liud förſtöra
then ſwenſke ſången all.
Medh annat ſpråk inſtämma
och medh ett fremma liud
är intet ſigh bequämma
til at rätt prijſa Gvdh.

'When noble name is given / whatever it may be / 'tis written in the German / which they love fervently. / Themselves they do consider / more grand with German name / and me, I am abandoned, / as if the other's [sc. German's] shade. / Many I find bringing, / as if to their renown / into our Swedish churches / the German books they own. // But often I can hear / where services are held / the Germans' sound destroying / the Swedish songs pell-mell. / With other tongue in singing / and with a foreign sound / no one need take the trouble / to actually praise God'.[7]

The history of Swedish verse technique paralleled that of German at the distance of several decades. Accentual-syllabic verse gradually came to dominate by the late 1660s but there were other types as well: Classical quantitative verse, which had an impressive theoretical superstructure, Romance syllabic verse, also with a substantial body of theory, and the traditional stress-counting verse, such as the four-stressed rhymed couplets of *Knittelvers* (the word was borrowed from German) as well as other stress-counting verse. Accentual-syllabic verse did not oust the other types completely for at least several more decades.

[7]Lines 249–260, 957–964; quoted from Källquist 1934.

The chorales were among the most laggard of the verse forms; translations from the German tended to be especially erratic (Göransson 1992, 72–73). By the 1670s and early 80s, when Buxtehude's Swedish works were written or translated, accentual-syllabic poetry was well established by the most perceptive poets working in the language, such as Georg Stiernhielm and his pupil Samuel Columbus, but unlike their German counterparts, they did not write chorales, and there had not yet been a clear statement of Opitz's accentual-syllabic principles which the workaday religious versifiers could follow, had they been so inclined.

The earliest Swedish writer to mention verse theory was Aron Forsius, who first translated Reynke Foß into Swedish (1621). In an astonishingly honest, although not clearly worded, note at the end of the first book in his translation, he noted the shortcomings in his verse (which he calls "rhyme"):

> Good Christian reader: as it is the case that the German as well as Danish models count an uncertain number of syllables in their rhyme sometimes, in those rhymes for which every other one should correspond to the same type, long, sometimes short, or one long and the second short, which follows from the rhyme's rule; thus I have used all types of customary rhyme in the first book, as the good reader can easily see. Yet as I have found this task too difficult, it seemed to me best in the other two [more correctly, three—Sylwan's note] books to use the generally used rhymes of seven, eight, nine, and ten syllables with similar endings. May the good reader take up and interpret this labor in the best light. Fare ye well![8]

That is, Forsius abandoned his attempt to write verse with alternating accented and unaccented syllables and, as Sylwan (1894, 21) puts is, reverted ("återgick") to *Knittelvers.* Forsius also composed some psalm translations which, he explained,

[8] Good Chriſten Läſare, effter thet at ſå thet Tydſka ſom thet Danſka Exemplaret owiſſe taal hålla til Syllaber i theras Rijm, ſtundom i them ſom hwar annan ſwara ſkola i ſamman ſlags Rijm förlåge, ſtundom förkorte, eller then ena lång, then andra kort, hwilket gåår ifrån Rijms lagh. Ty hafwer iagh i then förſta book bruket allahanda ſlags brukligha Rijm, ſom then gode Läſaren väl ſee kan. Men at thetta hafwer migh här til warit förſwårt, ſyntes migh the andre två [rättare: tre—Sylwan's note] Böcker medh gemeene brukligha Rijm aff ſiw, 8. 9. och 10. ſyllaber, med like Swarande ender, at bruka welat. Then goda Läſaren wille thetta tol the bäſta vptagha och vthtydha. Faren wäl! Text from Sylwan 1894, 20–21, although Forsius is not identified by name until Sylwan's later work.

attempted to "follow the best esteemed rhymes of Luther, Lobwasser, and other highly respected persons as far as the number of syllables is concerned. However I could not fail to notice [in their works] a lack of quantity in the syllables, of rising and falling."[9] Forsius did not know how to translate this negative observation into positive results, though. Sylwan (1894, 21) writes that "it is not in the syllable count but in the artistic construction of strophes that the translator [Forsius] exceeds the limits of his abilities"; and "[his] verses succeed best when they were intended for the current psalm strophes (following the melody), otherwise they become veritable doggerel" (1934, 18).[10]

The earliest Swedish reflection of Optiz's reform movement was Sundhetzens Spegel (The Mirror of Health) in 1642, with a second (posthumous) edition in 1686.[11] The author, Andreas Nicolai Palmcron (also named Spar[r]man, from his birthplace, and Schomerus, his family name), was the best-known physician in Sweden. He had studied in Leiden for four years; in 1652 he was named city physician of Stockholm, and in 1654, he was appointed physician to the royal court, a position he held until his death in 1658. In addition to his medical work, he wrote a rhymed psalter which he likely intended for publication. All of the melodies in that work differ from those in previous psalters; four were composed by Gustav Düben, and Gustav's father, Andreas, who held the two posts (organist at the German Chuch and royal Kapellmeister) that Gustav later assumed, probably had a major part in adapting or composing the remainder. Palmcron was certainly exposed to rhymed psalters

[9] . . . effter föliandes D. Lutheri, Lobwassers och andra Höghlärdes bäst gillade Rijm, så mycket Syllaberne widhkommer. Ändoch at iagh och icke neekar här finnes brist i Syllabernes quantitet medh vpstijagande och nedhfallande. Quoted in Sylwan 1934, 18.

[10] "Det är icke stafvelseräkingen, utan den konstfulla strofbygnaden, som öfversättern funnit öfverstiga sina krafter." "Bäst lyckas versen, när det gäller gängse psalmstrofer (efter melodi), annra blir den en hygglig knittel." For *knittel,* see p. 191.

[11] Information in this paragraph is from Hansson 1992.

in Leiden; Holland was not only the technological center of northern Europe, but also a mother lode for reformed psalters, and the Swedish court was sympathetic to Calvinism.

Sundhetzens Spegel is a popular medical treatise on healthy living.[12] One example, to illustrate the quality of Palmcron's verse, prescribes a medical use for music:

> Hwem Melancholist är / han hafwer förgse Tankar /
> Hwar medh han födher sig / han gärna eensam wankar /
> Hans Ögon styfft see yth / the stå och nedh til Jord /
> Han långsam är och så / vthi sin wärk och ord.
> [. . .]
> Och sökia thet som kan / hans Sinne recreera:
> En skön Discurs, Music, kan thet wäl alterera
> Doch när som sådant tigh / stätt intet hielpa wil /
> Sök här, så finner tu / godh medel tagha til.
>
> 'Whoe'er is melancholic, he has thoughts lachrymose, / on which he feeds himself, alone by choice he goes, / his eyes have leaden look, and stare down to the earth, / And very slow he is, in all his deeds and words. / . . . / Whoever can should try, his senses to divert: / Good discourse, music too, perhaps can wonders work / But when such things to you, seem not to be of aid, / seek here and you shall find, good methods ready made'.

Palmcron's concern for verse structure is indicated by the sometimes otherwise pointless punctuation (commas in the translation) which marks the caesuras. His interest in verse is utilitarian. He "has realized . . . that for the most part, verses and rules can be better kept in mind if they are written in rhyme,"[13] and he begins each chapter with a short (or sometimes rather lengthy) verse which summarizes the chapter. In the preface, he gives his opinions on how "in our language, verses or rhymes should be written,[14] his most important point being that one should pay

[12] As in many ancient (and modern) treatises, diet plays a large role in maintaining the proper balance of the body; there are some constants in the Swedish diet, and smoked and salted fish play a large role in Palmcron's recommendations.

[13] hafwer förnummit . . . at mästedeelen kunna the Werser och Regler i Minnet bättre behålla, som på Rijm skriffne äre.

[14] på wårt språk Werser eller Rijm wilja skrifwa

attention to the placement of the word accents (see Appendix B). Most of his verses consist either of 12-syllable iambic lines with a medial cadence, modeled on the French alexandrine but with strict accent regulation, or iambic tetrameter. These were precisely Optiz's recommendations. Nearly all the lines are end-stopped and nearly all the rhymes are perfect. Palmcron failed to reform Swedish poetry—nor is there any sign that Palmcron had such an intention—for his few modest comments could not counteract the great prestige of classical and foreign vernacular models. He felt it necessary to explain what he had done, but he did not recommend his path for others.

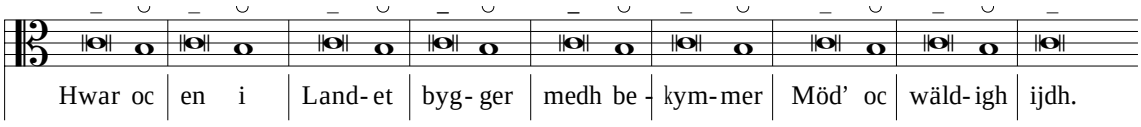
Other ideas were expressed at greater length by Andreas Arvidi, a reader at the gymnasium in Strängnäs (some 70 kilometers west of Stockholm, about halfway down the lake), in his *Manuductio ad poesin svecanam,* published in 1651.[15] Although one of Arvidi's colleagues flatters him by calling him "the Swedish Optiz," Arvidi's work is not a direct calque of Opitz's. It would have been better if it were. Opitz stated expressly that the vernacular accent replaced the classical quantity in the measure of verse, but this important principle, also known implicitly to Palmcron, escaped Arvidi.

Although Arvidi (1651, 2–3) states that Greek and Latin poetic conventions are not suitable for Swedish, that each language must find its own proper arrangement (1651, 2–3), his treatise consists largely of references to classical practice. Contemporary German is mentioned only a few times—Arvidi cites Opitz as justification for the alexandrine (1651, 134–35)—and other practices receive no notice. Arvidi, as Opitz, recommends avoiding the use of foreign words unless they are used in ev-

[15]Background material is from Fransén 1940, 1:325–26. All secondary literature quotes the author's second name as "Arvidi" but, as the example of Palmcron shows, Swedish surnames were not applied consistently at this period. Arvidi in fact signs his name "Andreas Strengnensis" at the end of his forward.

eryday life. In a passage that must have been lifted from Opitz—he uses the same examples—he says that foreign proper names should be given Swedish, not foreign, inflections. Swedish, not Latin, word order should be used in translations; indeed the natural word order should be followed as much as possible. Dialect forms should be avoided except for specific representations of peasants.

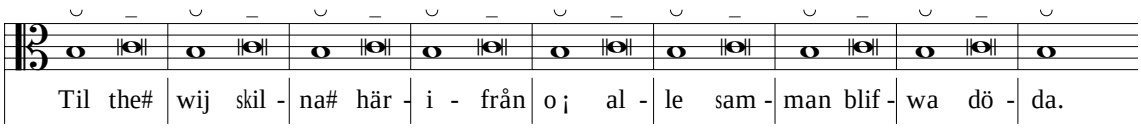
Arvidi's discussion of rhyme of course owes nothing to classical precendents (rhyme was not a structural element in classical verse); he insists on exact rhyme and he disallows identity such as wiiſa 'song' and bewiiſa 'to show'. A major portion of his work, some 76 out of 219 pages, consists of a rhyming dictionary, the first printed in the language. And he gives rules for determining the "quantity"—that is the accent placement—of Swedish words (see Appendix B). Unfortunately, his explanation of meters shows real confusion. To demonstrate the meters, he gives a number of tables which use (1) vertical strokes to divide the feet, (2) macrons and breves to indicate "quantity" (i.e., stress placement), and (3) musical notation, also to indicate "quantity." The musical notation indicates both pitch and duration (the clef has no purpose I can discern), and barlines which align with the foot division. This works for trochaic:[16]



but the stress pattern comes out backwards in iambic:[17]

[16]'[. . .] each, too, in the land is building with distress and toil and mighty work'. This is the last, and longest, line of a poem whose gradually lengthening lines illustrate various types of trochaic verse. Arvidi gives the line lengths fancy Greek names not relevant to the present discussion. See Appendix B.

[17]'[. . .] And so we part ourselves from here, and all together must needs perish'. Again, this is the last and longest line of Arvidi's demonstration verse.



Arvidi's own verse shows careful syllable count and rhyme scheme but less attention is paid to accent placement. Arvidi's treatment of accent on monosyllables is especially rudimentary, with the result that much of his verse scans poorly. Examples such as Giff óß nådh 'Give ús leave' (see p. 246 below) are common. Sylwan (1934, 23–23) also deprecates Arvidi's verse technique, but says it improved in the years following the publication of his *Manuductio.*

Arvidi was an unimaginative provincial hack who commanded attention because his treatise was the only extensive publication on verse theory. The reverse is true for Samuel Columbus, one of the best Swedish poets of the day, an urbane and well-travelled intellectual with a lively curiosity and an original mind. He was the earliest important agitator for the use of Roman rather than Fraktur type, on the grounds that Swedish should be at least as legible as French, Italian, and its sister languages Dutch and English. (Fraktur was pretty much abandoned by the middle of the following century.) He was also an early advocate for spelling reform. In a MS treatise on this and related subjects, he discusses some differences between Swedish and classical verse, but he does not state his ideas systematically, nor is there evidence that they circulated widely. See Appendix B.

The first unequivocal statement of Opitz's principles in Sweden was not published until 1685 when the professor of elocution Petrus Lagerlöf published a brief *Introductio* in Latin (one part was translated into Swedish) in which he stated specifically that accent, not quantity, governed Swedish verse and that accent meant high or low tone (Sylwan 1934, 29). This is the first theoretical work to declare accentual-syllabic verse as the only type of verse suitable to the language. But it is clear that

even by the preceding decades, Swedes had begun to think seriously about the mechanics of their language. The emulation of classical and foreign models marked the first break with the popular stress-counting tradition and laid the foundation for the development of Swedish artverse.

The chorales, however, lagged. The first authorized chorale book in Sweden, indeed the first Swedish chorale book printed at all, was Then Swenſka Pſalm-boken of 1697, now generally called the *Koralpsalmbok* in order to distinguish it from the homonymous text-only publication of two years earlier. This *Koralpsalmboken* was published some 57 years after the first Lutheran hymnal, Johan Crüger's Newes vollkömliches Geſangbuch augſpurgiſcher Confeſſion (Blume 1975, 242). A royal letter of 15 December 1693 stated that the chorale-book editors should take care:

> first, that each Psalm must receive its proper and suitable tune. Second, that the new Psalms should either be set with the melodies which are usual in the German psalmbook whence they are taken, or with the tunes that are normally used by and known to the congregations. Above all, take care to avoid the old foolishness whereby the Psalms receive such awful tunes for their contents, which almost never serve for a godly devotion.[18]

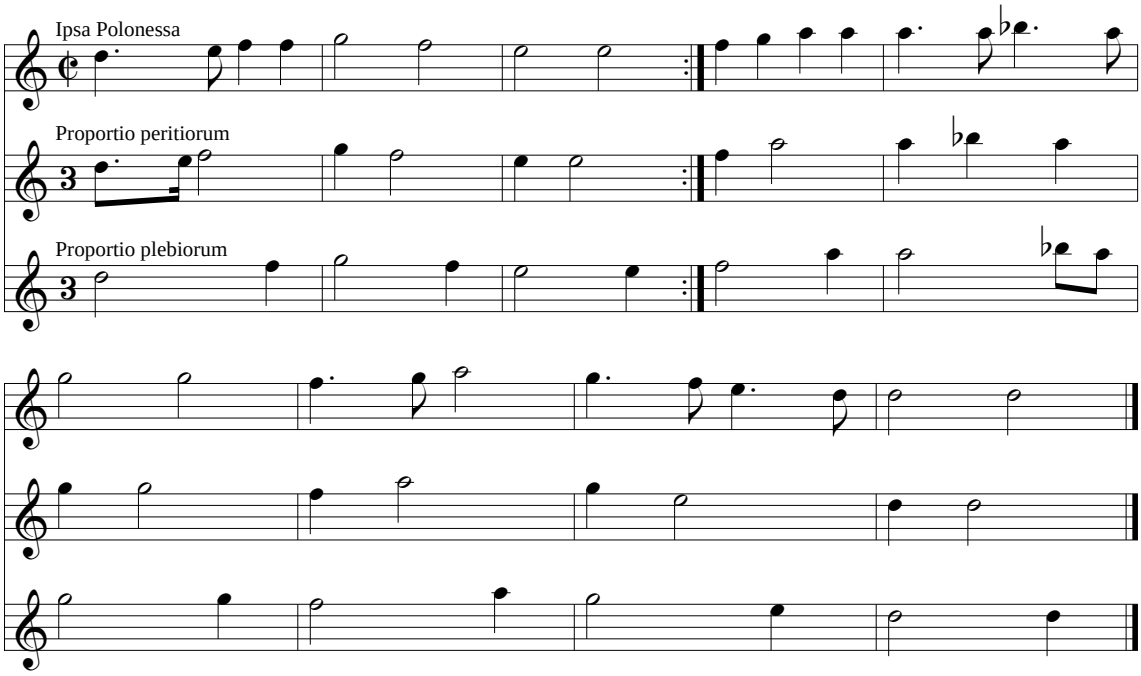
The objections to the old tunes are not stated. Perhaps the tunes were too secular or perhaps they failed to fit the text scansion. In any event, the chorale texts were slow to respond to the reform movement; by the standards of the late seventeenth century, they were clumsy and archaic.

Three reasons for this state of affairs come to mind. First is momentum. Moberg (1932, 429) attributes much of the lack of correspondence between music and text accents in the *Koralpsalmbok* to a contemporary lack of interest in such matters. We

[18] . . . förſt at hwar och een Pſalm må få ſin rätta och tienliga thon. 2:do at dhe nya Pſalmer antingen med dhe melodier affättuſam ſin wahkuge äro i den tyſka pſalmbocken, hwarifrån de äro tagne, eller och med dhe thoner ſom förr i förſamblingarne äro brukelige och bekante, öfwer alt wäl obſerverandes, at man förblifwer wid den gamble eenfalldigheten, ſå at Pſalmerna måge få ſå danne thoner, lämpade efther deras innehålld, ſom icke allenaſt tiena til en gudelig andachts up. Quoted in Morin 1944, 119. According to Morin, this letter actually authorizes a psalter which was never published; the 1697 psalter was authorized later.

have seen such interest developing over the course of the previous half century, but the weight of tradition might have been very heavy for the chorales.

Another was the influence of a shibboleth from dance music, explained in a 1697 dissertation *De Tactu* by the Uppsala professor Harald Vallerius. In Thesis XII, he explained that there were two ways of changing a binary rhythm ("tactus spondaicus") into a ternary ("tactus trochaicus"), one for the cognoscenti ("peritores Musici") and one for the rabble ("plebiores Musici"). The cognoscenti use iambic rhythm, and the rabble use trochaic (Moberg 1942, 145); he gives an example as follows (from Moberg 1942, 146, and Hansson 1967, 151; see also Göransson 1992, 95 n. 2):



Vallerius' views cannot be dismissed as marginal. He was a central figure in Swedish musical life: he directed the Uppsala Collegium Musicum in the 1670s and 80s (Moberg 1942, 158), and practically singlehandedly edited the *Koralpsalmbok* (Moberg 1942, 145). We do not know how far a shibboleth from (instrumental) dance music would have affected chorales. In Palmcron's psalter of the mid-1650s, iambic predominates but there are still numerous trochaic pieces (Hansson 1992, 20).

The *Koralpsalmbok* is almost entirely iambic, even when that meter seems forced (Hansson 1967, 152). Moberg (1942, 145; also Morin 1944, 121–22, and Hansson 1967, 151–52) suggests that Vallerius's scheme provides the most important factor in determining the meter in the *Koralpsalmbok,* but there is one trochaic hymn in that work and the image of the Swedish cognoscenti laughing up their sleeves at it is not attractive.

Perhaps the most important factor for the preservation of irregular chorales was the influence of inappropriate linguistic models: Classical quantitative verse, and Romance syllabic verse. Queen Christina (reigned 1654–64) had imported a large number of French intellectuals to Stockholm. (One casualty of Christina's francophilia was Descartes, who arrived in Stockholm in September, 1649. He was required to attend the queen every day for one hour before sunrise, and died of pneumonia that winter.) The texts for royal ballets were usually in French, and there were Italian opera performances at court (Moberg 1942, 40–41). Swedish metricians and versifiers may have been attracted by the prestige of Classical verse and the modishness of Romance verse without taking adequate notice of the control of accent patterns introduced by the Germans. At a time when German verse had become strictly accentual-styllabic and thus adapted to the prosody of the language, Swedish verse still copied foreign, and often prosaically unsuitable, verse metrics.

8.3 Buxtehude's Swedish-texted works

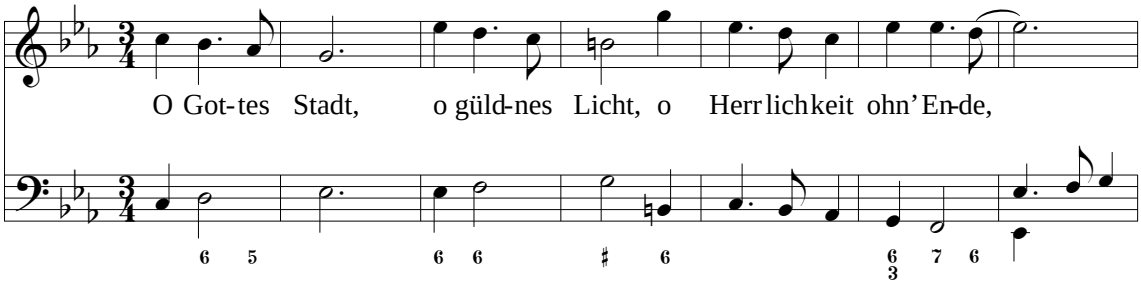
Most of Buxtehude's extant vocal works survive in copies made by or for Gustav Düben in Stockholm. Buxtehude's original materials from Lübeck were removed to a salt mine for preservation in 1942 and their current whereabouts, if any, are unknown (Snyder 1987a, 503 n. 1).

Most of Buxtehude's vocal works in the Düben collection have texts in German or Latin. However, five have texts in Swedish. In three of these the Swedish texts are unambiguously contrafacta of German originals. *Fürchtet euch nicht, siehe ich verkündige euch große Freude,* BuxWV 30, has the German text in tablature (82:35,11) and parts (50:17);[19] another set of parts (also in 50:17) has the Swedish text *Frukten Eder ej.* The tablature of *Nun laßt uns Gott, dem Herren,* BuxWV 81, (85:3) has the German text in the soprano and the Swedish text *Nu låt oss Gud vår Herra* underlaid in the bass. The parts (51:17), in Düben's hand, have the title in both Swedish and German (in that order) but text in Swedish only. *Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele,* BuxWV 71, survives in one tablature with the German text (85:79) and in another tablature with the Swedish text *Lova Herren, min själ* (85:82).

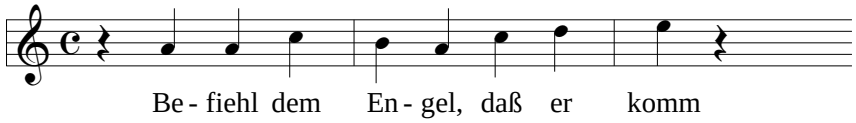
Two other vocal works, *Att du, Jesu, vill mig höra,* BuxWV 8, and *Herren vår Gud,* BuxWV 40, survive with Swedish texts only. It is generally believed that Buxtehude set these works in Swedish, presumably on commission from Düben (Sørensen 1958, 97; Geck 1965, 68; Snyder 1987a, 140).

One of the most striking characteristics of Buxtehude's work is his sensitivity to the rhythms and subtleties of the German (and Latin) languages. Snyder (1987a, 183) gives an example from *O Gottes Stadt,* BuxWV 87, calling attention to "[i]ts use of supple sarabande rhythm . . . with its emphasis on the second beat of mm. 1 and 3 and hemiola in mm. 5–6. . . . "

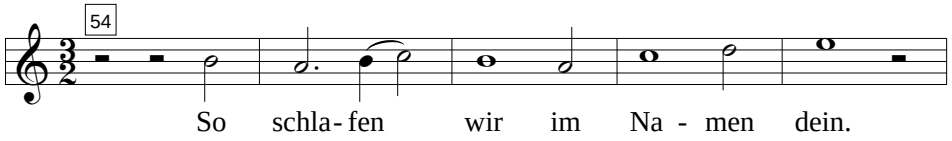
[19]Unattached MS numbers in this chapter refer to Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Vokalmusik i Handskrift.



This rhythmic suppleness is characteristic of Buxtehude, not only in solo arias, but even in chorale settings, such as *Befiehl dem Engel,* BuxWV 10, where the soprano begins:



for the first strophe, contrasted with



in the second strophe. Buxtehude even adjusts chorale rhythms to accomodate irregular text accentuation, as in *Nun laßt uns Gott, dem Herren,* BuxWV 81 (see p. 212). As shown below, Buxtehude's niceties of declamation vanished in the Swedish contrafacta.

8.3.1 The Swedish contrafacta

The purpose of Buxtehude's Swedish contrafacta is not obvious. The liturgical language of the German Church in Stockholm was (and still is) German, as was the working language. *Herren vår Gud* may be a special case (see below, p. 217). Geck (1961, 403) suggests that Buxtehude's other Swedish pieces were so well known in Swedish that the German congregation might have sung them in that language; al-

though, given the inferiority of the Swedish versions (see below), this procedure would not reflect well on the most highly trained musicians in the city. Furthermore, there are Swedish contrafacta of other composers' works in the Düben collection, such as Johann Sebastiani's Chriſtliches Sterb-Lied, a German printed edition with a handwritten Swedish text squeezed in around the German (Kjellberg 1979, 1:300). There is no evidence that this piece was well known, nor is there any evidence that Buxtehude was singled out for special treatment. It seems most reasonable to suppose that these contrafacta were not intended for use at the German Church. Düben was the organist, but not the cantor, of that church and, although the organist and cantor were supposed to share responsibilities for vocal music, Düben's position was formally subordinate to that of the cantor Johannes Stockman, and relations between the two seem not to have been good (Kjellberg 1979, 1:231–239). Düben's main interest was likely in his other post, that of Kapellmeister to the royal court (Norlind 1944–45, 3:122; Snyder, 1987a, 125–26); the large proportion of secular vocal music in the Düben collection supports this supposition.[20] Düben also had some kind of relationship to Jakobs Kyrka, a church in the fashionable district of Norrmalm (on the north side of the lake) which conducted an active campaign to recruit musicians. Düben moved to Norrmalm in the 1670s and both he and one of his sons are buried at Jakobs Kyrka, but he retained his two other posts, and the nature of his relationship with the new church is unknown (Norlind 1942, 17); it is not impossible that (some of) the Swedish material in the Düben collection was intended for Jakobs Kyrka.

Contrafacting technique was not very sophisticated: a German verse with or without a regular stress pattern would be translated into a syllable-counting Swedish verse with more regard for literal accuracy than for accentuation; for example (using acute accents to mark non-matching stresses; according to Fransén [1940, 1:205], the

[20]Kjellberg 1979, 1:307; 2:825–830. See also Krummacher 1978, 65.

Swedish text dates back at least to a hymnal published in 1614):

Nun laßt uns Gott, dem Herren,	Nu låt oß Gudh, wår Herra
Dank ſagen und ihm ehren	tácka och honom ähra
von wegen ſeiner Gaben	för ſijna gåfwor många
die wir empfangen haben.	ſom wir háfwer undfångit.

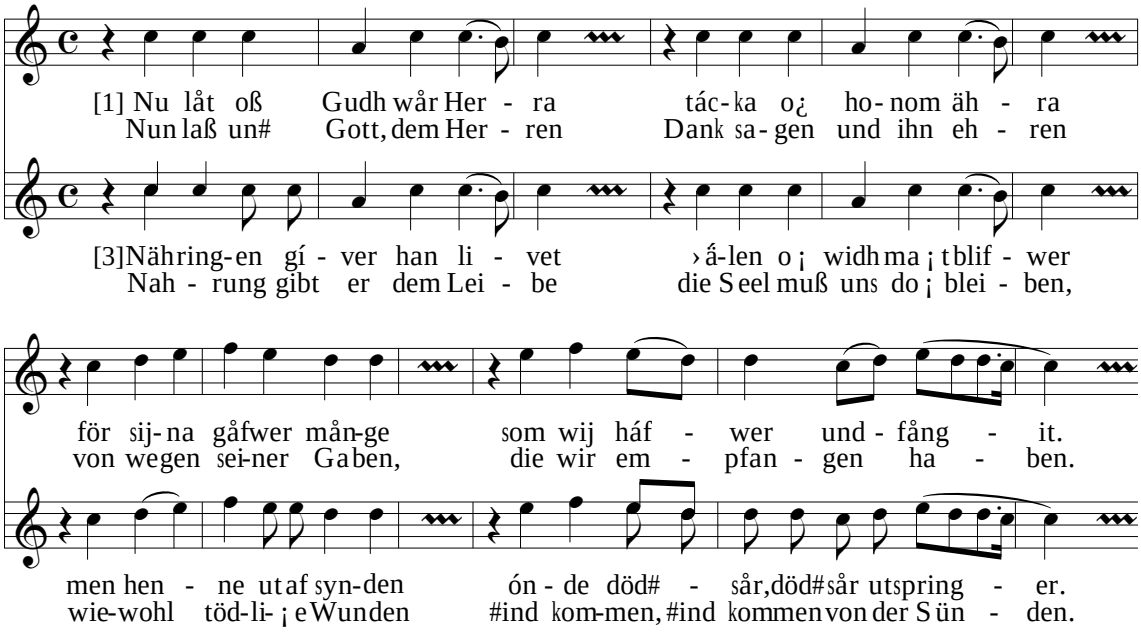
'Now let us to God the~our Lord / give thanks, and honor him / for his (many) gifts / which we have received'.

and so on for seven more stanzas; the German is regular and the Swedish is not. An example of the oldest type of stress-counting German chorale is Luther's *Erhalt uns Gott* (set by Buxtehude as BuxWV 27); in the Swedish verse, no attempt is made to match the accentuation of the German (using acute accents as in the previous exampe; German from Blume 1974, 37; Swedish from the Mönsterås MS, facs. in Fransén 1940, 2:115):

Erhalt uns Gott bei deinem Wort	Bewara óß Gudh í tin Ordh
und ſteur' des Bapſts und Türken Mord	Slåå nidh Påwens och Turkens mordh,
die Jheſum Chriſtum deinen Sohn	Som Jeſum Chriſt tin kåre Son,
wóllten ſtűrzen von deinem Thron.	Nåderſlåå willia af hans Thron.

'Preserve us, God, in thy command / (and) crush the murderous Pope and Turk / whom Jesus Christ, your (dear) son / would throw down from your~his throne'.

In musical settings of this chorale, the (pre-existing) Swedish verse would then be mapped mechanically onto the German melody. An example of such a setting is *Nun laßt uns Gott dem Herren,* BuxWV 81. The vocal parts are homorhythmic. The tablature contains a few corrections and adjustments to accomodate the Swedish text (see Kilian 1958, 144 for a list), but all of these involve adding or removing a note to accomodate the different number of syllables. Buxtehude had altered the chorale rhythm to fit the German accentuation better, but there were no subsequent adjustments to accomodate the irregular Swedish accentuation, with the result that the Swedish declamation is very bad:



Similarly bad declamation afflicts the other Swedish contrafacta of Buxtehude's works. The irregularity of these must have contributed to the impression that Swedish was a rude and uncultivated language compared to German.

8.3.2 *Att du, Jesu*

Att du, Jesu, BuxWV 4, is one of only two of Buxtehude's vocal works that does not survive either in the Düben collection or in a source (MS or printed edition) from Lübeck or nearby Schleswig. (The other, *Herzlich tut mich verlangen,* BuxWV 42, can be traced indirectly to Buxtehude; it survives in a collection made by the Karlshamn organist Gottfried Lindemann, a pupil of Buxtehude's pupil Gottlieb Klingenberg [Snyder 1987a, 326].) *Att du, Jesu* survives, in parts, in a collection "formerly belonging to the Swedish organist Henrich Christoffer Engelhardt (born 1698)" (Snyder 1987a, 326) and now in the University Library of Lund. There is one other Buxtehude vocal work in this collection, BuxWV 82, a score with concordances in the Düben collection; Geck (1961, 403) considers it likely that *Att du, Jesu* was

copied from the Düben collection as well.

Att du, Jesu is a simple, syllabic setting of a strophic poem. Nearly all of Buxtehude's other works of this type were composed for an identifiable wedding or funeral. This is not a matter of the composer's effort being limited by the size of his commission (although the performing forces might be so limited): one of these simple works, *Klinget für Freuden, ihr lärmen Klarinen,* BuxWV 119, was commissioned for the wedding of King Karl IX, and Buxtehude wrote a *Klaglied,* the second part of BuxWV 76, for his own father's funeral. Rather, this type of setting was considered appropriate for these occasions. *Att du, Jesu* is headed "lamento" and may well be a funeral aria.

Stylistically, the piece closely resembles *Was mich auf dieser Welt betrübt,* BuxWV 105, which Snyder (1987a, 179) describes as, "one of Buxtehude's simplest yet most attractive strophic arias." Snyder discovered that Buxtehude adapted this work from an earlier melody, an anonymous work published in 1679. The most important adaptations Snyder describes are (1) an improved continuo part and (2) the addition of a climactic ending on each strophe by means of text repetition.

Att du, Jesu may also be an adaptation. The beginning (and only the beginning) is nearly identical with the beginning of a wedding aria by Düben, *Ein getreues Hertze wissen,* written in 1667 (Norlind 1944–45, 3:166–67). This piece, in turn, Norlind discovered, was inspired by a piece with the same text in Andreas Hammerschmidt's *Oden und Madrigalien,* published in 1649. Subsequently, it turned up rhythmically altered as number 269 in the *Koralpsalmbok* of 1697, *Mänska är du så högfärdig* ('Man, thou art so proud'; Norlind 1944–45, 3:269). This, in turn might have been influenced by another German variant, *Mensch, was ist dein Stoltz und Prangen,* published in 1680 (Zahn 1889–93, 2:491).[21] If *Att du, Jesu* is in fact an adaptation,

[21]In Johannes Hemeling's Neu-gemehrt Christlich-Poetische Seelen-Ergetzung. . . . My thanks to

the use of wedding music for a funeral makes a nice comment on the human condition. See figure 1 for the Hammerschmidt piece, figure 2 for the Düben piece, figure 3 for the 1680 German chorale, and figure 4 (p. 216) for the Buxtehude piece.

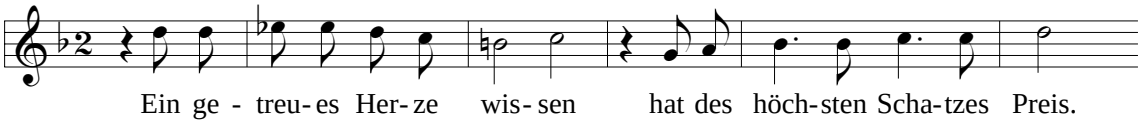


Figure 1: Hammerschmidt, 1649; after Norlind 1944–45, 3:167. 'The knowledge of a faithful heart has the most treasured prize'.

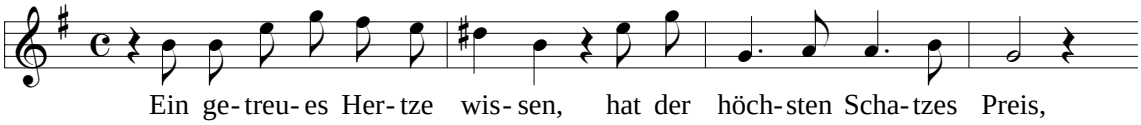


Figure 2: Düben, 1667; after Norlind 1944–45, 3:166. The variant *der* for *des* is from Norlind.

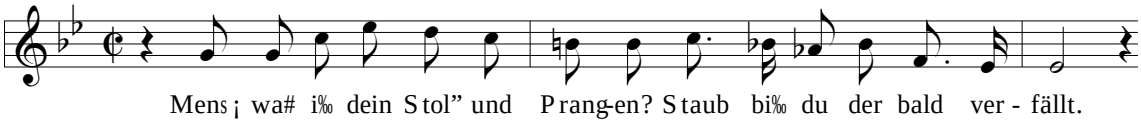


Figure 3: Hemeling, 1680. 'Man, wherefore thy pride and tinsel? / Dust thou art who soon decays'.

The poem is typical of Swedish verse in the later part of the century: the stress is regular, the rhymes depend on sound rather than spelling (*skuld/mull*; the standard language now pronounces the final [-d], however), the vocabulary is not large, and there is a heavy reliance on formulas ("sin and guilt," "fervently" as an all-purpose rhyme) which the poet does not always control completely (the "tears of yearning" in the second verse fall away without a predicate).

the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen, for kindly supplying a photocopy of this chorale

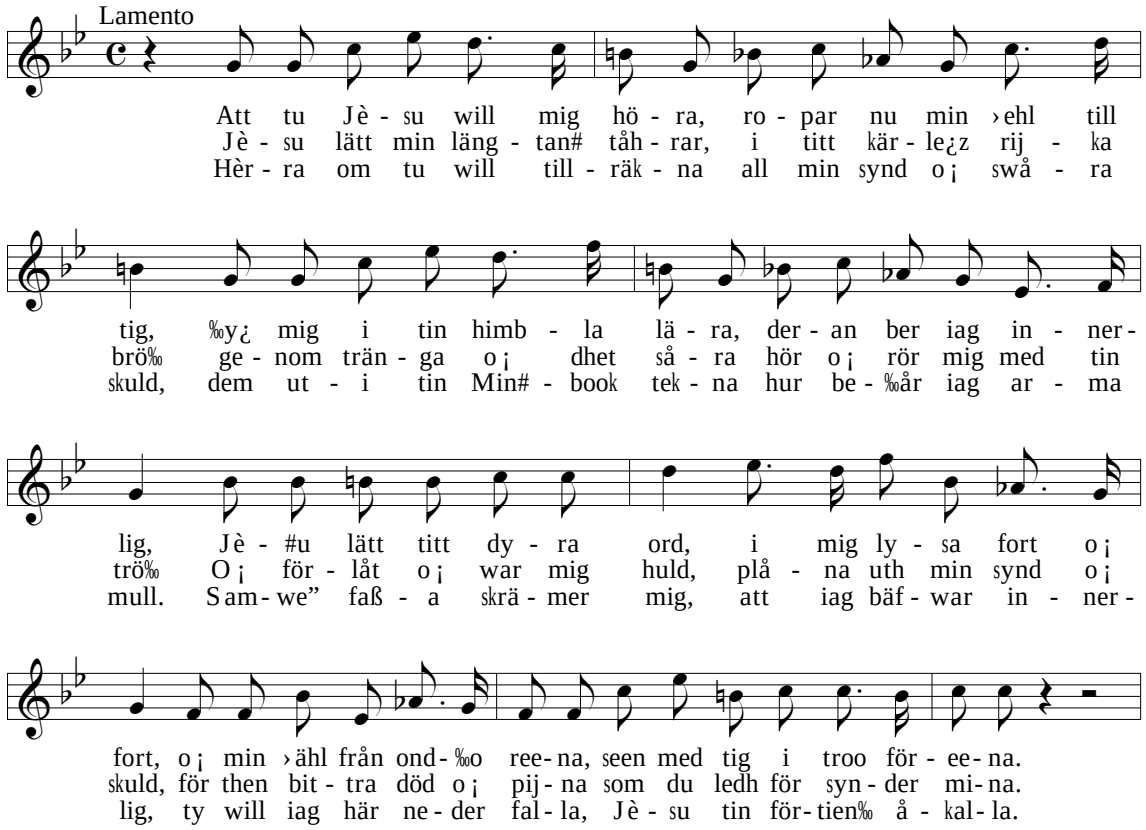


Figure 4: Buxwv 4; after a photocopy of the MS kindly supplied by the University Library of Lund. 'So that, Jesus, you would hear me, now my soul calls out to thee, / prove me in thy heavenly teaching, this I ask for fervently. / Jesus, let thy precious word, shine within me on and on, / and my soul from evil free, then in faith unite with thee. // Jesus, let my tears of yearning, in thy bosom rich with love, / through the effort of that wound, hear and move me with thy aid, / and forgive, with me be mild, take away my sin and guilt, / for thy bitter death and pain, which you suffered for my sins. // Lord, if thou wouldst be appraising, all my sin and guilt so dire, / strike them out of thy account book, how I find me worthless mire. / Dread of conscience frightens me that I tremble fervently, / for below here I would fall, Jesus on your boon I call'.

The setting begins on an upbeat, the second beat of the measure; thus the upbeat is a weak one, and the poem reflects this rhythmic pattern. Most of the first and third poetic feet are weak upbeats to a stronger second and fourth foot—two-syllable vocatives, for example (Jèſu, Hèrra), or function words (grammatical words with little semantic content: Att tu, genom, för then, ty will). In the first verse, the normal word

order lyſa i mig is changed to i mig lyſa in order to put the verb on a strong beat. The verse fits the rhythm of the music so well that one wonders whether it was composed with this setting—or at least some setting which began on the second beat of the measure, such as the possible precursor of Buxtehude's setting—in mind.

8.3.3 *Herren vår Gud*

Herren vår Gud is a homorhythmic chorale setting. There is an instrumental introduction, an instrumental interlude following each line of text, and a melismatic "Amen," ruling out congregational participation. The tune, by Burkhard Waldis, was printed in Waldis's psalter of 1553, the first Lutheran psalter; it is number 8138 in Zahn's collection (1889–93; printed a third too high), and Zahn lists Waldis as the only source. Sørensen (1958, 95) confirms that, by the seventeenth century, the tune had mostly gone out of use in northern Germany, although it continued to be popular in Sweden. (It does not appear in Thomissøn 1569 which, with numerous later editions, was the authorized Danish hymnal for the entire seventeenth century [Schousboe in Blume 1975, 614–25].)

The text has a different source. In Waldis, the text is a paraphrase of Psalm 13, but the Swedish text is a paraphrase of Psalm 20. In the Lutheran Bible, Psalm 20 is headed, "Gebet des Volkes für seinen König in Kriegsnot." The Swedish text is addressed directly to the king and contains the traditional appellation of the Swedish monarch, "king of water and land." Geck (1960, 505) calls it "der repräsentative Königs- und Vaterlandspsalm." Arvaston (1963) considers it "one of the few real high points among the era's psalter paraphrases." It was one of several psalms sung and played at the coronations of Queen Christina in 1650 (Kjellberg 1979, 1:181), Queen Ulrika Eleona in 1680 (Norlind 1944–45, 3:240), and King Karl XII in 1698 (Norlind 1942, 37; Norlind 1944–45, 3:241), and it continued to be represented in

Swedish chorale books such as the Rappe MS of 1675 and the Riddarholm MS of 1694 (Nödermann 1911, 151), at least until the nineteenth century (Sørensen 1958, 97). The protocol of the Storkyrka (the main Swedish-language church in Stockholm), issued 5 February 1701, prescribes it as one of two psalms sung before the sermon (Norlind 1944–45, 3:244). (As an incentive to attend mass, the same protocol also orders that from 8 to 10:30 Sunday mornings, the alarming combination of two tympani and oboes (*hautboer*) should play from the tower "to remind those persons who did not await such a lovely and delightfully desirable day of joy and thanksgiving with heartfelt thanksgiving."[22]) The archbishop of Uppsala proclaimed at the synod of 1678, "The psalm Herren wår Gudh ware tigh blijdh may not be sung for the gradual on Sundays in this time of war"[23] (Göransson 1992, 23 n. 4), a dictat which Göransson interprets as meaning that the psalm was overperformed, but which could also have meant that it was too bellicose (or not bellicose enough). Either way, the chorale was well known and important.

Geck says that even the German-speaking congregations sang it in Swedish (perhaps the same way that present-day English monoglots in Wales sing the Welsh national anthem in Welsh). However, the piece appears in Finnish choirbooks in Finnish, not Swedish.[24] Of course, the piece might have been intended for court use, in which case a Swedish setting of the "repräsentative Königs- und Vaterlandspsalm" needs no explanation.

On the basis of an analysis of three works, Snyder (1987a, 315) advances the working hypothesis that Buxtehude sent Düben scores in the form of organ tabla-

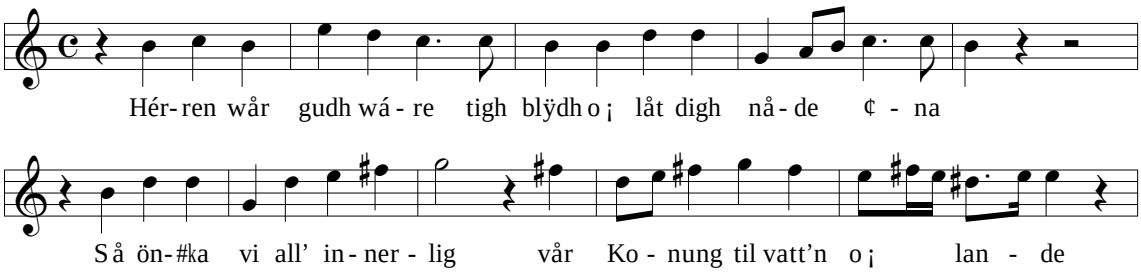
[22]" . . . till personer, som icke mindre anstod uppå en så ljuvelig och angenäm önskelig fröjd- och tacksägelsedag med hjärtans tacksägelse att ihågkomma." Quoted in Norlind 1944–45, 3:244.

[23]" . . . må icke ſiungas pro graduali om ſöndagarna i thenne krijgstiden.

[24]For a list of Finnish and Swedish choirbooks containing this piece, see Haapalainen 1976, 384 #79.

ture, which Düben had copied, and then returned; Düben's performing parts were prepared from Buxtehude's material, not from the copy of the score. The Düben collection contains autographs of six Buxtehude works, including the famous cantata cycle *Membra Jesu nostri,* which bears an inscription dedicating the work to Düben. *Herren vår Gud* is not an autograph, however; if a Swedish-texted autograph were indeed returned to Buxtehude, one wonders what use he might have had for it.

This small mystery notwithstanding, all of this evidence hangs together very well, indicating that Buxtehude likely set the work in Swedish—until we examine the piece itself where, it appears, something has gone horribly wrong (accent in polysyllabic words is indicated by acute accent; for Jakób—the modern language has Jákob—see Fransén 1940, 1:358):



Neither the word accents nor the phrase accents are respected (vi all should form a unit against innerlig; vatt'n should be more heavily stressed than til). Given Buxtehude's sensitivity to German rhythms, this poor setting of Swedish wants an explanation.

The possibility that Buxtehude might not have known how to set Swedish can be dismissed, even if one is willing to entertain the idea that Buxtehude would have agreed to set a text he did not know how to pronounce. Snyder points out that Buxtehude was perfectly competent in Danish (1987b, 11); Friis (1960) prints three Danish letters written by Buxtehude in support of his position that Buxtehude not only *knew* Danish but that he *was* Danish.[25] The position of stress in Danish and

[25]This work is less nationalistic than an earlier edition, published in 1945, with an im-

Swedish is the same in all the words in the piece (with the possible exception of Jakob, whose seventeenth-century Danish pronunciation is unknown to me.

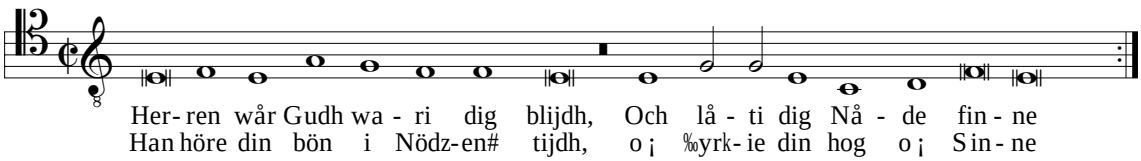
The immediate cause for the setting's inadequacy is obvious: the verse is irregular:

1 Herren wår gudh ware tigh blidh
2 och låt' digh nåde finna
3 Han hör tin böön i nödzens tidh
4 och styrk' tin håg och sinne.
5 Jakobß gudh han beschydde tigh
6 och löse utaf wåndo
7 så önska wij all' innerligh
8 wår Konung till watt'n och lande
9 förlän' tijgh gudh sin ande.

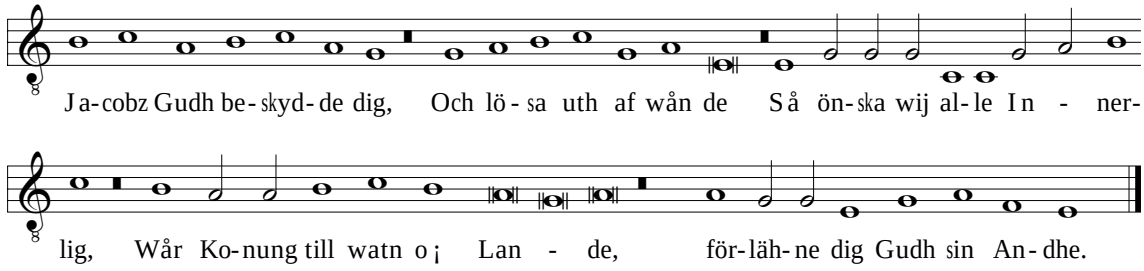
'May the Lord, our God, be gentle with thee / and let thee find grace / He hears thy prayer in time of need / and strengthens thy mind and heart. / Jacob's God, may he shield thee / and free [thee] from sorrow / thus we all desire sincerely / [O,] our king of water and land, / may God grant thee his spirit'.

Meter is not the only irregularity. The rhyme in lines 2 and 4 represents the unaccented neutral vowel (schwa), not characteristic of educated Stockholm speech, i.e., what later became the normative language; but if the rhyme is accepted, the orthography is overspecific. Line 6 ends with a dative form, an archaism which destroys even an approximate rhyme. Han 'he' in line 5 is filler. Line 8 is one syllable too long. There is a strong dependence on apocope (indicated by apostrophes), and constant switching between subjunctive and indicative.

The following version, from the Mönsterås MS of 1646 (facs. in Fransén 1940, 2:27), shows that these objections are not merely theoretical:



possible to English subtitle, *Diderik Buxtehude: Den Storre Dansker*—'the Great Dane'.



There is no apocope, and the voice is entirely subjunctive (many Swedish subjunctives are one syllable longer than their indicative counterparts; final -i for -e is characteristic of central Sweden and has no further significance [Kock 1906–23, 4:100–103]). The rhyme in lines 2 and 4 is orthographically normalized (to schwa). The long initial note insures that Herren is initial stressed; the melodic line groups alle properly with wij. Line 6 rhymes at least roughly with lines 8 and 9. The pleonastic han after Jakobs gudh has vanished (along with its note). The price, of course, is metrical regularity.

The continual fiddling with the verse metrics of *Herren vår Gud* indicates that its irregularities were felt to be such at the time. Where did they come from? Perhaps the most likely possibility is that the work is a translation. No candidates for a source have come to light (Haapalainen 1976, 153), but such translations were very much the norm in Swedish rhymed psalters, beginning with Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm's translations from Lobwasser, written in prison, published 1632 (2nd ed., 1644; 3rd ed., 1649; Hansson 1992, 41). Information about earlier psalm paraphrases is lacking; there are no surviving exemplars of Thorstenius Johannis's publication of 1602 (Hansson 1972, 41), for example but, as Fransén says (1940, 1:182), one would expect from the nature of the thing that Swedish psalms would mostly be translations from German. (Most Danish psalms are also translated from German [Dal 1968, 14–17]; the Danish version of the psalm, printed in Thomissøn 1569, 206–207^{v}, is metrically irregular but has no semantic relation to the Swedish.)

If we hypothesize a German original, it is easy to explain all of the irregularities.

The meter might have gone awry in the first word from that traditional headache of Scandinavian metrical translations, the postposed definite articles (*Hérren* < *Der Hérr*) which, as Wessén (1968, 15) observes, gives the Nordic languages a rhythm very different from that of the other west European languages. Lines 2 and 4 might have rhymed *finnen* and *sinnen.* Line 5 slips effortlessly into the metrical *Der Gott von Jakob schütze dich,* which cannot be replicated in Swedish, again because of the postposed definite article. Line 8 is specifically Swedish, a set expression which cannot be compressed further (the shortened form vatt'n already sits uneasily). Even if *Herren vår Gud* is not a direct translation from German, we might hypothesize that it was cobbled together from pre-existent parts using familiar formulas which themselves were translations.

In any event, the result was a verse whose irregularities troubled many Swedes. The piece is atypical for Buxtehude because the verse is atypical for Swedish verse by Buxtehude's time, but it was too well known to allow rewriting. Its position resembled that of a drooling elderly relative, viewed with both affection and embarrassment, and destined to linger on far longer than might have been expected.

A Pentameter niches in lyric verse in English

Following is a listing of the occurences of pentameter lines in some representative (I hope) selections from several repertoires, specifically English and American popular music from four different periods. All of the lyrics were, presumably, written to be set to music. Most of the pentameter lines are classifiable as onsets, taglines, frames, alternata, or substitutions; see p. 41 for a description of these types. The most striking fact is the rarity of pentameter lines compared to their near ubiquity in art verse. The second-most striking fact is that the pentameter lines in lyric verse have the characteristics of accentual verse rather than iambic verse: isochronous accents which dominate the rhythm of the line even though some of them may be implied or unexpressed (musical "rests"), rhyme, end-stopping, loosely regulated number of syllables, lack of regular feet, and so on (see p. 18). As elsewhere in this study, only binary scansions are admitted: a particular syllable is either marked or unmarked. Generally, English verse scansion permits no more than two successive stresses or unstresses. This is not a controversial position; another way of putting it is that English verse scans in groups of twos and threes. (The most prominent exception to this rule—excluding non-metrical verse—is sprung rhythm.) Because of the frequently ambiguous scansion in English verse (see p. 13), it seems advisable to show most of the actual lines.

CHILD BALLADS The 305 ballads in Child 1882–98 are in a variety of meters, with ballad meter predominating, but the only five-stress lines are substitutions; for an example, see p. 40.

AMERICAN POPULAR MUSIC as represented in Johnson 1909. 300 songs, of which approximately 143 are contrafacta. For background information on the songs, I have relied on Johnson's notes ("The music is from MOZART, who wrote many pleasing songs" [1909, 243]). Not all the poems were intended to be set to music, and the musical settings do not always fairly reflect the rhythm of the poems. Tennyson's *Break,*

break, break receives a particularly coarse and stupid setting: most of the poem has three stresses per line with a variable number of syllables, but two lines have four stresses: "But the ténder gráce of a dáy that is déad" and "But, Ó for the tóuch of a vánished hánd"—the latter is immediately followed by the three-stress mimetic "And the sóund of a vóice that is stíll!"—but all of the musical lines have three stresses, and the metrical point of the poem is lost.

Significantly, only one of the pre-existent poems was in pentameter. Three of the lyric (not pre-existent) are predominantly or entirely pentameter; one might, *petitio principii,* suspect the influence of art verse.

Johnson (1909, 390) quotes Robert Burns on the subject of contrafacta:

> There is a peculiar rhythmus in many of our airs, and a necessity of adapting syllables to the emphasis, or what I call the feature notes of the tune, that cramp the poet, and lay him under almost insuperable difficulties. For instance, in the air, "My wife's a wanton wee thing," if a few lines smooth and pretty can be adapted to it, it is all you can expect.

The lines Burns produced are not among his best, perhaps indicating the gravity of the problem (My wife's a winsome wee thing, / She is a handsome wee thing; / She is a bonnie wee thing, / This sweet wife o' mine). The question of when the adaptation of a pre-existent melody becomes severe enough to enable it to claim metrical freedom from the original can be tendentious.

Bay of Dublin. Contrafact; text by Lady Dufferin. Alternata: 4–5–4–5–4–5–4–5.

Begone! Dull care. Anon. The stresses in the text lines are: 5–5–7–5 in the first verse, a frame; 5–5–7–7 in the subsequent verses, onsets.

Black-eyed Susan. Text by John Gay. Six-line stanzas, the first four lines have four stresses, the last two have five: taglines. (E.g.: Téll me, ye jóvial sáilors, téll me trúe, / If mý sweet Wílliam sáils amóng the créw.) The first of the five-stress lines is set in the same time as the four-stress lines, which is not the tagline pattern, but the

second expands to twice the time of the other lines, 4 measures rather than 2, aided by partial text repetition, so the tagline pattern is maintained.

Captain Kidd. Alternata; the stresses in the lines are 7–5–7–5: . . . / You cáptains, bóld and bráve, héar our críes / . . . / Don't, fór the sáke of góld, lóse your sóuls.

Cheer, boys, cheer. Entirely five-stress lines with a caesura following the second stress: Chéer, boys, chéer, | no móre of ídle sórrow.

The death of Nelson. "The words of this song were written by Mr. S. J. Arnold, who was proprietor of the English opera, in London, and manager of Drury Lane Theatre. . . . The music was composed by John Braham, who was born, in London, of Jewish parents, in 1774." The song consists of a "recit." followed by an "aria"; the former is four pentameter lines. The influence of art verse is obvious. The "aria" is entirely three- and four-stress lines, sometimes rather strange ones ("We scorn'd the foreign yoke, / For our ships were British oak, / And hearts of oak our men!")

Love's young dream. Contrafact of an "ancient Irish melody" by Thomas Moore. The melody sets the text as alternata, 5–3–5–3, etc. The text is evenly declaimed, although in alternata each line should declaim in the same time. Taken on their own, however, independently of the music, the lines scan with 4–2–4–2, etc., stresses: Oh! the dáys are góne when Beáuty bríght / My héart's chain wóve: / When my dréams of lífe from mórn to níght, / Was lóve, still lóve.

O, boys, carry me 'long! Words and music by Stephen Foster. Onsets: Oh! cárry me lóng: Der's nó more tróuble for mé; the stresses map 5–7–6–7.

The sands o' Dee. Onsets: the stresses in the verse lines are 5–3–4–3–3, but there is a great deal of text repetition, giving the pattern 5–3–3–3–4–4–3–3. The 3-stress lines, in context, read as half-lines, and the music sets them that way: O Máry! gó and cáll the cáttle hóme / And cáll the cáttle hóme / And cáll the cáttle hóme. . . .

Too late Text from Tennyson's *Idylls of the King.* "The music is by Miss LINDSAY, an English lady." Pentameter art verse.

'Twere vain to tell thee all I feel. There are several pentameter lines in the text (Ah, wéll-a-dáy! the swéetest mélodý / Cóuld néver say one hálf my lóve for thée), but these are not set as integral lines.

Treasures of the deep. The introduction says, "It is always pleasant to think of the gifted sisters, MRS. HEMANS and MRS. ARKWRIGHT, supplementing each other's work." Mrs. Hemans' poem is entirely pentameter, perhaps through the influence of art verse, but without any rhythmic variety. Either Mrs. Hemans was not attentive enough to the "art" in art verse, or she deliberately wrote in a monotonous rhythm in order to make it easier for her sister to compose a setting.

We met, 'twas in a crowd. Words and music by Thomas Haynes Bayly. Entirely pentameter with a fixed caesura and a strict syllable count: xXxXxX | xxXxxXx. Some of the words are printed in italics; without rhythmic variety, the poet-composer apparently had no other way of emphasizing them (He cáll'd me bý my náme—As the bríde of anóther— / Oh! *thóu* hast béen the cáuse of this ánguish my móther!)

Within a mile of Edinboro'. The music, by James Hook, long postdates the original form of the text, by Thomas d'Urfey. The stresses in the verse lines are: 5–3–4–3. The five-stress lines take as long to declaim as the four-stress lines, so they resemble onsets except that the declamation slows down instead of speeding up.

AMERICAN POPULAR MUSIC (2) as represented in Lynn 1961. Approximately 280 melodies with English lyrics, not counting works which also appear in Johnson 1909. The various blues songs were counted only once; see the entry for *Worried man blues.* Most of the songs, including all of the misogynistic and racist ones, are

anonymous; a large proportion of the credited songs were composed by the publisher, James Leisey. Only two songs are predominantly pentameter.

And when I die. The first line of this call-and-response song has five stresses: And whén I díe [repeated], don't búry mé at áll [repeated], obviously a substitution, if this is counted as pentameter.

Around her hair she wore a purple ribbon. 5–6–5–7, alternata. The first line of the first verse is the title; the third line runs: And íf you ásked her whý the héll she wóre it.

Drunk last night. 5–6–5–6 alternata: Drúnk last níght, drúnk the níght befóre / . . . / For whén I'm drúnk I'm as háppy ás could bé.

Ee-lee-ay-lee-oh. The verses have alternata 6–5–7–5 (the chorus is 7–7–7–7): . . . / And the wónders óf the séa I wíll expóund / . . . / Six tímes I háve been shípwrecked ánd found drówned.

The foggy, foggy dew. Taglines; the stresses are 4–3–4–3–4–3–5–5: So áll night lóng I héld her ín my árms / Just to kéep her fróm the fóggy, fóggy déw.

Funiculi funicula. Not, obviously, originally in English. The stresses are 5–4–5–4–5–4–5–4 (alternata) for the verses and 5–5–8–7 (onsets) for the chorus. Another indication of the remoteness of English pentameter in lyric verse from that in art verse: it is inconceivable that an Italian art verse metric could fit so smoothly into English art verse with no adaptation, but music is music.

Go tell Aunt Rhody. The text for each verse derives from the single five-stress line which concludes the verse: Go tell Aunt Rhody, Go tell Aunt Rhody / Gó tell Aunt Rhódy the óld gray góose is déad.

Gramma's in the cellar. Taglines at the end of each verse: And she whístles whíle the (sníff) runs dówn her nóse.

Here's to good old beer. The five-stress line: "Hére's to góod old béer, drínk 'er dówn" is not set integrally; the last three words are repeated.

The horns run around. The stresses alternate 6–5–6–5, the last line by means of a repetition: . . . / Oh, whó will wínd the clóck while Í'm awáy / . . . / And a bóy's best fríend is his móther, his móther.

How we love to see our dear old mother work. By Charles Green. The title is a tagline: How we lóve to sée our déar old móther wórk.

I ride an old paint. One substitution for a four-stress line: They féedin' the cóolies, they wáter ín the dráw.

I was born about ten thousand years ago. In each of the verses, the stresses pattern 5–5–6–5 (frames): I was bórn abóut ten thóusand yéars agó / And there's nóthing in this wórld that Í don't knów / . . . / And I'll lick the gúy who sáys it ísn't só.

I'll be ready when the great day comes. One substitute for a four-stress line: Dídn't the góod book sáy that Cáin killed Ábel?

The Irish wake. Alternata 6–5–6–5: . . . / And Pát Malóne was púshed for réady cásh / . . . / And so áll of Pát's affáirs had góne to smásh.

The John B. Sails. The textual stresses run 6–5–6–4, but the final line is mimetically broken up by a rest: I féel so bréak up [x́] I wánt to go hóme. The result is virtual alternata.

John Henry. One five-stress substitution in a four-stress line: But befóre I'll lét your stéam drill béat me dówn.

Juanita. Alternata 6–5–6–5–6–5; the last two lines are the chorus: . . . / And dáylight béauty, próve thy dréams are váin / . . . / In thy héart consénting, tó a práyer gone bý / . . . / Níta! Juaníta! Bé my ówn fair bríde.

The letter edged in black. All lines have five stresses, although without strict regulation of syllables; the first stanza is: I was stánding bý the wíndow yésterday mórning / Withóut a thóught of wórry ór of cáre / When I sáw the póstman cóming úp the páthway / With súch a háppy lóok and jólly áir.

Lulu Belle Black. Alternata; the number of stresses in the first line varies: 6/7–5–6–5–7: She was chíef enginéer of the níght shirt fáctorý / . . . / She hád, she hád a fáce like a sóft shell cráb.

Marianina. By Marvin Moore and James Leisey. 5–4–5–4 (alternata): Sínce I dánced with Ánna Fríday níght / . . . / Squéeze your cóncertína cónstantlý.

The mermaid. One substitution for four-stress line: But wé poor sáilors go skípping tó the tóp.

An old beer bottle. By James Leisey and Charles Green. The verse stresses are 5–5–6–6: onsets.

Paddy Murphy. The chorus stresses are 5–5–5–3: That's hów we páid our respécts to Páddy Múrphy / That's hów we shówed our hónor ánd our príde / [1st line repeated] / On the níght that Páddy díed.

The pig got up and slowly walked away. Alternata 6–5–6–5; in the first verse: While wálking dówn the stréet in típsy príde / . . . / When a pig came úp and láy down bý my síde.

Polly wolly doodle. Alternata 4–5–4–5; the five-stress lines have little semantic content: Sing pólly wólly dóodle áll the dáy.

The riddle song. All lines have five stresses without strict syllable regulation: I gáve my lóve a chérry that hás no stóne / I gáve my lóve a chícken that hás no bóne / I gáve my lóve a ríng that hás no énd / I gáve my lóve a bábу thát's no crýin'.

She promised to meet me when the clock struck seventeen. One substitute for a six-stress line in the verse: Where there's pígs eyes and pígs tails and góod old Téxas stéers. A tagline at the end of the verse and the chorus: Sell for sírloin stéak at fífty cénts a póund // She's my píckle-fáced consúmptive Máry Jáne. Note the irregular rhythm of the substitution compared with the regular iambs of the taglines.

Shortnin' bread. The last line of the chorus might scan as a five-stress tagline: Mámmy's líttle báby loves shórt'nin' [*sic*] bréad.

Silver dollar. The stresses in the chorus are 2–3–3–5–5. If the first two lines are considered together, the chorus is a frame; otherwise taglines: As a sílver dóllar góes from hánd to hánd

The streets of Laredo. One substitute for a four-stress line; Pláy the dead márch as you cárry mé alóng.

Sven. Tagline at the end of the chorus: And év'rywhére they wént they gáve their wár whoop.

Take this hammer. "Adapted and arranged by John A. and Alan Lomax." One substitution for a four-stress line in the first verse: Táke this hámmer and cárry it tó the cáptain.

There's nothing the matter with my girl. By James Leisey. The stresses are 5–5–4–4–5; the last line is a repetition of the first. A frame, based on the form of a limerick: There's nóthing the mátter with mý girl shé's all ríght / Whenéver I flírt with anóther, shé's políte.

The twelve days of Christmas. The first line of the days with monosyllabic ordinals *could* scan with five textual stresses: On the fírst day of Chrístmas my trúe love gáve to mé, as opposed to the six-stress line: On the sécond dáy of Chrístmas my trúe

love gáve to mé—scanning the text without regard to the music. I do not know the significance of this.

The West Virginny hills. By Marvin Moore and James Leisey. The second-last line of the last verse has a five-stress substitution corresponding to four-stress lines in the other verses: For the néighbors sáy that shé has góne too fár.

Willy the weeper. All of the lines have four musical stresses, but the syllable count is not regulated strictly and there are many five-stress textual lines, obviously substitutions, e.g.: And cálling fór a [accented monosyllabic ethnic slur] to bríng some hóp.

Who threw the overalls in Mrs. Murphy's chowder? By George L. Giefer. 6–5–6–5 alternata in the chorus: Nóbody spóke so he shóuted áll the lóuder / . . . / The óverálls in Mírs. Múrphy's chówder.

Worried man blues. Blues lines can have five textual stresses: Twénty línks of cháin aróund my néck; such lines are obviously substitutions for the longer lines which are much more common.

AMERICAN POPULAR MUSIC (3) as represented on recordings. 12 recordings, 153 songs. Unclear lineation in the printed lyrics is fairly common; the lineation might differ from verse to verse, or all the lines might be run together on the lyric sheet in order to conserve space. The music usually clarified matters; nearly all the line endings correspond with musical phrase endings (for the only exceptions, see the Die 116 entry). The music also clarified ambiguous scansion. In the frequent case of discrepancy betweeen printed and sung lyrics, the latter are shown here. Songs with poetically unmetrical (prose?) lyrics were not considered, although these may have "accidental" pentameter from time to time.

Agnostic Front *Liberty and justice for. . . .* Combat 88561–8204-4. 11 songs (one cover, i.e., a song originally performed by another band). No pentameter.

Avail *Satiate.* Lookout 92. 14 songs. No pentameter.

Bad Religion *Against the grain.* Epitaph E–86409–4. 17 songs. One song has a tagline, the end of the chorus in "Operation rescue": But Í just wónder whý they're hére at áll (with the variation: but Í just wónder whát compélls them áll). One song, "21st-century digital boy," has a substitution: Éverythíng I wánt I réally néed. This is not substitute for a 4-foot line but for a 6-foot line; it is set to the same music as: I dón't know hów to réad but I've gót a lót of tóys.

Cletus *Unsafe at any speed.* [demo tape distributed by the band]. 4 songs. The first line of "Beer," is a pentameter line, in a ballad-meter context: I hád a béer or twó or thrée or fóur / and Í don't knów how mány tímes / I féll flat ón the flóor. This is not a substitution: all the textual feet are set equally for a humorous effect.

Die 116 *Dyna-cool.* Wreck-Age WAR020–4. 13 songs. 2 pentameter lines in the text of "Vacio" are an artifact of inconsistent lineation; in the first lines of the first verse, the lineation does not correspond with either the music or the lineation of the second verse. In the second verse, the poetic and music lineation do correspond. The 3rd line of the first verse, and the corresponding 4th line of the second verse, on the other hand, are genuine pentameters; the use of the same meter to link the lines reinforces the semantic linkage (both represent people speaking). These lines are set with the last stress on the first strong beat of the succeeding musical phrase (using vertical lines to indicate ends of musical phrases):

> [1]
> Shé turned óff todáy,| púlled off the éxit
> Gót out and wálked a|wáy, I remémber her sáying,
> "The wórst can léave you wórse than yóu ex|péct"
> [. . .]
> [2]
> The líghts had lóng gone óut
> Lóng befóre you thréw the swítch down
> Í remémber hów you sáid.

"It's a cóld ugly wórld and it álways húrts my | éyes."

Helmet *Strap it on.* Amphetamine Reptile ARR 89202–4. songs. No pentameter. The main musical interest in much of Helmet's music is the irregular phrasing (the verses are isochronous, though—this is, after all, popular music), the high volume level precluding much else. Even so, there is no pentameter.

The Horse Flies *Gravity dance.* MCA MCAC 10178. 12 songs. Lineation unclear, but each verse of "Roadkill" appears to end with a tagline, e.g.: Ít's too láte to hít the brákes / Looks líke we're gónna éat some stéak, it's róadkill.[1]

Th'Inbred *A family affair.* Bonzen BONZ 003. 18 songs. 1 song, "Middle-class refugees," contains substitutions, 1 of 8 verse lines (tó yoursélf anóther córpse for híre) and 2 of 4 refrain lines (Ít's becáuse you dó their sóng and dánce / You sáy you knów it's a gáme but yóu still pláy). Two songs with taglines: "The shitpile," final line of the first verse (1 of 8 verse lines: Whát the fúck has háppened tó your bráin?), and "The positive song," final line of the first metrical verse, following an unmetrical introduction (Whý don't you gó and búild a tréehouse tóo?)

Nausea *Extinction.* Profane Existence EXIST 2. 12 songs. In "Johnny got his gun," one substitution for a four-stress line: They wár on déath for líves, not for mén, but for flágs. This is an adaptation from Wilfred Owen's *The next war*; the original reads: "We laughed,—knowing that better men would come, / And greater wars: when every fighter brags / He fights on Death, for lives; not men, for flags." In the adaptation, the original accentual-syllabic verse became accentual: the syllable count was not strictly regulated.

Norman Bates and the Showerheads [Self-titled.] Desperate Records RA 217. In "Desperate," the musical lines have four stresses, but most of the textual lines have

[1]For the scansion of two-syllable compounds in line-final postiion, see Bjorklund 1978, 186–87.

more in order to create a "desperate" effect, and the majority of these are pentameter. They are substitutions, therefore, except that they are not outnumbered by four-stress lines. E.g.: Your número is úp now, and whát you gónna do? / It's yóur worst níghtmare, fínally cóming true.

Screeching Weasel *Boogada boogada boogada.* Roadkill RDK–001. 27 songs (2 covers, 1 partly contrafacted). In "Dingbat," 2 of 12 verse lines are onsets: Wákes me úp to ásk if Í'm asléep (2nd and 3rd feet compressed), I wísh she'd shút her móuth, give mé a bréak (1st and 2nd feet compressed). In "Love," the last line of each verse, 3 or 12 verse lines, are taglines: Í don't wánt to bé in lóve with yóu; the refrain consists of the same line three times, set as onsets (first two feet compressed).

Shades apart *Neon.* Skene! 027. 9 songs, 3 with onsets. The onsets are frequent enough that they might be called characteristic of the band. Each of the three verses of "Calling" begins with 2 pentameter lines. The final 3 lines of each verse, which contain a total of 7 feet, are performed in the same time as the pentameter lines. In "Visitor," the verses scan 5–5–5–6; i.e., the first three lines are type 3. In "Good luck charm," the first two or three lines of each verse scan with five feet; e.g.: Wátching áll the cólors drífting bý / Lóok foréver dówn that móuntainsíde.

B Seventeenth-century Swedish poetic theory

For summaries of the grammatical differences between seventeenth-century Swedish and the modern language, see Sylwan 1894 and Källquist 1934. For both orthography and grammar, see Stjernström and Noreen 1881. No notice is given of the forms, such as the plural endings in *-e* instead of *-a*, which later did not become part of the standard language; these vary amoung the various MSS of Columbus's work (Boström 1963, XXIV–XXX). No notice is given of obvious misprints, such as ſammam for ſamman, afl for aff, or liufllligen for liufligen, nor are they corrected in the texts below.

Palmcron (1642) discusses his principles in the unpaginated forward:

[S]ättia Orden i ſitt tilbörlighe ſtälle, ſå at hwar och een Stafwelſe vthi Scansion ſin rätta Accent bekõmer, ey vphöijas then ſom lägre pronuncieras bör, eller twärt emot. Äre härurianan ſå wäl ſom i thet andre Wärcket några fauter begånge, ſå tenckat ingen ännu på wårt Tungomål för migh ther om hafwer giort några præcepta ey heller hafwer wedt någhon tenterat på ſådant ſätt at ſkrifwa: Vthan iagh hafwer achtet ſådant maneer, ſom Tydſkar, Holländer, Engeländer, etc. i ſinn Werker observerat hafwa, at icke någhon Stafwelſe ſkal wara öfwer eller fehlas, hwar och en måtte hafwa then rätta Accenter, ſåſom hon i daghlighe brwket gemenligaſt vthförd och pronuncierad warder. Eliſiones hafwer iagh ey för många giordt, ſom iagh ſeer hoos Tydſka Nation ſom offtaſt ſkee. Aff thenna Anledningen kan man ſee, at wårt ſpråk ther til ſå wäl kan böyas ſom något annat.

Några höge poëtiſke Inventioner hafwer iagh ey welat införa, på thet at the Enfaldige ey ſkulle förrirade blifwa, vthan brwkat Enfaldigheet, at enfaldiſt Folk (för hwars ſkull thetta ock förnemligaſt ſkrifwit är) ock thet ena medh thet andra motte kunna begrija. . . .

[S]et the words in their appropriate places so that every syllable receives its correct accent from the scansion; do not raise that which should be pronounced lower or vice versa. It is true that in my second work I committed some errors since, as far as I know, no one had thought of the precepts which had to be made for our tongue, nor had [anyone] the good sense to set down an investigation of such manner of writing. However, I have paid attention to the manners the Germans, Dutch, English, etc.,[1] have observed in their works, that no syllable is added or is lacking and where each one must have its correct accent, as it is generally pronounced in everyday speech. I have not made too many ellisions, as I see in the works of the German nation where they appear most often. For this reason, one can see that our language can be crafted as well as any other.

I have not wanted to introduce certain high poetic inventions, so that the simple people would not be betrayed; however I have used simplicity for the simple folk (for whose sake as well as the aristocracy's this is written), and [both] the one and the other must be able to understand it. . . .

[1] All of these are speakers of Germanic languages, fairly closely related to Swedish.

From Arvidi 1651. The translation attempts to reproduce the tone of Arvidi's prose.

Then IV. Capitel.

Om the Swenſke Ordſens Mått eller Quantiteet.

The Swenſke Ordſens Mått läre wij rätt känna och förſtå/allenaſt vthaff theras Thon medh hwilken the vthföras och vthtalas. Och äre här om theſſe föliande Regler at ackta.

1. Regula Generalis. Alle the Stafwelſer ſom långſamligen / och medh en hwaß eller högh Thon vthſäyas/the äre långe/och twert om igen/alle the Stafwelſer ſom kårteligare och medh en ſänckt Thon vthföras/the äre kårte. Såſom til Exempel

Fāděr/Mōděr/Sўſtĕr/Brōděr /Ăflīſwă/Fŏrdrīſſwă/Fŏrgīfftă/ Bĕsēe ꝛc.[6]

2. Alle Monoſyllaba, eller the Ord/ſom icke fatta vthi ſig meer än een Stafwelſe/kunna ſättias både långe och kårte. Doch när man många aff them åradh ſättia måſte/ſtällas the långe/ſom något wichtigt vthtryckia och klart betyda/ſåſom när iagh ſäger

Nŭ hān ăr ōthăn Sўnd/
Som aldrigh ſyndat har.[7]

3. Medh Diſſyllabis, eller the Ord ſom fatta vthi ſigh twenne Stafwelſer/är mäſtedeeles ſå beſkaffat/at then förre Stafwelſen är lång/och then andre kårt/

Jckĕ/Krāgă/Lākăn/Bōndĕ/ Tāſkă/Mākăn.[8]

The 4th Chapter[2]

On the measure or quantity of Swedish words.

We can recognize and understand the measure of Swedish words solely by the tone[3] with which they are expressed and pronounced. And here are these following rules to heed:

1. General rule. All the syllables which are lengthened and spoken with a sharp[4] or high[5] tone, they are long, and on the other hand, all the syllables which are shortened and produced with a lowered tone, they are short. As for example:

2. All monosyllables, or those words which are not composed of more than one syllable, can be set both long and short. But when there are many of them which have to be placed in a row, set them long if they express something important and have a clear meaning, as when I say:

3. With disyllables, or those words which are composed of two syllables, the majority are so constructed that the former syllable is long and the second short:

[2] pp. 28–32.

[3] Thon, which was Opitz's term also, can refer to either stress or pitch. In Swedish, as in most European languages—some varieties of Norwegian are exceptions—stressed syllables are generally higher pitched than unstressed ones.

[4] a classicizing term; cf. *acutus* 'sharp'.

[5] Högh can refer to either volume or pitch.

[6] 'father', 'mother', 'sister', 'brother', 'destroy', 'expel', 'poison', 'have a look at', etc.

[7] 'Now he is without sin/who has never sinned'.

[8] 'not', 'crow', 'sheet', 'farmer', 'bag', 'the wife'.

Doch tagas här vndan alle the Ord/ſom äre kompne tilſam̃an aff twenne Monoſyllabis, hwilke hafwa ſamma arten ſom Monoſyllaba, aff hwilka the fättias tilſamman/ſå at the kunne antingen fättias länge eller kårte til bägges Stafwelſerne/ eller och til een thera vphöyas/och til then andre ſånckias/ſåſom til Exempel

However there is the special case here of all of those words which are composed of a pair of monosyllables, which have the same character as the monosyllables of which they are composed so that they can be set either long or short on both syllables, or one can be raised and the other lowered, as for example:

Hwsgudh/Bergtrall/ Snörſleef/ Träfat/
Skinnbrook/Öltook/ Hälmhatt/ Bleckträtt /ꝛc.[9]

4. The Ord ſom hafwa ſitt Vrſprung aff thet Grekiſka Språket/ Item the ſom äre ſammankomne aff theſſe föreſtafwelſe/Be/för/ge/ i/in/Sam/til/O/wan/vnd etc. göra then förſta Stafwelſen kårt. Såſom til Exempel

4. Those words which have their origin in the Greek language, and those which are composed with these first syllables: *be-, för-, ge-, i-, in-, sam-, til-, o-, van-, und-,* etc., make the first syllable short. As for example:

Prophēt/Pōēt/Zächrīs/ Jōhān/Bēlägd/fōrgās/fōrrättă/ fōrwīſſnă/ gēſtālt/ gēwālt/ītändă/ĭnkōmmă/ĭnsōmpnă/Sämdrächtigh/Sämhälligh/tilkōmmă/ tildrägă/ōpäfligh/ōtwūngĕn/ wänmäcktig/wänärtigh/vndſlippă/ etc.[10]

Hijt lända och the Ord/

Here also belong these words:

Nătūr/Figūr.

5. The Ord ſom fatta vthi ſigh tweñe Stafwelſer om the förmedelſt Apoſtrophum blifwa Monoſyllaba, eller icke meer är en Stafwelſe behålla/ſå föllia the Monoſyllabarum Art effter / hwilken vthi föregående andre Regel omtalades/ſå at the kunna ſättias både korta och långa/ſåſom til Exempel:

5. Those words which are composed of two syllables, if they have been subjected to apostrophe, become monosyllables, that is not more than one syllable remains, so they follow the class of monosyllables which has been discussed in the preceding second rule, so that they can be set both short and long, as for example:

[9] 'household god', 'mountain troll', 'snotty kid', 'wooden container', 'fur brocade', 'beer besotted', 'helmet' (lit. 'helmet hat'), 'tin funnel', etc.

[10] 'prophet', poet', personal name, personal name, 'placed', 'perish', 'conduct', 'banish', 'figure', 'woe', 'ignite', 'hand in', 'fall asleep', 'harmoniously', 'social', 'happen, be added', 'occur', 'indisposed', 'unrestrained', 'impotent', 'depraved', 'escape,' etc. Many of these words are now accented on the first syllable: *Jóhann, ínsomna, sámhällig, vánartig,* etc. See Sternström and Noreen 1881, XXI–XXII.

Mīnĕ Mĭn'/Tīnĕ Tĭn'/Sīnĕ Sĭn'/
thēnnĕ thy̆n'/ărē y̆r'/ wīllĕ wy̆l'/&c.[11]

6. Aff the Ord ſom fatta vthi ſig flere Stafwelſer änn twenne/ hafwa een deel then Arten/at the hwar annan ſtafwelſe göra långh/ och hwar annan kårt/ſåſom til Exempel.

Of the words which are composed of more syllables than two, one group is of the type that every other syllable is long and every other short, as for example:

Ŏpāſlĭgh/Bĕſwārlĭgh/Hălsſtārrĭgh/
främträdă/fŏrāhră/ŏōfwĕrwīnnĕlīgſtĕ/&c.[12]

En deel hafwa then Arten at the korta the effterſte twenne Stafwelſerne/men the föregående göra the hwar annan kårt eller hwar annan långh/om the elieſt hafwa flere Stafwelſer änn tree: men hafwa the icke flere än tree/tå är then förſta långh. Såſom:

One group is of the type that they shorten the last two syllables, but the earlier [syllables] have every other one short or every other one long, if they generally have more syllables than three; but if they do not have more than three, then the first is long. As:

Wānckĕlmōdĭgĕ/bĕdrägĭlĭgĕ/ŏlōflĭgĕ/Gȳllĕnĕ/Lūſĭgĕ/ glādĕlĭgh/
ȳnkĕlĭgh/hāſtĭgă/mēchtĭgă/ēenſlĭgă/glīmmăndĕ/&c.[13]

Men then tridie Parten är ſå beſkaffad/at han gör twenne the främſte Stafwelſerne kårte/och ſå ſedan föllier han the andre flereſtafwelige ordſens Art effter/ſåſom:

But the third kind is so constituted that it makes the first two syllables short and then follows according to the class of the other polysyllables, as:

Ŏfŏrtrūtnĕ/ŏfŏrmärckt/ Ŏgŭdāchtĭgh/ŏbĕflăckĭăd/
ŏrĕgērlĭgh/ŏfŏrgängĕlĭgh/bĕlĕdsägădĕ/ Rĕgĕmēntĕ.[14]

[11]'my', 'your', 'her/his', 'this', 'is', 'want', etc. The scansion on ăre is printed backwards. The difference between ˘, in the first row, and ¯, in the second, is not clear.

[12]'indisposed', 'difficult', 'stiff-necked', 'appear', 'give a present', 'unconquered', etc.

[13]'fickle', 'fraudulent', 'impermissible', 'golden', 'lively', 'happily', 'pitiful', 'quick', 'powerful', 'solitary', 'glimmering', etc.

[14]'indefatigable', 'unnoticed', 'impious', 'unsullied', 'unrestrained', 'uncorruptible', 'accompanied', 'regiment'.

Doch achtar man här icke ogärna/beſynnerligen för the Jambiſke och Trochaiſke ſlags Verſer ſkul/at theſſe efterſte twenne Parter aff Polyſyllabis och Triſyllabis kunna och måga lämpas efter then förſte Parten/ſå at hwar annan Stafwelſe ſätties lång/och hwar annan kårt/ſåſom ſådant och Tyſkarna taga i acht. Men aldrarättaſte föras ſådana Ord vthi the Dactyliſke och Antidactyliſke Vers in/ther the kunna hålla och hafwa theras rätta Mått eller quantiteet, hwilken aff theras Thon flyter och häriöhres.[15] Och thetta ware ſå nogh talat om the Swenſke Ordſens Mått.

But observe here that it is not undersirable, for the sake of the iambic and trochaic types of verse, that these last two types of polysyllables and trisyllables can and may be adapted to the first type, so that every other syllable is set long and every other short, as the Germans do. But it is most correct to introduce such words into dactylic and antidactylic verse where they can preserve and have their right measure or quantity, which flows from their tone and sound. And this is enough said on the measure of Swedish words.

Thet VI. Capitel.

Om the Swenſke Ordzens artiga Sammanfogelſe/ eller Syntaxi.

Thenne Läran/om the Swenſke Ordzens Sammanfogelſe/ſynes icke för Nödhen wara wijda til at vthföra/althenſtund hwar och een Swenſk måſte ſielff weeta och förſtå/huru han Orden til hwar andra rätt foga ſkal/på thet han ſine Sinnes Tankar tydeligen kan vthtryckia/och för then ſkul aff andre höras och begripas: Doch lijkwäl efter ſåſom något ſynnerligit faller här in til ackta/hwilket the Swenſke Poeterne angåår/wil man kårteligen thenna Läran fatta/och ſluta vthi föllianде Reglor.

The 6th Chapter[16]

On the proper ordering of Swedish words, or syntax.

This explanation of the ordering of Swedish words does not seem to be too necessary, [or] further to realize, for every Swede must himself know and understand how he correctly joins words to one another, in that he can clearly express his heart's thoughts, and on this account is heard and understood by others; but similarly as certain mistakes concerning the Swedish poets have been observed, the explanation should be quickly grasped and concluded from the following rules.

1. När någor wil ſammanfoga the Swenſke Orden/vthi ſine Dickter/ bör han tilſee/at ſamme Ord eller Stafwelſe icke för offta införes vthi någon Verß/ſåſom här:

1. When one wishes to put together Swedish words in one's poems, one should see to it that the same word or syllable does not too often begin a verse, as here:

[15] Corrected on the printed errata sheet from härhöres.

[16] pp. 115 (incorrectly numbered 113)–119.

The tigh ther the tingen säija/
The tigh thetta liuga för ꝛc.[17]

2. Måste och ingen Werß som theß förvtan sådant tilstädier/ bestå afl blåtta Monosyllabis ty sådana verser lyda icke synnerligen wäl. Såsom til Exempel:

2. Also no verse should consist entirely of bare monosyllables, for such verses do not read particularly well. As for example:

För Ångst/Nödh/Klagh/Haat/Hådn/Krisgh/ Spått/
Storm/Frucht sampt och stoor Flist/
Lust/Rädh/Tröst/Gunst/Loff/Winst fåds brått/
Prisß/Roo/Modh/Lösn/thet list.[18]

3. Then Vocalis eller stelfliudande Bookstafwen som efterst i Ordet står/skal vthslutas/när thet nästfölliande Ordet och så begynnas aff een Vocali. Och när så skeer/måste man vthi then vthslutne Vocals ställe thetta Apostrophi Kännetekn (') sättia. Såsom til Exempel:

3. The vowel, or letter which can stand by itself, that comes last in the word should be left out when the following word also begins with a vowel. And when it is so deleted, one must put this apostrophe sign (') in place of the omitted vowel. As for example:

O HErre Christ/lät migh tin Pisn' och Dödh
Betänkia rätt/i thenn' älend och nödh[19]

Doch bör man weeta/at inge Monosyllaba/eller och the Ord som aff them komne äre/stympas medh någhon Apostropho/ såsom thesse:

But one should know that no monosyllables, or also those words which come from them, can be reduced with an apostrophe, as these:

Lee/spee/see/skee/the/besee/Boo/troo /betroo/ståå/gåå/bisståå/ꝛc.[20]

[17] 'There they say those things to thee,/They to thee about that lie', etc.

[18] 'For anguish, need, lamenting, hate, derision, war, scorn/Storm, fear, all with great energy,/Delight, rescue, solace, favor, praise, gain are gotten quickly,/Praise, quiet, courage, reward can be depended on'.

[19] 'O Lord Christ, may thy suff'ring and decease/Let me judge true my present want and need'.

[20] 'smile', ridicule', 'see', 'occur', 'they', 'have a look at', 'nest, possessions', 'believe', 'entrust', 'stand', 'move under one's own power', 'assist', etc.

Vthan Synalœphe eller Apoſtrophus gäller allenaſt vthi fleresſtafwelige Stamm-Ord/och ſlutas mäſt förmedelſt Apoſtropho vth theſſe twenne Vocalis a och e: Men om the andre är vthi Swenſke Poeterijt ingen noga Räkning: Och må man wäl vndertijden medh Vocalium a och e vthſlutning hafwa fördragh/ehuruwäl the föliande Orden begynnas aff Vocalibus doch måſte man achta at thet icke föroffra ſkeer: vthan heller bör man ſå laga/ at Orden ſamanfogas i then Ordning/at then efterſte Vocalis vti något Ord/icke lijder ſådant meen aff then föliande främſte Vocali vthi thet andra Ordet. Så bör icke heller Apoſtrophus alt för offta brukas vthi någon Verß/ medh mindre någon tacknemligh eller och wederſtyggeligh och hård Saak bör förmälas vthi Heroiſke Dickter: Nec Vocalis à conſonante excepta elidi debet, quemadmodum id concedit Rhythmologia priſca.

However synalepha or apostrophe is allowed only in polysyllabic root words, and apostrophe most often eliminates these two vowels: **a** and **e**; but of the others, in Swedish poetry they do not occur frequently enough;[21] and one must [note] well at the same time that when the vowels **a** and **e** are rendered by being left out, although the following words begin with vowels, still one must take care that it does [*sic*] not appear to be sacrificed; neither should one arrange the words so that they follow such an order that the final vowel in a word does not suffer similar damage from the following first vowel in the second word. Neither should apostrophe be used too frequently in a verse, but less [as] both the praiseworthy and execrable and harsh things ought to be married in heroic poems: *Neither must the vowel be elided by a following consonant, in which manner it formerly yielded to the rhythmic system.*[22]

4. När man tänker artigt til at ſammanfoga the Swenſke Orden bör man wachta ſigh för en olijdeligh Syn[c]ope, ſå at man icke vthſluter the Bookſtäfwer ifrån Orden/hwilka icke kunna miſtas/ medh mindre Orden ther igenom bekomma een olämpeligh och ſwår Pronunciation, i thet at många Consonantes ſättias tilſamman/hwilka icke vthi een Stafwelſe ſtå kunna eller tiena/ ſåſom:

4. When one intends to set Swedish words properly, one must be alert for an intolerable syncope, so that one does not leave out letters from words which they cannot be removed from, the smaller words thereby receiving an inconvenient and difficult pronunciation in that many consonants are set together which cannot stand or serve together in one syllable, as:

Ellr för eller/efftr för effter/kommr för kommer/etc.[23]

Vthan/när Nöden fordrar at någon Syncope måſte brukas / ſkal mã vthſluta the Bokſtäfwer/hwilka/vtan berörde Skada/ kunne från Orden miſtas. Sådan lijdeligh Syncope finnes vthi the Orden:

However if necessity demands that syncope must be used, one should leave out those letters which without the aforementioned harm can be taken out of the words. Such sufferable syncope is found in these words:

[21] As Arvidi notes, the vast majority of final vowels in Swedish are either *a* or *e*.

[22] The contrast between high and low is a major theme of Arvidi's description of heroic poetry (10–12), buttressed by many classical quotations including the first lines of the *Iliad* in Latin, but its relevance to the current discussion is not self-evident.

[23] 'or', 'after', 'comes', etc.

Chriſtliga för Chriſteliga/dagliga för dageliga.[24]

Jtem/vthi theſſa Orden/hwilke then gemeene Man affkortade eller ſammandragne öfwa plägar:

Note, however, these words which are generally shortened or whose contracted form is usually used:

Har för hafwer/taar för tager /bär för bärer/drar för drager ꝛc.[25]

5. Widh Ordzens Sammanfogelſe kan man och bruka Ellipſi, och vthelykia the Ord/ſom Meeningen oförkränkt/ifrån henne miſtas kunna/the ther och vnder the andre Orden wäl kunna förſtåås/ſåſom til Exemple:

5. With word order, one can also use ellipsis, and leave out those words which are inessential, from whose removal those and the other words can be easily understood, as for example:

Wäl mächtige the äre/
Migh hata vthan Skäl:
För/Som migh haata vthan Skäl:
Jagh må then Löhn heembäre/
Jagh ey förtiente wäl.
För Swilken iagh ey förtiente wäl.[26]

6. Kan man och bruka Antithesi vndertijden/och ſättia then eene Bookſtafwen i ſtället för then andre: ſåſom til Exempel/kan man ſättia **Font** för **Funt**/efterſåſom thet Ordet **Font** kan dragas aff thet Latiniſke Ordet Fonte. Så kan man och ſättia **Kunſt** för **Konſt**/**omſunſt** för **omſonſt**/**bekant** för **bekänt**/**Fugel** för **Fogel** ꝛc.

6. At the same time, one can also use antithesis and set one letter in place of another; as for example one can set **font** for **funt**, as this word **Font** can derive from the Latin word *fonte*.[27] Thus one can also set **kunst** for **konst**, **omsunst** for **omsonst**, **bekant** for **bekänt**, **fugel** for **fogel**, etc.[28]

7. Må man och ſtundom bruka Metathesi, ſåſom/**Chriſten** för **Chriſtne** ꝛc. Itẽ Apocope **Kärligh** för **kärligen**/**Daga** för **Dagar**/**föhr** för **föhrer**/**Rör** för **Rörer** ꝛc.

7. Sometimes one can also use metathesis, as **Christen** for **Christne**.[29] Also apocope: **Kärligh** for **kärligen**, **daga** for **dagar**, **föhr** for **föhrer**, **rör** for **rörer**, etc.[30]

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[24] 'Christly', daily'.

[25] 'has', 'takes', 'carries', 'pulls'. The syncopated forms have since become standard.

[26] 'Though they are powerful/hate me without cause,/*for* who hate me without cause/I might win that reward/I have not much deserved/*for* which I have not much deserved'.

[27] 'fountain' (nominative *fons*), now replaced by the French loan *fontän.*

[28] 'art', 'for nothing', 'known', 'bird'. Presumably the variant forms are licensed by various geographical forms or German, but the variations can be wide. The 'k' in bekänt resembles the German ich-laut, while in bekant, it is [k]. Arvidi is correct in stating that the classical concept of *antithesis* can be interpreted loosely as "setting one thing in place of another," but there is nothing classicizing in his application of the principle to orthography.

[29] 'Christian', respectively singular and definite/plural. The definite/plural derives from Chriſtene by apocope, not from a transposition ("metathesis") of the last two letters in Chriſten.

[30] '(the) love', 'days', 'carriers', 'mess(es)'. Today, *daga* is definitely dialectical.

8. Är icke heller så olijdeligt/at man bruker Epentheſi, och ſättier antingen een Bookſtaf eller och een Stafwelſe in/mitt vthi Ordet/ſåſom **alderigh** för **aldrigh** ꝛc.

Och thetta är thet ſärdeles och i ſynnerheet hwariom och eenom til at ackta och märkia föreſtälles/ſom the Swenſke Orden i Verſerne artigt wil tilſammam foga.

8. Nor is it too insufferable to use epenthesis and set an additional letter or syllable in the middle of a word, as **alderigh** for **aldrigh**,[31] etc.

And this is what is special and particular which one should heed and note to be obeserved if one wishes to set Swedish words properly together in verses.

Thet XIII. Capitel.

Om åtſkillige Swenſke Verſers bländning/och om Pindariſke Oder.

Här til är förhandlat vthi thenna andre och Swenſke Poeterijs deel/ſom anſeer Orden/om Ordſens ſkönheet/Stafwelſernes mått/ ſå och huru Orden/til Rijmſlutande ſkole lämpas/artigt ſammanfogas / ſampt Tropicè & Figuratè ſättias. Item är ochſå talat/om the åtſkillige ſlags Verß/ſom the Swenſke Orden förnämligaſt ſynas äſka och fordra: Nu föllier vthi thetta Capitel kårteligen/och till ett Beſluth på thenne andre Deelen aff the Swenſke Poeterij/at röra **Förſt/om åtſkillige Swenſke Verſers Bländning/och ſå ſedan om Pindariſke Oder.**

Thet förre/när man grundeligare wil vthranſaka/ſkal man fyra förnemblige Stycker i ackt taga/ſåſom

I. Sieſlwe Bländningen/huru hon bör fortſtällas. 2. The Nampn hwilka the Swenſke Verſer vthaff ſådana Bländningar bekomma. 3. Then wändning/hwilken eſomofftaſt giörs/när åtſkillige Verſer tilſamman blandas/och 4. Huru the åtſkillige blandade verſer märckias och tecknas när the ſkrifwas eller tryckias.

The 13th Chapter.[32]

On the combination of various Swedish verses and on Pindaric odes.

Thus far, with regard to words, this second part of *Swedish Poetry* has dealt with the beauty of words, the measure of syllables, also how words are suitable for ending in rhyme, proper word order, and being set with tropes and figures. Also discussed are the various types of verse which Swedish words principally seem to demand and require. Now this chapter briefly proceeds, also as a conclusion to this second part of *Swedish Poetry,* to investigate **First, the combination of various Swedish verses, and then Pindaric odes.**

[Of] the former, when one wishes to describe more throroughly, one should bear in mind four principle things, thus:

1. The integral combination, how it should be set. 2. The names which Swedish verses receive in such combinations. 3. The adjustments which are often made when various verses are combined together, and 4. How the various combined verses are marked and indicated when they are written or printed.

[31] 'never'.

[32] begins on p. 190.

Förſt/hwad ſielfwa Bländningen widkommer/ſå angår hon antingen medh åtſkillige ſlags Verſer/vnder en Verßart begrepne: eller och medh åtſkillige ſlags Verſer/ſom lyda och höra til åtſkillige Verßarter. Then förre bländningen är eendeles vthi föregående ottonde/nijonde/tijonde/elloffte och tolffte Capitlen förklarad/och bör man här föra ſigh till ſinnes then Regel / hwilken vthi thet XI. Capitel/in vnder thet ſiette ſlaget aff the Reene Antidactyliſke Verß/på then 178. Sijdan/ widh thetta Teknet NB omrördes/och ther hoos ackta/hwilke ſlags Verſer/vnder en Verßart wäl lyda tilſamman/icke vthſlutandes then Bländning aff Verſer/ſom hoos andre Nationer bruklig och gängze wara kan. Men hwad then andre Bländning anlangar/ſom angår medh åtſkillige ſlags Verſer/hwilke höra inunder åtſkillige Verßarter/ ſå är thetta beſynnerligen till märkiandes/at the Jambiſke och Trochaiſke ſlags Verſer aldrabequämligaſt ſkicka ſigh til at blandas med hwar andra tilhoopa: ſåſom elieſt the Dact. och Antidact. Reene Verß mekta wäl och liufligen klinga tilſamman. Doch för all ting/när man någon Ode wil tilſamman ſättia/och ſåledes Dickten til Muſijk lämpa/måſte man granneligen taga i acht/om Melodien/vnder hwilken man ſin Dickt täncker til at ſtälla/fordrar theñe eller then andre Verßarten/eller och aff bägge artern. Ty om man elliеſt ſigh något företager vthi Saken/och Promiſcuè går til wärka/ förgriper man ſigh ſwårlight. Til Exempel: They Gyllene ABC hafwer en Melodie ſom hwariom och enom är kunnigh/hwilken och aldrabequämligaſt lijder Dimetros Catalecticos Jambicos, medh hwilka then förſte Verſen är ſålunda någorledes ſtälter:

First, as far as the integral combination is concerned, this refers to either various types of verse contained within one species of verse or various types of verse which follow and belong to various species of verse.[33] The former combination is partly explained in the above eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters, and one ought to bear in mind that rule with which the eleventh chapter, in the seventh item on pure antidactylic verse on the 178th page at this sign 'NB' was concerned, and there note which types of verse read well together in one species without the combination of verses becoming incoherent, as can be normally and currently found in the verses of other nations. But regarding the second combination which concerns various types of verses, and which can be arranged in various verse species, it is especially noteworthy that the iambic and trochaic types of verse act most conveniently to combine together with each other; as also the dactylic and anti-dactylic make a fine and lovely sound together. However, when one wishes to put an ode together and subsequently fit this poem to music, one must keep the melody to which one intends to set one's poem discretely in mind; this will require either the second species of verse or both of the species. For if one undertakes the thing otherwise and goes about one's work undiscriminatingly, one offends gravely. For example: *The Golden ABC* has a melody which is capable in each and every respect, and for which dimeter iambic catalectic[34] lies most suitably, the first verse of which can partly be set out thus:

[33]The "species" arter are iambic, trochaic, dactylic, and anti-dactylic (= anapest). The "types" ſlag refer to the number of feet and the various types of catalexis.

[34]xXxXxXx. Arvidi meant "acatalectic" xXxXxXxX.

Ällēen til Gūdh sätt tītt Hŏpp fāſt/
Ty Menſkiors Hielp gåår hän medh haſt:
Gudh är alleen trofaſt[35] och huld/
Medh Otrooheet är Werlden full.[36]

Thenne Verſen ſiunges wäl medh bemälte Melodie/men then 18. Verſen/effter han the effterſte twenne Rader eller Verß förbyter vthi een annan art aff Verſen/nembligen/vthi Trochaiſke Dimetros Catalecticos, på thetta ſättet

This verse is sung successfully to the aforementioned melody, but the 18th verse, as it transforms the last two lines or verse into another species of verse, namely into trochaic dimeter catalectic,[37] in this manner:

Mēn hält tīgh ĭn tīl thĕ Frōmmä
Så kan tu til Heeder komma.[38]

händer thetta/at han icke ſå wäl ſiunges medh ſamma Melodie ſom then förſta. Och thetta är om ſielfwa Bländningen.

Sedan/hwad anlangar the Rampn/hwilka the Swenſke verſer vthaff åtſkillige ſlags eller arters bländning bekom̃a/ſå förſtås the lätteligen när man förſt förklarar hwad Rampn the Verß eller Rijm hafwa/ſom vthi någon ſkrift/continueras aff ſam̃a ſlag alt in til ändan/hwarföre må mā här märkia at theſſe the nämnas och kallas Rhythmus monocolos, eller Carmen monocolon. Och huru wäl aff ſamma Rhythmo många Exempel finnas i föregående ottonde/nijonde/tijonde/elloffte och tolffte Capitel / wil iagh lijkwäl ett Exempel här bijfoga/vthi hwilket/aff then Jambiſke art framgeent continueras Dimeter Acatalecticus.

Next concerns the names which Swedish verses of a combination of various types or species receive, so they are understood more easily when one first explains what names the verse or rhyme have, which in some writing continues in the same manner quite until the end, wherefore one must here mark that these are named and called single-colon rhythm or single-colon song.[39] And as one finds many examples of this same rhythm in the above eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters, I present here in the same manner an example which is of the iambic species, continuing hence in dimeter acatalectic.[40]

[35] Now *trófast,* not *trofást.*

[36] 'On God alone fix your hope fast/For mankind's succor does not last;/'Tis only God who's true and good/With faithlessness the world is full'.

[37] XxXxXxX. Arvidi meant "acatelectic" XxXxXxXx.

[38] 'Hold fast only with the pious/Thus canst thou come into honor'.

[39] A *colon* is double the classic metron, so four feet.

[40] xXxXxXxX

Jambicum Carmẽ monoc.

Ö HErrĕ Gūdh äff Himmĕlrīſk/
Giff oß nådh til at prijſſa tigh/
Och ſättia all wår Troo ther til/
At tu äſt både godh och mill.[41]

Thetta/när man ſålunda weet/är icke ſwårt at förſtå 1. At när twenne arter aff Verß eller och twenne ſlagh aff ſamma verßart blandas tilſamman/nämpnes tå Rhytmus dicolos.

This, if one knows the following, is not difficult to understand: 1. That when two species of verse or two types of the same verse species are combined together, this is named the dicolon rhythm.

Exempel aff ſådan *Rhythmo,* vthi hwilket twenne åtſkilige Verßarter tilſamman blandas.

Example of such rhythm in which two different species of verse are combined together.

⏑–⏑–⏑–:||: *Trochaicus Dimeter Catal.*
⏑–⏑–⏑–⏑–:||: *Jambicus Dimet. Acatl.*
–⏑–⏑–⏑–:||: *Trochaicus Dimeter Calatect.*

Siungom wij aff Hiertans grund/
Lofwom Gudh i alla ſtund/
Then oß ſin Nåde har bewijſt/
Medh Maat och Dryck ſå wäl beſpijſt/
Diur och Foglar har han närt/
Nådeligen oß beſkärt/
Thet wij hafwe nu förtärt.[42]

Exempel aff ſådan *Rhythmo,* vthi hwilket twenne åtſkillige ſlagh aff een Verßart tillſamman blandas.

Example of such rhythm in which two various types are combined together in one verse species.

⏑–⏑–⏑–⏑– *Jambicus Dimeter Acatal.*
⏑–⏑–⏑–⏑ *Jambicus Dimeter Catalect.*

Jambicum dicolon.

Then Fattiga förtrycken j/
Then j dock ſkolen hielpa/
Hans goda Saak förwänden j/
Hans Rätt i låten ſtielpa.

[41] 'O, Lord God in your heav'nly sphere/Grant us grace that we reach you ear/Apply all our belief thereto/For thou art generous and good'.

[42] 'Let us sing a heartfelt rhyme/Praise we God at every time/For us his graciousness provides / Our meat and drink so well betides./He has nourished bird and beast,/Gracious to us them released,/And we had them for our feast'.

Then Faderlöſa ſammaledh/
Hans Godz j effter fahra/
Hans Rätt j och förtryckia nedh/
Then eder bör förſwara.[43]

2. När trenne åtſkillige ſlagh aff een eller flere Verß arter blandas tilhopa/kallas tå Rythmus tricolos.
Exempel aff trenne Verßarters bländning/ſom gör en *Rhythmum tricolon.*

2. When three various types of one or more verse species are combined together, this is called tricolon rhythm.
Example of a combination of three species of verse, which makes a tricolon rhythm.

⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – :||: *Jambicus Dimeter Acatalect.*
– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ :||: *Dactylicus Dimeter catal.* eller [or] *Adon.*
– ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – :||: *Trochaicus Dimeter Hyp.*

Wårs HErres JEſu CHriſti Friſdh
Förbliw' hoos oß til ewigh Tiſdh/
HERren och Nåde
Them/ſom i Wåde
Här befinnas tröngde vthaff Quiſd.[44]

[There follow ten pages illustrating various other combinations. Arvidi ends with a description and example of the Pindaric Ode, evidently the summit of his art.]

The Pindariſke Oder/hafwa ſijn begynnelſe/vthaff then widtherömde Poeten Pindaro, ſampt fördeelas hwar och een aff ſådana Oder vthi trenne Deelar eller Parter/aff hwilka then förſte kallas Strophe, then andre Antiſtrophe, och then tridie Epodus.

Pindaric odes were originated by the widely famous poet Pindar, and each and every Pindaric ode is divided into three sections or parts, of which the first is called the Strophe, the second the Antistrophe, and the third the Epode.

[43] 'The needy one ye do oppress/Withal ye should be aiding./His worthy deeds ye dispossess/His due ye are degrading./The fatherless one in like kind/Ye strive after his product./ His due ye also undermine/Although ye ought protect it'. According to the *Svensk Akademiens Ordbok, eder* was used as a nominative through the 1700s. On the pronoun *I* with a verb in the third-person plural, considered ungrammatical since the eighteenth century, see Wessén 1956–58, 1:214.

[44] 'The peace of Jesus Christ our Lord/Remain with us forever more./God and his favor/To those in danger/Here they find release from troubles sore'. Arvidi subsequently (pp. 105–6) notes that the third and fourth lines can be written as a single line.

Hwad anbelangar then förſte deelen/ſom kallas Strophe, then är frij uti ſådan måtto/at man til honom må taga hwad Art eller ſlag/och ſå många Vers eller Rijm ſom man wil/och ellies må man effter ſit goda tycke och behagh wränga och wrijda Verſerna vthi honom. Men hwad then andra Deelen angår/ſom nämpnes Antiſtrophe, ſå måſte han ſträngeligen wara förbunden til then förſte/ſå at inga andre Verſarter eller Slagh vthi honom införas/vthan the allenaſt/ſom vthi then förſte Deelen finnas. Så tilſtädies icke heller vthi thenne andra Deelen göra och ſtälla någon annan Ordnig Verſerne emellan/än then ſom vthi Strophe tilförenne giord är.

As far as the first part, which is called the Strophe, is concerned, this is free from any particular measure in that one may use whatever type or species in it, and as many lines or rhymes, as one wants, or one may turn and twist the verses according to one's own good thoughts and pleasure. But concerning the second part, named the Antistrophe, one must strictly regulate it like the first, so that no other verse types or kinds[45] are introduced into it, solely the ones which are found in the first part. Neither does it happen that in this second part that any order among the lines is made or set than that which was used in the strophe.

Thes förvthan måſte och icke några andre Verſer i Ordningen Rijma ſigh medh hwar andre vthi thenne Antiſtrophe, än the ſamme ſom ſigh rimma medh hwar andre vthi Strophe.

This notwithstanding, no other lines must rhyme with each other in this antistrophe except those that rhyme with each other in the strophe.

Epodos, eller then tridie Deelen/hafwer ſamma wilkor ſom then förſte/och må man bruka vthi honom the ſlags Verſer man hälſt wil. Jtem, må man och långia honom ſom behagellgit kan wara.

The Epode, or the third part, has the same stipulation as the first, and one may use in it those kinds of verse that one prefers. Also, one may make it as long as it pleasurably can be.

Exempel aff en **Pindariſk Ode**/ hwilken är vthaff migh ſtälter vppå en godh Wens Bröllops Högtijdh.

Example of a **Pindaric ode** which was set by me for a good friend's wedding celebration.

Strophe.

Brudgum hafwen j förr warit
Stadder vthi Ängſlan ſwår/
Fäller meera ingen tåår/
Ty j hafwen öfwer farit
Eder kymmerſura Swett/
Och ehr har then Åhran ſkett/
At j hafwa Bruden fånget/
Then j hafwen efftergånget.

[45] "Kind" ſlagh is not defined.

Tager henne kärligh an/
Andre låter alle fahra/
Ty hon skal allena wara
Then som ehr vpfriska kan.

Antistrophe.

Hon är wijs/förståndigh/frommer /
Dygden gifwer henne Roos/
Kärligh är hon sofwa hoos.
Intet argt aff henne kommer/
Hon är eder Sool så skär/
Eder hiertans nögds Komhär.
Hon kan eder thet tilföra/
Hwad j gärna see och göra/
Meenar ehr all hiertans Troo.
Wil och eder vndergifwe/
Alt hon har/i thetta Liffwe/
Hon är edre Studiers Roo.

Epodus.

Ty farer Brudgum fort/taar/meener henn' allena
Troheet och Kärleek/
Vthan Flärd och Sweek.
Ey kan hon ehr igen sin Kärleektroo förmeena.
Nu edert hierta står fast til then Chrona stöön/
Som för alla
Kan ehr falla
Til lags/hon blifwer wist/näst Gudh/ ehr bästa Löön.[46]

[46]'Bridegroom, so art comprehended / Vanish all your troubles sore / Not a tear falls any more / For thou hast by now transcended / All thy bitter sorrow's sweat / And for you the course is set / That thou hast a bride now got / One for whom thou long hast sought. / Love adopts her as Her own / Others leave your bonhomie / For she would secluded be / She refreshes you alone. // She is honest, wise, judicious / Charity her praise has said / Loving she will be in bed / Nought about her is malicious / She, your sun, is of pure light / Hither comes your heart's delight. / And to you she can supply / What you will or strikes your eye / She means all your heart's belief / And to you she would submit / All that life's to her remit / She is, from your work, relief. // Thus goes the bridegroom forth, and taking his new bride. / Love and constancy, / Of guile and show free / The trueness of your love, she never can deny. / Until the end of time, your hearts will be secured / As for all men / It will happen / Surely she'll become, save God, your best reward'. The accentuations in the second and third lines of the epode do not match.

Ändligh bör man här weeta/at när en Pindariſk Ode ſtälles medh flere Stropher, ſå måſte alle the följande ſkicka ſigh effter then förſta/ſå at the ſtällas äfwen ſom hon/med ſamme ſlags Verß och medh ſamma ordning på Verſerne/och vthi en Summa ſagt/the följande Stropher måſte laga ſigh effter then förſta vthi alt thet ſom förefaller. Så ſkal här och hwariom Swenſk Poet icke okunnigt wara at vthi Pindariſke Oder infaller ſtundom en Ellipſis, och ſtundom en Enallage.

Ellipſis händer när twenne Deelar alenaſt införas/ſåſom Strophe och Antiſtrophe, och Epodus ſlures vthe. Och ſådana Pindariſke Oder nämpnas ἔιδη προσῳδικὰ.[47]

Enallage[48] ſkeer antingen tå/när Epodus ſtälles ſtraχ effter Strophen och åter effter Antiſtrophen, hwilke Pindariſke Oder kallas ἐιδη μεσωδικὰ:[49] eller och när Epodus eller προῳδός[50] ſtälles i främſta rummet/och ſedan Strophe, och åter/när Epodus följer medh Antiſtrophe ſampt en annan Epodo widh ändan. Och ſådane Pindariſke Oder kallas παλινῳδικά.[51] Men the fulkomlige Pindariſke Oder/ſom beſtå aff ofwanbemälte trenne Deelar Strophe, Antiſtrophe och Epodo, och ingen χρύψιν[52] förnimma/the kallas έιδη ἐπῳδικὰ.

Finally, one ought to know here that when a Pindaric ode is set with many strophes, all the following ones must follow the first, so that they are also set as it with the same types of lines and the same ordering of the lines and, in sum, the following strophes must be arranged according to the first in everything that occurs. Also, each and every Swedish poet should not be ignorant of how a Pindaric Ode falls, sometimes with an ellipsis, sometimes with an enallage.

An ellipsis occurs when only two parts are introduced, such as strophe and antistrophe, and the epode is left out. And these kind of Pindaric odes are named the prosodic type.

Enallage occurs either when the epode is set immediately after the strophe and again after the antistrophe, which kind of Pindaric ode is called the mesodic type, or when the epode or "pro-ode" is set in the earliest place and then the strophe and again when the epode follows with the antistrophe and then another epode. And these kinds of Pindaric odes are called palinodic. But the most complete Pindaric odes, which consist of the aforementioned three parts strophe, antistrophe, and epode, and which are sensible of nothing hidden, they are called the epodic types.

[47]The Greek definitions in this and the next few footnotes are from Liddel and Scott 1996. Arvidi prints the diacritcs somewhat haphazardly. Classically, προσῳδιακός means 'singing, harmonious' or some metaphorical extension thereof. An εἶδη is 'type' or a 'species'.

[48]Lit. 'alternating'.

[49]Classically, refers to the "portion of choral ode, coming between the strophe and antistrophe, without anything to correspond to it."

[50]Classically, "prelude, ouverture."

[51]Lit. a "turning-back ode"; classically, "having the form a b b a."

[52]'Hidden'; not a classical grammatical or poetic term.

Och thetta är altså then kårte Handleedningen til then Swenſke Rijmkonſten/hwilken iagh/icke för them meer förſtåndigom/ſom thetta tilförenne wäl weta och förſtåå; vthan för them/ſom förſt begynna vthi then Swenſke Poëſiſtudera/hafwer ſam̃anſkrifwa weelat. Jag förmodhar wiſſerligen/at theſſe/thetta mitt wälmeente arbete/ſigh behaga låta/och ſkal them inthet ångra then Tijdh/och the Penningar/hwilka the vppå thenne Handleedningen anwända. Jagh förblijwer allom/ſärdeles och i ſynnerheet/them Swenſkälſkandom/efter ytterſte Förmågd til Tienſt förbunden.

And this is therefore the short guide to the art of Swedish rhyme which I have wanted to compile, not for those with more understanding, as they already know well and understand, but for those who are first beginning with the study of Swedish poetry. I truly believe that this, my well-meaning work, will give satisfaction to them, and those who use this guide will regret neither the time nor the expense. I remain to all, exceedingly and especially to the lovers of Swedish, to my utmost capacity, bound in your service.

While discussing apostrophe and elision in classical and Swedish verse, Samuel Columbus indicates that Swedish poetry is based on accent. Text from Boström 1963, 73.

Jag wil säija mäd ett ord at wij wäl ha mackt til at utlyckia en Vocal, som Greekerne, i wers, när wij sij at Versmåttet så fordrar, ok åter inte utlyckian, när Vers'n fordrar, at wij inte ut-lyckian. Wille nu någon wara så accurat ok så grannräknad, at han wille fly concursum vocalium, så ok Consonantium i Swenskan, så at i Hexametriske Verser aldrig huarken twå Lydingar råkades utan ut-lyckning ey heller twå Consonanter utan position eller stafwelsens lång görande, blefwe wärcket så myckit fullkomligare. Men täd synes för stoort arbete, ok dess fägring inte swarar moot Swårheten. Så actas icke heller sådant så noga i Stiernhielms Hercule.

I would like to say in a word that we certainly have the ability to delete a vowel, like the Greeks, in verse when we see that the verse meter so requires, and again not delete when the verse requires that we not delete. Now, if someone would be so precise and discriminating that he would avoid a conflux[53] of vowels and also of consonants in Swedish so that in hexameter verse there would never be two [vowel] sounds in a row without deletion nor two consonants without [making] position, his work would be so much more perfected. But this seems too great an effort and its results would not be commensurate with the difficulty. Such care is not taken in, for example, the following from Stiernhielm's *Hercules:*

där af han prijs, ku*nd*e winna mä*d Tij*den, ok ähra.[54]

Lättlöpandet bör wara Reglan i Swenske wersen, så ok Accenten. Underli hur Grekerne ok Latinerne ha läst sine werser. om de ha följdt Wersens accent eller oohlens. ty de gå från huar ann.

Ease of flow should be our rule in Swedish verse, and also the accent. It is curious how the Greeks and the Latins read their verse, whether they followed the accent of the verse or of the words, for they are deduced from each other.

[53] *Konkurs* now means 'bankruptcy', from the assembling or joining together of creditors (Hellquist 1980, 1:493).

[54] 'Thus the reward he could gain in good time and with honor'. *Hercules* was the most famous Swedish poem of the seventeenth century, by Columbus's beloved teacher, and the example was approbatory. Columbus's point is that it is impractical to construct Swedish hexameters which answer to classical rules of quantity. A classicizing scansion of the line—deleting the initial *h-* of *han,* as in Latin—would be something like $^{-}\breve{}^{-}|^{-}{}^{-}\breve{}|^{-}\breve{}^{-}|^{-}\breve{}\breve{}|^{-}\breve{}$. Since all accented syllables in Swedish are long, the first syllable of each foot scans correctly, but the rest are a bit of a mess. Of course, the classical quantity rules are partly based on orthography and they do not always generate correct patterns in Swedish. Note the continuing prestige of classical models, even as Columbus acknowledges their unsuitability for Swedish.

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Index

Abelard, Peter, 121
Abo of Fleury, 108, 121, 136, 137, 140
accent, *see* stress, poetic
Adam of St. Victor, 102
Alcuin of York, 104
Alexander de Villa Dei, 122
Apollinaire, Guillaume, 68
Arvidi Strengensis, Andreas, 203–205, 236–251

Bach, J. S., vii, 166
ballads, 40
Bardi, Giovanni de', 73
Baudelaire, Charles, 65
Beethoven, Ludwig van, 32, 43
Berlioz, Hector, 73, 74
Bernard de Morlais, 131, 132, 136, 139, 146
Binchois, Gilles, 183
Bizet, Georges, 72
Blake, William, 27
Boileau-Despréaux, Nicolas, 62, 69, 70
Bonnet, Pierre, 80
Bridges, Robert, 12, 16, 17, 21
Burns, Robert, 224
Buxtehude, Dietrich, vii, 208–222
  Att du, Jesu, 209, 213–217
  Fürchtet euch nicht, 209
  Herren vår Gud, 209, 210, 217–222
  Herzlich tut mich verlangen, 213
  Klinget für Freuden, 197, 214
  Lobe den Herrn, meine Seele, 209
  Membra Jesu nostri, 219
  Nun laßt uns Gott, dem Herren, 209, 210
  Schwinget euch Himmelan, 197
  Was mich auf dieser Welt betrübt, 214
Bürger, G. A., 32

caesura, 17, 35, 62–65, 78–83
Caldara, Antonio, 56
Calvin, John, 194
Cato of Utica, 169–171
Certon, Pierre, 194
Chanson de Roland, 61
Chopin, Frédéric , 90
Chrétien de Troyes, 139, 140, 144, 154
Claude Le Jeune, 194
clitics, 57, 73, 119–121, 132
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 17
Columbus, Samuel, 190, 200, 205, 235, 252
Conon de Béthune, 144
contrafacta and parodies, 24, 28, 42, 192, 209–213, 224–226, 234
counterpoint, poetic, 25, 29, 33, 49, 197
coupe, 64
cross-linguistic interference, 31, 37–38, 42, 67, 99, 106, 208, 221
Crüger, Johan, 206

Dante, 49, 53, 178
David Qimḥi, 141
Debussy, Claude, 73
Descartes, Réné, 208
Dickinson, Emily, 39
Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 89
Donatus, 108, 116, 121
Doni, Antonio Francesco, 73
Dowland, John, 197
Dryden, John, 19
du Fay, Guillaume, 83, 160–176
  Craindre vous vueil, 166
  Dona gentile, 173–176
  Dona i arendti ray, 166–168
  Invidia nimica, 168–171
  L'alta belleza tua, 163–164
  La dolce vista, 176

Quel fronte signorille, 164–166
Vergene bella, 172–173
Dunstable, John, 184, 185
Düben, Andreas, 201
Düben, Gustav, 197, 198, 201, 208–209, 211, 218
Débussy, Claude, 71, 72

Eberhard the German, 108
Edgar Allen Poe, 24
end stopping, 18, 49, 50
Engardus, Johannes, 195
Engelhardt, Henrich Christoffer, 213
enjambment, 17, 21, 32, 171

feet, poetic, 17–18, 25, 27
Forsius, Aron, 200
Foster, Stephen, 225
Franck, Johann Wolfgang, 34
Froissart, Jean, 65
"Frère Jacques", 54

García Lorca, Federico, 51
Garnier de Pont-Sainte-Maxence, 145
Gay, John, 224
Geoffrey of Vinsauf, 108, 123–125
Gervase of Melkley, 108
Gluck, Christoph Willibald, 82
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 74
Goudimel, Claude, 194
Grenon, Nicolas, 183
Gryphius, Andreas, 17
Gyllenhielm, Carl Carlsoon, 221

Hammerschmidt, Andreas, 214
Haydn, Joseph, 32
Hemeling, Johannes, 214
Hopkins, Gerard Manley, 25
Horace, 108, 195
Housman, A. E., 28, 62
Hugo of Orléans, 102, 131, 139, 146, 151
Hugo, Victor, 62
Huyghens, Constantijn, 74

ictus, 17–18, 21–30
illnesses and deaths, 171, 202, 208
interplay, *see* counterpoint, poetic
isochronicity, 18, 20, 75
Ives, Charles, 36

Jean de Meun, 154
Jefferson, Thomas, 2
Johannes de Garlandia, 77, 108, 109, 114–116, 119, 125–128, 133, 134, 137, 152, 158
Johnson, Samuel, 15

Keats, John, 38
Klingenberg, Gottlieb, 213
Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb, vii, 20, 26, 28, 29, 31, 197
Knittelvers, 191, 199, 200
Koralpsalmbok, 206–207, 214

La Fontaine, Henri, 64
Lagerlöf, Petrus, 205
Lawes, Henry, 33
Leer, Edward, 17
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim, 197
Lindemann, Gottfried, 213
line-final syllables, 30, 72
Lobwasser, Ambrosius, 194, 221
"Long and short" for "stress and unstress", 33, 75, 109, 200, 204
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 21, 24
Lully, Jean-Baptiste, 75, 80–82
Luther, Martin, vii, 192
lyric verse, 4, 11, 20
Lyte, Henry Francis, Rev., 35

Machaut, Guillaume de, 79
Macé de la Charité , 154
Malherbe, François de, 62, 65
Marot, Clément, 194
Marvell, Andrew, 19
Matthew of Vendome, 108, 126
Melissus (Paul Schede), 194
Micon de Saint-Riquier, 121

Milton, John, 15, 19, 27, 31, 33
mimesis, 27, 58, 224
modulation (poetic), *see* counterpoint, poetic
Molinet, Jean, 78
Monteverdi, Claudio, 31, 56
mora, 87–98
Mozart, W. A., 57–58, 223

Nabokov, Vladimir, 27, 39, 49, 118
Nazis, 31–32, 42
Nicolai, Phillipp, 193
Norton, Thomas, 25

Opitz, Martin, 200
Opitz, Martin, 195–196, 201, 203–205, 236
Otfrid von Weissenburg, 112

Paisiello, Giovanni, 56
Palmcron, Andreas Nicolai, 201–203, 235
Pelętier, Iacqueś, 194
Petrarch, Frank, 173
Petrus Helias, 139
Piers Plowman, 17
Poe, Edgar Allen, 37
poetry, bad, 11, 19, 24, 32, 37, 39, 114, 200, 205, 212–213, 224
Point, Gratien du, 77
Pompeius, 135
Pope, Alexander, 69
Poulenc, François, 2
Priscian, 108, 116, 123
Puccini, Giacomo, 57
Purcell, Henry, 33–34

Qimḥi, David, 108
Quintilian, 120

Racine, Jean, 65, 66
Rameau, Jean-Philippe, 73, 75
recitative, 30
rhyme, 17, 69
  English, 18
  Italian and Spanish, 49
  medieval, 110–113, 132
  Swedish, 204
Rilke, Rainer Maria, 17
Ronsard, Pierre de, 194, 195
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 74, 77, 82

Sackville, Thomas, 25
scansion, ix, 13–16, 64, 117, 121, 127
  English, 17–18
  German, 15
  Russian, 15
Schaukel, Richard, 38
Scheinprosodie, 116
Schiller, Friedrich von, 34–35
Schomerus, *see* Palmcron, Andreas Nicolai
Schubert, Franz, 34–35, 39–40
Schütz, Heinrich, 31
Sebastiani, Johann, 211
Senleches, Jacob, 79
Shakespeare, William, 15, 17, 18, 24, 26, 38, 42, 99
Shelley, Percy Bysshe, 14–15, 39
Spar[r]man, *see* Palmcron, Andreas Nicolai
Stiernhielm, Georg, 200
Stockman, Johannes, 211
stress
  English, 14
  French, 3
  Georgian, 3
  Germanic, 11–12
  hierarchical, 18
  Italian and Spanish, 46–49, 60
  Old French, 60
stress timing, 5
stress, poetic, 105, 112
syllable timing, 5

Tabourot, Étienne, 68, 103
Tennyson, Alfred, Lord, 223, 226

tension (poetic-metric), *see* counterpoint, poetic

Vallerius, Harald, 207
Valéry, Paul, 68
Varchi, Benedetto, 73
Verdi, Giuseppe, 56
Verlaine, Paul, 38
verse types
  accentual, 3
  accentual-syllabic, 4
  English, 16–19
    accentual, 19
    iambic, 19, 25–27
    triple, 21
    trochaic, 22–25
  French
    alexandrine, 66, 84
    comptine, 75
    vers libéré, 62
    vers libre, 62
    vers libres classique, 62
  German, 20–21
    alcaic ode, 29
    alexandrine, 196
    elegaic distich, 28
    freie Rhythmen, 28
    freie Rhythmen, 26
    freie Versen, 28
    iambic, 25–27, 29
    iambic pentameter, 20
    triple, 21
    trochaic, 21–25
  Italian
    terza rima, 50
    versi sciolti, 50–51
  Latin
    Saturnian, 3, 86
  quantitative, 4
  Swedish
    alexandrine, 203
  syllabic, 3
vituperation, 62, 74, 85
Voltaire, 70, 71, 78
Vossius, Issac, 74

Wagner, Richard, 43
Waldis, Burkhard, 190–191, 217
Witwicki, Stefan, 89
Wolkenstein, Oswald von, vii

Yeats, William Butler, 17

Zesen, Philip von, 196
Zumsteeg, Johann Rudolph, 34–35

♢

Most
of the soft-
ware used to pro-
duce this dissertation
was free. The operating sys-
tem was os/2 and the musical ex-
amples were set with Finale (running in
win-os/2), both commercial products. The ed-
itor was an os/2 port of GNU eMacs. The formatter
was TEX, specifically the LATEX2ε macro package. The os/2
implementation of TEX, `emtex`, is by Eberhard Mattes. The ba-
sic text fonts were the `ec` Cork Encoded extensions of Donald Knuth's
Computer Modern, the default fonts with TEX. The other fonts were adap-
tations of free TEXfonts. The Greek font is part of the `GreekTeX` package by K. J.
Dryllerakis. The Fraktur and Schwabacher fonts were extensions of a font by Yannis Har-
alambous. The phonetic characters were based on the Tokyo Shoseki Printing Sanseido IPA
font by Hajime Kobayashi, Rei Fukui, and Shun Shirakawa. The Hebrew font was an exten-
sion of a font by Joel M. Hoffman. PostScript output was generated by `dvips`. The En-
capsulated PostScript (EPS) files generated by Finale were incorporated into the
document with `epsf`. The printer was a Lexmark Optra R at 1200 dpi. Uni-
versity Microfilms says it uses "the most advanced technological means
to photograph and reproduce" dissertations. In order to take ad-
vantage of their technology the copy submitted to them was
printed on high-contrast paper and the typography of
each page was carefully checked. The archival
copy was printed on acid-free recycled
paper containing at least 20% post-
consumer waste. No Microsoft
product was used in
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this disser-
tation.

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