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The interaction between phonology and metre

Approaches to Romance and West-Germanic Renaissance metre
The interaction between phonology and metre
Approaches to Romance and West-Germanic Renaissance metre

Proefschrift

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Mirella De Sisto

geboren 27 september 1988
te Caserta, Italië
Promotor: Prof. dr. M. van Oostendorp
Co-promotor: Dr. V. De Castro Arrazola (Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, Spanje)

Manuscriptcommissie:
Prof. dr. J.P.M. Fikkert
Dr. J.L. Aroui (Université Paris 8, Frankrijk)
Prof. dr. N. Fabb (University of Strathclyde, Verenigd Koninkrijk)
Prof. dr. R.W.J. Kager (Universiteit Utrecht)
Prof. dr. A. Lahiri (University of Oxford, Verenigd Koninkrijk)

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A Toni,
il mio compagno di avventure
e scorrbande
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Poetic metre and phonology

Poetry and language are intimately connected. Language has a poetic function (Jakobson, 1960) which uses the pure aesthetics of the message without considering its content; it is the prevalence of form. Similarly, poetry uses language to fill its structure and, when the metrical template is in play, form prevails over other elements.

A particularly important level of connection is between poetry and phonology: no analysis of poetic structure could be conducted without taking into account phonological structure (Jakobson, 1960, p. 374). Poetry makes use of rules and constraints available in the language (Fabb, 2010). In particular, the characteristics of poetic metre recreate what is attested in the phonology of the language in which verse is written (Kiparsky, 1973; Hayes, 1989; Fabb, 1997; Golston and Riad, 1999). Metre is, therefore, an abstract structure which is constructed by mirroring phonological structure and which is filled by phonological material.

Given the strong connection between phonology and poetry, it would be natural to expect a relationship between phonological differences among languages and differences among the poetic traditions they have developed. In other words, divergent poetic forms may reflect phonological differences.

A first and fairly common hypothesis is that poetic differences are related to phonological differences in terms of rhythmical grouping; in the case of the Romance and West-Germanic languages considered in this dissertation, the division is between syllable-timed versus stress-timed languages (see Pike
The rhythmical distinction is based on the isochrony hypothesis, according to which languages have either isochronous syllables or a stable duration of intervals between stresses (Pike, 1945; Abercrombie, 1967). A number of experiments have shown that this hypothesis is problematic (see, for example, Nespor et al. 2011). Other aspects have been taken into consideration, for example, syllable complexity, and the different groups have been re-interpreted as being part of a continuum (Dauer, 1983; Auer, 1993; Ramus et al., 1999; Schmid, 2012). Nevertheless, this grouping approach cannot fully account for the differences attested among the poetic traditions under investigation here. A next step is to group languages according to the relevance, in their phonology, of either the syllable or the word (Auer, 1993; Caro Reina and Szczepaniak, 2014).

Starting from what was claimed by Auer (1993), Van Oostendorp (2000) and Caro Reina and Szczepaniak (2014) regarding the notion that language differences are based on the activation of a phonological domain, an alternative account is proposed in the present dissertation; namely, a phonological grouping depending on the higher activation of one prosodic level, either phrase or word. A prosodic level which is more prominent within the prosodic hierarchy (Selkirk, 1980, 1984; Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Hayes, 1989) plays a stronger role in the phonology of the language; this means that most processes take place within its domain and that the syllabic grouping formed in this layer is somehow more resistant to changes caused by other levels. The difference is reflected in poetry because, when metrics imitates phonological structure, it also recreates the prominence of one specific level. Consequently, a language with a phrase-based phonology will most likely develop a colon-based metre, while a language with a word-based phonology will tend to develop a form of verse with a foot-based structure. A more detailed overview of this claim will be given in Section 1.2.

1.2 The aim of the present dissertation

The present dissertation investigates the relationship between phonological and metrical structure and aims to better define the complexity of their interaction. For this purpose, the link between phonology and metrics is explored from two perspectives: one looks at poetic aspects being evidence for phonological characteristics; the other explores to what extent phonology conditions the development of poetic tradition and by what means the metrical template is filled by phonological material.

Poetry provides evidence for phonology (Sytsema and Lahiri, 2018) in that, since poetry is built with phonological material available in the language, it presents a picture of what is phonologically possible in that language at a given time. It can provide evidence for previous phonological stages of the language and for the stages of phonological processes (see Sytsema and Lahiri 2018); furthermore, it can highlight aspects which are constant in the language.
In this dissertation, I present a case study of a peculiarity of English rhyme which appears to be a constant in English poetry from the Renaissance until the present day. I claim that this peculiarity in English rhyme is a reflection of a peculiarity in English phonology.

As for phonology conditioning poetic tradition, this is a consequence of the two structures being interconnected. I argue that the metrical template mirrors phonology in its structure and functioning. Consequently, just as phonology selects between two macroparameters determining the prominent layer in its structure, namely, either phrase or word, a similar macroparameter is selected in the moment the metrical template is formed, in order to recreate the functioning of phonological structure. Metrics copies the macroparameter selected in the language and applies it in its structure. The choices of the metrical template depend, then, on the macroparameter in play. If the language has a phrase-based phonology, its metrical template will have a preference for a colon-based structure; in the case of a word-based phonology, a foot-based metre will be preferred instead. Once the macroparameter is selected, it will be reflected in the form taken by metre in terms of a preference for a specific type of structure.

The metrical template sees phonological structure and reflects its functioning. At the same time, the metrical structure is filled by phonological material. I propose that the selection of the material filling the metrical template is based on a bidirectional relationship between phonology and metrics. The template is not just passively filled by phonological elements but can have a preference for some elements. It can, in other words, choose the phonological aspects which fit it better and avoid other ones. This stretching of phonology generates tension between phonological and metrical structure, which can be used to enhance the markedness of the poetic form with respect to the naturalness of language.

It is important to highlight that any material being used in the metrical structure needs to be already available in the language and that the template simply reinforces or represses elements already present in the phonology. Also, the two levels do not need to diverge but they do so when non-linguistic cultural factors push the metrical form in a direction that does not coincide with the natural tendency of the language. Culture plays an important role in the development of a poetic form and, to a certain extent, in defining the author’s preferences for specific practices. It can significantly affect verse and its only limit is what is possible in the language’s phonology.

1.3 Outline of the dissertation

The present dissertation focuses on instantiations of Renaissance metre as a case study for investigating the relationship between phonology and poetry. The Renaissance school of thought represents the ideal ground for this type of research because it spread across most European countries and, together
1.3. Outline of the dissertation

with its philosophical, intellectual and artistic trends, exported its poetic form into a number of languages and traditions. The way in which the same source metre was implemented in various European poetic traditions reveals not only the differences and similarities among the instantiations but also sheds light on the role played by phonology in the process of adaptation.

This thesis follows the new metre from its genesis, in XII-XIII century Occitan poetry, through the trajectories of its early spread across countries; consequently, Romance and West-Germanic are the two language groups under focus. Among Romance languages, apart from the Occitan original source, Italian and French are considered in the study, since they both contributed to the spread of the form in a number of traditions. The fame and prestige of the Italian endecasillabo and the French alexandrine led them to inspire a large number of European poets. The new poetic trend reached Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan poetry; hence, these paths are also followed in the present study, including, for instance, the implementation of the new form in Garcilaso’s verse. Three Italian vernaculars which have a strong literary tradition that incorporated the Renaissance metre at a later stage are also considered, namely, Sicilian, Venetian and Neapolitan.

On the West-Germanic side, the route of the metre from Italian and French to Dutch and English is followed and its spread to German and Frisian via the Low Countries is part of the picture as well. There, the new poetic trend led to the development of the iambic pentameter and of the iambic alexandrine in the works of poets like the Dutch Vondel, the English Shakespeare, the German Opitz and the Frisian Japiks.

Comparing the implementation of the same source form in a number of languages and across language groups allows for two types of analysis: one considering how phonological similarities are reflected in the development of the new poetic form; the other observing how phonological differences between the two language groups determined metrical changes and, hence, divergences.

The implementation of the new metre across languages within the same language group highlights the aspects which remain constant among the various traditions and shows how these elements are related to the preservation of the macroparameter. Also, rhythmic differences attested are due to the metrical template repressing or reinforcing aspects which are available in the phonology. In this way, comparing poetic forms from related languages helps distinguishing between phonological and cultural factors affecting the development of verse. To explain, in this case, phonology represents the unifying element among traditions within closely-related languages, while culture may constitute the element creating distance among them.

This comparison of the development of Renaissance metre in Romance and West-Germanic languages also offers some insights into the difference between a metrical adjustment within one language group and an adjustment across two. To explain, since the source form was written in a Romance language (either Occitan, Italian or French), the adaptation into another Romance lan-
Introduction

guage did not cross the borders of the language group; the same occurred when Germanic languages, like German, took the poetic form from Dutch. When West-Germanic languages, such as Dutch, instead borrowed the metre from a Romance source, like French, the process took place across two language groups.

The process of adaptation from a language group to another shows how the characteristics of language groups play a role in the development of verse. Not only does this analysis produce definitions of which metrical elements are lost or modified. It also highlights how these are related to phonological aspects of the two groups. In particular, the process of adaptation of the metre from one language group to the other represents well the difference in macroparameter settings that the new poetic form needs to be adjusted to. In fact, the changes the Renaissance poetic form undergoes when moving from a Romance source to a West-Germanic recipient are consequences of the resetting between phrase-based and word-based phonology, respectively, which are reflected in metrical structure as the difference between colon-based and foot-based metre.

The present dissertation is structured as follows. Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical assumptions and claims on which the research is based and illustrates the core theoretical proposal elaborated in the thesis. In brief, the metrical template is considered to be an abstract structure which reflects the structure and functioning of the prosodic hierarchy. Metre imitates phonology also in the selection of the macroparameter regarding the prominence of a prosodic domain. The interaction between phonology andmetrical structure can be defined as bidirectional: if, on the one hand, the former fills the latter with its material, on the other hand, the latter can make a selection from among the phonological material available.

The following parts of the dissertation have the purpose to test and investigate the claims elaborated in Chapter 2.

Subsequently, the dissertation is divided in two parts: Part I looks at how poetic practices are evidence of phonological characteristics and elaborates on how phonology can explain metrical differences; Part II focuses on the case study of the development of Renaissance metre in various poetic traditions and analyses this in terms of the interaction between phonology and metre.

Part I begins with an experimental study on English rhyme (Chapter 3): this is used to investigate how poetic practices constitute evidence for phonological traits. In particular, a peculiarity of English rhyme in which the last unstressed syllable of a proparoxytone word is allowed to rhyme with a monosyllabic or oxytone word reveals the possibility of an alternative prosodic structuring in English phonology. The same type of rhyme is not possible in other closely-related languages because this phonological structure is not available to them. In addition, it also demonstrates how metrics can choose among the structures available in the phonology, regardless of whether they are common or the most natural in the language or not.

Afterwards, the focus moves to the other side of the relationship between phonology and metrical template by focusing on how phonology conditions
the development of poetic traditions. More specifically, it addresses the matter of the reflection of the macroparameter selection in the functioning of the metrical template. The case study, in Chapter 4, is the development of iambic metre in West-Germanic languages as a result of the adoption of Renaissance poetry. The aim of the chapter is to propose that West-Germanic languages needed to configure a foot-based metre as a result of the adaptation of a colon-based verse because they needed to adapt the new poetic form to the macroparameter selected in the language and reflected in the metrical template.

Part II explores the role played by phonology in the development of Renaissance metre in the various poetic traditions considered and the interaction between phonological and metrical structure in the different poetic forms. This part of the dissertation uses digital methods to analyse the metrical patterns of a number of poetic works, both in the form of samples (Chapters 6 and 8) and in the form of corpora (Chapter 9). The sample studies allow a typological investigation of the development of the Renaissance form in different poetic traditions and define their differences and common aspects. The study of the corpora provides an opportunity to compare the diachronic development of the metre in two languages with a different macroparameter. Chapter 5 introduces the methodology used to annotate and analyse the data; particular attention is paid to illustration of the machine learning tool used to automatically annotate a Dutch Renaissance poetry corpus.

Chapter 6 is a typological study of the implementation of the new form in a group of Romance languages, which are, as mentioned above, Occitan, Italian, French, Catalan, Spanish, Portuguese, Sicilian, Neapolitan and Venetian. The metrical analysis of the different poetic forms highlights the common aspects of all traditions which are due to the same macroparameter, namely, the possession of a phrase-based phonology. At the same time, it enables exploration of metrical differences and accounts for them in terms of relationship between phonological structure and metrical template. In particular, it shows how a rhythmical practice which does not constitute the most obvious outcome, given the phonology of a specific language, is motivated by the fact that the metrical template can select the phonological elements which suit it better, from among those available in the language. In Chapter 7, a brief overview of the types of mid-line divisions attested in the Romance traditions is given. This overview illustrates the evolution from a caesura to a mid-line marking and accounts for this in terms of relationship between phonology and metrical template.

Chapter 6 is connected to Chapter 8 in that it constitutes a typological study of the implementation of the Renaissance metre into West-Germanic languages, namely, Dutch, English, German and Frisian. In addition, in this chapter, the Romance and the Germanic typology are compared, in order to outline differences and to observe the role of phonology in determining them. Here again, the macroparameter is shown to play a significant role in the adaptation of the new form into poetic traditions.

Chapter 9 consists of a comparison of two corpora, namely, a Dutch cor-
Introduction

pus of Renaissance poetry and the Italian Renaissance poetry corpus Archivio Metrico Italiano. In this chapter, the process of development of the new poetic form into two different poetic traditions can be observed. The two traditions are part of different language groups and this clearly shows in the way the verse is implemented. In fact, the results are quite different: the Dutch form is a foot-based metre not strongly resembling its source and the Italian form reveals continuity with its source. Also, while an actual diachronic process of adaption can be observed in the Dutch corpus (with various phases ultimately leading to a definitive form), in the Italian corpus the form is, in contrast, relatively stable, undergoing only minor changes. This reflects the fact that, while the incorporation of the new form in the Italian tradition did not require any change in the macroparameter, in Dutch poetry, a resetting of the macroparameter was needed and this process took place over time.

Finally, Chapter 10 concludes the dissertation.

The data on which this research project is based is available at the Meertens Institute Repository.
CHAPTER 2

Phonology and the Metrical Template

2.1 Introduction

Phonology and poetry are interconnected: the metrical template mirrors the prosodic hierarchy and gets filled by phonological material. The prosodic hierarchy is a hierarchically organised structure containing a set of phonological constituents (Selkirk, 1980, 1984; Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Hayes, 1989), while the metrical template is an abstract structure on which poetry is built (Hayes, 1989; Kiparsky, 1977).

The present chapter explores the relationship between the two structures and aims to partially redefine it. In particular, it proposes that their relationship is not unidirectional, in that metrical structure is not necessarily simply filled by phonological elements; it can, to a certain extent, stretch phonological material in a way that better suits its structure.

This is an option, far from being an obligatory step of the poetic process, which shows that the metrical template can manifest a preference for a pattern which is not the most obvious from a phonological point of view. When a similar pattern is selected, the mismatch between phonological and metrical structure creates some tension between the two structures. The tension can be formalised in terms of a violation of constraints, such as that of rhythm (i.e. avoidance of stress clashes and lapses) (Golston, 1998; Golston and Riad, 1999) and regulates the degree of markedness of a poetic form.

This proposal, together with the other theoretical postulations described in this chapter, constitute the theoretical perspective on which the present dissertation is based. In the next chapters, the analyses of Romance and West-
Germanic verse are developed and grounded on this framework.

The chapter is structured as follows. Section 2.2 describes the already widely recognised relationship between phonology and poetry, which constitutes the starting point for the core claim presented. In Section 2.3, I describe my assumptions regarding the existence and the structure of the metrical template. Section 2.4 provides an overview of previous accounts of the ten-syllable line template. The present proposal concerning the bidirectional relation between phonological and metrical structure is developed in Section 2.5. Finally, the main points are summarised in the concluding section.

### 2.2 Phonology and poetry

It has been widely claimed that language and poetry are strictly connected and that "a good number of what we think of as traditional and arbitrary conventions are anchored in grammatical form, and seem to be, at bottom, a consequence of how language itself is structured" (Kiparsky, 1973, p. 243). Poetry can be defined as some type of abstract structure, which is built with material and structure available in the language, as proposed in the Development Hypothesis put forward by Fabb (2010): the rules and constraints which govern literary language are those available in ordinary language and refer to representations present in ordinary language.

Poetic text is composed of language and, at the same time, makes use of it. In particular, in such types of texts, the function of language is not limited to the transmission of a message, but also involves the stimulation of the reader’s aesthetic perception. In other words, the use of language in poetry partly diverges from its primary communicative purpose and aims to reach the artistic act. In poetry, form can become more important than content, or at least reach the same level of importance. This provides more freedom from the grammatical rules of language and more flexibility in using them. Therefore, although poetry is built on language, it does not follow the same exact rules.

There seems to be some kind of competition between the role played by syntax and metre in verse, in that they cannot both be fixed elements in the same poetic text. In this respect, it is worth mentioning briefly the contrast between semantic parallelism and a fixed-metre-based poetry. Verse based on semantic parallelism consists of the repetition of formulas carrying similar semantics and syntactically paired elements (Schirmunski, 1965). Syntax and semantics, in this case, go hand in hand. As described by Schirmunski (1965), regarding the development of Turkic and Finno-Ugric verse, in the moment that the metrical form becomes more defined, semantic parallelism fades away from poetry, strictly speaking, and is displaced into the domain of semi-poetry (for more details, see Schirmunski 1965, p. 31).

The presence of metre requires more flexibility in syntax, while semantic

\[1\] I would like to thank Dr. deCastro-Arrazola for pointing this out to me.
(and syntactic) parallelism does not seem to co-occur with a strict metre. In fact, as Golston (1998) and Golston and Riad (1999) observed, the difference between prose and poetry is that, while they are both built on natural language constraints, in the latter prosody outranks syntax. Hence, a reranking of constraints already operative in the language determines metrical structure.

As for phonology, Jakobson (1960) had already described the indissoluble relation of poetry with it by claiming that no analysis of poetic structure could be conducted without taking into account phonological structure (Jakobson, 1960, p. 374). The major characteristics of a metre derive from the general properties of phonology (Hayes, 1989; Golston and Riad, 1999; Fabb, 1997). The metrical template is a parallel abstract structure, which recreates the prosodic structure of the language in which it is written and gets filled by its phonological material (Hayes, 1989; Kiparsky, 1973). From this perspective, phonology plays a major role in the structuring of poetry and deeply conditions its form.

2.3 The template

Various approaches have been advanced regarding the presence or absence of a metrical template, how this originates and its relationship with phonological material.

On the one hand, Hayes (1989), Kiparsky (1977), Piera (1981), Nespòr and Vogel (1986) and Hanson (1997) assume the existence of a fixed metrical template, which constitutes an idealised version of the prosodic hierarchy; a mapping between two structures takes place, whereby linguistic structures are mapped into a pre-determined metrical template. On the other hand, Fabb and Halle (2008) and Versace (2011, 2014) claim that the metrical template is generated for every line, hence, is not pre-specified and then matched with linguistic material (Versace, 2011, p. 2); it instead involves a structure-building computation, whereby metrical structure is projected from the surface syllables of a linguistic text (Vaux and Myler, 2011). In addition, Versace (2011) postulates the possibility that metrical structure may access phonological information.

A completely different proposal is that by Golston (1998) and Golston and Riad (1999). They reject the existence of a pre-determined metrical template and claim that metre is based purely on phonology; poetry and prose make use of the same set of constraints, developed in phonology, but with a different ranking. For example, in poetry, as distinct from prose, prosody outranks syntax. A two-way matching between text and a given pattern takes place: the text fills the metre and the metre parses the text (Golston and Riad, 1999, p. 151).

In the present work, I assume the existence of a metrical template as a separate structure from prosodic structure. I follow the idea of the metrical template as an abstract structure, which is elaborated by recreating the layers of phonological structure (Hayes, 1988, 1989). In 1 and 2 the two structures
can be compared; “syl” and “pos” represent syllables and metrical positions, respectively. “Int” in 1 refers to intonational phrase.

(1) Prosodic hierarchy

```
  Int
 /\  
|  |  
Phr  Phr
 \|/  
 Word  Word
   \   
    syl syl
     
Word  Word  Word
     \   /   
      syl syl syl
```

adapted from Golston (1998, p. 731)

(2) Metrical template

```
  Line
 /\  
|  |  
 Colon  Colon
 \|/  
 Foot  Foot
   \   
    pos pos
     
Foot  Foot  Foot
     \   /   
      pos pos pos
```

adapted from Golston (1998, p. 731)

In the present dissertation, I consider poetry to be an abstract structure built on a structure that resembles the prosodic hierarchy; it is very similar but not exactly nor necessarily the same. An argument supporting this claim is that metrical structure can present its own requirements, which are not necessarily consequence of phonological rules. In particular, in Golston and Riad’s (1999) approach, metre is completely subordinated to phonology, while I propose a more active role of the metrical template in its interaction with phonology. This active role of metrics also constitutes a difference from other approaches assuming the presence of a template, since, in those, metrical structure consists of a fixed structure. My assumption is, instead, that the metrical template can be moulded. The two structures are connected in that metrical structure recreates the phonological one and its functioning; at the same time, the former can have its own characteristics, which are not strictly due to phonology, and can select the phonological material which suits it better (a detailed explanation of this point follows, in Section 2.5).

The elements of phonological and metrical structure are congruent; however, there is not necessarily an exact level-to-level correspondence between
the domains of the two structures. In fact, while the phonological phrase of
the prosodic hierarchy is recreated by the colon in the metrical template, the
prosodic word instead represents the poetic foot (Brogan, 1993; Golston and
Riad, 1999; Golston, 1998; Van Oostendorp and De Sisto, 2017).

In addition, the correspondence between the level of one structure and
one in the other structure does not necessarily mean that the two levels exactly
overlap. In the different levels, a bracketing mismatch or an incomplete overlap
can arise. A brief overview of the various levels clarifies this claim.

By comparing syllables and metrical positions, it can be observed that,
despite a general tendency of the two to overlap, some exceptions involving
incomplete coincidence are attested. This is the case, in English poetry, when
two (or even more) syllables can compose a metrical position (Hanson, 1997,
p. 80), as can be observed in 3.

(3) A metrical position containing two syllables

```
Her deli cate cheek. It seem'd she was a queen
```

(Shakespeare, King Lear 4.3.13 adapted from Hanson 1997, p. 82)

In this case, the complete one-to-one correspondence is somehow dis-
rupted. In addition, a similar “miscounting” also takes place when synalepha
occurs and two adjacent vowels are calculated as belonging to one metrical
position, as in Example 4.

(4) A metrical position containing two syllables in Italian: synalepha

```
Voi ch’as col ta te in ri me spar se il suo <no>
```

Voi ch’ascoltate in rime sparse il suono

(Petrarca, Canzoniere, Sonnet I)

English translation: “O you who hear within these scattered verses [the sound]”

(Musa and Manfredi, 1996, p. 3)

At the foot level, since most of the languages under investigation in the
present study are trochaic languages, an iambic foot sequence commonly pro-
duces a continuous bracketing mismatch between the levels of the two struc-
tures (Van Oostendorp and De Sisto, 2017). In the following example, the
square brackets indicate word boundaries, while the round brackets represent
those of the poetic feet (for a more detailed explanation, see Chapter 4).
2.3. The template

(w) [s] (w)
with for tune

(5) Bracketing mismatch between prosodic word and poetic foot
(From Sonnet 29, Shakespeare from Van Oostendorp and De Sisto 2017, p. 7)

The word does not coincide with the poetic foot, despite the latter resembling the former; their boundaries are at different points of the phonological material, in such a way that the boundaries of the poetic foot tend to occur in the middle of the prosodic word (Van Oostendorp and De Sisto, 2017). In trochaic poetry, the rate of bracketing mismatch between the two structures would be much lower. It is evident, however, that poetic foot and prosodic word do not need to coincide for metricality purposes. In addition, in the poetic forms under investigation, feet – or, more generally, metrical position groups – are always binary, while prosodic words can be larger.

As for the coincidence between colon and phonological phrase, overall, the overlap appears to be stronger. However, the coincidence is not necessarily precise. For example, in traditions where the line-medial prominent position does not occur at a word-boundary, the following syllable is metrically part of the second colon; by contrast, in phonology this is still part of the first phrase, hence, the coincidence is not necessarily precise. This can be observed in the Example in 6, where phrase boundaries are indicated with square brackets and colon boundaries with round brackets.

In addition, even though the colon imitates the structure of a phonological phrase, some non-exact coincidence could be expected when smaller phrases are used in the line but the break between the two metrical cola is still in the middle of the line. In other words, the positioning of the colon is much more restricted than that of the phonological phrase.

(6) Non-full correspondence between phonological phrase and colon

(Quelle pietose ri)(me\[in ch’io m’accorsi])

Quelle pietose rime in ch’io m’accorsi

(Petrarca, Canzoniere, Sonnet CXX)

English translation: “Those rhymes of pity which made me aware”

(Musa and Manfredi, 1996, p. 185)

Finally, lines do not always coincide with an intonational phrase or a sentence. Mismatching between intonational phrase and line is a stylistic possibility. In fact, enjambement can be used to create this mismatch and exploit it for poetic purposes, as in the Example in 7.
Phonology and the Metrical Template

(7) Mismatch between line and sentence

April is the cruellest month, breeding
Lilacs out of the dead land, mixing
Memory and desire, stirring
Dull roots with spring rain.

(T. S. Eliot, *The Wasteland*)

Here as well, the two layers can coincide but they do not need to do so. In general, more variation is attested in language than in poetry and this constitutes the difference between a natural and an artificial structure. The latter imitates the former but, since metrical structure is at play, its set of rules limits variation.

Something more needs to be said about the poetic foot in the verse under investigation. While there seems to be general agreement that Germanic iambic metres are foot-based, the presence of feet in the metrical template of Romance languages instantiations of ten-syllable metre is still an open question. On the one hand, Nespor and Vogel (1986), Hanson (1997) and Hanson and Kiparsky (1996) claim that both traditions are built on the same template and, hence, they both have feet; Kiparsky (1977) goes even further by claiming that any template contains feet. On the other hand, within the field of Romance-language metrics, a number of scholars exclude the presence of feet as units of poetic forms, such as the *endecasillabo*, and considers syllables or metrical positions as the only metrical elements smaller than the colon (Elwert, 1973; Di Girolamo, 1983; Menichetti, 1993; Bertone, 1999; Beltrami, 2002).

In the present study, I claim that a binary unit composed of metrical positions is a necessary element of the metrical template of both poetic traditions, namely, that of the Romance and the Germanic languages. The difference between these units in the two traditions is that, in the former, it only exists for counting purposes, while, in the latter, it contributes to the rhythmical pattern of the line. While its presence is not doubted in Germanic traditions, some evidence for the existence of this binary unit in the Romance traditions is given in Chapter 6. There, the deviation pattern of a number of samples from Romance traditions shows that even metrical positions – hence, those that would be prominent in an iambic template– have generally more possibility of deviating from an iambic pattern than odd positions. To explain, even in ten-syllable verse in the Romance languages, odd (hence, non-prominent or weak) positions are normally more constrained than even positions. In other words, the odd and even metrical positions differ in metrical requirements and stressed syllables in non-prominent positions are more deprecated. Consequently, the presence of some sort of binary unit is needed to distinguish the two types of position. This supports what Fabb (1997) and Fabb and Halle (2008) claim about the necessity of dividing elements into binary or ternary units and what has been observed about the recurrence of binarity among most metres (Burl-
ing, 1966; Hayes, 1988, 1989; Prince, 1989; Golston and Riad, 1999). It also confirms the presence of some “foot-like” binary elements in both Germanic and Romance Renaissance traditions. It could be hypothesised that the source of the difference between the two types of metrical position might lie in the fact that unstressed syllables tend to be more frequent than stressed syllables in the languages under investigation. Consequently, as it has been observed for Russian tetrameter (Friedberg, 2006; Hall, 2006), the metre might be recreating this phonological aspect.

In conclusion, I assume that all Renaissance metres considered in the present work are based on the same metrical template. Their differences are due to variation in their constraints, as claimed by Nespor and Vogel (1986) and Hanson (1997). Germanic traditions are constrained on a foot level, hence, they have requirements regarding the position of stressed syllables (Hayes, 1989; Hanson, 1997; Fabb, 1997). By contrast, Romance traditions are rather constrained on the colon level, as has been formalised in various ways for Italian and Spanish by a number of scholars (Piera, 1981; Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Hanson, 1997; Fabb, 1997; Versace, 2014). The typological studies in Chapters 6 and 8 support this assumption.

Constraints are not necessarily inviolable and metricality is gradient: some lines are closer to the canon and those that are further from it are still not necessarily unmetrical (Hayes, 1988; Youmans, 1989; Golston, 1998). An example is the different degrees of constraint strictness at the beginning and at the end of the line. It has been observed that line-initial metrical positions are freer than those line-finally and that the strictness gradually increases towards the end of the line (see Strict End Hypothesis in Kiparsky 1968, Hayes 1983, Prince 1989 and DeCastro-Arrazola 2018). In addition, some divergence from the metrical pattern can still be allowed in other metrical positions, without affecting the metricality of the line.

2.4 Metrical approaches to Renaissance metre

In this section, a brief overview of previous metrical analyses of Renaissance poetic forms is presented.

A number of studies have focused on Renaissance metres, mainly on Italian endecasillabo and English iambic pentameter. Scholars have tried to investigate the characteristics of their metrical patterns and to trace them back to the same underlying template. In particular, according to Kiparsky (1977), Hanson and Kiparsky (1996) and Hanson (1997), both Italian endecasillabo and English iambic pentameter are built on the same metrical template. Two versions of the template are possible, according to whether the first colon ends after the fourth metrical position or after the sixth (see 8 and 9, adapted from Hanson 1997, p. 57).
The template is composed by ten alternating weak and strong positions. The positions are grouped into five feet, which are themselves grouped into two cola constituting the line. Piera (1981), in his work on Spanish *endecasilabo*, claims that the two structures can be freely mixed in this tradition and that the 4+6, with the colon boundary after the fourth metrical position, is the unmarked form, while 6+4, with the colon ending after the sixth position, is more marked.

A significant difference between the Italian and the English instantiation of the template is that, while in the latter the foot plays an important role (Kiparsky, 1977; Hanson and Kiparsky, 1996; Hanson, 1997), there seems to be no constraint at the foot level in the former (and the same goes for the Spanish *endecasilabo*) (Piera, 1981; Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Hanson, 1997). Piera (1981) proposes that the Spanish *endecasilabo* is constrained on the colon level in that the designated terminal element (DTE) of a colon cannot coincide with an unstressed syllable. He explains that the importance of the DTE reflects the importance of elements of the Intonational phrase because metrics evokes intonational rules (Piera, 2001). Nespor and Vogel (1986) propose a stronger version of the constraint elaborated by Piera (1981): in the Italian *endecasilabo*,
the DTE of a colon has to be strong and must correspond to the DTE of a phonological phrase.

Kiparsky’s (1977) approach starts from the assumption that metres are characterised by a metrical pattern generated by a number of processes. In Hanson and Kiparsky (1996), the authors claim that any poetic form is built on a fixed number of headed binary feet having rhythmic prominence on the head. Metre is defined by establishing a set of parameters, two relating to structure and three to realisation. The structure parameters regulate the number of feet and headedness of the foot. The realisation parameters are subdivided into position size, prominence site and prominence type. Position size determines the metrical position’s maximum size; prominence site defines the “asymmetry between strong and weak positions” (Hanson and Kiparsky, 1996, p. 289); finally, prominence type defines the type of opposition between strong and weak positions, which can be in terms of syllable weight, stress, strength or pitch accent. They assume the existence of a principle, which constraints all parameters, namely FIT. According to FIT, all parameters have to be set in such a way as to create a metre able to accommodate the language’s vocabulary (Hanson and Kiparsky, 1996, p. 294).

A second principle is of primary interest here, according to which the parameters are set to support the aesthetics of verse. When writing a poetic line, two types of mismatch between the stress pattern and the metrical pattern are possible, namely labelling and bracketing, but both types cannot affect a lexical stress at the same time. A common variation from the template takes the form of a labelling mismatch at the beginning of the line. The degree of mismatch determines the complexity of the verse.

In terms of Kiparsky (1977)’s theory, it can be assumed that the Italian endecasillabo has a prominence site parameter that requires the DTE of each colon to be prominent and a prominence type parameter for which the DTE of a colon has to correspond to a phonological phrase (Hanson, 1997). When comparing the Petrarchan lines with Sidney’s verse, Hanson (1997) observes that the British author altered the prominence site and prominence type parameters of the form by which he was inspired. In fact, in the English iambic pentameter of Sidney, prominence is prohibited in weak positions and prominence type is the syllable within the phonological word (Hanson, 1997, p. 75). In Table 2.1, the parameters in the two poetic forms can be compared (adapted from Hanson 1997, p. 65 and 75).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prominence site:</th>
<th>Italian endecasillabo</th>
<th>English iambic pentameter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prominence type:</td>
<td>each colon’s DTE requires prominence</td>
<td>Syllables that are strong within a phon. word</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1: Prominence constraints

A different approach to the analysis of Renaissance metre is that by Fabb (1997) and Fabb and Halle (2008). They advance a metrical theory which analyses metres within a gridline framework. The fundamental assumption is that
Phonology and the Metrical Template

the metrical template is a series of positions (Fabb, 1997, p. 42). In their framework, the metrical template is represented by a set of metrical grids. The first line of the grid is generated from the string of syllables constituting the line. To explain, starting from the line, stressed syllables constitute prominent positions which are projected as asterisks into the first grid-line. A set of rules determines how the asterisks are grouped by parentheses (Fabb and Halle, 2009, p. 13). The parentheses divide asterisks into disyllabic and trisyllabic groups. Each group has a head, which is projected to the next line (Fabb and Halle, 2008, p. 27). The asterisks grouping is repeated on each grid line until only one asterisk is left. In 10, the representation of English iambic pentameter within the framework is given.

(10) English iambic pentameter in the Metrical Grid

By wo man wai ling for her de mon- love

* * ) * * ) * * ) * *
( * * ) * * ) * *

(Fabb and Halle, 2009, p.179)

As it can be seen in 10, every syllable is projected as an asterisk to the first line of the grid and five parentheses divide the asterisks in disyllabic right-headed groups. On the second line of the grid, only the heads of the previous grid line are projected; they form a disyllabic and a trisyllabic group, both left-headed. Finally, only the most prominent syllable is projected to the next line of the grid.

In his analysis of Italian endecasillabo, Fabb (1997) observes that the Italian metre consists of a syllable-counting metre having rhythm constrained by stress. He highlights that the difference between Italian endecasillabo and iambic pentameter is that, while in the former the stress plays a role within the phonological phrase, the latter relates to stress within the polysyllabic lexical word (Fabb, 1997, p. 72). Regarding the role of feet within the Italian verse, he claims that only the final foot of each half-line needs to match the weak-strong pattern. The other feet of the line seem to play no role and he hypothesises that the other positions of the line could be even not organised into feet (Fabb, 1997, p. 74). Versace (2014) proposes a revised version of Fabb’s analysis of the Italian endecasillabo. He presents two basic templates, which generate two patterns: one with necessary stress on position 4 and 10; the other presenting it on position 6 and 10. Other stresses are not controlled by the computation.

Hayes (1989) proposes an analysis of English iambic pentameter based on the assumption that metrical rules refer to prosodic rather than syntactic bracketing. In particular, he compares the metre of Milton with that of Shelley. He also assumes that there are three types of metrical rules, which refer to the notion of peak, requiring a strong position to be filled with a peak or
The interaction between phonological and metrical structure

It is not controversial to assume that, in the building of a poetic line, the metrical structure is filled by phonological material. In other words, phonology sees the metrical structure and places its elements into it.

In the present work, I argue that this passing of material from one structure to the other, namely, from the phonological to the metrical, is not as completely linear and straightforward as it might seem at first sight. When mirroring phonological structure, the metrical template does not just passively get filled by phonological material. The interaction between phonological and metrical structure goes both ways, in that the metrical template can select the phonological material which suits it better, from among the elements available. In a way, it can push phonology in a specific direction and reinforce or suppress phonological aspects according to its preferences. In other words, the metrical template can have a preference for a certain type of element available in the inventory and can make a selection accordingly; it can stretch phonological options in order to favour the characteristics of its own structure.

As can be observed in Table 2.2, the interaction between phonological and metrical structure is not unidirectional; it actually goes both ways since two forces are at play, one being the natural filling of the metrical structure with phonological material, the other being the metrical structure selecting which material to use. Therefore, phonology sees metrical structure but, at the same time, the metrical template fills its own structure with phonological elements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonological Structure</th>
<th>Metrical Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Linguistic elements</td>
<td>fills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>available</td>
<td>can choose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at some stage</td>
<td>&lt;-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2: Interaction between Phonological and Metrical structure
time, metrical structure sees phonology and can interact with its elements.

An observation relating to the selection of phonological material by metrical structure has been made by Kiparsky (1973, p. 242-243), who claimed that “it sometimes happens that phonological schemes such as metre and rhyme must be matched to linguistic forms before certain phonological rules have been applied to them”. In other words, the application of some phonological rules is ignored by the metrical structure, which selects the linguistic element in the form occurring before those rules have operated. In a way, also in Kiparsky’s theory, the interaction is not completely unidirectional, but the metrical template can select which phonological processes to disregard and, consequently, which form of the linguistic element will be used.

The possibility of stretching phonological options enables the creation of tension between metrical and phonological structure. Tension between the two structures is not obligatory and its degree can vary from poetic tradition to poetic tradition. More correspondence between phonological and metrical structure results in less tension. When more tension is created, phonological material is stretched further within its possibilities; hence, less correspondence between the two structures is attested.

In this respect, Golston (1998) and Golston and Riad’s (1999) approach to metre needs to be taken into account. On the one hand, their idea of metre without a metrical template as an abstract structure is not supported in this dissertation, since the presence of a metrical structure interacting with phonological structure is an essential element of the present proposal; on the other hand, another aspect of Golston (1998) and Golston and Riad’s (1999) analysis is in line with what is defined as tension between the two structures here. Specifically, this is the claim that metres can be described in terms of violable phonological constraints; unmarked metres violate fewer constraints, while marked metres violate more of them (Golston and Riad, 1999, p. 99). Also, unmarked metres are binary and rhythmic (i.e. without stress clashes or lapses) (Golston and Riad, 1999, p. 99).

The connection between Golston (1998) and Golston and Riad’s (1999) approach and the current proposal, assuming an interaction between metrical and phonological structure producing more or less tension, is that the tension mentioned here is similar to what Golston and Riad account for in terms of constraints violations in the case of a marked metre. More tension is created by the violation of more constraints.

In the present proposal, violation and, hence, the handling of the degree of tension between the two structures is controlled by the metrical template. To explain, poetry is based on a number of matches and mismatches between the metrical template and the phonological structure. In some metres, the mismatch is more accentuated, in order to create more tension between the two structures. It is, somehow, in the interaction between phonological and metrical levels, always a matter of tension between the two structures, a game of match and mismatch.

A clarifying example is the comparison between the rhythmical make-up
The interaction between phonological and metrical structure

of the Italian endecasillabo and the Catalan decasíl·lab (more information about this and a more detailed analysis can be found in Chapter 6). The two forms represent the possibility that metre can follow natural language tendencies (i.e. in Italian) or can diverge from phonological rules creating tension between phonological and metrical structure (i.e. in Catalan). In a few words, despite no overt requirements to follow an iambic rhythm, the Italian endecasillabo shows some tendency towards such a rhythm (Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Gasparov, 1996; Hanson, 1997); in contrast, the Catalan decasíl·lab appears to lack any rhythm and be rather only syllabic (Duffell, 1994). Both languages would naturally display some kind of rhythmical alternation (see Chapter 6) but this does not happen in Catalan.

In the former case, the requirement of the metrical template does not diverge from what is the most common option in phonology; in contrast, in the latter case the metrical structure has a specific requirement for a lack of colon-internal rhythm, hence, it needs to subvert the natural tendency of the language to follow some rhythm. Therefore, in the Italian case, no tension needs to be created between the two structures, while in Catalan, tension is required. The means by which Catalan poetry achieves this tension is by allowing clashes and lapses in its verse, hence producing a form which, in terminology of Golston (1998) and Golston and Riad (1999) is marked. Catalan decasíl·lab is marked because cultural continuity pushes for tension between the phonological and metrical templates, hence it requires violation of the constraints avoiding the presence of lapses and clashes.

From this perspective, it is possible to give an account of the differences between the various attested implementations of the same source metre when considering the spread of the Renaissance poetic trend in Romance and West-Germanic languages. The first difference between iambic foot-based and colon-based implementations can be defined by considering the selection of a macroparameter concerning the higher activation of a specific domain of both metrical and phonological structure. The macroparameter in poetry mirrors a macroparameter present in phonology, which defines the prominence of one particular prosodic domain rather than another. To explain, metrics checks the macroparameter selected by phonology concerning a higher activation of the phrase or of the word domain, and recreates it in its own structure in the form of a preference for a colon-based or foot-based metre (for a detailed explanation, see Chapter 4). Once the macroparameter has been selected, it affects the functioning of the metrical structure.

Subsequently, the markedness of the metre is established, by means of whether it follows or not the rhythmic and binary requirements. Just as the macroparameter is selected by phonology and then is re-interpreted into metrics, the constraints requiring the line to be rhythmic and binary are derived from phonology. In fact, violation of these constraints increases the tension between the two structures. The distinction between metres in terms of their violation or satisfaction of these constraints enables an account of the difference, within Romance traditions, between forms displaying a tendency towards
iambic rhythm and those, like Catalan, that avoid an iambic rhythmic alteration, despite their natural phonological tendencies. In this picture, French is not included because, even if the metrical template does not require tension created by clashes and lapses, the lack of stress on the word level prevents the creation of an iambic-tendency rhythm.

The difference between forms in which a rhythmical alternation is present and those in which it is absent can be explained in terms of tension between the two structures. If, in the first case, tension is not required, then the poetic form is less marked and avoids clashes and lapses; in contrast, in the second case tension between the structures is required and results in the presence of clashes and lapses. As for binarity, none of the poetic forms considered here violate this constraint. The Table in 2.3 visualises this claim.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Macroparameter</th>
<th>Rhythmic (no clash-lapse)</th>
<th>Binary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iambic</td>
<td>phon. word/poetic foot</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhythmical alternation</td>
<td>phon. phrase/colon</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no rhythmical alternation</td>
<td>phon. phrase/colon</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3: Macroparameter selection and tension

As can be observed in Table 2.3, the shift from one way of implementation to the other is gradual. In the first row, iambic refers to iambic-foot based poetic forms (e.g. English iambic pentameter); the macroparameter selected is prosodic word / poetic foot and the metre is rhythmic and binary. In the second row, rhythmical alternation refers to those forms with a tendency towards iambic rhythm but which are not strictly iambic (e.g. Italian endecasillabo); the macroparameter requires prominence for the phonological phrase in the phonology and for the colon in metrics, and neither rhythmicality nor binarity is violated. Finally, no rhythmical alternation refers to those cases where no colon-internal rhythmical pattern is attested, even if this would be expected, given the phonological characteristics of the language (e.g. Catalan decasílabo); the macroparameter does not differ from that of the forms with rhythmical alternation and binarity is also the same, but the rhythmic constraint is violated, hence disrupting the natural tendency of the language.

It is important to stress that the use of different degrees of tension, entailing the stretching of phonological possibilities in order to fit metrical requirements, is an optional choice made by an author or by a specific poetic form. Cultural and arbitrary factors can lead to divergence when a metrical structure which does not fully coincide with the most natural outcome for a substrate of linguistic material forces its way onto a more natural metrical instantiation.

Extra-linguistic factors assign these characteristics to the metrical structure. In particular, culture guides metrics and, in some cases, interferes with phonology. It plays a prominent role within the development of a poetic form and can stretch the possibilities of language. Sometimes, however, it is not possible
to exhaustively define what is cultural, and to what extent culture is playing
a role, and to differentiate its effects from effects of the natural tendencies of
the language. Without doubt, it would not be possible to deny the major role
played by culture. In this respect, the current work seeks to explore and outline
the prominent role played by phonology in conditioning the development of a
poetic tradition without denying the role of culture, but instead by formalising
it in its interaction with language.

As becomes evident when considering the multiplicity of and interconnec-
tion between factors contributing to the realisation of the poetic instantiation,
the violation of constraints can take place on different levels and be motivated
by different aspects. While the metrical grammar maps line and template, the
metrical tradition can require a number of mismatches between phonological
and metrical structure. Therefore, violations are required in order to define
the amount of tension between the two structures, which is encoded into the
tradition. At the same time, constraint violations can also depend on individ-
ual metrical preferences. Both deviations stipulated in the traditions and poets
individual preferences are based on knowledge. The difference between the
two is that the former type is shared by a group. Another type of violation
depends, instead, on the poets’ creative use of tension in order to satisfy a
different sort of constraint, that of iconicity. These violations are almost acci-
dental and might generate less-metrical lines. Finally, some other violations
are not motivated by knowledge and result in unexpected deviations, hence,
unexpected reduction of the line metricality.

To summarise, I propose a different interpretation of the already recognised
interaction between phonological and metrical structure. This interaction is
not unidirectional, in that metrical structure does not passively receive the
phonological material which fills it, but can push a preference for a certain
structure, from among those available. Therefore, the metrical structure can see
the phonological structure and evaluate which form of the linguistic element
would suit it better, regardless of what would be more natural in the language.
The selection can, then, either hinder or reinforce phonological characteristics
present in the language.

The following chapters will show how phonology contributes to the shap-
ing of metrical structure, how poetic instantiations are evidence of phonology,
and how the metrical template can select which phonological material to use
in its structure.

In particular, I show how some rhythmical differences among Romance
languages instantiations of the same metre are due to the selection of specific
characteristics by the metrical template (Chapter 6). As briefly seen above, this
is the case for Catalan which shows a lack of rhythmical alternation in its line,
which would normally be expected and which is generally attested in tradi-
tions from related languages. While many metrical aspects and divergences
can be accounted for by considering phonology, this extreme syllabicity of the
Catalan form is not due to phonology but to the metrical template hindering
the natural tendency of the language to a binary rhythm. Some tension be-
Phonology and the Metrical Template

tween phonological and metrical structure is required here, in that the natural avoidance of stress clashes and lapses is suppressed, in order to produce a poetic form without a colon-internal rhythmical pattern.

Another phenomenon which supports the present proposal is represented by the peculiar use of proparoxytone words in English poetic rhyme (Chapter 3). In a few words, the last syllable of a proparoxytone, in English, can be placed in a prominent position and behave as a rhyming element together with an oxytone or monosyllabic word. This is not the case for any other tradition under investigation in the present study. Furthermore, it clashes with the general definition of rhyme (in Western traditions) as a relation between two stressed vowels and the phonological material which follows them (Brogan and Chushman, 2012, p. 1184). Such an anomalous phenomenon, which is largely allowed in English, can arise because the metrical structure makes use of a phonological structure which is somehow available in the language and which makes these syllables not fully extrametrical. Consequently, in this case as in others, the metrical structure can choose from among the phonological options available the one which suits it better, whether or not the selection is the most common option in phonology.

These metrical requirements are not phonological and not obligatory. They are based on arbitrary rules established in a specific tradition. They exploit phonological possibilities and linguistic elements available in the phonology of a specific language, and allow the metrical structure to output a result which is not necessarily the most natural nor the most obvious.

It is important to bear in mind that a complex process like poetry writing cannot be simplified to only one factor determining the resulting form. In particular, when culture is called into play, the individual choices of any particular author also become important. Also, within those choices, sometimes it is difficult and problematic to determine which ones are actual preferences of the author, completely detached from any other factor, and which ones have been determined by the context and the relevant culture. Individual choices made by any single author are actually caused by the sum of these factors. These differences among authors are not easy to dissect in a way that can exactly define and distinguish them. Formalising these sorts of divergences and considering their role and interaction with other factors is complex and can be controversial. On the one hand, they are not part of the metrical template an individual author uses to write verse. On the other hand, considering these factors in the form of constraints could allow, in a sense, a very detailed description of every author’s grammar; however, this would not contribute to the general understanding of how poetry works and of the metrical template. In this perspective, every author, with their personal choices, represents a node within the space of possible ways to make use of the same template and the same constraints regulating the use of phonological material in metrics.
2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the theoretical assumptions which represent the basis for the development of the present dissertation. First, the previously postulated theories regarding the metrical template and the relationship between phonology and poetry have been presented; previous different accounts for the ten-syllable metre have been discussed. The presence of the metrical template is assumed, but in such a way that the structure is not completely fixed and can be moulded.

In the core section of the chapter, namely, Section 2.5, a proposal regarding the relationship between phonological and metrical structure has been elaborated. Their connection has been long postulated in that the metrical template recreates the structure and the functioning of the prosodic hierarchy and it is filled by linguistic material. The approach presented here re-defines the relationship between the two structures as a bidirectional one, where metrical structure is not simply and passively filled by phonological elements. On the one hand, phonological structure sees the metrical template and fills it with its material; on the other hand, the metrical template can choose which phonological elements to use. Therefore, while phonology sees metrical structure, metrical structure can also see phonology and can, ultimately, stretch the possible outputs of the phonology, in order to adjust phonological material to metrical preferences. When this happens, more tension between metrical and phonological structure is created.
Part I

Poetry and Phonology
Rhyming with unstressed syllables.

Demonstrating the English prosodic foot in verse

3.1 Introduction

In English poetry, the last unstressed syllable of a proparoxytone word can behave like a stressed one: it can not only fill a prominent position line-finally, within a metrical template, but it can also constitute a rhyme together with a monosyllable or the stressed syllable of an oxytone word. The option to place an unstressed syllable in one of the metrically stronger prominent positions is quite unusual. In addition, treating this syllable as rhyme material not only goes against the definition of rhyme (in Western traditions) as a relationship between two stressed vowels and the phonological material which follows them (Brogan and Chushman, 2012, p. 1184), but also seems not to be possible or commonly used in closely-related poetic traditions, such as Dutch and German, where this can only happen when the proparoxytone word contains a stress-bearing suffix.

The aim of this chapter is to show that this phenomenon due not simply to stylistic choices, which peculiarly would have only developed in English poetry and not in closely-related traditions, but to an aspect of the English stress system. The possibility of a proparoxytone word rhyming with a monosyllable or oxytone word is a consequence of and evidence about English phonology, in that it is made possible by the status of the last unstressed syllable as neither fully stressless nor completely extrametrical. The word-final syllable is, in fact, what Burzio (1994, p.16) defines as a “weak syllable”, in that it can either be metrified or be extrametrical. Consequently, the metrical template makes use of
this optionality and metrifies the material of the weak syllable in its structure, specifically by treating it as if it was a stressed syllable.

The evidence that this poetic practice is motivated by phonological factors comes from testing of the naturalness of this type of rhyme for native speakers. The fact that this rhyme sounds quite natural to English native speakers and the results of its comparison with other poetic practices which are not strictly phonology-driven, such as, eye rhyme, which is rather based on orthographic similarities, give support to the claim. This exploration sheds light on the stress system itself and on aspects of it that still need to be accounted for. Two tests are used to investigate the naturalness of such unusual rhymes. The comparison of the two tests reveals how straightforward the perception of this type of rhyme is for native speakers.

The chapter is structured as follows. In Section 3.2, the anomalous behaviour of word-final unstressed syllables in English proparoxytones is explained and a theoretical account is outlined. The following Section (3.3) presents the design of the two tests which were run in order to investigate the naturalness of the rhyme between the proparoxytone’s last unstressed syllable and a monosyllable or an oxytone’s word stressed syllable. Section 3.4 contains the details of the stimuli and the methodology used in the two experiments, namely, a judgement experiment taking place in a laboratory and an online survey. In Section 3.5, test results are presented, first for the ratings (3.5.1) which the participants gave to the different types of rhymes included in the tests and, then, for their reaction times (3.5.2), which were recorded in both studies. A discussion follows in Section 3.6. Finally, a concluding section (3.7) summarises the main claim and findings.

3.2 The last unstressed syllable as not fully extrametrical

At first sight, English verse, and in particular, English Renaissance verse, is quite similar to that of closely-related languages, for example Dutch. Upon closer examination, however, a significant difference sets English verse quite apart from any other tradition.

Hanson (1997, p. 284) mentions that “in the absence of an extrametrical syllable line-finally, there is no general requirement in English that the final strong position contain a stressed syllable (unlike French or Italian)”. What Hanson is referring to is the possibility in English poetry of an unstressed syllable filling the last prominent position of an iambic pentameter, as can be observed in the Example in 1.

(1) unstressed syllable in the last prominent position of an iambic pentameter
[His ten][der heir][might bear][his me][mory]
Shakespeare, Sonnet I (adapted from Hanson 1997, p. 284)
Rhyming with unstressed syllables. The English prosodic foot in verse

The bracketing in 1 represents the five poetic feet of the line, while the
bolding marks the prominent position of each foot. As can be observed, the
last foot of the line is composed by -mory, where -ry is the prominent element
of the foot, despite the fact that it consists of an unstressed syllable. Hanson
(1997) motivates this practice by assuming the absence of a strong require-
ment for the last prominent position of the template to be filled by a stressed syllable,
when not followed by an extrametrical element (i.e. in the absence of a feminine
rhyme). What I propose here is a change of perspective for this phenomenon
and, hence, a different account for it. To explain, by considering the practice
not only in terms of metrical template but also in terms of rhyme, it becomes
evident that this does not necessarily depend on metrical requirements but is
linked to deeper aspects of the English language.

First of all, it is important to consider the fact that not all unstressed syl-
lables seem to be allowed to fill a line-final prominent position, but this is a
property of proparoxytone word-final unstressed syllables. Within an iambic
pentameter template, this means that the last unstressed syllable of a propar-
oxoytone word can occupy the tenth position. The presence of an unstressed
syllable in the last prominent position of a verse is quite unusual, since the
line-final prominent position in such a template is generally the most strictly
constrained element. The line-final position in an iambic template represents
the most strictly regulated position of the verse, no matter how irregular the
line-internal pattern is.

To explain, English Renaissance metre is based on a strictly iambic-foot
based metrical template (Halle and Keyser, 1971; Kiparsky, 1977). In iambic
verse, the prominent positions of each foot are normally filled by stressed
syllables. The requirement to place stressed syllables in prominent positions
becomes stronger towards the end of the line, following the Strict End Hypo-
thesis (Kiparsky, 1968; Hayes, 1983; Prince, 1989; DeCastro-Arrazola, 2018). This
is the case for Dutch and German implementations of Renaissance poetry. In
addition, within the bigger picture of a typology of Renaissance metre, despite
Romance Renaissance poetic forms not being strictly iambic (De Sisto 2019 and
Chapter 6), they also impose a very strict requirement for a stressed syllable to
be placed on the last prominent position. Consequently, in the rare case when a
proparoxytone word occurs line-finally, the main stress of the word is expected
to be placed on the last prominent position and the two following unstressed
syllables are considered extrametrical. By contrast, this is not always the case
in English Renaissance poetry, as can be observed by comparing the Examples
in 2 and 3.

(2) Dutch
De weert wort getoomt van wyder te verwilder
Door goddelijk gezagh, dat uit de wolcken straelt;
Maer 's hemels Majesteit, van niemants hant te schilderen,
Joost van den Vondel, Afbeeldinge Van Christine Der Zweden Gotten en
Wenden Koninginne (in Vondel 1931)
32  3.2. The last unstressed syllable as not fully extrametrical

English translation: “The world is tamed of spaces to run wild / by the divine power, that lights up from the clouds: / but the Majesty of heaven (is) painted by no one’s hand,“

(3)  English
That have profaned their scarlet ornaments
And sealed false bonds of love as oft as mine,
Robbed others’ beds’ revenues of their rents.
Shakespeare, Sonnet CXLII

In Dutch (in 2), the last prominent position, in bold, is filled by a syllable carrying word stress and the following unstressed syllables, in italics, are extrametrical; in English (in 3), a different solution is possible, namely, filling the last prominent position with the last unstressed syllable of the proparoxytone word. In (3), a proparoxytone word ends the first line and its last unstressed syllable, in bold and italics, is placed in the last prominent position and rhymes with the monosyllable *rents*.

In Dutch and German this could potentially only happen with a stress-bearing suffix. For example, the suffix *-heid*, ‘*ity*’, in Dutch, as in *persoonlijkheid*, ‘*personality*’, could be placed in the last prominent position of the line, since this type of suffix bears secondary stress (on stress-bearing suffixes in Dutch, see Booij 1995). It is, however, not very common to find these types of words line-finally. On the other hand, in English, the last syllable of a proparoxytone can occur in prominent position, regardless of whether it bears secondary stress or not. A common trait is, instead, syllable weight, in that these last syllables tend to have a long vowel or end with a consonant cluster.

The popularity of this practice in Renaissance poetry cannot prove whether this is just a stylistic choice, which simply became quite successful within the genre, or not. The relevance of these characteristics becomes more evident when considering another element, which can reveal the presence of this peculiarity outside the borders of Renaissance verse: rhyme.

Recalling the example above, in 3, where the last unstressed syllable of a proparoxytone word is placed in a line-final prominent position, this also affects the rhyme between this line and others. In this case, the rhyming element is not the stressed syllable of the proparoxytone, but, rather, the last unstressed syllable, which rhymes with either a monosyllable or the stressed syllable of an oxytone word. Despite being quite a controversial type of rhyme, since it is normally thought that a rhyme (at least in the main European literary traditions) is constituted by two stressed syllables and the phonological material that follows them (Brogan and Chushman, 2012, p. 1184), this type of rhyme in English is not a practice which was limited to the Renaissance iambic template. It continued, in fact, to be quite popular and widespread also in subsequent poetic traditions (see 4) and even in free verse. In addition, regardless of the fact that rhyme has become less and less popular in contemporary poetry, this
specific type of rhyme is still attested, as in 5, for example.

(4) She leads us up the steeps of dream
    Till in the fire we try to see
    A thousand flashing eyes which seem
    To beckon to us joyfully
    W. H. Auden (1923-4) *In the nursery*

(5) And no, they did not die from solitude;
    nor did their branches bear a sterile fruit;
    Don Paterson (2007) *Two trees*

As can be observed in 4 and 5, the last unstressed syllable of a proparoxytone word, namely, *joyfully* and *solitude*, respectively, rhymes with a stressed monosyllable. Regarding Example 5, it can be observed that the rhyme displayed constitutes at most a slant rhyme, far from being a perfect rhyme, nevertheless, this does not change the fact that it clearly shows that the last unstressed syllable of *solitude* is used as a rhyme element.  

It is important to highlight the fact that this type of rhyme is optional and its usage also depends on the poet’s preference. One exception to the common trend among poets is Dylan Thomas, who preferred pairing proparoxytone words with other proar oxytones, for a rhyme more in line with the forms allowed in other languages. As can be observed in 6, in this verse by Thomas, the rhyme is formed between the stressed syllables of two proparoxytone words. As above about Example 5, the focus here is rather on the syllables that are matched in a rhyme pair, rather than on the quality or type of rhyme.

(6) Love, my fate got *luckily,*
    Teaches with no telling
    That the phoenix’ bid for heaven and the desire after
    Death in the carved *nunnery*
    Dylan Thomas (1946) *Unluckily for a death*

Despite the extreme popularity over time of the use of proparoxytone’s final unstressed syllables as rhyme material in English poetry, this practice does not seem to have become popular in other traditions. This divergence suggests that the availability of line-final proparoxytones is not simply related to poetic style but has a deeper root in the English language. To explain, the availability of this kind of rhyme reveals an aspect of English stress system and it actually constitutes evidence of its peculiarity. Proparoxytone-final unstressed syllables, especially when heavy, do not behave exactly like fully unstressed syllables.

The behaviour of proparoxytone words, in English, has not been extensively described or investigated. In Halle and Keyser (1971, p. 27), some proparoxytone words are referred to as carrying tertiary stress, since their last syllable

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1I would like to thank Dr. Emily Darley for pointing out this to me.
is not fully stressless. This tertiary stress is assigned as a consequence of two stress rules occurring after the main stress rule has assigned primary stress on the final stressed vowel, the alternating stress rule assigns the primary stress to the antepenultimate syllable, and consequently, the original primary stress is weakened to tertiary (Halle and Keyser, 1971, p. 27). This account, however, can only explain cases that clearly involve a final syllable that is not fully stressless, such as *hurricane* (in Halle and Keyser 1971, p. 26), and not those cases in which the final syllable is, at first sight, fully unstressed, as in *wondering*.

Halle and Vergnaud (1987, p. 234) observe that some proparoxytone words with final syllables with branching rimes have a subsidiary word-final stress. In these words a rhythm rule, which retracts final stress, is lexically governed. The cases they refer to are words like *designate*, *demonstrate*, *telephone* (from Halle and Vergnaud 1987, p. 234). In the case of words like *serendipity* (Halle and Vergnaud, 1987, p. 229), they claim that the final -y is completely extrametrical and not projected in the metrical grid. By contrast, in the present results there seems not to be a difference among word classes or branching rimes, for example, -ate or “extrametrical” ones, like -y.

Burzio (1994, p.16) refers to the existence of a special class of syllables in English that he defines as “weak syllables”. Weak syllables can be either metrified or extrametrical. Weak syllables can only occur word-finally and, when metrified, yield weak metrical feet (Burzio, 1994, p.16-7). Burzio (1994, p.17) proposes that the weakness is due to acoustic weakness. A clear example of the two possible structures is shown in 7a and 7b.

(7) a. (adjec)tive
b. ob(jec)tive

(adapted from Burzio (1994, p. 16))

In 7a, -ive is extrametrical, while in 7b it is metrified. The existence of the weak syllable class, claims Burzio (1994, p.68), can solve the variability between cases of stress placement where the last syllable appears to be extrametrical and those where it is not, which had been previously accounted for by assuming late syllabification of the former (Hayes, 1985).

Starting from the claim made by Burzio (1994, p.16) about the existence of weak syllables in English, I wish to extend this concept to proparoxytone words in general. I propose that the possibility of either metrifying the final syllable of such words or keeping it extrametrical can explain what happens in English rhyme. It is important to specify here that, in this extension of the term “weak syllables”, no difference in primary stress placement is involved. To explain, within the metrical template, two phonological possibilities are available for the same proparoxytone word; for example, as if the word *adjective* had two possible options for metrification, namely (adjec)tive and (adjec)(tive). While in the former case the last syllable is extrametrical, in the latter it is part of some kind of defective foot.
I propose that not all properties of these unstressed syllables are lost, so their material can be considered and metrified somehow. The English stress system is not fully blind to the weight of these syllables, so they can optionally be footed into defective unary feet. This property seems to be characteristic of proparoxytone final syllables, independently of the presence or absence of secondary stress.

Consequently, proparoxytone words, in general, can be reinterpreted by the metrical template as having two possible structures, either that in 8 or that in 9.

(8) (wonde)ring

(9) (wonde)(ring)

By contrast, in Dutch only one structure is available, as in 10.

(10) Dutch: (oefe)<ning> 'practice'

In 10, the angle brackets indicate that the last syllable is fully extrametrical, in contrast with the example in 8, where the last syllable is extrametrical but its material is not fully invisible to phonology.

In 8, the word-final syllable, ring, is extrametrical, while, in 9, it is part of a defective foot. During the matching interaction between phonological structure and metrical structure, one of the two possibilities is selected, based on metrical needs. Hence, two options are available for the metrical template:

(11) [...]won)dering

(12) [...]won)(dering)

By assuming the proparoxytone word wondering to be at the end of a line, it can be observed that, in 11, the last syllable is treated as phonologically extrametrical; consequently, it is also considered as extrametrical within the metrical template, so it does not form any poetic foot and is left outside the metrical computation. In 12, instead, the last syllable is metrified hence, the metrical template uses it as the prominent element of an iambic foot, as if it were carrying some kind of secondary stress.

The metrical template can choose between the two possible structures according to its needs. This shows that, when the phonological structure is matched with the metrical template, the process is not fully unidirectional. The metrical structure, in fact, can select from among the phonological elements and, to a certain extent, adapt the material it gets filled by. For example, considering rhyme, a proparoxytone word can be metrified in the metrical template in two ways, depending on whether it is required for it to rhyme with another proparoxytone or with an oxytone or monosyllabic word.
In 13, two proparoxytones rhyme; hence, the rhyme consists of the word-initial stressed syllable of both words and the last syllable is treated as unstressed. In 14, instead, the rhyme is between a proparoxytone and an oxytone word; here, the last unstressed syllable of the proparoxytone rhymes with the stressed syllable of the oxytone. In order to be rhyme material, the last syllable needs to be metrified and its weight taken into account.

Interestingly, while the option in 13 seems to be the only way to use a proparoxytone word in a rhyme in many Western languages, in English, both options are available and it is actually that in 14 which is more frequently used in poetry. This preference shows that, regardless of what is more common in the phonology, the fact that this structure is available in the system makes it possible for the metrical template to select it.

The English option to metrify the word-final syllables of a proparoxytone into a poetic foot appears to be a peculiarity of English verse which is not available in other closely-related traditions. A comparison with Dutch shows that, despite all the poetic and stress system similarities, this option is not possible in Dutch poetry, because an alternative structure for weak syllables in not available in Dutch phonology. A number of studies have investigated similarities and differences between the Dutch and English stress systems (see, for instance, Visch 1989; Kager 1989). What is relevant here is that Dutch and English differ in their determination of syllable weight and in extrametricality. Regarding syllable weight, while in English this is related to mora counting, in contrast, in Dutch, since all syllables are bimoraic (Lahiri and Koreman, 1985; Kager, 1989), it rather relates to melodic complexity (Kager, 1989). As a consequence, open syllables with long vowels are heavy in English but light in Dutch.

From this perspective, closed and open syllables containing long vowels are both heavy in English; hence, they are expected to behave similarly when they form the last syllable of a proparoxytone. This is indeed what is found in English poetry and what has been verified in the experiments. As for Dutch, a difference between open and closed syllables would be expected, but, at the current stage, most of the line-final proparoxytone examples found in Dutch Renaissance poetry end in -en, where the vowel is rather a schwa. The supposed absence of cases with full vowel ending a proparoxytone word in poetry makes it difficult to verify the difference. More research would be needed to investigate whether an open syllable containing a full vowel would behave differently when occurring at the end of a verse.

Regarding the difference in extrametricality between English and Dutch, Kager (1989) claims that “The difference between English and Dutch is basically
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that the latter system imposes syllable extrametricality only after constituents have been formed by Syllable Adjunction, while the former system employs syllable extrametricality to govern both Syllable Adjunction and the End Rule” (Kager, 1989, p. 258). In other words, in English, extrametricality is “marked in the lexicon” (Kager, 1989, p. 145), while, in Dutch, syllables is parsed as extrametrical at a later stage. Under this theory, the expectations for proparoxytones line-finally would actually be the opposite of what is attested. To explain, since extrametrical syllables in English are considered to be characterised as already extrametrical in the lexicon, it should be more difficult for the metrical template to retrieve their properties and use them in its structure; it would be, in theory, easier in Dutch for the metrical template to retrieve extrametrical syllables which were excluded by the stress parsing process in one of the latest stages – that is, after their weight has already been computed. Nevertheless, what is attested in Dutch and English poetry is exactly the opposite: Dutch extrametrical syllables in proparoxytone words are completely excluded from metrical computations in poetry; hence, they are treated as fully extrametrical, invisible to the metrical template; in contrast, English extrametrical syllables can behave like metrified stressed syllables in the metrical template, meaning that poetry can access their material and their weight.

In the Example in 15, two similar words from English and Dutch are considered. Both the Dutch word *oefening* (‘practice’) and the English word *wondering* are proparoxytone. They contain a similar word-final syllable, -Cing and, at first sight, they have a very similar structure. A significant difference, though, concerns the final syllables: in the Dutch example, this syllable is fully unstressed and extrametrical and the stress system is blind to its weight; in English, this syllable is weak, hence unstressed, but still not completely invisible to the stress system; consequently, its material can eventually be used.

Consequently, in poetry, English can metrify a weak syllable as the head of a line-final foot (as in the Example in 15a). On the other hand, in Dutch (see 15b), since this syllable is completely and necessarily extrametrical, it cannot be part of the template in poetry hence, it cannot constitute the head of a poetic foot. Therefore, during the bracketing within an iambic metrical template, while the Dutch syllable is left completely extrametrical and does not contribute to the template, its English counterpart can form an extra poetic foot and, in particular, can fill the prominent position of this foot.

(15) a. English: [...] **won**(dering)

b. Dutch: [...] **oef**en

While the word-final syllable of *wondering* can form the head of the line-final iambic foot, that of *oefening* cannot be part of the metrical template and remains extrametrical.

To sum up, in the present section it has been proposed that the peculiarity of English rhyme in terms of proparoxytone word-final syllables behaving like stressed syllables is due to an aspect of the English stress system, which
appears to be a peculiarity of English. The last unstressed syllable of a proparoxytone is not fully extrametrical nor fully unstressed, hence can still be metrified. The same syllable type in other languages is completely extrametrical and its material is not accessible by phonology; consequently, the syllable does not have any property which can be used in phonological structuring. From this perspective, the presence of this syllable in a prominent position in metrical templates of English poetry and its use as rhyme material constitute evidence on the phonological characteristics of the language. It shows that phonology conditions the development of poetic traditions. This confirms what was observed by Wagner and McCurdy (2010) regarding poetic rhyme reflecting language structure rather than being just the result of traditional and arbitrary stylistic choices; it is also in line with what has previously been claimed by Jakobson (1960) and Kiparsky (1973) about poetic form in general.

In order to prove the validity of this claim, a way of testing the naturalness of this phenomenon for English native speakers was designed: If experimental investigation reveals that it is natural to native speakers to encounter the final syllable of a proparoxytone word in a prominent position, rhyming with a stressed syllable of an oxytone or with a monosyllable, this evidence would support a phonological motivation for the phenomenon. In addition, widespread acceptance of this rhyme outside the metrical template – that is, between isolated word pairs – would reinforce the claim and detach the phenomenon from any stylistic choice related to poetic verse.

In the following section two experiments, one judgement experiment taking place in a laboratory and one online survey, are presented; they were used to collect English native speakers’ judgements about this type of rhyme.

### 3.3 Experimental design

In order to investigate how natural the use of proparoxytone-final syllables for rhyme is for English native speakers, two judgement tests were designed: one took place in a laboratory and the other was structured as an online survey. The two experiments differed in the judgement options given to participants. In the lab experiment, participants needed to answer a yes/no question, namely, “does it rhyme or not?"; in the web experiment, instead, they were required to use a one-to-five Likert scale to evaluate how well the stimuli rhymed, with a score of one indicating no rhyme at all and five a perfect rhyme. This was done in order to compare the judgement of participants under different circumstances and evaluate the differences. The same set of stimuli (n=110) was used; this stimuli could be divided into six groups: no-rhyme, perfect rhyme, imperfect rhyme (containing consonances and assonances), eye rhyme (subdivided into simple eye rhyme, with orthographic match and phonetic mismatch, and eye rhyme also involving stress-mismatch) and the rhyme between the last unstressed syllable of a proparoxytone word and a monosyllabic or oxytone word (proparoxytone-oxytone rhyme, henceforth). In 16, an example of each
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Rhyme type is given (for an exhaustive list of the stimuli, see the Appendix in Section 3.8).

(16) Examples of stimuli and rhyme types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>abbreviation</th>
<th>rhyme type</th>
<th>example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>perfect rhyme</td>
<td>grace - face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
<td>no-rhyme</td>
<td>stories - sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PO</td>
<td>paroxytone-oxytone rhyme</td>
<td>gloominess - caress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IM</td>
<td>imperfect rhyme</td>
<td>son - moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ES</td>
<td>eye rhyme stress mismatch</td>
<td>city - oddity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EV</td>
<td>eye rhyme</td>
<td>mint - pint</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No-rhymes and perfect rhymes were used as the control groups. They were included because their grading was expected to be relatively objective and not dependent on individual taste or preferences. The hypothesis regarding proparoxytone-oxytone rhymes was that their score would be closer to that of perfect rhymes than to that of any other type.

Eye rhymes were included in order to verify that the positive evaluation of the rhymes under investigation is not related to the widespread use of eye rhymes in the English poetic tradition (Brogan and Bill, 2012, p. 475). To explain, the popularity of eye rhymes – that is, of rhyme pairs which are similar orthographically but not pronunciation-wise – could have played a role in making rhyme pairs which are orthographically similar but do not match in stress somehow more acceptable. In addition to common eye rhymes, a kind of eye rhyme with orthographic and pronunciation coincidence but with an actual stress clash in the rhyming material was also used. In these rhyme types a stressed syllable in one element rhymed with the unstressed syllable adjacent to the word stress of another element.

The comparison with imperfect rhymes and eye rhymes aimed at gaining an understanding of how “correct” or natural the proparoxytone-oxytone rhymes are perceived to be, relative to the other types. Rhyme pairs were selected from a range of word types in terms of length (monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic words) and stress type (oxytone, paroxytone and proparoxytone words), taking word frequency into account.

The presentation of stimuli was divided into two parts containing fifty rhyme pairs each: one in which the target words appeared line-finally in couplets of iambic tetrameters and one in which isolated word pairs appeared on the screen. In 17, example word pairs and their corresponding couplets are given.

(17) – Perfect rhyme

grace | I miss a little bit of grace
face  | I miss your nose, your eyes, your face
3.3. Experimental design

- No-rhyme
  
  stories | I miss the heroes of our stories  
  sing | I miss the songs we used to sing

- Proparoxytone-oxytone rhyme
  
  caress | I miss a warm sincere caress  
  gloominess | I miss my faithful gloominess

- Imperfect rhyme
  
  son | I miss the laugh of Katie’s son  
  moon | I miss the silence at full moon

- Eye rhyme with stress mismatch
  
  city | I miss the lights of my city  
  oddity | I miss a little oddity

- Eye rhyme
  
  mint | I miss the flavour of fresh mint  
  pint | I miss a cold refreshing pint

Stimuli were presented visually onscreen: in the word pair condition, a single word pair with one word below the other was shown on each trial; in the couplet condition, a two-line verse was shown on each trial.2 Each participant was randomly assigned to complete either the couplet condition first or the word pair condition first, followed by the other condition. This was done for counterbalancing purposes (following Knoop et al. 2019) and so that any priming effect could be observed.

A specific metre was chosen for the couplets in order to control the number of syllables per line and the line rhythm. To be more precise, an iambic tetrameter template was used to make sure that the last syllable of each couplet would occur in a metrically prominent position.

All couplets were newly written in order to prevent any kind of bias in participants’ judgement that might arise if they recognised a couplet or style. Furthermore, they were intentionally repetitive (i.e. they all started with I miss) in order to discourage participants from paying too much attention to their meaning and to encourage them to focus more on rhythm. The use of both word pairs and couplets provided the opportunity to observe speakers’ behaviour when reading a rhyme type within a metrical template and outside

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2Due to a technical issue with the online survey platform, the position of the text on the screen was not the same in the two experiments. In the lab experiment, the text was left-aligned, as planned during the design phase, while in the web experiment, it was centred. The differences between the two experiments do not allow us to determine whether the visual alignment had an effect on the judgements.
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any poetic grouping or element and to compare these responses. The evaluation of rhyme types without verse allows the results to be generalised beyond poetic constraints or stylistic choices.

The order of the rhyming pairs was randomised. The same rhyming pair was never presented in both the word pair and the couplet condition to the same participant. Therefore, every participant saw each rhyme pair only once. This meant that there were four participant groups:

- Group A
  Part I: couplets, first fifty rhyme items; part II: word pairs, last fifty items;
- Group B
  Part I: couplets, last fifty rhyme items; part II: word pairs, first fifty items;
- Group C
  Part I: word pairs, first fifty rhyme items; part II: couplets, last fifty items;
- Group D
  Part I: word pairs, last fifty rhyme items; part II: couplets, first fifty items;

Before the beginning of the experiment a small training phase took place, in which either couplets or word pairs were presented, depending on which section would follow immediately after. Ten word pairs or couplets were used in the training phase, five being perfect rhymes and five being no-rhymes. All stimuli appeared on the screen for a limited amount of time, in order to encourage participants to give their first, most spontaneous opinion about the rhyme. In the case of the lab experiment, the timing could be controlled more precisely: couplets were displayed for 4,000 ms and word pairs for 2,000 ms, and each trial was followed by a blank screen displayed for 1,000 ms. In the web experiment all stimuli appeared on the screen for 10,000 ms, after which the next stimulus would appear. In both cases, reaction time was recorded.

Participants were all native speakers of British English within an age range of eighteen to fifty (mean age: 28.5; sd: 8.64). Additionally, they had no language disorders or vision problems. Participants varied in their levels of education and in whether they liked and habitually read poetry.

3.4 Methodology

3.4.1 The lab experiment

The experiment was run at Oxford University Language and Brain Laboratory in April 2019. It was conducted using Presentation (Neurobehavioral Systems Inc.). Participants were recruited via University of Oxford student organisations, public adverts on websites and on the local newspaper website. This was done in order achieve diversity in the types of participants taking part in the study. Twenty participants took part in the study, with five allocated to
each group (A, B, C and D; see Section 3.3). Before the completing the task, participants were asked to provide information about their general demographics (level of education, country of birth etc.) and linguistic background (first language, whether they were monolinguals etc.).

Participants

All twenty participants were native speakers of British English. Only three were monolinguals, while the others had some knowledge of a second or more languages. They were all born and raised in the United Kingdom some lived for a period abroad (not longer than one year). Seven of the participants were male. Their ages ranged from 20 to 39 (mean age: 26.35; sd: 4.81). Four participants declared that they did not like poetry. Participants reported reading poetry with frequencies varying from “never” to “very often (every week)” . Their educational background varied from high-school diploma to post-graduate degree.

3.4.2 The web experiment

The web experiment was presented using Ibex farm³ and participants were selected through Prolific.⁴ Sixty-one participants took part in the study. Five participants were excluded: two of them did not make use of the scale, giving only answers at either of the extremes; one did not complete the survey, hence, the results were not available; one timed out in 15% of the stimuli and one pressed one for 20% of the cases consecutively. In the online survey, a brief background information section preceded the training. The background information questionnaire was very similar to the one given to the participants in the lab experiment. In addition, some pre-screening was done by Prolific (e.g. for British English native speakers, living in the United Kingdom, not bilinguals, etc). Due to some functionality limitations of the platform running the survey, the distribution of participants across the groups was slightly uneven: eighteen participants took the Group A version, twelve the Group B, fourteen the Group C and twelve the Group D. As a result, thirty participants took a survey displaying couplets first and word pairs afterwards, while twenty-six were presented with word pairs in the first part of the survey.

Participants

All fifty six participants reported themselves to be native speakers of British English. Thirty five participants were female. Their ages ranged from eighteen to fifty (mean age: 30.7; sd: 9.24). Nineteen participants declared that they did not like poetry and a large majority read poetry “rarely (once per year)” . None of the participants reported to read poetry “very often (every week)”. Their

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³ http://spellout.net/ibexfarm
⁴ www.prolific.ac
educational background varied from high-school diploma to post-graduate degree.

3.5 Results

Acceptability ratings strongly supported the hypothesis on the naturalness of proparoxytone-oxytone rhymes. Participants in both experiments rated proparoxytone-oxytone rhymes quite similarly, despite the different evaluation options at their disposal. Both the binary yes/no judgement during the lab experiment and the usage of a one-to-five scale in the web experiment elicited high scores for the peculiar English rhyme type. This similarity in ratings shows the widespread acceptability of the rhyme and supports the claim about its naturalness. The comparability of the results from both types of rating scale means that any concerns that the evaluation options affected the responses can be dispensed with and strongly supports the findings: no matter the conditions, the proparoxytone-oxytone rhyme is strongly accepted by participants, just as perfect rhymes will always receive the highest rating. In the next section, the rating results are outlined and compared.

Reaction time results were more ambiguous, nevertheless, they will be briefly discussed in Section 3.5.2.

3.5.1 Acceptability ratings

The rating data were analysed with R (RStudio Team, 2018). The analysis was carried out by using the packages lme4 (Bates et al., 2015), lmerTest (Kuznetsova et al., 2017) and ordinal (Christensen, 2019).

For the rating results of the lab experiment, a binomial regression was run with Rating as the dependent variable.

For the rating results of the web experiment, a cumulative link mix model was used. In this case as well, Rating was the dependent variable.

The interaction of two fixed effects, Rhyme and Type, was considered. Random effects of Stimulus (item) and Participant were included in the model. Order was shown not to play a significant role in the analysis. The same model with different rhyme types as base level was run in order to verify that a base releveling did not affect the results. The final model was run with the proparoxytone-oxytone rhyme (PO) as base-level. In 18 and 19, the complete formula is presented.

(18) Binomial regression model for acceptability ratings in the lab experiment:

Generalised linear mixed model fit by maximum likelihood (Laplace Approximation) ['glmerMod'] Formula: Rating ~ Rhyme * Type + (1 | Stimulus) + (1 | Participant.ID)

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3.5. **Results**

Number of obs: 2000, groups: Stimulus.ID, 100; Participant.ID, 20

(19) Cumulative link mixed model for acceptability ratings in the web-based experiment:

Cumulative Link Mixed Model fitted with the Laplace approximation
Formula: Rating ~ Rhyme * Type + (1 | Stimulus) + (1 | Participant.ID)
Number of groups: StimulusID 100, Participant.ID 56

The purpose of the statistical analysis was to verify that the differences in ratings among the rhyme types, which were already visible on exploratory plots, were indeed significant. Above all, a particularly relevant set of tests related to differences in ratings between the proparoxytone-oxytone rhyme (PO) and other types of “semi-rhymes” like assonance, consonance and eye rhymes, which are also quite common in English poetry; these tests indicated that no influence from other rhyme types was at play in the high acceptance of PO rhyme. Furthermore, the interaction of rhyme type and stimulus type (either word pair or couplet) shows to what extent participants’ rating depend on the metrical template.

As can be observed in Tables 3.1 and 3.2, in both datasets, the proparoxytone-oxytone rhyme (PO) varies significantly from the other types. This proves PO rhyme to be different from other rhyme types that are also in common use in English poetry but that are not related to the same phonological aspect. In particular, PO rhyme differs significantly from eye rhyme (EV) and from eye rhyme with stress mismatch (ES) when occurring within Couplets; hence, its high acceptability is not related to similarity in the spelling. A main effect of Type can be observed, in that couplets produce lower acceptability ratings than single word comparisons. However, this is not true for no-rhyme (NR), which amounts to the interaction between Rhyme (type) and (stymulus) Type.

The acceptability rating results of both experiments (Figure 3.1 and 3.2) show that in both experimental formats the proparoxytone-oxytone rhyme scored very highly, with an average of 0.67 out of 1 in the lab experiment data and an average of 3.41 out of 5 in the web data. In both tests, this rhyme category was the highest ranked after perfect rhymes. In addition, eye rhymes were rated higher than imperfect rhymes, but still significantly lower than proparoxytone-oxytone rhymes; consequently, no relation was shown between the acceptability of proparoxytone-oxytone rhyme and the common use of eye rhymes in English poetry. In Figure 3.1, a bar chart showing the lab experiment rating results is presented.

The average rating is considered and the rating for each rhyme type is displayed, together with the type of display, namely, “Coup” for couplet and “Word” for word pair; the order of display is also included: “A” indicates first couplets and then word pairs and “B” first word pairs and then couplets. The following is a list explaining the abbreviations and colours assigned to rhyme types.
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Fixed effects:  Estimate  Std. Error  z value  Pr(>|z|)
(Intercept)     0.3885      0.3901     0.996     0.319285
RhymeERS        -0.6233     0.6138    -1.015     0.309899
RhymeIM         -1.3101     0.5131    -2.553     0.010671 *
RhymeERV        -1.8930     0.6253    -3.028     0.002465 **
RhymeNR         -5.4302     0.7712    -7.041    1.91e-12 ***
RhymePR         2.8783      0.5735     5.019     5.20e-07 ***
TypeCoup        1.3303      0.2684     4.957     7.16e-07 ***
RhymeERS:TypeCoup -1.3258     0.4345    -3.051     0.002279 **
RhymeIM:TypeCoup -1.1310     0.3753    -3.013     0.002586 **
RhymeERV:TypeCoup -2.8980     0.5544    -5.228    1.72e-07 ***
RhymeNR:TypeCoup -1.6139     0.8440    -1.912     0.055871 .
RhymePR:TypeCoup -1.6618     0.4771    -3.483     0.000496 ***

Signif. codes: 0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1

Table 3.1: Fixed effects of the binomial regression of the lab experiment rating results

- ERS: eye rhymes with stress mismatch
- ERV: eye rhymes
- IM: imperfect rhymes (assonances and consonances)
- NR: no-rhymes
- PO: proparoxytone/oxytone-monosyllables rhymes
- PR: perfect rhymes

As can be observed in Figure 3.1, perfect rhymes (PR) and no-rhymes (NR) from all categories are the highest and the lowest ranked, respectively. Proparoxytone-oxytone rhymes (PO) are the second highest ranked rhyme type. Within the PO type, there is a visible difference in rating between the couplets and the word pairs, the former being rated much higher than the latter. In addition, the interaction between the two variables, order and type, was shown not to be statistically significant, even though some effect could be observed in the lab experiment data. To explain, couplets elicited higher ratings if word pairs were shown in the first part of the lab experiment (Group B). This reveals some kind of priming of the category: when participants were exposed to word pairs first, they were more prepared in the second part to accept proparoxytone-oxytone rhymes in couplets as good rhymes.

Other findings relate to the other rhyme types tested: while for imperfect rhymes (IM), the order of display did not affect rating (couplets were unsurprisingly rated much higher than word pairs in both presentation orders), something different happened with the two types of eye rhymes. In the case of eye rhymes with stress mismatch (ERS), ratings were higher for both couplets and word pairs in order B, namely, when word pairs were displayed first. By contrast, eye rhymes without stress mismatch (ERV) elicited some peculiar results: word pairs were rated much higher than couplets. Therefore, despite the use of eye
Table 3.2: Coefficients of the cumulative link mixed model of the web experiment rating results

| Fixed effects                  | Estimate | Std. Error | z value | Pr(>|z|) |
|-------------------------------|----------|------------|---------|----------|
| RhymeES                       | -0.8223  | 0.4759     | -1.728  | 0.084016 |
| RhymeIM                       | -1.1850  | 0.3902     | -3.037  | 0.002391 **|
| RhymeEV                       | -1.7905  | 0.4795     | -3.734  | 0.000188 ***|
| RhymeNR                       | -5.1149  | 0.4249     | -12.038 | < 2e-16 ***|
| RhymePR                       | 2.4876   | 0.3924     | 6.340   | 2.29e-10 ***|
| TypeCoup                      | 1.0499   | 0.1119     | 9.380   | < 2e-16 ***|
| RhymeES:TypeCoup              | -0.8036  | 0.1912     | -4.204  | 2.62e-05 ***|
| RhymeIM:TypeCoup              | -0.8424  | 0.1626     | -5.182  | 2.20e-07 ***|
| RhymeEV:TypeCoup              | -1.2945  | 0.2064     | -6.271  | 3.59e-10 ***|
| RhymeNR:TypeCoup              | -0.4211  | 0.2467     | -1.707  | 0.087762 .|
| RhymePR:TypeCoup              | -1.0372  | 0.1686     | -6.153  | 7.61e-10 ***|

Signif. codes: 0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 . ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1

Table 3.2: Coefficients of the cumulative link mixed model of the web experiment rating results

Rhymes being quite common in English poetry, participants did not show a particular inclination to accept of them. This might be due to the fact that eye rhyme became less common in the last century.⁵ However, this might not account for participants who reported not reading (much) poetry.⁶ On the other hand, this rhyme type seemed to be less problematic when isolated word pairs were shown; this might be due to participants visualising the text on the screen and not fully reading it, compared to the couplets, where they were more inclined to read the whole text. Aside from this speculation, eye rhymes scored extremely low.

The bar chart in Figure 3.2 shows the rating results for the web experiment. The abbreviations used are the same as in the bar chart in Figure 3.1 (repeated here for clarity).

- ES: eye rhymes with stress mismatch
- EV: eye rhymes
- IM: imperfect rhymes (assonances and consonances)
- NR: no-rhymes
- PO: proparoxytone/oxytone-monosyllables rhymes
- PR: perfect rhymes

Order A indicates that first couplets and then word pairs were displayed and order B refers to first word pairs and then couplets. The y axis differs because, while in Figure 3.1 the rating ranges from zero to one, in Figure 3.2, it is from one to five.

Apart from the larger variance due to the one-to-five rating scale, the general trends are very similar to those shown in Figure 3.1. Perfect rhymes (PR) and no-rhymes (NR) elicited proportionately very similar ratings to their lab

⁵I would like to thank Prof. Golston for pointing this out to me.
⁶I would like to thank Dr. Aroui for pointing this out to me.
experiment counterparts. It must be noted, though, that ratings for the no-rhymes appears to be slightly higher than in the other experiment and than expected. The inconsistency in the ratings provided by online participants meant that scaling of the data was not possible. To explain, the option of normalising the results by considering the individual scale used by each participant was considered. However, participants turned out not to be consistent in their use of the scale. The greater variation in this experiment might be due to the participants paying less attention and to the use of a more fine-grained scale. As for the proparoxytone-oxytone rhyme (PO), the rating results of the online survey strongly resemble those of the lab experiment: aside from the high score, higher for couplets, a slight order effect is also shown, even though in a lesser degree than in the lab experiment. The overall ratings for imperfect rhymes (IM) and the two groups of eye rhymes (ES and EV) followed the general lines of their counterparts from the lab experiment, in that the three groups were rated much lower than perfect rhymes (PR) and proparoxytone-oxytone rhymes (PO) and higher than no-rhymes (NR). A different relationship, however, was observed between the different subgroups within eye rhymes with stress mismatch (ES) and eye rhymes (EV). To explain, for eye rhymes with stress mismatch, neither (Group A or Group B) elicited higher ratings than the other, but couplets were rated higher than word pairs and this tendency was stronger when word pairs were shown first (Group B), just as it was for the proparoxytone-oxytone rhyme (PO) ratings in both experimental formats. Eye rhymes without stress mismatch (EV) were rated more or less equally acceptable in the various subcategories, with the exception of word pairs when displayed in the first part of the survey; in that case, they were rated higher.
3.5.2 Reaction Time

Reaction time results need to be looked at very carefully, since more variables might be at play (as also observed by Knoop et al. 2019). For example, while the number of syllables in the couplets was controlled and, to a certain extent, word frequency as well. Syllable complexity and uniqueness point could not be controlled. The meaning of the couplets and the semantic relationship between candidate rhyme pairs could also affect reaction times. In addition, difference in word lengths might also represent a contributing factor, even more strongly in word pairs than in couplets; but, since the specific type of rhyme under investigation required a divergence in word length between rhyming words, this also could not be controlled or avoided. In the case of the online survey, another important element might also be the fact that there is no certainty that participants were fully focused or exclusively working on the task; hence, their responses might be slower and/or more variable. As a result, no strong claim can be made based on the reaction time results. However, it is still possible to draw out some general observations on the two reaction time results. For the bar charts in Figure 3.3 and 3.4, an average reaction time was calculated for each participant and for each stimulus type, namely, couplets and word pairs; every result was normalised based on the participant’s average reaction time for each stimulus type, in order to have a real proportion of the timing. Trials which timed out were removed from the calculation. The expectation was that faster responses would be elicited by the proparoxytone-oxytone rhymes (PO) compared to other types of imperfect rhymes (IM, ERS, ERV). The results do not seem to confirm this; however, the hypothesis could not be properly tested because of possible interference from other variables, as mentioned above.
Rhyming with unstressed syllables. The English prosodic foot in verse

Figure 3.3: Lab experiment Reaction Time

Figure 3.4: Web experiment Reaction Time
By comparing the two plots in Figure 3.3 and 3.4, despite the limits of a possible analysis mentioned before, one very general observation can still be made, namely, that no-rhyme (NR) was the category which was more readily recognised in both types of tests, followed by perfect rhymes (PR). All the other categories were judged more slowly; at this point, no detailed distinction between them can be outlined.

3.5.3 Qualitative analysis

A qualitative analysis of proparoxytone-oxytone rhymes shows no significant difference in ratings between monosyllables and oxytone words as the other element of the rhyming part. In Figure 3.5 and 3.6, ratings in the lab experiment and the online survey for four rhyme pairs containing monosyllables and oxytone words are presented.

Figure 3.5: Lab experiment ratings for monosyllabic and polysyllabic rhymes in the proparoxytone condition

In 3.5 the rating results for the four proparoxytone stimuli in the lab experiment are plotted. As can be observed, no strong tendency nor evident difference between the two types can be observed. The messy results might be due to other variables, such as personal taste or quality of the lines, in the case of couplets. A preference for the couplet containing guarantee-certainty is attested but the data is not enough to strongly support the claim that this rhyme is more acceptable because there is only a stress mismatch with both words matching on length. In general, it could be claimed that polysyllabic pairs appear to elicit higher ratings but the limited number of cases in the present study does not allow the validity of this claim to be tested.
Rhyming with unstressed syllables. The English prosodic foot in verse

In addition, a striking variation in the ratings of word pairs in the careess-gloominess rhyme can be observed, namely, depending on whether the pair is displayed before or after the couplets block. When the word pair is displayed in the first part of the experiment, its rating is very low; by contrast, it becomes extremely high when the word pair is in the second part of the experiment. This could possibly be due to a priming effect caused by couplets being showed first. To explain, in the couplet, this word pair is embedded in a metrically structured line which forces the word pair into a rhyming position; higher acceptability would, therefore, be expected from a couplet and this might be transmitted to the word pair rating, when the former precedes it.

In Figure 3.6, the results for less-reasonless, careess-gloominess, tea-familiarity and guarantee-certainty in the web experiment are presented. Also here, the pair guarantee-certainty (PO06) is rated higher than the others but no strong generalisation can be made. The overall differences among the other rhyme pairs are not very strong and, unlike in the lab experiment (Figure 3.5), there seems not to be a preference for polysyllabic pairs.

In Figure 3.7 and 3.8, ratings of one rhyme pair without secondary stress, namely, spring-wondering (PO03), is compared with those of one rhyme pair with a proparoxytone word bearing secondary stress, gate-navigate (PO07). The former chart presents the lab experiment results, and the latter those of the web experiment.

Ratings seemed not to be affected by the presence or absence of secondary stress on the proparoxytone word’s last syllable in the lab experiment results, while this was in fact the case in the couplets of the online survey. To explain, in the web experiment, ratings for rhyme pairs containing a proparoxytone word with secondary stress did not differ greatly from those for such words
paired with words with no secondary stress. In the lab experiment, instead, the rhyme pair with secondary stress, namely, gate-navigate (PO07), scored much higher in couplets than the other rhyme pair. Nevertheless, the data available at this current stage is not sufficient to make a generalisation regarding absence or presence of secondary stress. Its purpose is rather to raise a question for further research.

![Figure 3.7: Lab experiment Rating presence vs. absence of secondary stress](image)

In Figure 3.8, showing the online data, it is not possible to observe what was pointed out regarding the lab experiment data (in Figure 3.7) regarding gate-navigate (PO07) scoring better in group B. In fact, the rhyme pair gate-navigate (PO07) is rated slightly higher than the other pair (PO03) but not in a way that would lead to a neat claim. In addition, the results do not overlap with or show the same tendencies as those of the lab experiment.

No other generalisation seems to be possible when comparing ratings of PO rhymes across the two tests and across the two stimulus types (couplets and word pairs). Some rhyme pairs were preferred in some stimulus types or in general, but there are too many variables and possibilities that should be considered, such as, how good a couplet is or how common a rhyme pair. A further study with more instances of each type would be needed in order to be able to make any qualitative generalisation.

### 3.6 Discussion

The comparison between results obtained with those obtained with a binary response and with a one-to-five scale was made in order to test the validity of the
two scoring forms. Obviously, more variation was expected from judgements made with the one-to-five Likert scale. This was the case especially in the case of the no-rhyme stimuli (average score of 1.15 out of 5), even though another factor might be playing a role, namely, the fact that in an online experiment, participants might have been less attentive, or less consistently attentive. These results, however, do not affect the fact that no-rhymes (NR) were rated much less acceptable than any other category. In general, it could be observed that the judgement test with binary answers produced less variable rating results, just as expected. Nevertheless, both results strongly point in the same direction. The fact that such similar scores were elicited by both rating methods lends additional robustness to the tested hypothesis. In both tests, proparoxytone-oxytone rhymes (PO) were the highest ranked after perfect rhymes (PR) with an average rating of 0.67 (out of 1) in the binary answer judgement test and of 3.41 (out of 5) in that the Likert scale test. In addition, in both tests, couplets were rated higher than word pairs. This comparison is visualised in Figure 3.9, where the results for the proparoxytone-oxytone rhyme (PO) in both tests have been adjusted to a scale from one to one hundred.

In the bar chart in Figure 3.9, the leftmost element of each group indicates the data from the lab experiment, while the one next to it represents the online data. “1Coup” in the first group stands for rating of couplets when they were shown in the first part of the test; “1Word”, instead, indicates the rating for word pairs when they were displayed first. “2Coup” and “2Word” consist in

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Footnotes:
1. The role played by the order of rhyme elements (e.g. caress-gloominess or gloominess-caress) was considered, in order to test whether that affected the perception of naturalness of the rhyme type. However, no conclusions could be drawn based on the current data, since the number of instances was limited and other factors could be at play. In particular, since each rhyme pair was always displayed in the same order, it could not be determined whether the specific score was related to the order of the elements or to the participants' preference for a specific rhyme pair.
the rating for either couplets or word pairs, respectively, when being displayed in the second part of the test. As can be observed, the trends of the two tests are strongly similar. Almost no difference between the tests is attested in the ratings of couplets when they are the first stimulus type displayed; word pairs, in contrast, were rated slightly higher in both orders by the participants of the online survey (both in 1Word and in 2Word); in the case in which couplets were shown in the second part (2Coup), the lab experiment ratings were slightly higher than those elicited in the web version. A priming effect can be observed when comparing the couplets results in the lab experiment, in that ratings are higher when word pairs are shown first (2Coup); hence, participants were primed to accept this kind of rhyme more.

The hypothesis that the high acceptability of proparoxytone-oxytone rhyme is related to the very common use of eye rhymes in English poetry (at least until the nineteenth century), since the latter allow quite some flexibility in sound correspondence in rhyme material, is not supported by the results. In both tests there is no connection between eye rhymes, which were rated very low, and proparoxytone-oxytone rhymes. Therefore, similar spelling and disregard for word stress patterns are not the main cause of the high ratings elicited by this kind of rhyme.

To sum up, the results of the rating experiments show high levels of acceptance of the proparoxytone-oxytone rhyme, right after perfect rhyme, which differentiates it from other types of imperfect or partial rhyme. These high scores were elicited even by isolated word pairs, and the difference from the other rhyme provides strong evidence that common poetic practice has not much to do with the popularity of this type of rhyme. In fact, eye rhymes and imperfect rhymes, namely, assonances and consonances, are and have been widely used in the English poetic tradition; nevertheless, their ratings were significantly lower. I assume that proparoxytone-oxytone rhymes are receive
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high ratings because they are built on the possibility in the English stress system of using the material of the last unstressed syllable of a proparoxytone word. The word-final syllable, not being fully extrametrical, can then be metrified and form some kind of defective foot; consequently, within a poetic template and by parsing its weight, the syllable can behave as if it was stressed and be used as rhyming material. The results support the claim about the availability of two phonological structures for the representation of proparoxytone words. In a way, this confirms the claim made by Burzio (1994) regarding the existence of a special class of syllables, which can be metrified or not, even though his idea here is extended to another domain.

The metrical template can select from among the phonological structures available the structure which better suits it, even if this form is not the most obvious in the language (see Chapter 2). From this perspective, the metrical template is still built with the material available in the phonological structure; the new proposal, which is supported by evidence from the present study, is that this material is selected by the template in such a way as to either reinforce or suppress phonological characteristics of the language. The metrical template can adjust the phonological material in order to make it a better fit for its structure.

Recalling the comparison between the English and Dutch stress systems and the fact that unstressed extrametrical syllables cannot be part of the metrical template in the latter, while they can be placed in prominent positions and constitute rhyme material in the former, it is necessary to mention a particular aspect of the possibility of using unstressed syllables in poetry in the two languages. A previous study on Dutch rhyme by Köhnlein and Van Oostendorp (2014) has shown that full vowels and schwas behave differently when they are part of the material following rhyming stressed syllables. The following unstressed syllable was found to still affect the quality of the rhyme. To explain, imperfect rhymes were evaluated as more acceptable when the following unstressed syllable had a full vowel and as less acceptable when a schwa occurred (see Example 20).

(20)  a. Ik ga nu eerst naar zonnig Lesbos [‘lɛzbos]
     en reis dan door naar vrolijk Argos. [‘aryos]

     b. Ik ga nu eerst naar zonnig Hedel [‘hedəl]
     en reis dan door naar vrolijk Bakel. [‘bakoḷ]

     (I will now first go to sunny A. and afterwards to happy B.)
     (from Köhnlein and Van Oostendorp, p. 2 2014)

In the couplet in 20a, the two stressed vowels in the rhyming syllable, namely, Les and Ar, are different; the same is true of the corresponding syllables in 20b, He and Ba. Nevertheless, in the experiment conducted by Köhnlein and Van Oostendorp (2014), the rhyme in 20a was rated much more positively.
than that in 20b, despite the stressed rhyming vowels differing in both cases. Therefore, the following unstressed vowel positively contributed to participants’ evaluation of the rhyme, while the schwa did not.

By connecting the Dutch phenomenon with that of paroxytone-oxytone English rhymes, it can be observed that, while unstressed vowels in Dutch play a role in determining the quality of a rhyme, in English, final unstressed syllables of proparoxytone words can behave like rhyme material. These two processes might be part of the same continuum on which unstressed vowels interact, to different degrees, with the rhyming process. From this perspective, Dutch represents a less interactive stage of the continuum than English, since the unstressed syllables contributing to the evaluation of the rhyme are still parsed in the word-stress computation and they still do not take the main role in rhyme; in contrast, in English the extrametrical unstressed syllable ending a proparoxytone word not only contributes to the rhyme, but actually plays a major role, itself constituting rhyme material. English is one step further than Dutch along the spectrum on which unstressed syllables may affect the properties of rhymes.

3.7 Conclusion

In the present chapter, the peculiar behaviour of proparoxytone word-final syllables in English poetry has been discussed. A look at Renaissance tradition and at available types of rhyme in English poetry in the past and in current poetic trends has shown how the final unstressed syllable of a proparoxytone can fill a prominent position in a set metrical template (e.g. an iambic pentameter) and constitute rhyme material together with a stressed syllable of another word. This type of rhyme, specifically, was not a practice limited to a specific tradition but appears to be widespread among poets over the centuries and still nowadays, despite rhymes being less common in contemporary poetry. The popularity of the proparoxytone-oxytone rhyme, it has been claimed, is not motivated by a simple stylistic choice, which happened to come into common use in English poetry and not in closely related traditions like the Dutch one; it must lie, instead, in an aspect of the English stress system, namely, the option to consider the material of the last unstressed syllable of a proparoxytone. This syllable is not fully extrametrical and can be metrified; its weight, as perceived by the stress system, allows it to behave in poetry like a stressed syllable. Similar syllables can also be found in Dutch but, being fully extrametrical, their material cannot be seen nor used by the metrical template.

In order to obtain evidence the validity of the claim, two judgement experiments were run, one taking place in a laboratory and the other as an online survey. In both, participants had to evaluate a set of rhymes presented in the form of word pairs and couplets. While stimuli were the same for the two tests, the rating scale differed, in that the lab experiment employed a binary scale, namely, a yes/no evaluation, and the web experiment, instead, a one-to-five
Likert scale. Two rating systems were used in order to compare participants’ judgement under different circumstances. The similarity of the rating elicited in the two tests reinforces the findings and supports the tested hypothesis.

The results show high acceptability for rhymes between the final unstressed syllable of a proparoxytone word and a monosyllabic or oxytone word both in couplets and in word pairs. The only category rated more acceptable was that of perfect rhymes. The difference in ratings between proparoxytone-oxytone and eye rhymes excludes the possibility that eye rhyme might be playing a role. In addition, the fact that all other types of imperfect rhymes were rated much less acceptable, despite being commonly used in English poetry, shows that stylistic practice was not a strong factor affecting participants’ evaluation. Therefore, it can be claimed that the high acceptability of the proparoxytone-oxytone rhyme is not simply due to poetic style nor to its use in poetic tradition. It also has nothing to do with the amount of poetry read by the participants, nor with their exposure to poetry in general. The proparoxytone-oxytone rhyme is evidence that phonology conditions the development of poetic tradition. This rhyme type could not have developed if the possibility of metrifying the last unstressed syllable of a proparoxytone word had been absent in the stress system. In fact, it only developed in English, where parsing that syllable is an option; it did not happen in other Western traditions, where the syllable is completely extrametrical, hence, the system is completely blind to it and its weight.

In conclusion, the presence of a proparoxytone word-final syllable in prominent position in metrical templates of English poetry and its use as rhyme material constitute evidence of a phonological peculiarity of the English language and, at the same time, demonstrate the role played by phonology in poetry. Other traditions, closely related to the English one, did not develop this type of rhyme; this is due to the complete extrametricality of the last syllable of a proparoxytone in their phonology. Further research on closely related languages and their poetic traditions is needed in order to further explore this hypothesis.
3.8 Appendix

Index of rhyme types:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>perfect rhyme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
<td>no-rhyme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PO</td>
<td>proparoxytone-oxytone rhyme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IM</td>
<td>imperfect rhyme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERS</td>
<td>eye rhyme stress mismatch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERV</td>
<td>eye rhyme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table presents each stimulus in word pair and couplet counterpart.

| PR01 | cherries - berries | I miss a slice of pie with cherries - I miss a basket full of berries |
| PR02 | earliness - curliness | I miss the morning hour, the earliness - I miss his hair, its stunning curliness |
| PR03 | flickering - bickering | I miss that light that’s always flickering - I miss a bit of healthy bickering |
| PR04 | personality - reality | I miss her complex personality - I miss her way to shape reality |
| PR05 | regenerate - venerate | I miss a moment to regenerate - I miss an old belief to venerate |
| PR06 | grace - face | I miss a little bit of grace - I miss your nose, your eyes, your face |
| PR07 | land - hand | I miss the landscapes of my land - I miss the softness of your hand |
| PR08 | night - light | I miss a dark and cozy night - I miss the tiny brightest night |
| PR09 | life - wife | I miss a more exciting life - I miss my loving, caring, wife |
| PR10 | lasts - pasts | I miss a dream that always lasts - I miss my twelve or forty pasts |
| PR11 | impact - act | I miss the time this would impact - I miss a better way to act |
| PR12 | cure - pure | I miss a way to find a cure - I miss the sense that life is pure |
| PR13 | brain - rain | I miss the sharpness of your brain - I miss a little splash of rain |
| PR14 | troubles - bubbles | I miss the way we beat our troubles - I miss our life, so full of bubbles |
| PR15 | peacemaking - forsaking | I miss a time for our peacemaking - I miss a space for her forsaking |
| PR16 | order - border | I miss a little bit of order - I miss existence of no border |
| PR17 | meaning - cleaning | I miss a new and deeper meaning - I miss a bright and better cleaning |
| PR18 | bird-migration - vacation | I miss the view of bird-migration - I miss a well-deserved vacation |
| PR19 | forgiving - outliving | I miss the need to be forgiving - I miss the feeling of outliving |
| PR20 | concentration - illustration | I miss a bit of concentration - I miss a brilliant illustration |
| PR21 | auditioning - air-conditioning | I miss the time you were auditioning - I miss my office air-conditioning |
| PR22 | cynical - critical | I miss the time he wasn’t so cynical - I miss the time he was less critical |
| PR23 | conical - comical | I miss an object green and conical - I miss the thought of something comical |
| PR24 | anthropology - apology | I miss my book of anthropology - I miss a real, sincere apology |
| PR25 | congregate - aggregative | I miss a spirit more congregate - I miss the time you were less negative |
| NR01 | touch - dreams | I miss your voice, your smell, your touch - I miss our trips, our house, our dreams |
| NR02 | imagination - gestures | I miss her strong imagination - I miss his sights and clumsy gestures |
| NR03 | solitude - window | I miss my love and need for solitude - I miss that tiny, yellow window |
| NR04 | stories - sing | I miss the heroes of our stories - I miss the songs we used to sing |
| NR05 | people - childhood | I miss a tiny group of people - I miss the laughs and runs of childhood |
| NR06 | bravery - truth | I miss a bit of bravery - I miss the urge to say my truth |
| NR07 | skills - mind | I miss his gorgeous writing skills - I miss the pictures in his mind |
| NR08 | everyday - weather | I miss the joyful bliss of everyday - I miss some slightly stormy weather |
| NR09 | patience - wisdom | I miss your having trust and patience - I miss a little bit of wisdom |
| NR10 | well - describe | I miss the shimmer down the well - I miss the way you would describe |
| NR11 | streets - hills | I miss the little dusty streets - I miss the walks up to lush hills |
| NR12 | gaze - reactions | I miss your smile and clever gaze - I miss my smile and shy reactions |
| NR13 | fortune - questions | I miss a blast of joy and fortune - I miss the answers to my questions |
| NR14 | opposite - differently | I miss a human that’s my opposite - I miss a soul that can act differently |
| NR15 | unforgettable - inspirational | I miss a riff that’s unforgettable - I miss a chord that’s inspirational |
| NR16 | atmosphere - expressionless | I miss that warmer, calmer atmosphere - I miss the time I was expressionless |
| NR17 | animal - lightning | I miss the instinct of an animal - I miss the storm and glow of lightning |
| NR18 | initiative - measurement | I miss a little of initiative - I miss the needed loss of measurement |
| NR19 | choice - gifts | I miss the time I made that choice - I miss the time I got you gifts |
I miss the time we spent together - I miss your one-way ticket ride
I miss a little playful cat - I miss a longer trip by car
I miss the time we were staring - I miss my thoughts discovering
I miss the strength to seek the mirror - I miss the pride to know I’m worth it
I miss my plants and my routine - I miss your voice inside my head
I miss when you were interested - I miss the damage that this did
I miss the lack of love and hate - I miss the urge to demonstrate
I miss my ancient manuscript - I miss the page that once was ripped
I miss the grass around the gate - I miss the course we’d navigate
I miss old-fashioned parenting - I miss the time that was my thing
I miss his hair when it was dyed - I miss when he was satisfied
I miss my plants and my routine - I miss you playing with my mind
I miss the dead leaves from the tree - I miss the fruits the unseen tree
I miss the grass around the gate - I miss the course we’d navigate
I miss the grass around the gate - I miss the course we’d navigate
I miss the dead leaves from the tree - I miss the fruits the unseen tree
I miss the dead leaves from the tree - I miss the fruits the unseen tree
I miss my usual harmony - I miss the early morning sky
I miss my faithful gloominess - I miss the change I never made
I miss old-fashioned parenting - I miss the time that was my thing
I miss my ring with stone of amber - I miss that snowy cold December
I miss the dead leaves from the tree - I miss the fruits the unseen tree
I miss when you were interested - I miss the damage that this did
| ERV02  | sound - wound               | I miss the liberating sound - I miss not having any wound |
| ERV03  | fear - bear                 | I miss the lack of any fear - I miss my childhood's teddy bear |
| ERV04  | head - bead                 | I miss the spinning of my head - I miss my mother's necklace bead |
| ERV05  | mint - pint                 | I miss the flavour of fresh mint - I miss a cold refreshing pint |
| ERV06  | know - now                  | I miss the genuine urge to know - I miss the things I lost by now |
| ERV07  | living - driving            | I miss the town where we were living - I miss the night we spent just driving |
| ERV08  | flower - slower             | I miss her smelling every flower - I miss her walking always slower |
| ERV09  | wood - blood                | I miss our walks into the wood - I miss the berries, red like blood |
| ERV10  | reminders - hinders         | I miss our daily task reminders - I miss not being the one who hinders |
CHAPTER 4

Why did West-Germanic poetic traditions elaborate iambic metre?

*Phonological aspects determining metrical differences*

### 4.1 Introduction

When Renaissance metre was borrowed and incorporated into the Dutch poetic tradition, its form was significantly modified: its syllabic aspect was replaced with a strict sequence of iambic feet. The main source of the innovation was the French alexandrine, a syllabic verse lacking any sort of iambic rhythm (Dominicy, 1992; Dinu, 1993).

The same outcome has been observed in English poetry, where poets like Sir Philip Sidney have employed a metre based on the Italian *endecasillabo* (Thompson, 1961; Hanson, 1997; Duffell, 2000). In both Dutch and English, the change occurred independently of the other tradition and led to a very successful form, which became the main way of versification for centuries. Overall, it seems that the adaption of a syllabic metre into a foot-based form was a general tendency common to West-Germanic languages adapting Romance poetic forms.

When the same form was borrowed from a Romance source into a Romance recipient, however, the syllabic aspect was always preserved; this was retained despite prosodic differences between the source and the recipient language and despite phonological changes which took place in the language. For instance, Portuguese shifted from being syllable-timed to being stress-timed (Parkinson, 1988; Auer, 1993; Frota and Vigário, 2001), but its poetry did not develop an iambic-foot based metre (Spaggiari, 2003).

The present chapter aims to investigate the reason for West-Germanic poetic tradition’s development of an iambic-foot based metre during the process of incorporating Romance Renaissance metre. The issue is addressed by focusing on a language group-
The selection of a macroparameter, first proposed by Van Oostendorp (2000), determining prominence of the phonological word or of the phrase level divides West-Germanic and Romance languages. Similarly, Auer (1993) distinguished between word- and syllable-languages. The present work connects the two approaches by combining the prominence of a specific domain with the relevance of the syllable formed in this domain. In other words, one prosodic domain is prominent in the phonology of a given language; consequently, the syllable formed in the prominent domain is stronger than those formed in other domains, hence it plays a major role in phonology and its structure is generally preserved. From this perspective, languages with phrase-based phonology focus on the optimisation of the syllable within the phrase domain; word-based languages, instead, preserve the syllable formed within the word domain.

This division is reflected in the path taken by Renaissance metre in the two language groups. The metrical template, when mirroring the structure and the functioning of phonological structure, also imitates the macroparameter as regards the higher activation of one prosodic level. Consequently, the metrical template will also exhibit either a more prominent foot or a more prominent colon level, depending on whether the phonological phrase or word is the more relevant prosodic layer.

In the first section (Section 4.2), the way in which the new Renaissance metre is implemented, in both the West-Germanic and the Romance traditions, is described. A substantial difference distinguishes the path taken by West-Germanic poetry from that taken by Romance poetry. The main case study consists of the comparison of Dutch Renaissance metre with its source, the French alexandrine. This was chosen because the contact between the two poetic traditions exemplifies poetic contact between languages from different rhythmic classes and its outcomes. Subsequently, in Section 4.3, a parametric distinction between Romance and West-Germanic languages in terms of prosodic domain prominence is proposed. The distinction is elaborated starting from the comparison of Dutch and French poetry and phonology, in Section 4.3.1. Afterwards, the factors determining the division are defined, in Sections 4.3.2, 4.3.3 and 4.3.4. In Section 4.3.5, the macroparameter is defined. A final section concludes the chapter.

### 4.2 Renaissance metre

The following two sections describe the process of implementation of the new poetic trend in the West-Germanic and Romance poetic traditions. This overview highlights the differences between the strategies the two groups used when incorporating the new form. In particular, the comparison of the two groups draws attention to the fact that, while the elaboration of a foot-based verse was an obligatory step for West-Germanic poetry, none of the Romance traditions developed anything similar. Romance poetry rather preserved the syllabicity of the source.

In the section on Germanic metre (Section 4.2.1), special attention is given to Dutch Renaissance poetry. Subsequently, the picture is broadened by considering English, German and Frisian poetry. In Section 4.2.2, the role played by theory in the development of Dutch iambic metre is considered; in Section 4.2.3, the parallel case of English iambic pentameter is taken into account. In the section on Romance metre (Section 4.2.4), the source metres are described and the spread of the new form across Spanish,
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Portuguese and Catalan poetry is observed. The divergences illustrated in the following sections are compared to the corresponding phonological differences in Section 4.3.

4.2.1 Development of a new metre: West-Germanic poetry

The Renaissance represented a moment of intensive influence of French and Italian culture, art and literature on English and, a few decades later, Dutch intellectuals. In poetry, this contact caused the blossoming of iambic verse, a new verse form, which became the main way of writing poetry in both Dutch and English poetic traditions. The new metre also reached German poets via the Low Countries and established itself as the main verse type there too. Subsequently, in the seventeenth century, the poetic form was also implemented in Frisian Renaissance poetry.

The main focus in this section is the development of Renaissance metre in Dutch, since a comparison of this form with its French source will be used as a case study to investigate the implementation of a poetic form that developed in a Romance language into a West-Germanic system. It is also important to consider English iambic pentameter, because this followed a parallel route to the Dutch one. In Germanic and Frisian’s implementation of Renaissance metre, in contrast, no crossing between language groups took place, since the poetic form was borrowed from a Germanic source, namely Dutch.

The second half of the sixteenth century did not represent the first attestation of iambic verse in Dutch and English poetry. In both traditions, in fact, some iambic poems had purportedly been written some centuries earlier, but the innovative metre faded away and did not spread across poets. In English poetry, the works by Chaucer are famous instances of iambic verse before the Renaissance (Saintsbury, 1906; Smith, 1932; Baum, 1961; Halle and Keyser, 1966; Windeatt, 1977; Duffell, 1991, 2000, 2002); as for the Low Countries poetry, three iambic poems written in medieval times are known: *Het Leven van Sinte Lutgart* by Willem van Affligem (Zonneveld, 1998, 2000), *Saladijn*, 300 lines from a poem found in two manuscripts, the Marshall 29 and the Comburg one (Sysema and Lahiri, 2018), and the *Limburgse Aiol* (Goossens, 2002).

The Dutch Renaissance period was characterised by the disappearance of accentual verse poetry, which had represented the main form of versification until then. This stereotypical Germanic metre was based on a fixed number of stresses per line and a varying number of unstressed syllables (for a metrical and prosodic account, see Haverals 2018). Its place was taken by a new poetic form resulting from a borrowing from French (and to a lesser extent Italian — as will be shown in Chapter 9). In the process of incorporation of the new poetic trend, the metrical source underwent a deep change, in order for it to be adapted to the recipient tradition and language: while the source was syllabic (that is, it specified no internal stress pattern and only two prominent positions at the right edge of each colon), the new Dutch form had a fixed number of iambic feet and not much space for deviations from the metrical template (see Examples in 1 and 2).

1. French alexandrine
   
   Quand quelque fois le jour, en ton cœur penseras
   Que tu n’es que pur homme, et qu’on ne voit au monde
   Chose qui plus que l’homme en misères abonde,
   Ronsard, *À lui mesme*, in the collection *Le Bocage* (1554)

   English translation: “When sometimes during the day, you will think in your
heart / that you are nothing but a pure man, and that nowhere in the world can 
be seen / anything, which abounds of misery more than man”

(2) Dutch iambic metre
De vyant, zonder dat wy uitkomst durfden hoopen,
Is, zonder slagh of stoot, van zelf het velt verloopen.
Mijn broeder jaaght hem na, zy nemen vast de wijck,
Vondel, Gysbrecht van Aemstel (1659) line 5–7

English translation: “The enemy, without us even daring to hope for a (good) outcome, / has, without putting up battle, left the (battle) field. / My brother hunts him, they take the path for escaping”

In 1 and 2, stressed syllables in each line are in bold. As is evident from comparing the two examples, while both have the same number of syllables, in the Dutch lines the iambic alternation is easily noticeable, so that six positions per line are prominent; the French lines only have two stable prominent positions, which coincide with the right edge of each colon.

Some attempts to imitate the syllabism of the poetic source were initially also attested (see Example in 3); however, only the foot-based form succeeded in spreading throughout the Dutch poetic tradition; foot-based metre has been the main metrical type in Dutch poetry ever since.

(3) Dutch syllabic verse
Van dit schoon vier gaven de lichte stralen
Düscent vlammen lustich in alle palen
Als d‘teken van eener reghen van gouwe
Tvier blussen quam: o hitte nu maer couwe!
Jan van der Noot, ca. 1568 (from Zonneveld 1998, p. 208)

English translation: “From this beautiful fire, the light rays spread / Thousand flames shining in all masts / When the disgust of one golden rain / the fire came to extinguish: oh heat, now only cold”

The Example in 3 consists of some lines from a free translation by Jan van der Noot of Du Bellay’s Dessus un mont une flamme allumée. The underlining indicates the parts of text which clearly diverge from an iambic template, hence, providing evidence that the verse is syllabic (Zonneveld, 1998, p. 209).

Regarding the syllabic attempts, Kazartsev (2008, 2015) argues that the greater possibility of deviations from the template was due to the lack of theorisation of the metre; once the theorisation took place, the syllabic attempts faded away. This claim is

\[1\text{A possible alternative account for the initial syllabic attempts can be put forward by considering that they came from the Flemish-speaking area. To explain, Flemish is closer to French in terms of prosodic organisation, due to extensive contact between the two languages (Noske, 2005). Consequently, the syllabicity of the first Dutch Renaissance forms might be due to the prosodic characteristics of the variety in which they were written. From this perspective, this difference from poetry written, later on, in the Northern part of the Low Countries would constitute evidence of phonological differences between the two varieties of Dutch.}\]
supported by the fact that, when the new Dutch poetic form reached the German poetic tradition, its implementation resulted in a quite regular iambic foot-based metre from the start; this occurred because the new form entered German poetry together with its theorisation (Kazartsev, 2008, 2015). In 4, an example of German Renaissance poetry is given.

(4) German iambic metre
Ich gleiche nicht mit dir des weißen Mon des Licht:
Der Monde fällt und steigt; du bleibst in einem Scheine:
Ja nicht die Sonne selbst: die Sonn' ist ganz gemeine,
Opitz, Sonett XXXVII (1625)

English translation: “I am not the same with you as the moon’s white light: / the moon falls and ascends; you remain in a shine: / yes, not the sun itself; the sun is very mean,”

In 4, the bold indicates the prominent positions. It can be observed that the German metre appears to be extremely regular in following an iambic rhythm.

Regarding the Frisian instantiation of iambic metre, it can be observed that, despite being implemented later than the Dutch form, Frisian allows for slightly more permissible variations than both the German and the fully-developed Dutch verse. This can be observed in the Example in 5.

(5) Frisian iambic metre
Lanst, ick fortjog, 'k bleeu langer naet in uwre'.
Sape' y fortjea, ney 'k her, Gôd wol jo lieede.
Mar hertse' in wîrd, swier holle', eer dat wî spieide,
Rin naet jon Lân, mar tjog de wrâd uwt. Hey!
Japiks, Friesche rymlerye (1681)

English translation: “Friend I leave, [I] stay no longer than one hour. / Sape, I hear it, you go, God may guide you. / But, whiner, listen one moment, before we split, / leave not your land, but the earthly world. Hey!”

In particular, apart from the line-initial inversions in the first two lines of the Example in 5, other deviations from iambic sequence can be observed in the second and third lines. The underlined sections represent inversions occurring on the penultimate foot, namely, between the seventh and eighth positions and, in the case of swier holle in the third line, between the fifth and sixth positions (in the third foot). Nevertheless, even Frisian metre is quite regular in following an iambic rhythm.

In Dutch poetry, a gradual regularisation of the metre can be observed, which can be attributed, following Kazartsev (2008), to the development of a versification theory. The Examples in 6, 7 and 8 show the progressive change towards a stricter iambic rhythm.

(6) Initial phase of the new poetic trend in Dutch poetry
Cvpido en is gheen God, tis een touuenaer
Die d’heren soo betouuert ende weet te vanghen
Onder t' decsel van ghenoughte goet en eerbær
Dat si naer haer helle ende doot zeere verlanghen.
Lucas de Heere, *Den hof en boomgaard der poësien* (1565)

English translation: “Cupid is no God, he is a magician / who enchants hearts and captivates them / under the lid of delight, good and honour / [those hearts] they are deeply longing for their hell and death”

(7) First attestations of Dutch iambic metre
Met cunst verslijt u tien, die u cunt bemueien,
Der neger Nymphen spel; die eertijts waert geraect,
Op den twee-topien-berch, daer ghi siet nat gmaect.
Van tuele waterken, dat sparts-huuf daer de vlueien,
Danckt Godt in minen naem, van alle zine gueien,
Van Hout (1577) (adapted from Koppenol 1991, p. 62)

English translation: “With art, fill your time, you that can interact, / with the game of the nine nymphs; you that previously ended up / on the two-tops-mountain, there you got wet. / For the water that a horse’s hoof spread there, / thank God in my name, for all his generosity,”

(8) Later phase of Dutch iambic metre
Leitsterren van mijn hoop, planeten van mijn jeucht,
Vermogen oogen schoon in hemels vuijr ontsteken
Als ghi v vensters luickt soo siemen mij onbreken
Mijns levens onderhout, een teder soete vreucht:
Hooft, *Sonnetten. Reden vande waerdicheit der poesie* (1610)

English translation: “Leading stars of my hope, planets of my youth, / powerful eyes light the heavenly fire in a beautiful way / if you close your windows so you see I am not there / the maintenance of my life ["what keeps my life"], a tender sweet fruit:”

The underlined parts in 6 and 7 indicate deviations from an iambic template. As can be observed, such instances diminish in frequency from 6 and 7 and are absent in 8. What is peculiar in the first line in 6 is that the mid-line marking falls in the seventh position, aside from the lack of an iambic rhythm in the first hemistich. As for the third line, it appears to be fully trochaic. The first line in 7 instead has one syllable less, which prevents it from being a regular line. The template deviation in waterken lies in the placement of a weak syllable like -ken in the sixth position, immediately before the caesura, which is a significantly prominent point. As for 8, the iambicity is almost perfect, intentionally disrupted by the author only with a line-initial inversion in the first line of the example.
4.2.2 The role played by theory

Recalling the above mentioned claim made by Kazartsev (2008) regarding the role played by theory in the development of Dutch iambic metre, it is important to consider two aspects of the process of theorisation. On the one hand, it is indeed the case that Dutch became more regular and iambic after a theory was developed. On the other hand, two observations need to be made about the way the process took place and the elements on which this was based.

As shown by Kossmann (1922), the theorisation of the new metre in the Netherlands was a process in which poets participated actively. Moreover, it was not always the case that the moment of theorisation preceded that of writing; authors often theorised on the basis of their own poetic work (Kossmann, 1922). Consequently, even the terms used to describe the new poetry and the availability of variations on the pattern could vary among authors (Kossmann, 1922, p. 117-123).

This observation is not meant to completely deny that theory played a role in the evolution of the metre. Its aim is to highlight that this evolution was not a unitary process and it underwent continual changes before its final version; in addition, the fact that poets showed a general tendency towards a specific verse type was not simply due to cultural reasons but it also reflected the need for poets to adapt the new form to the characteristics of the language. As observed by Jakobson (1960) and Kiparsky (1973), poetic practices and stylistic choices largely depend on language structure.

The second point regarding the theory of the new metre refers to the element on which this is based. Also, it is somehow related to the need to adapt metre to language, since it directly concerns the outcome of this necessity.

The theorisation of Dutch iambic metre was based on an element which was completely absent in the structure of the source form: the poetic foot. The foot was a well-known unit for Dutch Renaissance poets, as can be read in the preface of Het schilder-boeck (1604), by Karel Van Mander. The author, when describing the new poetic form, clearly states that it has two defining characteristics: 1) it is written imitating the structure of the French alexandrine; 2) its structure consists of a sequence of iambic feet, namely, one *hardt oft langh*, “strong or long”, preceded by a *cort*, “short” one (Van Mander 1604: *5r*). Without a doubt, Dutch poets borrowed the terms *foot* and *iamb* from Latin and Ancient Greek poetry, due to the renewed interest in Classical works which was a common aspect of the Renaissance school of thought (Garin, 1988).

This does not necessarily mean, though, that the borrowing was more than simply terminological. Quantitative classical metre and Renaissance foot-based poetry are significantly different and the latter did not make any attempt to incorporate the quantitative aspect of the former; quantity was rather converted into stress alternation. In addition, the iambic foot was not the prominent unit but only one of the available metrical options in Latin and Ancient Greek poetry, together with trochees, dactyls, anapaest, spondees, pyrrhics and so on; different foot types could sometimes even be combined in order to form a single type of metre (Zambaldi, 1882). Therefore, there is no apparent reason why only the iambic metre was borrowed from Greco-Roman verse and became the absolutely predominant form in Renaissance poetry.

Another interesting aspect of the issue has been observed by Kossmann (1922, p. 38, 49), namely that Dutch poets were so fond of the iambic alternation that they also perceived it in the Romance sources of the new poetic trend. However, no mention or overt use of feet or iambs was made by French poets when writing in alexandrines, during the Renaissance. The French alexandrine was not foot-based; no foot grouping
could be identified except by counting syllables two by two and have the caesura fall exactly after the sixth position. In addition, since French had already lost word stress by then (Rainsford, 2011), no unstressed-stressed alternation could be attested.

In this respect, it is interesting to mention what an unknown Spanish author wrote when describing her/his way of imitating French metre in the *Libro de Alexandre*, a 13th century adaptation of the French poem (long before the influence of the Italian *endecasillabo* would spread due to the cultural contact with Naples — in this regard, see the letter to Violante De Prada by López de Mendoza, dated May 4th 1444, and Profeti 1998; Duffell 2003). In the introduction to the poem, the author, when describing her/his way of versification, does not mention any foot or iamb (despite the fact that both her/his work and the original poem are quite iambic — on the French poem, see Noyer 2002); (s)he rather stresses syllabicity by saying that writing “by counting syllables is a poetic virtuosity”, *asillauascuntadas, ca es grant maestria* (*Libro de Alexandre*, line 8, in Sánchez et al. 1864).

Therefore, it can be claimed that while the Dutch poets gave their attention to the unit of the foot when adapting Renaissance metre (although this element did not exist overtly in the source form), Spanish poets focused, in their own process of adaptation, on the syllabic element, despite preserving the iambic rhythm of the source.

It is possible to conclude that the development and spread of the metrical foot in Dutch poetry does not only have to do with the theory of the verse, but it rather reveals the most natural and “necessary” way of adapting a syllabic metre into a West-Germanic poetic tradition. The claim can be extended to other West-Germanic languages if we take into account the development of English iambic pentameter.

### 4.2.3 The parallel case of English poetry

In English poetry, a parallel situation could be found, which developed independently of the Dutch one: an iambic foot-based metre was developed as a way of implementing a Romance source metre. Unlike that of Dutch, the English tradition was influenced by the Italian *endecasillabo* (Thompson, 1961; Hanson, 1997; Duffell, 2000). It was, in fact, the renewed contact with Italian poetry that allowed the re-discovery of iambic metre in English poetry, which had been lost after Chaucer (Duffell, 2014, p. 159). By contrast, the metrical innovation in Dutch poetry, as will be shown in Chapter 9, came mostly from the French source. In the present dissertation, only one Dutch author has been found to be influenced by Italian poetry, namely Karel van Mander. In fact, Van Mander was the only Dutch author considered who only wrote in pentameters, while the other poets wrote predominantly in alexandrines.

Moving back to English poetry, the iambic pentameter was the result of an implementation of the Romance source. The source metre, despite its tendency towards an iambic rhythm (Elwert, 1973; Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Gasparov, 1987, 1996; Hanson, 1997) and despite the claim that it was built on an iambic foot-based underlying structure (Hanson, 1997; Hanson and Kiparsky, 1996), did not exhibit the iambic regularity which was, in fact, an innovation of the recipient tradition.

The Italian *endecasillabo* is a syllabo-tonic metre composed of ten positions, plus a feminine ending (Duffell, 1991; Gasparov, 1996, p.122) or, in other words, an extra-metrical position, where the term *extrametrical* refers to an “optional position which is not followed by any obligatory position” (Dominicy, 1992, p. 122). It is important to mention, though, that this optional position is present in the majority of Italian lines,
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since most Italian words are paroxytones (Duffell, 1991; Gasparov, 1996, p.122), approximately 74.62% in fact (Mancini and Voghera, 1994). Another way to look at it could be to describe it as an eleven-syllable metre (Bertone, 1999; Di Girolamo, 1983); however, it is striking that no tradition which adopted it implemented a full eleven-syllable metre, all rather preserving or strengthening the optionality of the eleventh position.

Considering the line prominence pattern in a broader way, only the tenth and either the fourth or the sixth positions are obligatorily prominent. Regarding the tendency to iambic rhythm of the Italian *endecasillabo*, Gasparov (1987) calculated the “index of iambicity” of the metrical form, that is “the proportion of stresses on even syllabic positions from all stresses” (Gasparov, 1987, p. 311). The results show that the verse is closer to being iambic than to purely syllabic, but it still does not reach full iambicity. On the other hand, the English iambic pentameter is composed of a sequence of iambic feet alternating nonprominent and prominent positions. In 9 and 10, examples of each of these are given.

(9) Italian *endecasillabo*

Era il giorno ch’al sol si scoloraro
per la pietà del suo factore i rai,
quando i’ fui preso, et non me ne guardai
Petrarca, Sonnet 3, *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta* (1470)

English translation: “It was the day the sun’s ray had turned pale with pity for the suffering of his Maker / when I was caught (and I put up no fight)” (Musa and Manfredi, 1996, p.5)

(10) English pentameter

With how sad steps, O Moon, thou climb’st the skies!
How silently, and with how wan a face!
What, may it be that even in heav’ny place
Sidney, Sonnet 31, *Astophel and Stella* (1591)

The comparison of 9 and 10 shows that a quite similar metrical structure can be observed in both Italian *endecasillabo* and English iambic pentameter. However, the Example in 11 reveals that deviations from the template are largely allowed in the Italian metrical form.

(11) Italian *endecasillabo* allowing more deviations

Gloriosa columna in cui s’appoggia
nostra speranza e’l gran nome latino
ch’ancor non torse del vero camino
Petrarca, Sonnet 10, *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta* (1470)

English translation: “Glorious column upon whom / there rests our hope and great renown of Latium / whom [even the wrath of Jove with buffeting rain] has not yet turned aside from the true path” (Musa and Manfredi, 1996, p.11)
Despite the Example in 11 being from the same author and the same collection as the Example in 9 (in fact, one is part of the 10th and the other of the 3rd sonnet of the *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta*), its metrical structure largely varies from a strictly iambic template. The underlined parts indicate the deviations from a strictly iambic rhythm. Prominence on the 5th (in the first and third line) and on the 7th position (in the second and third line) can be observed, which, if the line was considered in terms of feet, would mean that trochaic feet are allowed. In addition to this, pyrrhic feet would appear to be allowed too; see, for instance, the second foot of the first line: *Gloriosa columna* ‘Glorious column’.

4.2.4 Adapting (to) the new metre: Romance poetry

The present section briefly describes the development of Renaissance metre across Romance poetic traditions. Despite the amount of variation in the ways of implementing the new form, and despite all the differences among languages, all traditions preserved the syllabic aspect of the source. None of them felt the need to develop a strictly foot-based metre as it was the case in West-Germanic poetry (for more details, see Chapter 6 and Chapter 8 for Romance and West-Germanic poetry, respectively).

As mentioned before, French alexandrine, the main source of Dutch Renaissance poetry, has a strong syllabic component; thus, it lacks any colon-internal stress or prominence pattern. The other source of poetic innovation, the Italian *endecasillabo*, despite exhibiting some colon-internal patterns, also allows quite a number of options for deviation from a strictly iambic sequence; this variability in the pattern differentiates it from Germanic Renaissance forms and highlights its syllabic element. Again here, despite a tendency towards an iambic rhythm, only two positions per line are necessarily prominent, namely, the one marking the middle of the line and the one marking the line end— in other words, the right-edges of the two cola (Nesporeand Vogel, 1986) — (as in the French alexandrine). It is important to notice, though, that unlike in French poetry, the mid-line division in Italian is not necessarily strongly marked and can fall after either the fourth or the sixth position, and this can vary across the poem. This difference is due to the fact that the French alexandrine lacks any colon-internal pattern; hence, its metrical structure is based on a necessarily strictly marked caesura dividing the two cola (Duffell, 1994).

Renaissance metre spread to Spanish poetry (Navarro, 1991; Gasparov, 1996) and to other Romance traditions, such as the Catalan (Ramírez y Molas, 1985; Duffell, 1994, 1999; Bargalló Valls, 2007) and the Portuguese (Gasparov, 1996; Duffell, 1999; Spaggiari, 2003). The primary source in these cases was the Italian *endecasillabo*, even though in the Catalan and Portuguese instances the new form arrived also via a Spanish intermediary. All three traditions exhibit obligatory prominence on the tenth position and on another mid-line position: in the case of Spanish, this falls either on the fourth or the sixth position, just as in Italian, while in Catalan and Portuguese it can only occur on the fourth or the sixth position, respectively. It is important to mention that the prominence on the fourth position in Catalan strictly coincides with a word boundary and precedes a caesura (Ramírez y Molas, 1985; Duffell, 1994).

Regarding metrical pattern, Spanish and Portuguese poetry tend to an iambic rhythm (see Gasparov 1987, 1996, Mittmann et al. 2019 and Chapter 6), while Catalan tends to syllabism (Duffell 1994 and Chapter 6). The picture becomes more complicated when considering the fact that both Catalan and Portuguese already had a medieval
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When the various Romance instantiations of the Renaissance form are compared, a great deal of variation can be observed. However, they all have in common the preservation of the syllabic aspect of the source, or rather the requirement for prominent positions on the colon level. Metrical patterns are quite varied and the only features common to all the traditions are some kind of need for a mid-line marking and the prominence of the tenth position (the twelfth in the French alexandrine). Only Catalan metre has a proper caesura in the French way, but this element was already present in the previous poetic tradition.

The number of differences among the various Romance metres are described in Chapter 6 and not here, since they do not affect the main point of the present chapter: none of the traditions evolved in a Germanic way, nor did the writers feel the need to develop a strictly foot-based poetry.

To conclude, there is a clear connection between the characteristics of a language and the way in which its writers implemented the new Renaissance metre, which cannot be entirely attributed to cultural factors. A key element playing an important role in shaping the poetic path is the phonological characteristics of the language.

The following section explores this hypothesis with the aim of delineating how different phonological characteristics affect poetic traditions and which of them represent the leading determinants of the characteristics of a successful poetic metre. This leads to a distinction between West-Germanic and Romance languages which surfaces in poetry.

4.3 The parametric distinction

As described in the previous section, two different tendencies can be observed when looking at the development of Renaissance metres in Romance and in West-Germanic languages: while the former language group focuses on the syllabic characteristics of the new poetic form, the latter uses feet as the way of implementing it.

In the present section, a phonological account for this difference is presented. First, an approach based on the syllable-timing versus stress-timing distinction is considered and its problematic points outlined. Then follows a different proposal able to explain metrical differences in terms of prominence of prosodic domains.

A first possible approach would be to consider that the division between the two language groups tends to correspond to the stress-timing versus syllable-timing distinction and observe that syllable-timed languages have syllabic poetry, while stress-timed languages present foot-based poetry. The terms syllable-timing and stress-timing were coined as part of the isochrony hypothesis, according to which languages have either isochronous syllables or a stable duration of intervals between stresses (Pike, 1945; Abercrombie, 1967). The first scholar to notice this division was Lloyd James (1940), who distinguished between “morse code” rhythm (stress-timing) languages and those with a “machine-gun” rhythm (syllable-timing). Based on the isochrony hypothesis, Germanic languages can be considered stress-timed and Romance languages syllable-timed.

A number of phonetic experiments have shown that the concept of isochrony is
quite problematic (see, for example, Nesporetal. 2011). The stress- and syllable-timing
distinction has not been completely abandoned, but scholars have been working on
finding phonological cues for it. The phonological aspects taken into consideration
have been the complexity of syllable structure and vowel reduction (Dauer, 1983),
the way vowels alternate with consonants (namely, the percentage of vowels, V%,
and the standard deviation of the duration of consonantal intervals ΔC, within the
sentence) (Ramus et al., 1999), the duration of vowels and the duration of intervals
between vowels (Grabe and Low, 2002), etc. The idea of a clearcut distinction between
the two categories faded away and the two groups are considered to be parts of a
continuum (Dauer, 1983; Auer, 1993; Ramus et al., 1999; Schmid, 2012). Despite the fact
that considering rhythmic classes as a consequence of phonological characteristics does
indeed provide more insights into the intuitive distinction, this cannot fully account
for the details of how certain metrical implementations were developed in poetry. In
particular, problems arise when considering cases like those of Catalan, with a mixed
system (Ramus et al., 1999), and European Portuguese, which went from being syllable-
timed to being stress-timed (Parkinson, 1988; Auer, 1993). In those languages, the new
poetic form did not develop into a metrical foot-based one; rather, the syllabic element
preserved its relevance over centuries and poetic trends. For example, despite the fact
that Portuguese was evolving into being closer to stress-timed languages, its poetic
tradition did not become more similar to poetry of other stress-timed languages.

Therefore, poetry constitutes evidence against the stress-timing versus syllable-
timing distinction. In particular, a process like vowel reduction would be expected to
play a significant role in the grouping (Schmid, 2012) and in determining the necessity
of creating a poetic foot. In fact, reduction makes syllables somehow blurred, in English
and (to a lesser extent) Dutch, which tend to reduce every unstressed vowel. Conse-
quently, the building of a metrical form, which is based on the recurrence of a pattern,
would require an extra element able to stabilise the syllable. From this perspective, the
syllable grouping created by the foot gives shape and stability and generates the rhythm-
ical unstressed-stressed alternation. This is not the case for German, which does not
have vowel reduction. However, German poetry implemented the new metre from a
Germanic source, namely Dutch hence, no inter-language group transfer was involved,
nor adaptation needed, in its incorporation of the new poetic form.

Nevertheless, contrary to what this theory would predict, while reduction could be
assumed to contribute to the importance of the metrical foot in the adaptation of the
Romance source form into West-Germanic poetry, it does not seem to play a significant
role in determining the metrical pattern in the poetry of Romance languages which
are also affected by it, such as Portuguese and Catalan. In these languages, a foot
able to stabilise the rhythm did not develop. In particular, the poetry of Catalan has a
strong tendency to syllabism, since lines exhibit quite variable stress patterns, with the
exception that two prominent positions per line marking the cola are required (Duffell,
1991, 1994). Thus, it seems that while vowel reduction could reinforce the use of poetic
feet in West-Germanic traditions, this might not be the case in Romance poetry. In the
latter, reduction might even hinder the development of a verse foot.

An alternative account of the distinction is given by Auer (1993). Based on observa-
tions of a number of phonological characteristics (for a list of the parameters, see
Schmid 2012), he proposes that the difference between the two language groups is
rather based on the prominence of the prosodic word versus prominence of the syllable
(Auer, 1993). Similarly, Van Oostendorp (2000) proposes that the difference between
the language groups is due to the stronger activation of a prosodic domain.
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Starting from this proposal, I wish to move the focus to the distinction that can be made by looking at the prosodic domains of the languages. In particular, the focal point will be the field of action of phonological processes. The investigation of these elements leads to a new type of grouping, which can reveal more about which elements condition the implementation of a metre. From this perspective, the development of a poetic form becomes evidence in support of rhythmic classes and contributes to their investigation.

Dutch and French are the sample languages representing the two groups and poetic contact between them is the main case study. This case study was chosen because the implementation of Renaissance metre in Dutch poetry is a clear example of Romance metre being incorporated into a West-Germanic poetic system. At the same time, the two languages represent two very distant points on the rhythmical continuum. Subsequently, the picture is broadened in order to obtain a clearer view of the possible generalisations.

4.3.1 Dutch and French poetry and phonology

As mentioned previously, when Dutch poets started to imitate French alexandrine they needed to modify and adapt the metre to the recipient language and poetic tradition. During this process, some elements of the Romance verse were lost, other features were added, and this led to the development of a Germanic metre. This change highlights the linguistic characteristics of the two languages, which could not be ignored when elaborating the new poetic form. For this reason, a case study of Dutch Renaissance metre provides a neat picture of the distinction described above: Dutch and the language of the source metre, namely French, represent the two language groups. The present section constitutes an investigation of the phonological characteristics that determined the metrical differences in verse. It is assumed here that the role played by certain prosodic domains in Renaissance Dutch and French coincides with those of the respective modern languages. This assumption is based on two characteristics of the languages: first, French had already lost its word stress by the 12th/13th century (Rainsford, 2011) and exhibited instead word-group stress, manifesting itself in the phonological phrase domain; second, Dutch already exhibited final devoicing in the 14th century, as shown by orthographical indications of final devoicing in the poem *Karel ende Elegast* (on which I have conducted a small research study) and also in Renaissance works. The presence of final devoicing shows that the edge of the prosodic word was already highly relevant for Renaissance Dutch phonology.

A comparison of Dutch and French phonology reveals a difference in terms of the role played by prosodic domains: while most phonological processes in French occur within the phonological phrase, in Dutch, they take place within the phonological word (Van Oostendorp, 2000, p. 256).

The presence of these processes contributes to the stronger activation of one specific prosodic domain over another. The possibility of stronger activation of one phonological element or level, rather than another, was also suggested by Hyman (2011). In Auer’s (1993) approach, French is a syllable-based language and Dutch a word-based language. From this perspective, most phonological processes in French aim to optimise the syllable, while in Dutch the word-level is the main focus. I argue here that the domain where syllable optimisation occurs in French is the phonological phrase and this constitutes the more strongly activated domain of the language.
The first and most evident aspect of the languages to play an important role in determining the phonological differences between their poetic forms is the presence or absence of word stress. Specifically, while French, as mentioned above, only exhibits phrasal stress (Rossi, 1979; Féry, 2001, 2003), Dutch has strong word-level stress.

A second difference is that, on the one hand, French is characterised by many processes affecting the phonological phrase, such as external sandhi phenomena (e.g. liaison); on the other hand, phenomena occurring at the edge of the phonological word domain, such as word final devoicing, are common in Dutch. In 12 and 13, an example of liaison in French and of final devoicing in Dutch are given.

(12) Liaison in French
petit ami [pe] [ti] [ta] [mi] “small friend”
nous étudions [nou] [se] [tu] [dions] “we study”

(13) Word final devoicing in Dutch
hond [h\ont] “dog”
honden [h\ond] “dogs”

In the Example in 12, square brackets indicate syllable boundaries. As can be observed, in both petit ami and nous étudions the last consonant of the first word is resyllabified together with the initial vowel of the following word.

Another element which places the two languages in opposition is resyllabification: while French normally syllabifies across words (external sandhi phenomena are a consequence of that), the Dutch language does not.

By assuming that these three characteristics actually highlight a general aspect of the two languages, it is possible to draw a distinction between languages with a word-based phonology and others with a phrase-based phonology. The former group is characterised by prominence of the word domain, so that this level is more active and is more central in phonology; in contrast, the latter group gives a predominant role to the phrase domain.

The stronger activation of one prosodic domain over another is reflected in the metrical patterns developed in the two traditions: on the one hand, a metre strictly based on a prominence pattern at the foot level; on the other hand, a metre which has prominent positions only at the colon level and no prominence pattern within lower constituents. Hence, a language with a word-based phonology, like Dutch, will exhibit a foot-based metre, while a language with a more active phonological phrase, like French, will have a metre with prominence at the colon level.

The parallelism between the Dutch phonological word and the poetic foot is not surprising, considering that, in the language, a poetic foot tends to be the size of two syllables, that is, the same as the usual size of a word (Van Oostendorp and De Sisto, 2017). However, it is important to state that this correspondence between phonological word/foot and poetic foot does not automatically consist of an exact overlap.

In the case of an iambic poetic foot, the fact that Dutch is a trochaic language (that is, its building blocks are left-aligned feet) means that the two elements cannot be identical. As observed by Van Oostendorp and De Sisto (2017), regarding Germanic languages, the trochaic phonological foot and the iambic verse foot are completely unaligned. To explain, the head of the phonological foot is aligned to its left edge; in an iambic poetic foot assuming that it does not have a head but rather uses the head of
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the phonological element (Van Oostendorp and De Sisto, 2017), the phonological head is instead aligned to the right edge. Consequently, the iambic poetic foot consists of a right-aligned phonological head preceded by some material, which is either unfooted or from a preceding phonological foot.

In 14, an example, from Van Oostendorp and De Sisto (2017) is given, displaying English iambic foot and its unalignement with the phonological foot. The square brackets mark the phonological foot and the round brackets the poetic foot.

(14) (w] [s)(w]  
with fortune

From Sonnet 29, Shakespeare (Van Oostendorp and De Sisto, 2017, p. 7)

The same unalignment can be observed by considering Dutch, in the following example.

(15) (w] [s)(w]  
in hemels “in heaven”

From Leitsterren van mijn hoop, planeten van mijn jeucht, Hooft

As can be noticed in both examples (14 and 15), the iambic poetic foot is generated by a complete unalignment with the phonological foot. Poetic feet, unlike linguistic feet, do not contain a head; their relevant property is rather constituted by boundaries, like morphosyntactic words (Van Oostendorp and De Sisto, 2017). As for syntactic structure in the phonology-syntax interface, boundaries are the only elements visible to phonology. Consequently, since poetic feet are abstract elements which only exist in the interface between poetry and phonology, they are not headed and their edges are aligned with the phonological material of the line (Van Oostendorp and De Sisto, 2017). The mismatch between trochaic word stress, in languages like English and Dutch, and iambic poetic rhythm generates maximal tension (Van Oostendorp and De Sisto, 2017).

To summarise, by comparing Dutch and French phonological characteristics, a distinction can be made between phrase-based and word-based phonology. This distinction is reflected in the differences between Dutch and French Renaissance poetic forms. In other words, the new metre needed to be modified in order to function within the Dutch poetic tradition, because it had to be adjusted to the different functioning of the Dutch language in comparison to French. A metre built to recreate the prominence of the phonological phrase with colon constraints had to be adapted into a form that would focus on the element corresponding to the prosodic word.

The parallelism between phonology and metrical forms represents a step forward in understanding the development of the Germanic poetic foot from a syllabic source. However, it is necessary to go further in order to fully account for the process and to determine which elements play a major role in it.

4.3.2 The clear-cut factors: culminativity of stress and resyllabification

The proposal that the distinction between word-based and phrase-based phonology is reflected in the paths taken by poetic traditions shows its limits when other traditions and cases which cannot be explained by a smooth clear-cut distinction between two categories are considered.
A first weak point of the distinction is the fact that Romance poetic traditions are not foot-based but, with the exception of French, do exhibit strong word stress. In such cases, the presence of word stress may lead to either a stronger or weaker tendency towards iambic poetic rhythm. In particular, while this tendency is stronger in traditions like those of Italian and Spanish (Elwert, 1973; Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Gasparov, 1987, 1996; Hanson, 1997), it is quite weak in Portuguese (Spaggiari, 2003) and almost absent in Catalan, which, as mentioned before (in Section 4.2.4), tends to full syllabicity (Ramírez y Molas, 1985; Duffell, 1991, 1994; Bargalló Valls, 2007).

The presence of some kind of iambic rhythm could be expected, since all Romance languages with word stress considered here are trochaic languages. In fact, if we consider poetry to be an artificial system based on bracketing mismatches with natural language, some kind of iambic rhythm appears to be the obvious outcome of trochaic-language poetry (Van Oostendorp and De Sisto, 2017). In other words, the head of the phonological foot has to surface somewhere in the poetic rhythm and, in order to produce a bracketing mismatch between the two layers, there is a chance that it will be aligned with the right edge of the verse foot. Nevertheless, this is not enough to make a strictly iambic poetic foot necessary.

Furthermore, despite the large number of processes taking place in the phonological phrase domain in the Romance languages, it is not possible to exclude categorically the presence of phenomena operating in the word domain in those same languages. For example, while Italian exhibits phrasal phenomena, such as Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico (the gemination of a word-initial consonant under the influence of a preceding trigger) which can only occur if the two words are in the same phrasal constituent (Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Loporcaro, 1997); this phenomenon is also affected by word level processes, such as stressed open syllable lengthening, which involves the lengthening of the vowel carrying a word’s primary stress, when this occurs in an open, non-word-final syllable (Nespor and Vogel, 1986, p. 131).

Similarly, despite the stronger activation of the prosodic word, it is not possible to exclude the existence of phenomena operating on the phrase level in Germanic languages. This is the case, for instance, for r drop and r insertion in Eastern Massachusetts dialects of English (McCarthy, 1991, 1993). The former occurs when a word-final r is followed by a consonant within the same phrase, while the latter avoids the adjacency of two vowels. They both take place across prosodic words within the phrase level (McCarthy, 1991, 1993).

A case which appears to be somehow in between the two categories is found in Southern Dutch and Flemish. As observed by Noske (2005), these varieties of Dutch are in a way more similar to to Romance languages, specifically to French, in terms of syllabification across words and within morphologically complex words. This is due, Noske (2005) argues, to their extensive contact with French. As a consequence, the prosodic organisation is, in certain aspects, more similar to Romance languages than to Germanic languages, being phrase-based rather than word-based (Noske, 2005).

Nevertheless, the distinction between the two groups remains quite clear with regard to the ways in which metre is implemented. It is necessary, hence, to individuate which elements, in terms of phonological characteristics, support a similar grouping. These elements support the hypothesis of a phrase-based and word-based phonology and provide further explanation for why Romance languages do not need to constrain feet or metrical positions, while West-Germanic languages do.

The first step is to look at phenomena which play a role within the phonological phrase in Romance languages and within the phonological word in West-Germanic
languages. Syllabification and resyllabification represent the most evident phenomena and also highlight the distinction based on prominence of prosodic domains.

Secondly, the ability of Romance poetry to disregard stress pattern within lines, with the exception of the right edges of the two cola, calls for investigation of what might be regarded as a corresponding feature in natural language. Hence, it is necessary to examine the relevance of stress in specific prosodic domains — in other words, the domain of stress culminativity.

4.3.3 Resyllabification

Resyllabification (Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Peperkamp, 1997; Cardinaletti and Repetti, 2009) is in a way part of the parametric distinction between word-based and phrase-based phonology. It consists in a type of syllabification which occurs across words in order to optimise the syllable sequence within the phonological phrase. Consequently, the syllabification which previously took place on the word level is modified and word boundaries are lost.

Germanic languages tend not to allow resyllabification (Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Booij, 1995), while Romance languages normally resyllabify (Nespor and Vogel 1986). In 16, an example of resyllabification in Spanish is given.²

(16) Resyllabification in Spanish

al elado [a] [le] [la] [ðo] ‘stupified’
al helado [a] [le] [la] [ðo] ‘to the ice cream’
(Nespor and Vogel, 1986, p. 68)

(17) al [al] “to the” | helado [(e] [la] [ðo] “ice cream”

As it can be observed in 16, al elado and al helado are syllabified in the same way, after resyllabification has occurred in the latter. In particular (see 17), if the two words of the latter are considered in isolation, the way they are syllabified differs from their form once they have been resyllabified together. The first syllable of helado in isolation is [e], while it becomes [le] once the word is syllabified together with the preceding element.

On the other hand, in Germanic languages, a strong tendency to preserve word syllables is attested. Evidence for this claim is given by the Example from Dutch in 18.

(18) Syllabification in Dutch

lood spet [[lood] [s]) “drop of lead”
loods pet [[loods] [s] “sea captain’s cap”
(Nespor and Vogel, 1986, p. 137)

In 18, load spet and loads pet cannot be syllabified in the same way. The same can be claimed for the difference between the syllabification in al arm ‘already poor’ and alarm ‘alarm’ (Nespor and Vogel, 1986, p. 67). Therefore, what happens in the Spanish Example in 16 cannot occur in Dutch.

In Dutch, resyllabification can take place within sequences of a prosodic word and a clitic (Booij, 1995). In those cases, a clitic can be incorporated into an adjacent prosodic

² The present example consists of a clitic + noun sequence. However, in Spanish resyllabification not only take place when clitics are involved but can also apply across full words, for example colchón azul /kol[f]on aðul/ is resyllabified into [kol] [f] [a] [ðul].
word (Booij, 1995). It is important to emphasise that this such a type of resyllabification cannot take place between two prosodic words and normally does not affect word-level phenomena, such as, final devoicing (Booij, 1995). To explain, the word-final consonant which gets resyllabified as an onset normally still exhibits devoicing, as can be observed in 19. However, in some Dutch varieties, resyllabification involving clitics can block the occurrence of final devoicing (Booij, 1995), as in 20.

(19) Final devoicing occurring despite clitic resyllabification in Standard Dutch

\[
\text{verb\textit{ind i}k } \quad [\text{ver}]_e \quad [\text{bin}]_e \quad [\text{tik}]_e \quad \quad \text{“I connect”} \\
\quad [\text{ver}]_e \quad [\text{bin}]_e \quad [\text{dik}]_e
\]

(adapted from Booij 1995, p. 175)

(20) Clitic resyllabification bleeding final devoicing in some varieties of Dutch

\[
\text{heb \textit{ik} } \quad [\text{he}]_e \quad [\text{bik}]_e \quad \quad \text{“I have”} \\
\quad [\text{he}]_e \quad [\text{pik}]_e
\]

(adapted from Booij 1995, p. 175)

As can be observed in 19, the normal outcome of resyllabification induced by the attachment of the clitic does not affect the word-level phenomenon of final devoicing; in fact, while \([\text{ver}]_e \quad [\text{bin}]_e \quad [\text{tik}]_e\) is possible, \([\text{ver}]_e \quad [\text{bin}]_e \quad [\text{dik}]_e\) is not. In 20, instead, both options, with or without final devoicing, are available, namely \([\text{he}]_e \quad [\text{bik}]_e\) and \([\text{he}]_e \quad [\text{pik}]_e\).

Resyllabification leads to a series of processes, such as external sandhi phenomena, which modify word-syllables in favour of a better-formed syllable sequence at the phrase level. Also related to resyllabification is the fact that, while in Romance languages external and internal sandhi phenomena tend to coincide, in Germanic languages they tend not to do so (Auer, 1993). Resyllabification, hence, allows for the existence of chunks bigger than words which, to a certain extent, function as such.

4.3.4 Culminativity of stress

The second element is represented by culminativity of stress (Hayes, 1995). Stress is culminative in a given domain, which means that one single strongest syllable in each word or phrase bears the main stress (Liberman and Prince, 1977, p. 262; Hayes, 1995, p. 24). In other words, its property needs to be preserved by some means in a given environment. If stress is culminative in a specific domain, it cannot be lost within that same domain.

Differences in the domain of culminativity of stress are attested across languages. In the case of English, stress is culminative from the level of the foot, which means that in no level from the foot upwards can destressing occur (Hayes, 1995). This can be observed by considering that, when English words are grouped into phrases or compounds, “the stress contours of the individual words are largely unaffected” (Halle and Vergnaud, 1987, p. 263); in those cases, in fact, greater prominence is given to signal the main stress of the phrase or compound but no destressing occurs (Halle and Vergnaud, 1987, p. 263).
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Dutch displays a functioning of stress quite similar to that of English (Visch, 1989). Common are cases of stress shift (e.g., thirteén mén -> thírteen mén) and stress strengthening are common in both languages, but no stressed position can be fully weakened (Hayes, 1995; Visch, 1989). Visch (1989, p. 124) points out one difference between English and Dutch, which is that Dutch also allows for right-directional adjustments, while English can adjust only left-directionally.

By contrast, in French and in Italian stress is culminative starting from the level of the phonological phrase (Dell, 1984; Nespor, 1988; Hayes, 1995); hence, destressing in lower domains can occur in order to avoid clashes with those stresses enhanced by the phonological phrase. An example of destressing allowed by the culminativity of stress on the phonological phrase level in Italian, is given in 21.

(21) Destressing in Italian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>x</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>x</th>
<th>Destressing per ciò an drà su bi to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Perciò andrà subito “Therefore, (s)he will go immediately”

In 21, destressing of the word andrà takes place, in order to avoid clashing with subito. Cases of destressing occur when a lexical item loses its stress, in order to avoid stress clash, and does not get a new one, in order to avoid arhythmic sequences (Nespor, 1988, p. 225). In this example, the addition of a beat on the first syllable of the lexical item would create another clash with the preceding word. In these cases, Nespor claims that “lexical items may thus lack word stress at certain points in the derivation” (Nespor, 1988, p. 226).

4.3.5 The macroparameter

Stress culminativity and resyllabification are quite different characteristics of language but they do share a common element. Both, I argue, are factors highlighting the same facet of differentiation between the two language groups. On the one hand, resyllabification distinguishes languages in which syllabification has a wider field of action (namely, the phonological phrase) from those with a more limited one (namely, the phonological word); on the other hand, stress culminativity distinguishes between languages exhibiting a culminating stress from the phrase domain upwards and those with stress which is culminating from the foot upwards. This almost seems to be a distinction between languages (Romance languages), which, to a certain extent, lack “sensitivity” in the lower domains of the prosodic hierarchy and those (Germanic languages) which instead exhibit this “sensitivity” starting from lower domains, so do not allow wider changes like destressing or resyllabification.

Regarding syllabification, though, it is important to bear in mind that this phenomenon is stronger within the word domain in Romance than in Germanic languages, but its field of action appears to be definitively larger in the former group.

Both resyllabification and stress culminativity seem to point to the same characteristics: the relevance of the prominence of the syllable in a specific environment. To
explain, the prominence of the syllable in a specific prosodic domain can be relevant across different prosodic layers. If so, its characteristics tend to be preserved and cannot be modified by other processes both in its own prosodic domain and in other higher domains.

The possibility or impossibility of resyllabifying across words depends on whether the word syllable and its structure can be modified: in other words, on whether it is hierarchically less important than a syllable built on the phrase level. If the syllable built at the prosodic word level is the most relevant, resyllabification on other levels cannot occur, because the word-level syllable cannot be modified or disrupted. On the other hand, if the syllable created on the phonological phrase level is more relevant, the word-level syllable can undergo changes, hence resyllabification occurs.

At the same time, stress culminativity refers to the domain in which prominence of the syllable is relevant; in this domain, its prominence cannot be lost, but rather only shifted. Therefore, languages in which syllable prominence is relevant in a lower domain cannot allow destressing in that or in higher domains. In contrast, in a case in which the prominence of the syllable in a higher domain is hierarchically more important, destressing can occur in lower domains.

Consequently, on the one hand, there are languages, namely the Germanic ones, which exhibit active syllable prominence within the word domain. This means that resyllabification cannot affect word-syllables and that word stress cannot be lost. On the other hand, in Romance languages, word-syllables do not have a relevant role in the hierarchy of boundaries which need to be preserved, within and across words; the relevance of the prominence of the syllable here is within the phrase domain. Therefore, resyllabification can reconfigure syllables and some stresses can be omitted in order to avoid stress clash.

By taking a closer look at the syllable element and at prosodic domains in terms of boundaries, it is possible to conceptualise this division in a way that connects it to Ramus et al.’s (1999) proposal. In terms of prosodic boundaries, the difference between word-based and phrase-based phonology is that in the former the word-edge represents a boundary for phonological processes, while, in the latter, phrase-edges are the relevant boundaries. By looking at syllables instead, it can be observed that consonant clusters allowed in coda positions word-finally can distinguish the Romance and the Germanic language groups. Consonant clusters inventories can be considered in terms of consonant intervals (Ramus et al., 1999) on word-edges. In this light, West-Germanic languages show higher consonant cluster complexity on the edge of their prosodic words, hence the word edge is more marked; in contrast, Romance languages do not allow more complex consonant clusters at word boundaries, meaning that the word-edge is not more marked than word-internal syllable edges.

The present dichotomy between a prominent phonological word and a prominent phonological phrase is reflected in the paths taken by poetic the traditions of the two language groups. While Romance languages could implement forms of poetry by only considering the constraints on the colon level, because of the prominence of the syllable and the edge of the phonological phrase, West Germanic languages on the other hand needed to develop a poetic foot, because their languages focused on the prosodic domain of the word and the prominence of the syllable within it.

The metrical structure reflects, in the prominence of either the colon or the foot level, the higher activation of the prosodic domain of either the phrase or of the word. The difference in prosodic level prominence between the Romance and the Germanic group depends, I argue, on a macroparameter. In this respect, it is important to refer
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to work by Roberts (2012), Biberauer and Roberts (2012) and Biberauer and Roberts (2017). These authors propose the existence of four types of parameters (macroparameters, mesoparameters, microparameters and nanoparameters) which are hierarchically organised (Roberts, 2012; Biberauer and Roberts, 2012). Macroparameters are found at the top of the hierarchy and greatly affect the grammatical system; the other subtypes of parameters are located increasingly low down in the structure and affect increasingly small subsystems of the grammar (Biberauer and Roberts, 2017).

From this perspective the macroparameter proposed here, which concerns the selection of a prominent prosodic domain, affects the structure and functioning of the phonology on a very general level. This macroparameter is copied by metrical structure when the latter recreates the phonological characteristics of the language in which poetry is written. Therefore, when a poetic metre implemented in a language with a certain macroparameter setting is incorporated into a poetic tradition of a language with a different setting, a resetting of the macroparameter of the metre is needed. Specifically, the Romance Renaissance source is a colon-based metre because it is written in a language with phrase-based phonology; when this form was adapted into the tradition of a West-Germanic word-based language, the structure of the source metre needed to be adapted to the macroparameter selected in the recipient language and replicated in the metrical structure.

4.4 Conclusion

In the present chapter, an overview of the strategies underlying the implementation and development of Renaissance metre in Romance and West-Germanic languages has been given. While Romance traditions built the new forms in such a way to preserve the syllabic characteristics of the source, West-Germanic traditions needed to transform it into a foot-based metre. Starting by observing the divergences between these two groups, a phonological account of the differences was proposed.

The main case study was the development of Dutch iambic metre under the influence of French poetry. The comparison of Dutch and French phonological characteristics led to the elaboration of a distinction between phrase-based and word-based phonology. A clear-cut point of this distinction was found in the relevance of the prominence of the syllable in a specific environment. By examining the prosodic domain in which stress is culminating and (re)syllabification can occur, a finer distinction between the two groups could be defined: while Romance languages can resyllabify across words and allow destressing within prosodic domains lower than the phonological phrase (hence, they have a syllable which is stronger in the phrase level), West-Germanic languages tend to syllabify only within words and do not allow destressing in lower prosodic domains, hence their most prominent syllable is that of the word level. This distinction led to the proposal of a macroparameter which defines the prosodic domain with the strongest activation.

This phonological characteristics of the two language groups conditioned the implementation of Renaissance metre in that, while Romance languages did not need constraints in domains lower than the colon, West-Germanic languages needed to use poetic feet in order to successfully incorporate the new poetic form.
Part II

The development of Renaissance metre
CHAPTER 5

Methodology

5.1 Introduction

The present chapter gives an overview of the process of data collection and annotation for the corpora analysed in Chapters 6, 8 and 9 and outlines the methodology used in analysing them. These data and were used to investigate the theoretical claims elaborated in Chapter 2 and to explore metrical variation across closely-related poetic traditions and between poetic forms from two language groups, namely Romance and Germanic.

While data collection and annotation techniques differed among the corpora, the analysis of their stress patterns was based on the same model, in order to produce comparable results.

Four corpora were compiled, containing Renaissance poetry texts of various Romance and West-Germanic languages. In particular, in Chapters 6 and 8, which constitute a Romance and a West-Germanic metre typology, respectively, different language samples are compared. In the former, samples from Italian, Spanish, French, Occitan, Sicilian, Venetian, Neapolitan, Portuguese and Catalan are used; the latter contains samples from English, Dutch, Frisian and German.

In Chapter 9, two single-language corpora, one of Italian Renaissance poetry and one of Dutch Renaissance poetry, are analysed and compared.

The datasets can be divide into three groups based on type of annotation. First, the Spanish and Italian samples and the Italian Renaissance poetry corpus were taken from already annotated corpora. Second, the other samples for the Romance and West-Germanic typologies were manually annotated by me and these annotations were proof-read and corrected by experts in the specific language’s phonology and/or poetic tradition. Finally, for the annotation of the Dutch Renaissance poetry corpus, an
The annotation system was developed with the use of a Long Short-Term Memory network and data augmentation for text. The final annotating model has a 97% accuracy rate, which, as will be discussed in Section 5.4.3, is not perfect but performs quite well, when compared with manual annotation.

The annotation of the data consisted in assigning a code of either 0 or 1 to each syllable of each line. 0 indicated unstressed syllables and 1 stressed syllables (with no distinction between primary and secondary stress). The resulting binary sequences were used to calculate the deviation percentage from a perfectly iambic pattern, namely one unstressed syllable followed by a stressed syllable. In other words, the number of stressed syllables occurring in odd positions and the number of unstressed syllables in even positions were calculated. From those, a deviation percentage for each metrical position in each samples was obtained.

The sequences of deviation percentage for each position in the line were used as vectors in the representation of the samples. A visualisation of vectors of each sample’s deviation was used to compare the patterns in the various traditions or authors. Finally, the same vectors were used to plot a dendrogram, which enabled assessment of the connections among poets and among languages and their rhythmical characteristics in relation to a perfect iambic line.

In Section 5.2, the corpora are briefly introduced and the way they were built is described. Section 5.3 focuses on the annotation, both manual and automatic. A section on the annotation of the Dutch corpus (Section 5.4) introduces the model used to train the annotation system (5.4.1); it gives a brief overview of the type of architecture used to structure the model (5.4.2) and illustrates the training steps which led to the final system (5.4.3). In addition, in Section 5.4.3, the results of the automatic model are compared with those of the manual annotation process. In Section 5.5 and 5.6, a brief overview is given of the process of calculating the deviation rate and of the tools used for data visualisation. A concluding section summarises the main points of the chapter.

5.2 The corpora

Renaissance poetry was chosen as a case study for investigation of the relationship between phonology and poetry through comparison of different implementations of the same source metre. The reason for choosing Renaissance metre is that this poetic trend spread across most European countries and, even in the early days of this expansion, across two language families, namely Romance and West-Germanic. The material included in this dissertation begins with the original source of the poetic innovation, namely Occitan poetry, and its subsequent sources, namely French and Italian verse; it follows the trajectories of its early spread across Romance and West-Germanic poetry. Among the Romance languages, data from Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese are included, since their traditions were among the first to be affected by the new poetic trend. Three Italian vernaculars, Sicilian, Venetian and Neapolitan, are also considered; they were selected because, apart from having incorporated the new metre, they also

In this respect, I would like to thank Folger Karsdorp for introducing me to these tools and for guiding and helping me in using them.

It is important to mention that the oldest decasyllable in metre seems to be the French 12th century *Chanson de Geste* (Brogan, 1993, p. 340). However, it was from Occitan poetry that the new form spread to Sicilian and Galician-portuguese poetry and, from there, to other traditions (with the exception of French poetry).
possess a strong literary tradition. The wave of this new form of versification reached the Germanic speaking world as well, specifically the West-Germanic one. Consequently, material from Dutch, English, German and Frisian is also included.

For the corpus of Romance Renaissance metre typology, twenty samples of ten-syllable verse were collected. They consist of 130 lines each, except for one of the Neapolitan samples, a 192-line poem, which was included in its entirety. Nine languages are considered, namely Italian, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Catalan, Occitan, Neapolitan, Venetian and Sicilian, and each of them is represented by two samples. Each sample has a single author. Two extra samples from one author writing in two languages were included, one written in Italian and one in Neapolitan. The authors selected were predecessors of Renaissance, Renaissance authors of that period itself or poets who implemented the Renaissance metre in vernacular poetry.

Various sources were used for data collection. Some of the material was available in online corpora while other material was found in digital versions of print editions.

The online corpora consulted were Archivio Metrico Italiano (AMI) for Italian poetry and for one author of Scuola Siciliana; Corpus of Spanish Golden-Age Sonnets for Spanish poetry; Repertorio informatizzato dell’antica letteratura catalana for Catalan poetry; Corpus des Troubadours for Occitan poetry and Cantigas Medievais Galego-Portuguesas for the sample from a pre-Renaissance Portuguese poet. The samples from the verse of the French poet Peletier were found on Gallica, while the works of the Neapolitan Giulio Cesare Cortese were consulted in the digital library Biblioteca italiana and those of the Venetian poet Maganza are available on the Archivio digitale veneto.

In the other cases, print editions of poetry collections were used. This was the case for the French poet Du Bellay (Bellay, 1549), the Portuguese poet Camões (Camões, 1873), the Neapolitan poet Capasso (Capasso, 1761), the Venetian poet Calmo (Calmo, 1557) and the Sicilian poet Antonio Veneziano (Veneziano, 2012).

For the Neapolitan poet Velardiniello, several mostly incomplete, editions were available online. The first part was found in Casillo (2017) and the second part was taken from a complete version available on Academia. By analysing and comparing the texts and the rhythmical patterns of the two, it was verified that the two parts are compatible and extremely similar and could be analysed together.

The Italian and Spanish corpora, namely the (AMI) and the Corpus of Spanish Golden-Age Sonnets, respectively, are metrically-annotated corpora; hence, the already available annotations were used in this study. The other samples were annotated manually and the annotations were verified and corrected by phonologists in the languages under investigation and/or experts on the relative metrical forms.

Similarly, the corpus for the typology of West-Germanic Renaissance metre consists

1 http://www.maldura.unipd.it/ami/php/index.php
2 https://github.com/bncolorado/CorpusSonetosSigloDeOro
3 http://www.rialc.unina.it
4 https://trobadors.iec.cat/veure4.asp
5 https://cantigas.fcsh.unl.pt/index.asp
6 http://gallica.bnf.fr
7 http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it
8 http://www.ilpavano.it
9 http://www.academia.edu/27028367/Letteratura_Napoletana_Velardiniello__Storia_de_Cientanne_Arreto
of 130 lines for each sample. The samples are from English, Dutch, German and Frisian. In this case, both pentameters from all languages and hexameters from Dutch and German were considered, since the hexameter was more frequently used in the two languages during the Renaissance. Each sample represents a single author, except in the case of the Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel, who is represented by two samples, one in alexandrines and one in pentameters.

As for the material for the Romance typology, data were collected from online corpora and print editions. The Dutch and the Frisian samples were available on the Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse letteren (dbnl). Print editions were used for the samples from the German poet Opitz (Opitz, 1625), Chaucer (Chaucer, 1987) and Shakespeare (Shakespeare, 2009). Metrical annotations were made manually and verified.

For the study on the development of the Italian endecasillabo, the entire (AMI) was used. The AMI is a manually-annotated corpus provided by the University of Padua. Only one author, Gaspara Stampa, was not included because her poems are listed but not available on the AMI website. In addition, some lines from various authors were excluded because they contained some mistakes: for example, the metrical annotation did not correspond to the text. Very unusual stress patterns were verified by manually checking the text: for instance, when the annotation of a ten-syllable line denoted a stressed syllable only in one metrical position or when the last stressed syllable of the line occurred before the sixth position.

In this corpus, each sample represents one poetic work, either a poem or a collection of sonnets. Long poems, such as the Divina Commedia by Dante, are divided into multiple samples; in the case of the Divina Commedia this is done according to its three parts, Inferno, Purgatorio and Paradiso.

Finally, the Dutch corpus is partially based on some of the works available in the dbnl, while other works were provided by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (KB). For the annotation of this corpus an automatic annotation system was used.

5.3 Annotation

While some of the samples used in the studies were from annotated corpora, for others, annotations were made manually or automatically for the purpose of the present study. In both cases, the annotation was done by considering phonological stress and disregarding metrical prominence. The reason for this decision is that the purpose of the present study is to observe how and to what extent poetic instantiations in the various languages diverge from a perfect metrical template. Consequently, primary and (when available in the language) secondary stress were marked according to the phonology of each language. The marking was based on a binary distinction between unstressed and stressed syllables, without differentiating between primary and secondary stress. The metrical annotation was either made as or converted into a sequence of 0 and 1, the former indicating unstressed syllables and the latter stressed syllables. In addition, in the datasets for the Germanic and Romance typologies, an X indicated an extrametrical

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12https://www.dbnl.org

13Scientific project developed by Andrea Afribo, Sergio Bozzola, Stefano Dal Bianco, Andrea Pelosi, Marco Praloran and Arnaldo Soldani. Other researchers contributed to the manual annotation.

14https://www.kb.nl

15The annotated corpus is available at github.com/mirsdev/Dutch_Renaissance_poetry_corpus
Methodology

syllable occurring after the last prominent position. This annotation allowed calculation
the proportion of lines with extrametrical elements in each sample. Two examples of
manual annotation are given in Tables 5.1 and 5.2; for clarity, the stressed syllables in
the text are in bold. As can be noticed, a binary sequence corresponds to the stress
pattern of the text.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Annotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Par un sentier inconnu à mes yeux</td>
<td>0001 001001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Votre grandeur sur ses ailes me porte,</td>
<td>0001 001001x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ou de Phoebus la main sçavante, et forte,</td>
<td>0001 010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guide le frein du chariot des cieux.</td>
<td>1001 000101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

English translation:
"Through a path unknown to my eyes
your greatness brings me on its wings,
where the expert and strong hand of Phoebus
handles the brakes of the chariot of the sky."

Table 5.1: Example manual annotation: French decasyllable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Annotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Let ynne juwn (de Sinn' oone' oore' ig Duyn,</td>
<td>0101 011101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nacht-wâdsters eag belitsen mey yen Wolck',</td>
<td>0101 010101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fijld, wetter, luft oer-teyn mey tjuester bruyn)</td>
<td>110 1010101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siet Reonts oon' Strân, in wâlde' uwt herte-kolck,</td>
<td>0101 010101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Gysbert lapiks)

English translation:
"When the evening sun had gone down behind the dune,
The goddess of the night blindfolded with a cloud,
Field, water, air covered by a mournful bruin,
Sat Reonts on the sand; from the whirlpool of her heart came"

Table 5.2: Example manual annotation: Frisian pentameter

Caesurae or mid-line markings were not annotated in the samples; however, ten-
dencies in their positioning in the line can be detected by looking at the percentage of
stressed syllables in either the fourth or the sixth position.

I manually annotated the samples for which a metrical annotation was not already
available. The annotations were verified by experts in the phonology or the metrical
form of each specific language. Having the data annotated by the same person who
runs the analysis presents certain risks and limitations. The annotation could be biased
and influenced by the theoretical claims of the author. For this reason, several experts
were consulted, in order to reduce this risk and the occurrence of annotation errors.
This method, arguably, poses the opposite risk: that is, if the annotation of each sample
is checked by a different person, any corrections (and thus the final annotations) may
be based on divergent criteria. This could indeed represent a limit of the present study,
but two factors need to be taken into consideration: first, it would be very difficult to find one person who is fluent in all the languages investigated here; second, the first annotation was always made by the author and then corrected in an open conversation and dialogue with the relevant experts, in order to verify that the corrections would not go against the general criteria I had established before starting the annotations. Furthermore, the experts were explicitly asked to only annotate phonological stress (primary and, when available in the language, secondary) and not to just follow the metrical pattern.

5.4 Automatic annotation

An automatically annotated corpus of poetry enables a number of investigations which, if constrained by manual annotation, would always suffer from too little or non-exhaustive data. Corpus studies in combination with digital methods have the potential to enable investigation that can produce deeper insights from data on a large scale. Digital methods can be powerful tools to find answers to theoretical questions. Some examples of tools that have been developed for automatic annotation of poetry are AnalysePoems (Plamondon, 2006) and ZeuScansion (Agirrezabal et al., 2013) for English poetry, Automatische Mittelhochdeutsche Metrik 2.0 for Middle High German poetry (Dimpel, 2015), the Scansion Generator (Koppelaar and Van Oostendorp, 2013; van Oostendorp, 2014) for Modern Dutch and Aoidos (Mittman et al., 2016) for Portuguese poetry.

5.4.1 Dutch corpus automatic annotation

The Dutch corpus, consisting partially of works available on the Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse letteren16 (dbnl) and others provided by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek17 (KB), was annotated automatically for the present study. Since no previous annotation was available and the corpus was too large to be manually annotated, an automatic tool was needed. Consequently, a recurrent neural network with bidirectional Long Short-Term Memory cells (Hochreiter and Schmidhuber, 1997) (see Section 5.4.2) was used to train a language model in detection of stressed and unstressed syllables in each line. As with manual annotation, a label of 0 was assigned to unstressed syllables and 1 to stressed syllables. In addition, two extra annotations were added: a label of 3 indicated an elided vowel, and 4 indicated synalepha. Training material consisting of manually annotated lines was used to train the model; the algorithm generalised some rules from the material and, consequently, could annotate new lines accordingly. In 1, an example of the manually-annotated training material is given.

(1) a. Original text

Heur ooghen syn als twee schoon Esmerauden,
Blinckende claer ghensins om te verlichten
Fraeykens gheset voor alle mans ghescichten,
In tweé peerlen de schoonste die bedauden

16The texts were publicly available online in an html format.
17Access to this data was provided to me privately. The advantage of this material was that it was in a TEI format (Text Encoding Initiative, https://tei-c.org/guidelines/p5/); hence, the relevant text was extrapolated more easily.
Jan van der Noot (1581)

**Annotated text**

heur/0 oo/1 ghən/0 syn/1 als/0 twee/0 schoon/1 es/0 me/0 rau/1 den/0 blinc/1 ken/0 de/0 claer/1 gheen/0 sins/1 om/0 te/0 ver/0 lich/1 ten/0 fraey/1 kens/0 ghe/0 set/1 voor/0 al/1 le/0 mans/1 ghe/0 sich/1 ten/0 in/0 twee/0 peer/1 len/0 de/0 schoons/1 te/0 die/1 be/0 dau/1 den/0

English translation: “Her eyes are like two emeralds, / [so] shiningly clear that could not be more brilliant / charming for the eyes of all people / in the most beautiful dewy two pearls”

b. **Original text**

Op ’t heerlijck spoor der Hollantsche amiraelen

Joost van den Vondel (ca. 1645-1656)

**Annotated text**

Op/0t/3heer/1lijck/0spoor/1der/0Hol/1lant/0

English translation: “On the glorious footsteps of the Dutch admirals”

As can be observed in 1, unlike the material which was completely manually annotated or that with an already available annotation, the training material for the automatic model presents the numerical marking after every syllable (preceded by a slash), so the model can learn to which syllables in the line to assign a 1, a 0, a 3 or a 4.

The annotated material was used to train a machine learning model which uses a Long Short-Term Memory network.

In the next sections brief descriptions of the Long Short-Term Memory network (5.4.2) and of the training process (5.4.3) are given.

### 5.4.2 Long Short-Term Memory

One type of machine learning model is based on artificial neural networks (Patterson and Gibson, 2017, p. 2). These are a set of algorithms which learn how to perform a specific task. The *node* is the fundamental unit of a network and it loosely imitates the neurons of the mammalian brain (Russell and Norvig, 2010; Patterson and Gibson, 2017). Just as in the brain’s neural networks, in artificial ones, neurons are interconnected and learning takes place the activation of neural connections and passage of information from one neuron to the other (Russell and Norvig, 2010, p.727).

A specific type of neural network, namely, recurrent neural networks (RNN) allows each network level to retrieve information from the previous or from within the same level (Schmidhuber, 1989). In other words, in every step of the sequence, a level receives both its own input and its own output of the previous level. In this way, the network can learn from all the elements of a sequence (Maltoni, 2019). One limit of basic RNNs is that their cells cannot easily access distant steps (Hochreiter and Schmidhuber, 1997; Maltoni, 2019). Long Short-Term Memory (LSTM), is a RNN able to learn long-term dependencies (Maltoni, 2019). It uses memory cells which are able to preserve information on every step in the form of the internal states of special units. It contains two types of unit, an input gate and an output gate (Hochreiter and Schmidhuber, 1997, p.
The former protects what is already stored from irrelevant inputs, while the latter protects other units from currently irrelevant inputs (Hochreiter and Schmidhuber, 1997). Therefore, during training, the memory cell learns what needs to be forgotten from the previous cell state (forget gate) and what to extract and add from the current input (input gate); in order to calculate the output, the current input is combined with information extracted from the long-term memory (Maltoni, 2019).

An LSTM network is able to check different cell states, regardless of their distance from the current one, and to detect which information needs to be preserved and which needs to be lost. In terms of natural language processing, it allows the model to consider the various elements in their context and to retrieve distant information.

5.4.3 The model

The model was trained on two types of manually annotated material: one dataset containing words syllabified and annotated in terms of stress and another composed of lines from the Dutch corpus, also syllabified and with stress annotation.

For the word dataset, a list of the most frequent polysyllabic words in the Dutch corpus was annotated. The lines for the line datasets were selected randomly from across the corpus.

A total of 4100 words and 524 lines were first completely manually annotated for the initial training. Stresses in polysyllabic words were placed by checking the position in the line, with particular attention to line-final stresses, and by consulting Historische woordenboeken Nederlands and Frisian and Van Dale Online. Rhyme was used as a strong clue for stress placement. Generally, word-accentuation appeared to coincide with that of contemporary Dutch. Monosyllables were included in the annotated word list in a second training phase, in order for the model to be able to recognise them.

After the first round of training, the model was used to annotate 1500 lines, which were manually checked; errors were fixed and words annotated wrongly were corrected and added to the original list of words. The manually corrected lines were added to the training set of lines.

The two models were combined in two different ways. In the first instance, the annotation of monosyllables was checked by the line model, while that of polysyllabic words was assigned based on the word list. In contrast, the second used the word model only to syllabify the material, and the line model (which was trained without word boundaries, only with syllabification) determined stress annotation (see the Example in 2 to compare the training material of the two line models). The two systems were compared by using them to annotate the same material. This comparison led to the selection of the second model: the one trained with no word boundaries but only syllables.

(2) a. Original line
Terwijl myn lippen op haer lieve lippen weydden
P. C. Hooft (1610)

b. First model annotation
Ter/0-wijl/1-myn/0lip/1-pen/0op/1haer/0lie/1-v’e/0lip/-pen/0weyd/1-
In order to increase the accuracy of the model’s performance, data augmentation for text\textsuperscript{20} (Mueller and Thyagarajan, 2016) was used on the training dataset. Data augmentation is a way to increase the size of the dataset by applying minor alterations to the existing dataset. In the case of texts, this is normally achieved, for instance, by replacing a word in a text or sentence with a synonym, randomly adding or removing a word, or randomly swapping words in a text. In the present machine learning model, the position of stress and the number of syllables within a line meant that these techniques were unsuitable. To explain, replacing a word with a synonym might lead to a modification of the line’s stress pattern and this risk would become a certainty if a word was randomly removed or added. In 3, hypothetical examples of synonym substitution and random word removal are shown.

(3) a. Original sentence
Ben ick een Dief, om dat ick heb gheheven?
Roemer Visscher (1614)

English translation: “Am I a thief, because I have given?”

b. Synonym substitution
Ben ick een Dief, om dat ick heb ghedoneerd?

c. Random word removal
Ben ick een Dief, dat ick heb gheheven?

In the Examples in 3, syllables in bold are stressed and the others unstressed. As can be observed, using a synonym or deleting a word would modify the stress pattern of the line, hence the model would train on potentially misleading data.

Consequently, a different type of data augmentation was needed. For this purpose, I decided to exploit the orthographic variance attested in the corpus. To explain, since Dutch had not yet achieved standardisation in this period, spelling differences can be noticed among authors or even within works by the same poet. For instance, three variants of the first person singular personal pronoun ‘I’ are present in the corpus, namely ıc, ıck and ık. Similarly, as it can be observed in 3, the modern ghe- was spelled as ghe- by some authors or in some cases.

Using the different spellings attested in the corpus for data augmentation helps avoid the risks of the other methods mentioned above, because enables data alteration in a way that does not modify words’ syllabic groupings or stress placement.

\textsuperscript{20}I would like to thank Rutger van Koert for suggesting this method to me.
Sentences which contained words with different possible spellings were duplicated and both versions included in the training material. For example, the sentence in 4a was duplicated to form the almost identical sentence in 4b; both sentences were then included in the training material.

(4) a. Original line
De kamer, daer ick eenzaem lagh en sliep
Joost van den Vondel (1655)
De/0 ka/1 mer/0 daer/1 ick/0 een/1 zaem/0 lagh/1 en/0 sliep/1

b. Duplicate
De kamer, daer ik eenzaem lagh en sliep
De/0 ka/1 mer/0 daer/1 ik/0 een/1 zaem/0 lagh/1 en/0 sliep/1

English translation: “The room where I, lonesome, lay and sleep”

This was done with a number of spelling variations, summarised in Table 5.3, by replacing dit, ‘this’, with dat, ‘that’ and by replacing the numeral twee, “two”, with drie, “three”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variant</th>
<th>direction manipulation</th>
<th>Variant</th>
<th>Variant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ic</td>
<td>&lt;-&gt;</td>
<td>ick</td>
<td>ik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mijn</td>
<td>&lt;-&gt;</td>
<td>myn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>godt</td>
<td>&lt;-&gt;</td>
<td>god</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zijn</td>
<td>&lt;-&gt;</td>
<td>sijn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vriendt</td>
<td>&lt;-&gt;</td>
<td>vriend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hy</td>
<td>&lt;-&gt;</td>
<td>hij</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sich</td>
<td>&lt;-&gt;</td>
<td>zich</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laett</td>
<td>&lt;-&gt;</td>
<td>laet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-heid</td>
<td>&lt;-&gt;</td>
<td>-heidt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-lyck</td>
<td>&lt;-&gt;</td>
<td>-lijck</td>
<td>-lijk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dt</td>
<td>-&gt;</td>
<td>-d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-vw</td>
<td>-&gt;</td>
<td>-uw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wt</td>
<td>-&gt;</td>
<td>-uit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ck</td>
<td>-&gt;</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gh-</td>
<td>-&gt;</td>
<td>-g-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ae-</td>
<td>-&gt;</td>
<td>-aa-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3: Spelling variations used for data augmentation

By using data augmentation, the training material was increased to a total of 9673 annotated lines. The final training phase led the line annotation model to achieve 97% accuracy and a validation loss of 8%. The previous line annotation model without augmented data had accuracy of 91% and a validation loss of 35%. The word syllabification model also presents 96.7% accuracy and a validation loss of 9%. The combination
of the two models leads to an annotation tool which is quite accurate. In Figure 5.1, two samples, one with manual annotation and one with automatic annotation, are compared. They consist of 100 lines from *Hert-spiegel* by Spiegel. Figure 5.1 shows the number of stresses assigned to each metrical position in the sample. It can be observed that the two annotation methods do not completely coincide but are not far apart.

![Figure 5.1: Comparison manual and automatic annotations](image)

A limitation of the automatic annotation model which needs to be mentioned is that it is not yet able to learn how to use synalepha and this imposes some limits on its use in annotation of authors who use this frequently in their lines. This is the case with Vondel, who makes use of synalepha much more often than other Dutch poets of the period. It is important to highlight that synalepha is a difficult element for machine learning because, in addition to its low incidence rate, it does not follow strict rules of application and distribution but it is rather subjected to the individual author’s decision-making. The model was much more efficient and successful in learning elision, which applies quite regularly.

More work would be needed in order to increase the efficiency of the tool. For the limits of the present dissertation, the tool was used with the current degree of accuracy.

### 5.5 Calculation of deviation from an iambic pattern

A label of either 0 or 1 was assigned to each position for each line of every sample. The resulting binary sequences were used to calculate the percentage deviation from a perfectly iambic pattern, namely one unstressed syllable followed by a stressed syllable. Specifically, an automatic calculation was made of the number of times the label 1 (that is, a stressed syllable) occurred in each odd position and the label 0 (an unstressed syllable) in each even position. This process was automatically repeated for all metrical positions in each sample or corpus item.

The deviation from iambicity was calculated by assuming that a perfect iamb always
has stressed syllables (1) in even positions and unstressed syllables in odd positions (0), leading to a perfect sequence 0101010101 for a decasyllable or pentameter and 01010101011 for an alexandrine. By comparing the results of annotating the samples to a perfect iambic pattern, it was possible to define how many times in each sample each metrical position deviated from the ideal pattern. In other words, the binary stress-pattern sequences calculated for every sample were compared to a perfect repeating 01 sequence; for every instance of a mismatch with the perfect iambic sequence, a deviation point was assigned. To give an example, it was calculated that, of 130 lines constituting the sample of Ventadorn, 32 lines exhibited a stressed syllable in the first metrical position (24.6% of the sample). Given that in an iambic sequence odd positions are always unstressed, this means that the 24.6% of the lines do not respect this requirement. In contrast, 42% of Ventadorn’s lines contained an unstressed syllable in the second position, where a stressed syllable is expected. Consequently, the first and second metrical positions of Ventadorn’s sample exhibited a 24.6% and a 42% deviation rate, respectively, from a perfect iambic pattern.

This data was used to compare the various poetic traditions included in the Romance and West-Germanic typologies. Their distance from each other and from an iambic template was calculated. In addition, cultural continuity from one tradition to the other was observed.

For the AMI and Dutch corpora, the calculation of deviation patterns enabled observation of how the metre developed in the two poetic traditions and its different phases.

5.6 Data visualisation

The data was visualised with R (RStudio Team, 2018) using the packages ggplot2 (Wickham, 2016) and gridExtra (Auguie, 2017). Each author (in the Romance and Germanic typologies) or work (in the AMI and in the Dutch data) was represented by a vector representing the percentage deviation for each metrical position.

In order to explore and visualise the connections among the various authors or works, a clustering technique was used, namely a dendrogram. Dendrograms were built using dendextend (Galili, 2015) with the Ward minimum variance method. In other words, a hierarchical clustering algorithm was used to group the vectors representing authors or works into a tree-like diagram according to their similarity to each other.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, the corpora used for the analyses in Chapters 6, 8 and 9 were presented. The process and methods of annotation were described. In particular, attention was given to a description and illustration of the annotation system which was used for the Dutch Renaissance poetry corpus. The calculation of percentage deviation was outlined and its use in comparing and visualising the differences between the various traditions was described. The analytical and visualisation methods were discussed.

A Long Short-Term Memory network was used to train the annotation system the automatic annotation of the Dutch corpus. Data augmentation was used to increase the amount of training material. In Section 5.4.3, the training phases and the steps which
were taken to increase the accuracy of the model were described. The final version of the model achieves a 97% accuracy rate, hence, it has its limits. However, it was shown that it still performs quite well in comparison with manual annotation. Further work is needed in order to improve the accuracy of the model. For the purpose of this dissertation, the model was used as it is, with the awareness of its imperfect performance. On the other hand, it is important to highlight that manual annotation could also contain errors or discrepancies between different annotators’ individual decisions. From this perspective, the present model can provide something that manual annotation could not, since such a large corpus could not be possibly annotated by only one person: namely, the certainty that all lines have been annotated following the same set of rules.
CHAPTER 6

Typology of Romance Renaissance Metre

6.1 Introduction

During the Renaissance, a new metrical form blossomed across Europe and its great success made it the most popular type of verse in various poetic traditions. Nevertheless, the way in which the new poetic form was implemented varied from language to language. The present chapter outlines a typology of the Romance instantiations of Renaissance metre based on an analysis of the elements determining metrical variation. The main focus is the rhythmical grouping which can be used to subdivide Romance Renaissance poetic forms into two groups: one encompassing syllabic poetry, such as that of the French tradition, and the other tending towards an iambic rhythm, as in the Italian and Spanish endecasillabi (Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Piera, 1981; Gasparov, 1987). The Catalan poetic form is also described as lacking any kind of colon-internal stress pattern (Duffell, 1994). A separate case is that of Portuguese, which is said to be extremely variable to the extent of not showing a predominant stress pattern (Spaggiari, 2003) but has been shown to have a tendency somewhat similar to that of Spanish by the recent work of Mittmann et al. (2019). An analysis of each metrical form’s deviation from a perfect iambic template sheds light on the rhythmical classes and contributes to the investigation of their motivations.

This typological study, together with that on West-Germanic languages presented in Chapter 8, shows that it is not possible to account for the variation attested in the implementation of the ten-syllable metre in terms of a division between syllable-timing and stress-timing. In fact, this grouping cannot explain the syllabicity of Catalan, which rhythmically speaking would represent a mixed system, nor the fact that characteristics as vowel reduction do not represent a discriminating point among traditions: for example, English, with extreme vowel reduction, has a metre similar to German, which does not reduce, while Portuguese, a strongly reducing system, conforms to Italian, a non-
6.2 Variation in Romance Renaissance metres

The Renaissance ten-syllable metre spread all over Europe and became the most common and prestigious form of versification in numerous traditions. Within the Romance language family, all major and minor languages which were involved in the Renaissance school of thought adopted the new verse; in some traditions, the new poetic trend replaced previous forms, while in others, some of its aspects were implemented in their pre-existing decasyllabic metres.

The Italian endecasillabo represents the canonical Renaissance poetic form and constituted the main source from which the poetic trend quickly spread across countries and poets. The origins of the metre, though, can be found in Occitan poetry, in the type of verse designed by troubadours (Beltrami, 1986; Di Girolamo and Fratta, 1999; Billy, 2000). An alternative account for the genesis of the endecasillabo relates it to the Latin reducing system. The grouping and the division between traditions is language-family related and relates to the prominent role of the metrical layer in the metrical structure, as a mirror of which prosodic level has a higher level of activation in the corresponding phonology (as proposed in Chapter 4).

In the present study, twenty samples are considered, each from a single poet. They consist in almost all cases of 130 lines per sample and every language is represented by two authors. The percentage of stressed and unstressed syllables in each metrical position for each sample and its deviation from a strictly iambic pattern are calculated. The samples are from major languages, namely Italian, French, Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese, and from less investigated varieties, namely Occitan, Neapolitan, Sicilian and Venetian.

The aim of this chapter is to propose a typology of the implementation of Renaissance metre in Romance poetic traditions. The validity of the rhythmical grouping that can be outlined by considering the relevant literature is tested and the microvariation within the groups described. The meaning of the “tendency towards iambic rhythm” is investigated, as well as the distinction between this tendency and an actual iambic poetic form. A comparison is made between the implementation the new poetic form in traditions that already had a decasyllabic form in their poetry and that of those that simply adopted the new form. In particular, the cases of Catalan and Portuguese are considered, since both traditions already had a pre-Renaissance decasyllabic form due to the influence of Occitan poetry, which was the source of the Italian endecasillabo as well. Also, the two languages are similar in terms of stress patterns and vowel reduction. This specific case study is used to investigate how the metrical template, as a tool of cultural choices, is not passively filled by any phonological material available, but can select which elements to use or to suppress.

A model is proposed, which can test these questions and enable more quantitative data exploration and visualisation. In addition, a brief section is dedicated to the question of defining authorship by considering the metrical pattern of a sample.

The remainder of this chapter is structured as follows. After Section 6.2, which describes the general characteristics of and differences between the various Romance metres under investigation, the present study is introduced in Section 6.3. In 6.4, the samples are described. Section 6.5 presents the results of the study, while Section 6.6 is dedicated to discussion. A concluding section closes the chapter.
dodecasyllable (Hudson, 1919; Gasparov, 1996).

The new poetic form reached Italy via the Scuola Siciliana and the international and vibrant cultural centre that was the court of Frederick II in Sicily (Di Girolamo, 2008). There, poets started imitating the Occitan metre, which subsequently reached the Peninsula. From the verse of Petrarch, it spread to Spanish and, later on, to poems written in Neapolitan, Venetian and Sicilian. In French poetry, the verse of *amour courtois* was already characterised by the use of decasyllable (Hudson, 1919); the form was subjected to the influence of the Italian *endecasillabo* during the Renaissance (Hudson, 1919; Kay et al., 2006) and was then put in the shade by the success of the alexandrine.

A particularly interesting case is that of Catalan and Portuguese poetry, which already had a ten-syllable line in their tradition and are phonologically relatively similar. They were both influenced by Occitan poetry, but while Catalan fully adopted the Occitan form, the implementation by Galician-Portuguese poets was less straightforward and only some of the structural traits were adopted and merged with the pre-existing tradition (Saraiva and Lopes, 1989, p.58). Subsequently, with the blossoming of the Renaissance, the new poetic trend was implemented on top of the pre-existing traditions; while in Catalan this led to a slight adjustment of the previous poetic trend (Ramírez y Molas, 1985; Duffell, 1994), in Portuguese poetry, the spread of Renaissance influence represented a time of strong adaptation to Petrarch’s form of versification (Saraiva and Lopes, 1989, p.58); for example, in that period, the required mid-line prominent position moved from the fourth position, as in Occitan poetry, to the sixth (Spaggiari, 2003).

The incorporation of the Renaissance metre into the various poetic traditions did not lead to a single result. In fact, instantiations varied significantly from each other and exhibited only few characteristics in common. Interestingly, though, despite all the variations in the implementation of the new poetic form, none of the Romance languages developed a strictly iambic metre, as was the case, conversely, in Germanic traditions. This, in fact, represents a clear cut distinction between the Romance and Germanic implementations of Renaissance metre: while Germanic poetry developed an iambic metre, Romance traditions preserved the colon-based element of the source poetic form (see Chapter 4).

In the following sections, the common traits of and divergences between the traditions are described.

### 6.2.1 Prominence line-medially and line-finally

Two common aspects which are shared by all Romance Renaissance traditions can be identified, namely the prominences on the tenth position and line-medially. The line is normally composed of ten metrical positions, where the tenth needs to be filled by a stressed syllable. While the prominence requirement at the tenth position is fixed and extremely strict, the line-medial position is not always fixed and prominence can occur in either the fourth or the sixth position; its distribution can be stable within a tradition, as, for example, in the case of the fourth position in Catalan, or can vary even within a single poem, as occurs in Italian and Spanish.

One extrametrical syllable (or feminine ending) can occur line-finally. Some of the languages make use of these optional positions in a higher percentage of cases: for example, in Italian, the majority of lines end with an extrametrical syllable. This is due to the large proportion of paroxytone words in the Italian lexicon (Duffell, 1991; Gasparov, 1996). In contrast, languages like Catalan and (to a lesser extent) Venetian,
whose lexicons are rich in oxytone words, employ extrametrical positions less often in their poetry. In 1, an example of verse rich in extrametrical positions, namely the Italian *endecasillabo*, is provided; the Example in 2 shows some Catalan lines, all with oxytone line-final words.

1. Italian *endecasillabo*

   Gli occhi di ch’io parlai si caldamente,
   Et le braccia et le mani et i piedi e’l viso,
   Che m’avean si da me stesso diviso,
   Et fatto singular da l’altra gente

   Francesco Petrarca (1470) *Sonnet 292, Canzoniere*

   English translation: “Those eyes of which I spoke with such emotion, / the arms and hands and feet and countenance / that had estranged me from my very self/ and made me different from all other people,”

   (Musa and Manfredi, 1996, p. 413)

2. Catalan *decasíl·lab*

   Qui no es trist, de mos dictats no cur,
   o’n algun temps que sia trist estat,
   e lo qui es de mals apassionat,
   per fer se trist no cerque loch escur;

   Ausiàs March (1539) *XXXIX, Cants d’Amor*

   English translation: “Only sad lover, or who once were such, / need bother reading anything I write; / but those of you whose lives are shot with pain / don’t drag your sadness off to some dark hole:”

   (Archer, 2006, p. 73)

In this respect, Portuguese poetry underwent a significant change during the Renaissance. By comparing the *decassílabo trovadoresco* with the Renaissance metre, it can be noted that, while in the former oxytone words were quite common line-finally (Spaggiari, 2003), in the latter paroxytone words appear to be in the majority line-finally (see Examples in 3 and 4). Considering the fact that the Portuguese lexicon is composed of a majority of paroxytone words (Saraiva and Lopes, 1989), it can be concluded that the composition of the lexicon promoted the implementation of this feature. In contrast, this could not be the case for Catalan, where, according to Ramirez y Molas (1985), this type of implementation was not completely successful.

3. Portuguese *decassílabo trovadoresco*

   Ay, mha senhor, sempr’eu esto temí,
   De que vos vy, que m’ay de vos aven

   Fernão de Lemos (from Spaggiari 2003, p. 174)

   English translation: “Oh, my lady, I have always been afraid of this, / of what comes to me today from you”
(4) Portuguese Renaissance metre
Quantas lagrimas tristes sem proveito,
De que mil vezes olhos, rostro e peito,
Luis de Camões (1595) Sonetos

English translation: “How many sad tears without any good outcome / of which, thousand times, eyes, face and chest,”

It is important to observe that, despite the widespread presence of the eleventh extrametrical syllable across most traditions, no tradition developed a fully eleven-syllable metre; instead, all preserved the optionality of the eleventh syllable.

In addition, in the case of a proparoxytone word occurring line-finally, the stressed syllable fills the tenth position and the two following unstressed syllables are treated as extrametrical. The occurrence of proparoxytones at the end of the line is rare, this type of word not being very common in the relevant lexicons; however, one example from Neapolitan can be observed in 5.

(5) Neapolitan endecasillabo
Oh vita nzuccarata comm’ ammendola!
Lo tortano cchiü gruosso de no tummolo!
Lo lupo era comparo co la pecora,
Velardiniello (1590) Storia de cient’anne arreto (Casillo, 2017)

English translation: “Oh life, coated with sugar like an almond! / The tortano [savoury pie] [was] huge, heavier than 40 kilos! Wolf and sheep were friends,”

6.2.2 Caesura and mid-line marking
All Romance ten-syllable forms have some kind of mid-line marking. However, its optionality, position and type vary significantly (for a more detailed description and for an overview of its development, see Chapter 7). Two main groups can be distinguished, based on the type of mid-line marking present in the line; optionality and the position follow from this distinction. An obligatory and fixed caesura, immediately after the fourth position and coinciding with a word boundary, is attested in French, Occitan and Catalan verse; in contrast, the other traditions exhibit what could be defined as a mid-line marking: not fixed, but with a position that can actually vary within one poem (it usually occurs after the fourth or the sixth syllable) and not necessarily marked in every line. This type of mid-line marking does not usually coincide with a word boundary but exhibits a prominent position. In 6 and 7, the two types of mid-line pause are shown.

(6) Caesura (French)
D’autant que l’Art peut moins que la Nature,
c’est ouevre mien, qui sus le vif est pris,
Est moins parfait, et moins digne de prix.
Jacques Peletier (1547) Sonnet
English translation: “As much as Art can less than Nature, / this work of mine, / that is about life, / is less perfect and deserves less importance.”

(7) Mid-line marking (Spanish)
Muerte, prisión no 
pueden, ni embarazos
quitarne de ir a 
veros, como quiera,
desnudo espíritu o hombre en carne y hueso.
Garcilaso de la Vega (1543) Sonetos

English translation: “Nor death, nor prison, nor burden can / prevent me from coming to see you, as I would prefer, / as a naked soul or as a man of flesh and blood.”

In 6, the caesura coincides in every French line with a word-boundary and is occasionally marked by a comma. In contrast, in 7 the Spanish example illustrates how the mid-line marking does not need to coincide with a word-boundary and how its position can vary across different lines of the same poem. In fact, while the first two lines present the prominent position on the sixth syllable and a clear break marked with a comma immediately after the following word-boundary, the third line has a less marked prominent position on the fourth syllable.

The Catalan case is in some sense a step in-between the French-Occitan model and the mid-line marking of the other traditions, since it exhibits characteristics of both groups. In fact, while the Catalan metre has a full caesura, fixed and corresponding with a word boundary, this is not always as strongly marked as the French caesura. On the other hand, the fourth position, which is immediately before the caesura, is obligatorily prominent and always filled by a stressed syllable.

6.2.3 Rhythmic groups

Finally, by looking at the literature available on the different poetic forms, Romance traditions can be divided into three groups based on their rhythmical properties: completely syllabic, tending to iambic and tending to syllabic. The French form is considered a purely syllabic metre. This means that no colon-internal stress pattern is normally attested and this can be accounted for by considering the lack of word stress in the language (Rossi, 1979; Féry, 2001, 2003); the marking of stress at the phrase level causes the two stressed positions to be placed before the caesura and line-finally. Italian and Spanish metres tend towards an iambic rhythm (Nespòr and Vogel, 1986; Piera, 1981; Gasparov, 1987). Gasparov (1987) has calculated an “index of iambicity” for their lines and proved that indeed the metrical forms tend rather towards iambic metre than towards syllabism; however, he observes, they cannot be considered as fully iambic, due to the strong possibility of deviating from such a rhythmical alternation.

It has been claimed that the Italian endecasillabo and its English counterpart, the iambic pentameter, are both built on a metrical template in which weak and strong positions alternate, leading to a sequence of iambic feet (Kiparsky, 1977; Hanson, 1997). The difference between the Italian and the English instantiations of the template, it has been argued, lies in the fact that, while the latter imposes constraints at the foot level
requiring iambic alternation, in the former, in contrast, no constraint regulating the foot appears to be present (Hanson, 1997). Some requirements are present at the colon-level and, more specifically, on the right edge of the two cola: that is, line-medially and line-finally (Nespor and Vogel, 1986). The same has been claimed by Piera (1981) of Spanish Renaissance metre. Fabb (1997), when discussing the Italian metre, has observed that, while the weak-strong alternation is realised at the right edges of the two cola, other positions of the line do not need to be specified nor necessarily divided into feet. Therefore, colon-internal metrical positions can be considered to fulfil only a counting purpose.

Despite the Romance metre does not impose requirements to follow an iambic rhythm, it has been largely observed that some of the traditions do exhibit some kind of tendency towards that rhythm (Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Piera, 1981; Gasparov, 1987). However, this tendency does not resemble the strictly iambic metre which resulted from the adaptation of Renaissance verse into Germanic poetry. The results of Romance implementations were not very uniform and the options to deviate from an iambic alternation were generally quite broad. Whether some Romance Renaissance verse could be considered a quite free instantiation of iambic metre is still an open question; intuitively, in those cases, some kind of iambic rhythm can be perceived.

The Catalan poetic form is described in the literature as syllabic (Navarro, 1991; Duffell, 1994), having only the mid-line prominent position and the line-final position as obligatorily stressed. In addition, the fifth position is sometimes filled with a stressed syllable, in order to reinforce the break between the first and second colon of the verse (Duffell, 1994). Portuguese metre has been described as extremely variable, displaying a mid-line prominent position and a tenth position as its only common traits (Spaggiari, 2003) and exhibiting potentially 55 possible rhythmic patterns (Mittmann et al., 2019); however, Mittmann et al. (2019) have shown that, despite the large amount of variation (they identified 22 attested patterns), the metrical choices are quite similar to those attested in Spanish poetry. In fact, the most common pattern, just as for Spanish poetry, is 2-4-6-10 (Mittmann et al., 2019) (where the numbers indicate the position of stressed syllables), in other words quite close to an iambic alternation. As for Venetian, Sicilian and Neapolitan, my prediction is that they would to some extent tend to an iambic rhythm, given their phonological characteristics and prosodic similarity to the Italian language.

6.3 The study

The aim of this study is to calculate the frequency of deviation from an iambic template for each metrical position, in order to determine the distance between the various Romance poetic traditions and also the extent of their deviation from full iambicity. This investigation tests the validity of the rhythmic grouping which was outlined in the previous section and explores the meaning of tendency towards iambicity.

Special attention is given to the Catalan and Portuguese traditions, since they both had a previous decasyllabic tradition in which the new poetic trend was implemented and the two languages are phonologically similar (or, at least, more similar to each other than to French). A comparison of the results of each adaptation process provides insights into the possibility and limitations of incorporating a poetic form when a similar one is already available and into the interaction between phonology and metrics in the
Finally, a brief discussion is advanced on the concept of authorship and stylistic choices. The results for Petrarch and a Petrarchist are compared, in order to show that, despite the strong metrical similarity, the probability of deviations in certain positions still reveals a difference between the two authors. In addition, two samples by the Neapolitan poet Niccolò Capasso, who wrote both in Italian and in Neapolitan, are also compared in order to examine how works by the same author written in two closely related languages can diverge significantly.

### 6.4 Samples

Twenty samples have been considered in the present study, consisting of 130 lines each (an exception was made for one of the Neapolitan samples—Velardiniello—where the whole 192-line poem was included). Samples are from Italian, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Catalan, Occitan, Neapolitan, Venetian and Sicilian.

All languages are represented by two authors. In some cases, one earlier poet has been selected, or even one from the previous poetic tradition, and one from the full Renaissance period. This choice was made in order to observe metrical changes that could be attributed to the spread of the Renaissance poetic trend; in particular, this is of significant relevance in the cases of Catalan and Portuguese, where an autochthonous pre-Renaissance poetic tradition was already quite similar to the Renaissance form. The comparison enables us to determine which characteristics were preserved and how the existing verse was adapted to the new metre. For Occitan, both authors are predecessors of Renaissance poetry. The samples in Neapolitan, Venetian and Sicilian are from a later period, when the Renaissance metre was incorporated into vernacular poetic traditions. For both Neapolitan and Italian, one extra sample has been selected. The extra samples were written by the same Neapolitan author, Niccolò Capasso, in each of these two languages. They were included in the study in order to compare the metrical characteristics of the same poetic form when written by the same poet in two different languages. This could provide insight into the metrical requirements of the two traditions and the conscious stylistic choices of the poet in each language.

The following is a brief summary of the samples considered; in the Appendix in Section 6.8 of this chapter, a table containing a more detailed list of the samples with relevant information is provided. The complete annotated lines are available in the Appendix .1 In chronological order, the first samples are the Occitan ones, which are from two troubadours, Bernart de Ventadorn (1135–1194) and Raimon Gaucelm de Beziers (fl. ca. 1262–1275). Giacomo da Lentini (ca. 1210–1260) has been included as a representative of the Scuola Siciliana, and the later Sicilian vernacular poet Antonio Veneziano (1543–1593), represents the subsequent Sicilian tradition. One hundred and thirty lines from Canzoniere by Petrarch (1304–1374) represent the cultural canon of the Renaissance metre and, together with the verses written by the Petrarchist Luigi Tansillo (1510–1568), constitute the Italian sample. For Catalan, the predecessor of the Renaissance Ausiàs March (1400–1459) and the later poet Pere Torroella (1420–1492) have been analysed. Verses from Garcilaso de la Vega (1501–1536) and Francisco de la Torre (ca. 1483–1507) constitute the Spanish sample. For Portuguese, one pre-Renaissance author, Diniz I de Portugal (1261–1325), who was an exponent of Galician-Portuguese

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1The appendix is available in the digital version of this dissertation.
troubadour poetry, and a Renaissance poet, Luís de Camões (ca. 1524–1580), were selected. Two French poets writing in decasyllabic forms were included, namely Joachim du Bellay (1522–1560) and Jacques Peletier du Mans (1517–1582). The two Venetian authors are Giovanni Battista Maganza (1513–1586), also known as Magagnò, and Andrea Calmo (1510–1571), both vernacular poets who integrated the Renaissance metre in to their dialectal poetic tradition. Analogously, Velardiniello (XVI century) and Giulio Cesare Cortese (1570–1640) used the *endecasillabo* form in their Neapolitan poetry. Finally, as already mentioned above, two samples from the poetry of Niccolò Capasso (1671–1744) were included, one written in Italian and one in Neapolitan.

The Italian and Spanish samples were taken from annotated corpora, namely the *Archivio Metrico Italiano* (AMI) and the *Corpus of Spanish Golden-Age Sonnets* (Navarro-Colorado et al., 2016), respectively.

The other samples were annotated manually by me and the annotations were verified and corrected by phonologists in the languages under investigation and/or experts on the relative metrical forms. In both the first annotation and the correction phases, the focus was on phonological stress, and simply following the poetic metrical pattern instead was avoided. The fact that the annotations were made by the same person who would then analyse them could potentially lead to biased choices. Therefore, the aim of having different experts correct the annotations was not only to make sure that the annotations did not contain mistakes, but also to reduce this risk of bias. At the same time, consulting different experts could lead to the risk of variation in the annotations as a result of the use of different criteria. In this respect, however, it needs to be observed that the first annotation was made always by me, in an attempt to keep the criteria consistent; also, preservation of the criteria was verified during dialogue with the experts regarding their corrections. In addition, it would be very difficult to find one person who is fluent in all the languages and their respective metrical traditions considered in this study (and in the typology of Chapter 8).

As described in Chapter 5, the annotation was made by assigning a label of either 1 or 0 to each metrical position; 1 was used to indicate stressed syllables and 0 to indicate unstressed syllables. This led to a sequence of 0s and 1s representing each line. In addition, the label X was used to indicate extrametrical syllables line-finally. An example is provided in Table 6.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Annotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tout est divin, celeste, incomparable</td>
<td>1 0 0 1 0 0 0 0 1 x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joachim Du Bellay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1: Example manual annotation: French decasyllable

In Table 6.1, stressed syllables are marked in bold in the text. Each stressed syllable corresponds to a 1 in the annotation sequence and each unstressed syllable to a 0. A

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2. [https://github.com/bncolorado/CorpusSonetosSigloDeOro](https://github.com/bncolorado/CorpusSonetosSigloDeOro)
3. In this respect, I would like to thank Dr. Francesc Torres-Tamarit, Prof. Dominique Billy, Dr. Romain Benini, Prof. Angela Correia and Prof. Isabel Almeida for double-checking my annotations of Catalan, Occitan, French and Portuguese, respectively.
6.5 Results

6.5.1 Deviation from iambicity

The proportion of attested deviations from a perfect iambic pattern in each position in every sample were plotted. These plots (Figure 6.1) show the proportion of deviations in the various samples, grouped by language, can be observed. The straight line in the first figure represents a perfect iambic line, i.e. with 0% deviation in every position.

By comparing the different figures, it can be observed that the metrical positions in the different samples do not exhibit the same rates of deviation. Nevertheless, samples within a single language group appear to show similar tendencies, with the exception of Portuguese group represented in the plot at the bottom right of Figure 6.1, where the two samples seem to follow very different patterns. In particular, the verse by Diniz I de Portugal —that is, the Galician-Portuguese troubadour poetry— seems to be an outlier compared to all other samples because it does not show any increase in regularity line-medi ally. At the same time, Camões, the Portuguese Renaissance author, also shows some peculiarity in his extreme regularity in three consecutive metrical positions in the middle of the line, namely the fifth, sixth and seventh; no similar pattern of regularity is attested in the other Romance samples.

Some features which are shared by all samples can be delineated. First, almost no deviation is recorded for the tenth position, which means that all samples comply with a strong, or rather, obligatory requirement to have a stressed syllable in the tenth position; however, in the case of Diniz, the deviation rate is higher (4.6% compared
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to the mean of 0.1% for the other samples), probably due to the fact that not all lines are composed of exactly ten syllables (they can sometimes be nine or eleven syllables); hence, the tenth syllable is not always the line-final position, which is generally the obligatorily prominent position.⁵ The lack of isosyllabicity here is a remnant of the previous pre-existing tradition (Saraiva and Lopes, 1989, p. 60).

No caesura or mid-line marking was annotated or considered in the present study; however, the tendency to place a stressed syllable in either the fourth or the sixth position in all samples suggests the presence of some form of mid-line division. The French, Occitan and Catalan samples, as can be observed in Figure 6.1, show strong evidence of mid-line prominent positions on the fourth syllable (in 94.4% of lines, versus 47.8% of occurrences of stressed syllables in the sixth position). The pause after the fourth position in Catalan is sometimes reinforced by a stress on the fifth position (in 22.65% of lines), which strengthens the division between the two cola. The two Portuguese samples diverge from each other from this perspective: while Camões exhibits an evident tendency (in 92.4% of lines) to place a mid-line prominent position on the sixth syllable, Diniz does not show a strong tendency towards a line-medial prominent position, but shows a weak preference for a stressed fourth syllable (50% of lines), rather than the sixth (38.5% of lines). The other traditions exhibit prominence on both the fourth and sixth positions, but the tendency seems to be to favour prominence on the sixth (see, again, Figure 6.1), with the exception of the Sicilian samples, which seem to slightly favour a prominent fourth position (76.1% versus 69.6%). It is important to note that there seems to be no correlation between the prominence on the sixth position and the absence of prominence on the fourth position. In other words, the presence of prominence on the sixth position does not necessarily mean absence of prominence on the fourth position; they can often co-occur. This was tested by verifying the co-occurrence or complementary distribution of the two prominent positions in the lines in the annotated data.

In general, there is a tendency in all samples to show a gradual reduction in percentage deviation line-medially and from the ninth position onward.

One observation which can be made by considering the plots in Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.2, where the samples are plotted into two groups, a syllabic and an iambic-tendency group, is that the positions which should be prominent tend to deviate more from the iambic alternation; this indicates some kind of binary grouping of the positions, in which the prominent position is often filled by an unstressed syllable, while the non-prominent position is less likely to be filled by a stressed syllable. Non-prominent positions appear to be more constrained than prominent ones, as has been observed for English pentameter (Kiparsky, 1977; Hanson, 1997). The variation in degree of possible deviation between prominent and non-prominent positions highlights a relationship between the two types of position, which can be interpreted as the presence of a binary unit. The evidence for binarity supports the claim made by Fabb (1997) and Fabb and Halle (2008, 2009) that metrical rules create either binary or ternary groups and what

⁵In this respect, it is important to mention that the varying length of the lines does not allow for a definitive determination of which metrical position remains unfilled or is filled by two syllables nor of exactly where deviation increases or decreases. In the present work, I assume that the extra or missing positions are located at the end of the line, even if this could lead to a biased analysis. A solution would have been to exclude from the sample longer or shorter lines; however, due to the limited number of lines available by Diniz or by other authors of Galician-Portuguese poetry, this did not seem to be possible since it would make the sample much smaller than the others included in the present typology.
has been observed about the recurrence of binarity among most metres (Burling, 1966; Hayes, 1988, 1989; Prince, 1989; Golston and Riad, 1999). To sum up, despite the metres of these samples not explicitly showing iambic feet, the positions constituting the lines can still be thought of as being in some way structured.

Figure 6.2: Possibility of deviation from iambic pattern in syllabic and iambic-tendency metre

Figure 6.3: Variance in deviation patterns

The left chart in Figure 6.3 shows the variance across all deviation patterns considered together. As can be observed, the deviation rate varies between different positions in the line. The position which, on average, shows the most variance is position eight (in Figure 6.3 a), followed by positions six and two. The high rate of variance in the second and sixth positions can be explained by considering the fact that verse tends to be more variable line-initially, and more generally at the beginning of a chunk (Fabb, 1997). The high deviation percentage (in Figure 6.1 and 6.2) and the rate of variance (in
Figure 6.3) in the eighth position, however, is surprising. Any prediction, in fact, would generally be that deviation should be expected to gradually decrease towards the end of the line, following the Strict End Hypothesis (Kiparsky, 1968; Hayes, 1983; Prince, 1989; DeCastro-Arrazola, 2018), according to which regularity progressively increases line-finally. As for the ninth and tenth positions, a stricter iambicity, i.e. less deviation is indeed extensively attested across all samples. This point will be further discussed in Section 6.6.

It could be observed that the samples of syllabic metres could affect the calculation of variance, hence influencing the results in a misleading way. However, if these samples (that is, the French, Occitan, Catalan and Diniz samples) are excluded, the resulting variance (see Figure 6.3 b) is not significantly different from that shown in Figure 6.3 (a). In fact, if the plots in Figure 6.3 are compared, despite some differences in values of deviation variance, they both show a high value in position eight.

### 6.5.2 Extrametrical position

A calculation of the proportion of extrametrical syllables attested in each sample produces a picture of the variability and possibilities in this respect. All lines sampled from Petrarch contained an extrametrical syllable; however, an analysis of his entire body of work reveals that, although these lines constitute the majority, lines ending on the tenth prominent position are still possible. Similarly, the Spanish samples only exhibit lines with an extrametrical syllable; in this case too, when all available lines by Garcilaso and De La Torre are considered, the possibility surfaces of a line without extrametricality, even though it is not very common. The sample from the Italian Petrarchist Tansillo, in contrast, contains extrametrical syllables only in 89% of the lines. As for the Neapolitan samples, Cortese uses extrametrical syllables in 129 lines out of 130 in the sample, while every line by Velardiniello has at least one; in two stanzas, the use of proparoxytones line-finally leads to the presence of two extrametrical syllables per line. Capasso’s samples in Italian and Neapolitan both consist entirely of all lines ending with an extrametrical syllable. In the Venetian samples by Calmo and Maganza, 83% and 49% of lines, respectively, end in an extrametrical syllable; this lower rate is not surprising, given that Venetian has a large number of oxytone words in its lexicon. The sample from Scuola Siciliana by Da Lentini has only one line without an extra syllable, while the sample written in vernacular Sicilian by Antonio Veneziano shows extrametricality in 83% of cases. A major difference can be observed between Diniz and Camões. Specifically, only 37% of lines by the former have an extra syllable, while 91% by the latter do. The twoOccitan samples also diverge sharply, Gaucelm making use of extrametricality in 19% of lines and Ventadorn in 55%. The results for the French decasyllable show a high degree of similarity between the authors, with extrametricality rates of 52% and 50.7%. Finally, although Catalan is known for generally not allowing extrametrical syllables (Navarro, 1991; Duffell, 1991, 1994), a number of lines in the Catalan samples do have them: 30.7% in Ausiás March and 43% in Torroella. This shows that they are still possible in the Catalan metre, even though they are less common than

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*The present calculation aims to give an overview of the probabilities of attestation of extrametrical syllables based on the number of occurrences in the various samples and does not aim to define the exact frequency with which these syllables occur in each tradition. The appearance of a higher frequency in one sample compared to another might depend partly on the sample rhyme scheme or on other factors. The percentages given here are to be read in relation to the samples and not to the general poetic tradition of a given language.*
in other traditions. It can be claimed from these results that extrametricality is allowed in all poetic traditions considered in the present chapter.

6.5.3 Dendrogram

Vectors representing the rate of deviation in each sample were plotted in a dendrogram, in order to visualise the relationships between the various samples and their distance from a perfect iambic pattern. The three-group distinction is mostly confirmed by this check, as can be observed in the dendrogram in Figure 6.4. The branch labelled “iambic” represents a perfect iambic line, i.e. 0% deviation in every metrical position.

![Dendrogram of deviation rates in all Romance samples](image)

**Figure 6.4: Dendrogram of deviation rates in all Romance samples**

The dendrogram shows a clear distinction between syllabic samples and those closer in some ways to iambic rhythmical alternation. Diniz, the Portuguese pre-Renaissance sample, is in one sub-branch, far from the perfect iamb and relatively connected to the syllabic group. French (Peletier and Du Bellay) is placed in a sub-branch of the syllabic group, closely related to the Catalan (March and Torroella) and Occitan (Ventadorn and Gaucelm) sub-branch; the other samples are grouped in a number of subgroups under a separate branch. The two Portuguese samples are far apart, Diniz comprising an isolated branch on the syllabic side, while Camões is placed in a branch close to the samples with a tendency towards iambic rhythm, close to the Venetian and Neapolitan/Spanish sub-branches.

The perfect iambic line is on the extreme left side of the dendrogram, in an isolated branch. On the opposite side, the Catalan-Occitan branch, French and pre-Renaissance Portuguese have no relation to the iambic branch. The other samples are also not very close to perfect iamb but they are somewhat connected, namely their branches have the same origin node.

Regarding the bigger branch, two main subgroups can be observed. In the leftmost (brown) branch, the Italian poetry by Capasso is quite close to the sub-branch consisting in the two Venetian poets, Magagnò and Calmo. In these lines, Capasso imitates Petrarchist poetry. The expectation would be to find this sample to be closer to Petrarch, since Capasso purposely mocks and exaggerates Petrarchan metrics; however, it is not
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extremely far away. The branch next to this consists of two subgroups: one containing Petrarch and the Southern Italian Petrarchist Luigi Tansillo, the other containing the Spanish author Francisco De La Torre, together with the poetry by Capasso written in Neapolitan. This last subgroup is not very surprising, since the cultural contact between Naples and Spain was quite extensive during that period nevertheless, this grouping was not expected, since the Petrarchan model was already quite strong at the time.

The next subgroup contains the other iambic-tendency traditions. Starting from the left, it can be observed that Giacomo da Lentini (from the Scuola Siciliana, hence one of the predecessors of Petrarch) and Antonio Veneziano, a Sicilian poet writing in Sicilian, are grouped together. This shows that there is continuity between the Scuola Siciliana and the later stages of Sicilian poetry, despite the fact that the former used an Italianate language. The next branch contains the Portuguese poet Camões. Directly connected to the Portuguese Renaissance sample, a three-author group can be noted, composed of the Spanish writer Garcilaso and the two Neapolitan poets Cortese and Velardinello. It is not surprising to find Garcilaso grouped together with Neapolitan authors, since a number of scholars relates his discovery of the new form of versification to his trip to Naples and claims that his poetry was deeply influenced by his stay there (??Samonà, 1998).

Finally, it is interesting to highlight how relatively far apart the two samples by Niccolò Capasso are, since they are located in two distinct sub-branches of the group showing a tendency towards iambic rhythm. This indicates substantial metrical differences between the two samples and highlights one particularly notable aspect of Capasso’s writing: despite the fact that, in his Italian poetry, Capasso imitates the Petrarchan style, while in his Neapolitan verse he exaggerates it in a satirical game (Spagnoletti and Vivaldi, 1991, p. 852), it is actually the latter which more closely resembles the Petrarchist form of versification (and, in addition, is relatively far from the style of his Neapolitan predecessors).

6.6 Discussion

Before discussing the results and bearing on the questions proposed in the introduction, an observation can be made: the fact that all samples are quite strict in showing a prominent position somewhere in the middle of the line (in either the fourth or the sixth position) and even stricter in doing so line-finally (with a mean, across samples, of 97.5% of cases) clearly shows the relevance of the colon level in the metrical template. This confirms that these forms are not constrained at the position (foot) level, but rather in the colon domain (Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Hanson, 1997; Fabb, 1997; Versace, 2014) and that metrical positions only have a counting purpose. These forms, then, can be considered to be colon-based, since they are constrained within a higher domain than the foot.

Regarding the validity of the rhythmical grouping, this is mostly confirmed. In fact, recalling the dendrogram in Figure 6.4, French, representing the purely syllabic group, is placed in a separate branch from the other traditions and not connected to the perfectly iambic branch but not far from Catalan, Occitan and the Galician-Portuguese

⁷An alternative interpretation of this data as well as of the results of the other Spanish poet would be to consider, aside from the cultural contact, the similarities between the Neapolitan and the Spanish language.
6.6. Discussion

author. The Catalan and Occitan samples are together in a separate branch, far away from and not connected to the perfect iamb. This confirms the claim in the literature regarding their syllabism and shows the continuity between the Occitan and Catalan traditions. In contrast, the results from the Portuguese samples reveal a more complex picture. The troubadour sample is in the syllabic branch, in line with the literature claims, and does not show an extremely strong connection with the Occitan form; despite the Occitan influence, the Galician-Portuguese form preserved the traits of the previous tradition, as observed by Saraiva and Lopes (1989). Camões, instead, is placed together with the traditions which show a tendency towards an iambic rhythm. This result locates the possibility of variation of the metre within the iambic-tendency group and is in line with the recent corpus study (on the Portuguese decasyllable in different centuries) by Mittmann et al. (2019).

Finally, the other traditions which display to a certain extent an iambic alternation in their lines are not on the same branch as the perfect iamb, but their branches start from the same node. This shows that there is some connection, or tendency, but the actual iambic alternation is still quite distant. Regarding the microvariation within groups, this, with the exception of Portuguese, this smoothly recreates language groups and stronger cultural contacts (for example, the placement of Spanish poets in close proximity to Neapolitan poets).

6.6.1 Iambic tendency

The second issue concerns which elements define the iambic tendency and distinguish it from iambic metre. It has been observed that these traditions do not seem to be constrained or have special requirements at the foot level (Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Hanson, 1997; Fabb, 1997). Following Versace (2014) on the Italian *endecasillabo*, it could even be claimed that there are only two basic patterns, namely 4+10 and 6+10 and other stresses are not part of the metrical computation. The iambic tendency, then, arises from the fact that the phonology of the language naturally fits the template. To explain, those languages with a tendency towards an iambic rhythm are all trochaic languages (Roca, 1999) consequently, the head of the prosodic foot, during the process of match-mismatch between phonological structure and metrical template, is aligned with the right edge of the poetic foot. A similar process takes place in West-Germanic languages, as observed in Chapter 4, which are also trochaic, with one distinction: while Germanic metre has strict requirements at the foot level for an iambic alternation, due to its word-based phonology, the Romance form has constraints at a higher level, namely on the colon, in line with its phrase-based phonology (see Chapter 4 for an extensive explanation).

This can also account for the fact that French is purely syllabic and does not display any strong colon internal rhythmical pattern, given that the language itself lacks stress patterns at a word level: hence, the metrical template cannot use any phonological material which could instantiate its rhythmical alternation.

In contrast, the case of Catalan needs further explanation. Catalan, in fact, is a trochaic language with strong word stress, more similar from this perspective to Italian and Spanish than to French. However, the results clearly show that Catalan has a syllabic metre which does not overtly show a tendency towards an iambic rhythm. From a phonological perspective, Catalan should behave as the other trochaic Romance languages and naturally show some iambic alternation due to the interaction between
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A purely phonological account cannot explain the Catalan case and cultural factors need to be considered. A comparison with Portuguese verse can clarify this point. To explain, both Catalan and Portuguese poetry already had some kind of ten-syllable metre, which was built on the syllabic template of the Occitan source. The two traditions took different paths when the Renaissance form spread and the pre-existing form was adapted. More extensive changes seem to have characterised the development of Portuguese metre. While in Catalan the syllabic template was preserved with only slight changes and a continuity with the Occitan tradition is strongly evident. The fact that the Catalan pre-Renaissance tradition was quite similar to the new trend and quite dominant from a cultural perspective inhibited innovation and the original metrical structure was preserved, even though it produced tension with phonological structure. The Portuguese form, in contrast, still exhibited numerous differences from the Renaissance form. The strive for preservation, which was for some reason much stronger in Catalan than in Portuguese, prevented any iambic tendency from developing. The role of the cultural background becomes clearer when considering an contrasting case: in Spanish poetry, the Renaissance represented a strong break with the previous tradition (Samonà, 1998); this gave an extra push to innovation and led to the substitution of the preceding poetic forms with the new type of verse. This break did not occur in Catalan poetry; hence, the syllabic form could be preserved. Also, the syllabic form continued being largely accepted because, Catalan being a phrase-based language, no special requirement to recreate rhythmical alternation within the metrical template was at work. Furthermore, while other languages, such as Portuguese, largely used elements like synalepha to enhance an iambic alternation, Catalan poets avoided this, instead making extensive use of hiatus, which preserved unstressed vowel sequences.

It could be observed that, if the tendency towards iambic rhythm in poetry is a natural tendency of trochaic languages, it should still surface somehow in Catalan metre, since the head of the prosodic foot has to be placed somewhere and the metrical template is filled by phonological material. However, the drive to preserve lack of rhythm was strong enough to counterbalance this natural tendency. In terms of relationship between phonological structure and metrical template, this phenomenon shows that the metrical template is not passively filled by the phonological elements which are available in the language; it can, instead, choose from among them and force the language in a different direction, hindering natural tendencies. In other words, the metrical template uses the phonological material and options available, but, to a certain extent, it does so in a selective way. This type of mismatch between phonological and metrical structure is created to achieve a specific effect of tension (see Chapter 2).

Tension is not obligatory and is due to extra-linguistic factors; it can also be present in different degrees in poetry. The poetic forms under investigation showing a tendency towards iambic alternation, such as the Italian endecasillabo, do not make use of tension between metrical and phonological structure at a rhythmical level; they let the rhythmical nature of the language surface in the metrical form. In contrast, the Catalan decaisil·lab blocks the natural tendency of the language and forces the language to dissimulate any kind of rhythmical pattern. The way in which this is achieved is by violating a constraint relating to rhythm and avoidance of stress clashes and lapses. Following Golston (1998) and Golston and Riad’s (1999) approach, a metre which violates phonological constraints is a marked metre. From this perspective, Catalan is marked, while the other metres of trochaic languages showing an iambic tendency are unmarked, because they do not violate rhythm constraints. This distinction can be visualised in Table 6.2, where
the Catalan decasil·lab is compared to the Italian endecasillabo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Macroparameter</th>
<th>Rhythmic (no clash or lapse)</th>
<th>binary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Endecasillabo</td>
<td>phonological phrase / colon</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decasil-lab</td>
<td>phonological phrase / colon</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2: Comparison between the Italian endecasillabo and Catalan decasil·lab

As can be observed in Table 6.2, the two metres share the same macroparameter, namely phonological phrase / colon, which refers to the stronger activation of a certain domain in phonology, reflected in the prominent role of a corresponding metrical layer in poetry. Also, neither violates the binary constraint. As for the rhythmic constraint, while the Italian endecasillabo does not violate it, the Catalan decasil·lab violates it by promoting stress clashes and lapses. As mentioned above, one of the strategies employed by Catalan verse for this purpose is the extensive use of hiatus and the avoidance of synalepha, in order to preserve sequences of adjacent unstressed vowels.

Consequently, the difference between Catalan and closely-related Romance Renaissance metres showing an iambic tendency can be accounted for by considering the violation of the constraint relative to the avoidance of clashes and lapses. This violation creates tension between phonological and metrical structure and makes the Catalan decasil·lab a marked metre.

While Catalan’s lack of rhythm is due to the metrical structure imposing its constraints on phonology, the iambic tendency of other Romance traditions develops from the phonological characteristics of the corresponding language. More specifically, I assume that the iambic tendency recreates the binarity and rhythmicity of the language. In addition, since the metrical pattern is created with a series of mismatches between poetic and phonological structure, the left-aligned element of the phonological foot becomes the right-aligned element of the poetic foot. A constant and regular mismatch creates an iambic rhythm. The Romance metres show a tendency towards iambicity rather than a fully iambic metre because the macroparameter selected by phonology, and then by metrical structure, focuses on the colon hence, regularity at lower levels is not relevant nor strictly considered.

6.6.2 Deviation peak on the eighth position

Another aspect worth mentioning in regard to the iambic versus non-iambic distinction concerns the eighth position and its deviation percentage. As shown in Figure 6.2 and mentioned in the previous section, the eighth position appears to enable on average quite a broad range of deviation (between 36% and 70.7%, versus 0%–16.9% and 0%–4.6% deviation in the ninth and tenth positions, respectively). The general tendency is for a gradual reduction in deviation from the second position to the fifth; deviation rises again in the sixth position, becomes lower in the seventh, then greatly increases in the eighth position, only to drop drastically in the ninth and tenth. Of course, some differences between the Catalan-Occitan, the French, and the Portuguese pre-Renaissance patterns and the other traditions are observed. For instance, in the Catalan-Occitan data, the eighth position is extremely deviant, even more so than the second. However, no general difference is encountered in relation to the high rate of
deviation on the eighth position and the subsequent abrupt reduction in deviation on the ninth and tenth positions.

A calculation of the difference in deviation rate between adjacent metrical positions further highlights the peculiarity of the eighth position. In Figures 6.5 and 6.6, the difference in probability of deviation between adjacent positions and between prominent adjacent positions, respectively, is provided. As can be observed, despite some outliers and the varying degree of difference between position pairs, the distinguishability of position eight from the ninth position (in Figure 6.5) and from the tenth (Figure 6.6) is generally the greatest. Much lower, in Figure 6.5, is the difference between positions nine and ten. In addition, the figure visualises how generally, when considering the difference in deviation between adjacent positions in Figure 6.5, in every pair of odd and even position, the prominent position is more irregular than the non-prominent position, with the exception of the 9–10 group. An exception to this claim is the 4–5 group in the French (Peletier and Du Bellay) and Portuguese (Diniz and Camões) samples.

As briefly mentioned in Section 6.5, this seems to contradict the Strict End Hypothesis (Kiparsky, 1968; Hayes, 1983; Prince, 1989; DeCastro-Arrazola, 2018) (SEH, henceforth), according to which strictness should gradually increase towards the end of the line. The recent corpus study by DeCastro-Arrazola (2018) has provided extra evidence in support of SEH predictions. In the study, corpora from English, Dutch, Sanskrit, Estonian and Tashlihiyt Berber were analysed in order to test the SEH and its predictions were confirmed. The data in the present study, instead, despite being typologically much more limited, do not seem to show a gradual increase in rhythmical strictness towards the end of the line in terms an increase in iambic rhythm, especially if the fall in regularity in the eighth position is considered. A number of explanations for this phenomenon can be advanced, these will be briefly explored in the following paragraphs.

A first possible way of interpreting the unexpectedly high rate of deviation on the eighth position can be outlined by considering DeCastro-Arrazola’s (2018) observation that the SEH relates to which features are constrained and that it can be localised to specific positions and behave gradually or categorically. From this perspective, it
Figure 6.6: Difference in deviation rate between adjacent prominent positions

could be hypothesised that none of the Romance metres, including those which show a
tendency towards an iambic rhythm, has any requirement for iambicity; consequently,
no strict requirement for an iambic rhythm would mean no necessity of gradually
increasing iambic alternation towards the end of the line. This explanation, however,
would risk circularity and fail to fully grasp what is actually happening in the line.
In fact, despite the fact that these metres appear to be constrained at a higher level,
most of them still naturally show some kind of alternation within iambic units, which
is actually even strongly marked in the case of the two line-final metrical positions.
Therefore, such a strong disruption of this alternation could not simply be explained
by the fact that there is not a strict constraint at the binary-unit level.

Another hypothesis that is worth investigating would attribute the high rate of
deviation on the eighth position to its proximity to the beginning of the second colon
when the mid-line prominence occurs in the sixth position. To explain, a prominence in
the sixth position is commonly followed by some kind of pause; consequently, the eighth
position ends up coinciding with the beginning of the second colon. The beginning
of a colon, similarly to the beginning of the line, can be less constrained and freer.
Consequently, this would counteract the increase in regularity on the eighth position
because the position would be almost at the end of the line but close to the beginning
of the colon.

In order to verify this possible correlation, it was calculated that out of the total
of number of lines considered in the study, namely 2662, 1218 exhibited an unstressed
eighth position and 592 of those (49%) also had prominence on the sixth position.
When considering the relationship between the sixth prominent position and un-
stressed eighth position in each sample, three different groups were identified: one
where they tend to co-occur, one when they co-occur in half of the cases and one
where there seems not to be a strong relationship. In 8, the grouping of the samples is
(8) a. Unstressed eighth position tends to co-occur with stressed sixth position
- Neapolitan samples: Velardiniello (67%), Cortese (77%), Capasso in Neapolitan (70%)
- Spanish samples: Garcilaso (79%), De La Torre (90%)
- Renaissance Portuguese sample: Camões (90%)

b. Unstressed eighth position co-occurs with stressed sixth position in half of the cases
- Italian sample: Petrarca (53%) and Tansillo (Petrarchist) (50%)
- Sicilian samples: Da Lentini (42%), Veneziano (47%)
- Venetian samples: Calmo (47%), Maganza (39%)

c. No strong tendency for unstressed eighth position to co-occur
- Catalan sample: March (20%), Torroella (26%)
- Occitan samples: Gaucelm (29%), Ventadorn (31%)
- French samples: Du Bellay (35%), Peletier (33%)
- Pre-Renaissance Portuguese sample: Diniz (19%)
- Capasso in Italian (14%)

As can be observed, the correlation appears to be strong for the Neapolitan, Spanish and Camões samples, in 8a; it is less strong in the group in 8b, namely in the Italian, Sicilian and Venetian samples; and it seems to be absent in the last group (8c) which contains the Catalan, Occitan, French, Diniz (Portuguese) samples — that is, the instances of syllabic verse — together with the sample of Capasso writing in Italian. Samples from the same language are grouped together, with the exception of the poetry in Italian written by Niccolò Capasso. It is important to mention that the no-correlation condition characterises those samples which not only are syllabic but also exhibit a strong prominent fourth position and a mid-line pause after it. The strong correlation, instead, is observed in samples from traditions preferring a sixth prominent position constituting the mid-line marking. Consequently, it is not possible to make a generalisation based on the present results or to outline a strong unique claim for all traditions.

Another hypothesis could be that the irregularity in the eighth position might be related to the presence of extrametrical syllables. A brief study of the correlation between unstressed syllables in the eighth position and the presence of extrametrical syllables shows that there is no straightforward tendency, since while some of the samples do indeed show a frequent occurrence of an unstressed eighth position together with an extrametrical syllable, others exhibit a highly deviant eighth position also in absence of an extrametrical element. A similarly not resolutive observation can be made when considering the relationship between high frequency of deviation and the increase in word-length towards the end of the line. To explain, it could be hypothesised that the increase in irregularity in the eighth position might be correlated with an increase in word-length line-finally. However, this does not seem to be the case for the present dataset.

A final but resolutive interpretation of the results contrasting with the SEH is outlined by taking into consideration another element, which can counterbalance the
necessity to gradually increase regularity towards the end of the line, namely Poetic Closure (Herrnstein Smith, 1968). According to Herrnstein Smith (1968, p. 34), “at some point the state of expectation must be modified so that we are prepared not for continuation but for cessation”. In terms of metre, a closure is strengthened by returning to a norm after a deviation (Herrnstein Smith, 1968). From this perspective, a disruption of the rhythm — more specifically, a peak in deviation in the eighth position — constitutes an interruption of the expectation which highlights the extreme regularity that follows and prepares the reader for the end of the line. In other words, an unstressed syllable in the eighth position prepares the reader for poetic closure. This deviation is even stronger in syllabic forms due to being reinforced by the lack of a colon-internal pattern.

6.6.3 Authorship and style

One final observation that can be made about the results of this study relates to the role of authorship and style in determining the metrical pattern and the probability of deviating from an iambic rhythm. When comparing the possible forms of deviation in Petrarch with those of the Petrarchist Luigi Tansillo (see Figure 6.7), it can be noted that the two lines almost completely overlap; this shows that Tansillo closely recreated Petrarch’s verse form. However, one significant difference is attested in the frequency of deviation in the sixth position: specifically, Petrarch allowed much more deviation in that position than did Tansillo. This shows that Tansillo, wanting to imitate Petrarch’s metre, made his metrical form more regular in that specific position, leaving his signature on an otherwise almost metrically perfect imitation.

![Figure 6.7: Comparison of patterns of deviation: Petrarch and the Petrarchist Tansillo](image)

Although this comparison between Petrarch and Tansillo highlights an authorship signature that distinguishes two very similar metrical patterns, a different picture can be observed when comparing the two samples by Niccolò Capasso, namely the Italian and Neapolitan samples (see Figure 6.8). In fact, the patterns of deviation in the two samples diverge in multiple positions. In particular, the probability of deviation on the eighth position is extremely high in the Neapolitan sample, while it is relatively low in the Italian one. For other positions the difference is smaller but can still be noted,
the general tendency being for the Italian sample to deviate less from iambicity in all positions except the first. In other words, the two styles and their use of the languages are so different that there is no continuity between the two and it would not be possible to recognise that they are written by the same author.

The difference between authors and between samples from the same author writing in two languages show that, within the possibilities of a metrical line, there is still space for author preferences. This does not mean that each author uses one (or more) different metrical template but that cultural and stylistic choices are manifested even within a defined metre. Differences in poets’ instantiations can surface without affecting the metricality of the verse, nor the fact that it belongs to a specific form. In addition, these differences can affect metrical levels which are in some way secondary within the metrical template. To explain, in the case of Petrarch and the Petrarchist, the difference between the two almost identical forms lies in the probability of deviation in the sixth position; in other words, it is more common to find an unstressed syllable in the sixth position in Petrarch than in the Petrarchist Tansillo. Both poets are using the same colon-based metrical template and they do so in quite a similar way. The divergence is due to a peculiarity of Petrarch’s metre affecting the metrical position grouping level. Interestingly, thismetrical level has been shown not to have strict pattern requirements; it is the colon level, instead, which is more constrained in the tradition. Still, the poet can make use of this metrical level in expressing a cultural choice. It is not always possible to clearly discern what is cultural and what instead depends on the individual choice of the author expressing her/his preference. Even within the realm of personal choice, it is not possible to completely exclude cultural factors or to strictly define where culture ends and where individual preference begins. From a certain perspective, it could even be difficult to claim that a personal choice can exist outside the cultural environment
it was made in. Every author is a node generated within a cultural framework and connected, in a net, to various other points or nodes, not always completely traceably.

In addition, it is important to clarify that what the poet is most probably doing is recreating an exemplar she/he has been exposed to, either in her/his previously written lines or in works by other authors; she/he is not necessarily aware of the modification taking place in the metrical template. Further research would be needed in order to formalise how this cultural choice or preference can access or interact with metrical structure. It suffices now to point out this possibility, which can reveal a particular author or style signature.

6.7 Conclusion

The typology of Romance instantiations of Renaissance metre presented in this chapter proposes an interpretation of the variation attested across the various traditions. A phonological account of the difference between iambic-tendency and syllabic forms is presented and the elements leading to the tendency towards an iambic rhythm are described. For certain results, it was necessary to recognise the role played by the metrical pattern in suppressing or reinforcing phonological tendencies. Calculation of the deviation from a strictly iambic alternation in each metrical position in each sample has shown how no Romance metres exhibit constraints at the foot level; that is, they are neither foot-based nor fully iambic. The tendency towards an iambic rhythm is related to the fact that all the languages in the iambic-tendency group are trochaic and have word stress. To explain, in the process of matching between phonological and metrical structure, a mismatch in levels leads the head of the trochaic prosodic foot to be aligned, with relatively high probability, to the right edge of the metrical-positions binary unit.

Interestingly, plotting of the different possibilities of deviation in each sample produced a dendrogram which grouped the samples according to language group and cultural relations. Continuity between two traditions was shown when looking at the samples from the *Scuola Siciliana*, specifically from Giacomo da Lentini, and from the vernacular Sicilian poet Antonio Veneziano. In these cases, despite the gap of centuries (ca. 300 years) and the fact that the former was written rather in an Italianate language, the probability of deviation from iambicity follows a very similar pattern. Some kind of relationship was also shown between the Spanish and Neapolitan samples, which is evidence of a recognised cultural connection (see, for example, Samonà 1998).

A comparison was made between two traditions which already had a syllabic form, namely Portuguese and Catalan; implementation of the Renaissance form produced significantly different outcomes in each of these cases. Portuguese, which showed some resistance to the Occitan metre at the time of its first incorporation (Saraiva and Lopes, 1989), fully adjusted to the Italian poetic trend during the Renaissance. In contrast, Catalan, which showed strong metrical continuity with the Occitan form, was less affected by the Renaissance innovation and mostly preserved its pre-existing traits. This can be explained by considering the cultural relevance of the poetic form and the ability of the metrical template to form a contrast with the natural development of some form of iambic tendency due to the characteristics of the language. Tension between phonological and metrical structure can be created when metrical requirements do not coincide with what is the most obvious outcome in phonology. Therefore, this constitutes evidence that the metrical template is not passively filled by any phonological
structure available, but can suppress or reinforce some elements or selectively pick the aspects to be built on.

An important direction for further research would be to consider prose texts in comparison to those written in verse. Comparing a prose sample with any poetry sample included in the present study could verify to what extent the metrical patterns attested here can be found in non-metrified text and support the conclusions regarding the phonological naturalness of some alternations.

Finally, the question of identifying authorship by considering the metrical pattern has been briefly addressed. The comparison between Petrarch and the Petrarchist Luigi Tansillo shows that, despite an extremely similar patterns of deviation, one element distinguishing the two authors can still be identified. On the other hand, when looking at the two samples by Niccolò Capasso, one written in Italian and one in Neapolitan, the patterns of deviation are so different that it would be difficult to establish that the two samples were work by the same poet.
# 6.8 Appendix

<table>
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5 [Archivo Metrico Italiano](http://www.maldura.unipd.it/ami/php/index.php)
6 [https://github.com/bncolorado/CorpusSonetosSigloDeOro](https://github.com/bncolorado/CorpusSonetosSigloDeOro)
7 Annotated with the help of Dr. Romain Bemini
8 Annotated with the help of Dr. Romain Bemini
9 Annotated with the help of Prof. Ângela Correia
Typology of Romance Renaissance Metre
CHAPTER 7

Mid-line marking in Romance Renaissance metre

7.1 Introduction

The source of the Renaissance metre, namely the Occitan decasyllable (following Beltrami 1986, Di Girolamo and Fratta 1999, Billy 2000) was characterised by a metrical caesura. Nevertheless, among Romance poetic traditions which derived from it, only the French and the Catalan preserved the use of a proper caesura. The poetic forms of other languages developed some kind of mid-line marking (also called syntactic caesura, but, for the sake of clarity I will refer to it as mid-line marking), which was rather based on a syntactic and prosodic pause after an obligatory prominent position in the middle of the line, namely either the fourth or sixth position. In addition, no tradition which implemented the Renaissance form from daughters of the Occitan tradition developed a metrical caesura.

The present chapter aims to explore the elements differentiating the two types of pause dividing the line in two parts and to investigate the reasons which led to the preservation of caesura, on the one hand, and to the development of mid-line marking, on the other hand.  

On the one hand, it seems clear that French poetry kept an obligatory caesura because of the lack of other elements marking the line rhythm at a lower level, due to the lack of word stress (Rossi, 1979; Féry, 2001, 2003); on the other hand, at a first sight it is not very clear why Catalan also preserved the caesura and did not turn it into a mid-line marking, just as it happened in the versification in other Romance languages presenting word stress. This is not the only peculiarity of the Catalan decasyllabic metre and it actually represents extra evidence for the metrical template blocking the development of metrical tendencies which would naturally come from the phonology of the language. The metrical template simply suppresses certain phonological aspects in order to favour a specific metrical structure. In the case of caesura, the Catalan
Caesura or mid-line marking: variation within Romance Renaissance traditions

Previous studies have distinguished between metrical and syntactic caesura (mid-line marking here), the former being encoded in the metrical template, such as in French verse; the latter being the outcome of the language syntax, as in Italian verse. Duffell (1991, p. 207) provides three possible ways to define caesura. First, according to a metrical definition, only the Old French decasyllable and the Castilian verso de arte mayor had a caesura (Duffell, 1991, p. 208). This type of caesura is subjected to the same constraints as the line-end itself (Beltrami, 2015). In this case, no synalepha or elision of adjacent vowels can occur at the caesura. The second definition proposed by Duffell (1991) is grammatical caesura, consisting in a mid-line boundary between syntactic units (cola). Word-boundaries in a fixed position can also signal caesura; however, not all word breaks present in a line are necessarily metrically determined (Duffell, 1991, p. 208). In addition, “it is also logical to consider a word break as a caesura if it occurs in a position in the line where most other lines in the sample have a colon-boundary caesura” (Duffell, 1991, p. 208). A third possible definition is based on performance, hence a caesura is considered as a pause in the delivery of the line (Duffell, 1991, p. 209). In the present chapter, only the first two definitions of caesura will be considered.

Starting from Duffell’s (1991) definitions of caesura, the Romance Renaissance traditions can be divided into two groups, according to the type of pause they have in the middle of the line. A number of traditions exhibit a proper caesura, namely Occitan, French and Catalan; while others, namely Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Neapolitan, Sicilian and Venetian, do not have a metrically motivated caesura but, rather, a mid-line marking which is based on a prosodic and syntactic break after a prominent position. In other words, the caesura attested in the Occitan source was preserved only in French and Catalan, while the other traditions developed a mid-line marking. This kind of pause was first implemented in the Italian endecasillabo and then spread in the other traditions which were influenced by it.

Following Beltrami (2015, p. 298), the mid-line marking was developed into the Italian tradition as an adaptation of the caesura characterising the source, the Occitan decasyllable. A proper caesura strongly dividing a bipartite line was replaced by the requirement of a mid-line prominent position causing some kind of syntactic break (Beltrami, 2015).
### 7.2.1 Position and relationship to word-boundary

A major difference between caesura and what I define mid-line marking is that, while caesura tends to always correspond with a word-boundary, the mid-line marking does not need to correspond with a word-boundary and usually does not. Furthermore, caesura, aside from the fact that it is generally strongly marked, also has a fixed position in the line; in contrast, the mid-line marking does not necessarily have a fixed position and its position can, in some traditions, vary across the poem.

In 1 and 2, an example of some lines with caesura and some with mid-line marking are provided, respectively. Syllables in bold indicate the prominent position before the caesura, in the Example in 1, and before the mid-line marking, in the Example in 2. In 2, syllables in italics constitute the “extra” syllables which prevents the coincidence between mid-line marking and word-boundary; the underlined text marks syllables linked by synalepha.

(1) Caesura in Occitan

Can vei la flor, l’erba vert e la folha
Et au lo chan dels auzels pel boschatge,
Ab l’autre joi, qu’eu ai en mo coratge,
Poya mos chans! e nais e creis e brolha.

Bernart de Ventadorn

English translation: “When I see the flower, the green grass and the leave / and I listen to the singing of birds in the woods, / with the other joy that I have in my heart, / my song rises and is born and blossoms.”

(2) Mid-line marking in Italian

del vario stile in ch’io piango et ragiono
fra le vane speranza e ’l van dolore,
ove sia chi per prova intenda amore,
spero trovar pietà, onché perdono.
Francesco Petrarca, Sonnet I, Canzoniere

English translation: “for all the way in which I weep and speak/ between vain hopes, between vain suffering, / in anyone who knows love through its trials, / in them, may I find pity and forgiveness.”

(Musa and Manfredi, 1996, p. 3)

It can be noticed, in the Occitan Example in 1, that caesura always occurs on the same position and coincides with a word-boundary. In addition, it is also often highlighted by the presence of punctuation. In contrast, in the Italian Example in 2, the mid-line marking position varies across lines; it occurs after the fourth prominent position in the first line of the example and after the sixth in the other lines. In addition, it is not necessarily strongly marked and it does not coincide with a word-boundary in half of the lines in the example; in the first and second line, an extra syllable follows the mid-line prominent position. It is important to mention that, within a larger sample or by considering the entire work of Petrarch or other poets, the majority of lines lacks coincidence between mid-line marking and word-boundary. More examples are presented in 3 and 4.
7.2. Caesura or mid-line marking

(3) a. No word-boundary in Spanish
Mas con tus labios quedan vergonzosos
(que no compiten flores a rubies)
y pálidos después, de temerosos.
Francisco de Quevedo (1605) , A Flori, que tenía unos claveles entre el cabello rubio

English translation: “But beside your lips they stand ashamed/ (for flowers
do not compete with rubies)/ and then they blanch from fear.”
(Olivares, 1983, p. 66)

b. No word-boundary in Sicilian
Mi duni ogn‘hurn morti duci e amena
cu l‘attrattìi toi modi et infidi.
Si canti, si gratìsìsì sirena,
si chiangi, un cocodrillu chi m‘aucidi;
Antonio Veneziano, Celia

English translation: “You offer to me every hour a sweet and pleasant death
/ with your attractive and treacherous manners. / If you sing, you are a
grateful siren, / if you cry, a crocodile that kills me;”

(4) a. Word-boundary in Catalan
Vos m‘aveu fet e podeu fer de mi
Aquell que Deu en mon arbitre m‘és;
Lo seu poder leix a vos he remès
Aprés que al mon per‘ ser vostre vinguí.
Pere Torroella

English translation: “You have done and can do with me / what God put in
my free will; / I give it to you for free/ since I came to the world to be yours.”

b. Word-boundary in Occitan
Maires de Dieu, Verges emperaitritz,
pus pres avetz aquelh que-nz era guitz,
al rei Felips donatz longamens vida
Gaucelm de Bezers

English translation: “Mother of God, Virgin empress, / since you have close
to you he who was our leader, / give long life to king Philip”

The Examples in 3 show some lines from Spanish and Sicilian, where the prominent
position (in bold) of the mid-line marking does not coincide with a word-boundary and
is followed by an extra syllable (in italics). Despite being part of the word containing
the main prominent position of the first colon, the extra syllable is generally considered
as being metrically part of the second colon. The lines from Catalan and Occitan in 4,
instead, show the coincidence between the prominent position with word-boundary, hence caesura takes place immediately after.

The correspondence of caesura with a word-boundary is a fundamental element of French decasyllable as well. In particular, when an extra syllable occurs right after the caesura, preventing the caesura to fall exactly on a word-boundary, this is not included in metrical computations, just as a line-final syllable after the main prominent position (Verluyten, 1989; Dinu, 1993; Gasparov, 1996). It is important to clarify that this can only occur when the extra syllable ending in a schwa or vowel is followed by a word-initial vowel. From this perspective, it could be claimed that the vowel is actually elided.\footnote{I would like to thank dr. Aroui for pointing this out to me.}

As for the position, French, Occitan and Catalan exhibit a fixed caesura, which occurs right after the fourth position in the decasyllabic forms of all the three traditions and right after the sixth in the French alexandrine. Italian, Spanish, Neapolitan, Sicilian and Venetian have variable mid-line markings; its position can vary within one poetic work. In addition, they generally show a strong preference for having the mid-line marking consisting in a prominent sixth position. Slightly different is Sicilian, which shows a slight preference for a mid-line marking on the fourth position (for a more detailed account, see Chapter 6). Portuguese verse changed over time; while the Galician-Portuguese tradition exhibited a mid-line marking on the fourth position, in the Renaissance form, instead, the mid-line marking moved to the sixth position (Spaggiari, 2003). In addition, in the former, the mid-line marking tended to coincide with a word-boundary (Spaggiari, 2003), while this aspect faded away in the form influenced by the Italian \textit{endecasillabo} and became less and less marked. Another peculiarity of Portuguese is that mid-line marking tends to occur in a fixed position both in the Pre- and in the Renaissance forms.

Finally, the extensive use of the sixth position as element marking the middle of the line appears to be an innovation implemented by the Italian \textit{endecasillabo} which spread to other traditions under its influence. However, it has been observed that the Occitan metre could rarely exhibit caesura after positions other than the fourth, including the sixth (Di Cirolamo and Fratta, 1999). Therefore, the possibility of having the middle of the line marked after the sixth position in the Italian \textit{endecasillabo} was not a complete innovation; the novelty rather consisted in making it possibly the most frequent option.

### 7.2.2 Caesura and syntactic break

The relationship between syntax and metre has been largely discussed (Jakobson, 1960; Mazaleyrat, 1974; Gammont, 1937; Duffell, 1991, 2003). The role played by syntax in metrics is directly connected to the strictness of the metrical template: the stricter the template, the more syntax can be coerced; vice versa, the weaker the metrical template and stronger the semantic parallelism, the bigger the role of syntax (Schirrmunski, 1965).

In a fixed metre as that on which the present dissertation focuses, syntax is, using the terms of Golston and Riad (1999), outranked by prosody; hence, it is adjusted to the needs of phonology fitting the metrical template. Nevertheless, syntax still plays a role in characterising the line and provides clues regarding the aspects of the mid-line division. In particular, the coincidence or non-coincidence between syntactic break and mid-line division contributes to define the type of element dividing the line in two parts.
Most Romance traditions under investigation generally exhibit coincidence between syntactic break and mid-line division, regardless of the type of pause. The French metre exhibits a strict correspondence between metre and syntactic break (Duffell, 1994). Italian, Spanish and Portuguese also tend to show a correspondence between metrical mid-line marking and syntactic break (occurring after the unstressed syllable generally following the mid-line prominent position) (Duffell, 1994). However, this tendency is not exception-less. Di Girolamo (1983, p. 48), in fact, observes that in the Italian *endecasillabo* there is no strict requirement about the correspondence of mid-line marking and syntactic break, since the poetic form does not have the same type of caesura as French.

Catalan *decasílabo*, despite having an obligatory caesura always coinciding with word-boundary, does not strictly require its correspondence with a syntactic break (Duffell, 1994). This shows that the relationship between the metrical template and the language (phonology, syntax) is not as straightforward as in the other traditions and that there is some mismatch between language and metrical template. Tension between the language level and the metrical template can be created and the metrical template is forced upon the language. More evidence for this claim will be presented in Section 7.5.

### 7.3 Bipartite and unitary line

Another important element distinguishing caesura and mid-line marking is their function within the line. More specifically, it has to be considered whether they split in two a line which is otherwise unitary or one which is already bipartite.

Following Beltrami (2015), a significant difference between the *endecasílabo* and its source is that, in the former, the line tends to a syntactic unity and the latter is a bipartite line (Beltrami, 2015, p. 173) (a similar claim is made by Billy 2016).

As outlined in Beltrami (2015), the Italian *endecasílabo* is the result of a number of adaptations of the source form. The Gallo-Romance verse is marked only by the number of syllables and the presence of caesura while the Italian verse is characterised by a weakened caesura which normally allows synalepha between the two hemistichs (which in Occitan is only possible with lines with epic caesura) (Beltrami, 2015, p. 173). The Italian *endecasílabo* could be considered a unitary metre which metrically requires the presence of two prominence components (Beltrami, 2015). This significantly differentiates it from the source, which consists in a clearly bipartite metre, due to the clear and necessary break between the two parts of the line.

According to Beltrami (2015), the Italian system could not simply follow the Gallo-Romance template, due to the high percentage of paroxytone words in the Italian lexicon, which, when occurring on the caesura, make the bipartite aspect of the line quite blurred. This aspect, together with the tendency to have metrical unity, made the Italian metre an “evolving system”. Gradually, then, the word accent before mid-line marking acquired a prominent role in the metrical pattern. Citing Beltrami (2015, p. 175):

L’operazione che consente la percezione dell’endecasílabo come tale non consiste dunque più nell’identificare mentalmente le due parti, ma nel cercare l’accento a distanze memorizzate (e comunque inferiori al limite del settenario).
Mid-line marking in Romance Renaissance metre

[English translation: “The operation which allows for the perception of the endecasillabo as such does not consist anymore in mentally identifying the two parts (of the line), but in looking for the accent in memorised distances (in any case, at a lower distance that seven syllables)”]

In this respect, it is important to mention that Cornulier (1982) claims that the maximum length of French line is eight syllables and this constraint makes the presence of caesura necessary. Aside from this constraint, the line is purely syllabic (Cornulier, 1982). Following this idea, Beltrami (2015) claims that for Italian, instead, the maximum length is of six syllables, so the line division needs to occur maximum after six syllables.

Consequently, the presence of word accent in a defined position makes units of more than seven syllables easy to perceive. For this reason the mid-line prominent position, by substituting the caesura in its line specifying role, becomes one of the defining elements of the Renaissance form, together with the prominence on the tenth position and the requirement of having ten metrical positions per line.

By extending what claimed by Beltrami (2015) to other Romance traditions, it is possible to draw some further observations: French and Occitan poetic forms have an obligatory caesura, due to the presence of a metrical and syntactic division and a large number of oxytone words; Italian, Spanish, Neapolitan, Sicilian and Venetian do not have an obligatory caesura but the mid-line break is rather based on the importance of the two colon-final prominent positions because of their line tending to a metrical unity and due to the presence of paroxytone words. From this perspective, Portuguese decassílabo went from following the French-Occitan model to acquiring a prominent-position-based model, like that of Italian endecasillabo. This moving from one category to the other attested in Portuguese is explained by the fact that, during the Renaissance, the influence of Italian poetic trend led to an extreme adaptation of the Portuguese verse. Furthermore, this adaptation was in line with the Portuguese phonology, given that Portuguese, like most other Romance languages, has word stress; hence metrical prominence marking can occur independently from the colon boundary and a strong pause as that created by caesura is not the only possible way of marking the middle of the line.

Catalan exhibits a type of obligatory caesura which represents a hybrid form in between the two groups, since the line does not strictly have syntactic unity and the number of oxytones is still high in the language. The bipartite aspect of the French and Occitan verse is somehow preserved in the Catalan form. At the same time, the caesura is marked not only by the word boundary but also by the prominent position on the fourth syllable and the possibility of prominence on the fifth, which highlights the bipartite aspect of the line by marking the beginning of the second colon. Therefore, metre makes use of an extra element to highlight the bipartite aspect of the line. The correspondence with a syntactic break, instead, is not strongly required. Consequently, on the one hand, the Catalan model cannot be considered based on metrical unity, since the caesura is still strongly recurrent and always coincides with a word-boundary. On the other hand, it is also not characterised by a purely metrical bipartite division, either, since it does not need to coincide with a syntactic break.

Finally, another aspect highlights the unity or division of the line, namely the presence or absence of synalepha, namely when two adjacent vowels count as one metrical position. When synalepha occurs across the two cola, there is a stronger continuity between the two parts of the line which leads to a unitary perception of the verse. In contrast, in the case that synalepha cannot occur across caesura, the two elements of
the line are preserved as distinct. This constitutes a difference between Catalan and
the other Renaissance traditions based on languages with word stress. In the former,
synalepha is generally avoided and appears not to be allowed across colon-boundaries,
while, in the latter forms, this is commonly used. Two examples are provided in 5 and
6.

(5) Hiatus in Catalan
y entendrə millor sa qualitat.
Atal son go en estrany loch posat,
c’ altre sens vos ja no-m pot dar valença.
Ausiàs March (1539)

English translation: “And will better understand its quality / and I, left in a
foreign place, / to which I cannot give any value without you.”

(6) Synalepha in Portuguese
Busque Amor novas artes, novo engenho,
pəɾa már-me, e novas esquivanças;
que não pode tirar-me as esperanças,
Luis de Camões

English translation: “Invent fresh arts and cunning, Love, / to destroy me, and
new frustrations; / but you can’t remove my expectations,”
(White, 2008, p. 215)

The Examples in 5 and 6 show how Catalan preserves the hiatus across colon-
boundaries and Portuguese makes extensive use of synalepha in different positions,
respectively. The text in bold indicates the mid-line prominent positions in both the
Catalan and the Portuguese lines. In 5, the text in italics indicates where adjacent
vowels are preserved as distinct metrical positions across a colon-boundary (see the
second line of the Catalan example). In 6, the instances of synalepha in the Portuguese
example are underlined; when the underlining is adjacent to text in bold, synalepha
has taken place across colon-boundary.
7.4 The place of mid-line division: 4 + 6 or 6 + 4

Despite the differences which have been outlined, one aspect appears to be shared among the various traditions, namely that the possible places of occurrence of the mid-line marking or of caesura are always two: either after the fourth or after the sixth position. This leads to two possible patterns, that are, either 6 + 4 or 4 + 6. On the one hand, it has been discussed that cognitively a ten or longer line is too long to be processed all in once, hence some kind of subdivision in chunks is needed (Fabb, 1997, p. 95); on the other hand, it remains not fully answered why this pause needs to be either after the fourth or the sixth prominent position. In particular, the pause needs to be in the middle of the line but after an even number. It could be observed that in traditions where the mid-line prominent position does not coincide with a word-boundary, the mid-line marking rather exhibits one extra syllable; in particular, when the mid-line marking occurs on a prominent fourth position, the line-division actually takes place after the fifth position. In this respect, two points need to be made. First, the 4 + 6 scheme is less used than the 6 + 4 among traditions without a proper caesura; therefore, from this perspective the actual break would occur after the seventh syllable. In addition, the end of the first colon is determined by the last prominent position and the following unstressed syllable is part of the second colon. Secondly, as observed before, while mid-line marking can vary its position across lines, caesura is fixed and in a decasyllabic metre almost always occurs, in concomitance with a word-boundary, after the fourth position. A caesura after a sixth position, instead, is the requirement for a pause in a hexameter, hence in a 6 + 6 scheme.

Mid-line division takes place after an even position; this is the case for traditions which are syllabic, for example, for French and Catalan, and for those which show a tendency towards iambic metre, such as Italian and Spanish. Potentially, it can be claimed that this aspect is shared more broadly, also by overtly foot-based traditions like the Germanic implementations of the Renaissance metre, such as the Dutch and the English pentameters. Therefore, the requirement of dividing the line after an even position is a common characteristic among a large variety of metres significantly different from each others.

It can be observed that, while the constraint on an even position can be easily explained when considering an iambic foot-based metre, in fact, it basically means that it needs to occur after the end of the second or the third foot; an explanation accounting for it within syllabic or not overtly foot-based poetic forms is not as straightforward. There is no evidence why a metre which has syllables supposedly not grouped in any lower unit than the colon should require a pause on an even position. In particular, there would be no special reason for which this metre could even have the notion of “even positions”, since a position is even only if it is considered together with an odd one.

Distinguishing even and odd positions requires some form of binary unit, also in not foot-based metres. This supports what was observed in Chapter 6 regarding the presence of binary units in the Romance traditions: binarity is observable when considering that the rate of deviation from iambicity is higher for prominent (even) positions than for non-prominent (odd) ones. This difference between two types of positions requires them to be distinguishable and the fact that they alternate makes it plausible to consider them as divided into binary groups.
It remains problematic, though, to account for the presence of the even requirement in French poetry, since the language itself lacks word stress (Rossi, 1979; Féry, 2001, 2003). The binary unit needs to be in its metrical template as well, in order to surface with the caesura, but it cannot be driven by phonological material. In this respect, it could be worth considering what observed by McCarthy (1979) regarding Cairene Arabic: despite lacking secondary stress, the language still shows iterative foot-parsing, in that stress is placed at an odd number of syllables on the last trochee (McCarthy, 1979, 2003). This might suggest that the fact that feet are not overtly manifested in phonetics and phonology does not necessarily mean the absolute absence of foot structure in a language (Hayes, 1995; McCarthy, 2003). Consequently, binary units might still be available in the metrical structure.

Another possible solution is to consider the cognitive aspect of the binary grouping, following the claim about symmetry by Lerdahl and Jackendoff (1983), according to which the need of symmetrical groupings leads to a preference for binary grouping. From this perspective, metrical positions, even in a purely syllabic metre like French verse, are grouped in binary units for reasons that go beyond the metrical template or phonological structure but relate to more general cognitive preferences. In particular, this is probably connected to the so-called tick-tock effect and to the cognitive bias for grouping sequences by two (Brochard et al., 2003). This seems to be a consequence of the dynamic oscillation of attention following binary patterns (Brochard et al., 2003).

7.5 French and Catalan caesura

Among the descendants of Occitan metre, only French and Catalan preserved the caesura of the source form. It has been noticed in the previous sections, though, that the two poetic traditions do not exhibit the same exact type of caesura. In both decasyllabic forms this is fixed on the fourth position and coincides with word boundary but its correlation to syntactic break and the strength of its marking are not exactly the same. Caesura in Catalan does not necessarily consist in a very marked pause which strictly coincides with a syntactic break, as in French; rather, this is preceded by an obligatory prominent position and an obligatory word boundary. In addition, the presence of caesura in Catalan is often reinforced by the presence of a prominent fifth position, indicating the beginning of the second part of the line (Duffell, 1991).

Caesura in French is the metrical element marking the middle of the line, in the absence of any other sort of metrical unit. It is, therefore, necessary within the line. In contrast, in Catalan caesura is not the only way the middle of the line can be marked; in fact, this can also be expressed by the prominent syllable on the fourth position. In other words, caesura is not essential in the Catalan line.

This distinction reflects a phonological difference between the two languages. French does not have word stress, hence no material for a poetic foot is available; its metrical template needs caesura, then, in order to have some line-internal rhythmical marking. To explain, caesura, when dividing the line in two parts, makes use of the fact that stress is marked on the right edge of the phrase level in French; this means that prominence is placed on the right edge of each colon and can mark the two line constituents. Catalan has strong word stress, so stressed positions can mark a line-internal pattern; in other words, a metrical position can have its prominence expressed by word stress and, only then, the stress surfaces at a higher domain. Consequently, caesura
In Catalan is intertwined with the mid-line prominent position. Not being required, caesura is preserved as purely a choice which is not linguistically-motivated. The question is, then, why only Catalan preserved this stylistic trait and other Renaissance traditions did not.

When Italian incorporated the Occitan verse into its poetic tradition, the requirement of the source language to have a caesura in the middle of the line was converted into the requirement of having a prominent position line-medially (Beltrami, 2015, p. 299). Similarly, the necessity of the Occitan decasyllable of having stress on the last syllable of the line in order to highlight isosyllabism caused, in the Italian tradition, the conversion of the isosyllabic requirement into the obligatoriness of the prominence on the tenth position, excluding from the counting the following unstressed syllables (Beltrami, 2015, p. 299).

On the one hand, Catalan followed the same conversion regarding the tenth position, with extrametrical syllables being uncommon but being possible; on the other hand, regarding the adaptation of the caesura into the requirement for prominent position, it stopped in a middle phase, where the caesura is still preserved and the obligatory prominent position is already present, often together with a stressed syllable on the fifth position, in order to highlight the line break in absence of a strong line-binariness. In other words, the reanalysis of the prominence caused by caesura into the prominence marking the line break was not completed. One possible contributing factor is the presence of oxytone words in Catalan lexicon, which made the preservation of the word-boundary easier. However, this cannot be an exhaustive explanation for the Catalan peculiarity.

Catalan metre appears to be in between two forces: the natural change from caesura to prominent position, on the one hand, and the cultural choice of preserving tradition, on the other hand. The result is a hybrid form, where the cultural preservation blocks the full change. Culture blocks what phonology would facilitate. In terms of metrical template, the template blocks the process and suppresses phonological characteristics that would interfere with its structure. As with the syllabism of Catalan metre (see Chapter 6), the metrical template intervenes in preventing the development of the poetic form. This shows that, as claimed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 6, the interaction between metrical and phonological structure goes in both directions: not only phonological elements match metrical structure but metrical structure also hinders or reinforces phonological elements based on its necessity. To explain, Catalan metre could have developed a form closer to those of Romance languages having word stress. Nevertheless, the metrical template created tension with the phonological characteristics and prevented this change from fully taking place.

### 7.6 Conclusion

In the present chapter the differences between caesura and mid-line marking were explored and a number of aspects discussed. Starting from the characteristics of the caesura of the source metre, namely Occitan metre, the development of mid-line marking has been described. The elements differentiating the caesura in Catalan and French have been considered in order to explain why Catalan preserved Occitan caesura. For many phonological aspects, Catalan is more similar to Italian, which developed mid-line marking, than to French, which preserved caesura. The explanation for the Catalan
preservation needs to be found in the metrical template, which imposes its characteristics on the phonological material being matched with it. In this perspective, it can be observed that the metrical template, in Catalan, hinders an innovation of the metre which would, otherwise, be facilitated by the phonology of the language. Tension between two domains is created and innovation is blocked in order to preserve the original poetic form and protect cultural continuity.
CHAPTER 8

Typology of West-Germanic Renaissance Metre

8.1 Introduction

The present chapter proposes a typology of West-Germanic Renaissance metre and compares it with the typology of Romance Renaissance metre advanced in Chapter 6. The new poetic trend, which blossomed during the Renaissance, reached also Germanic traditions, in the second half of the sixteenth century. First it spread among English poetry and, slightly afterwards, it became popular in Dutch poetry as well. From Dutch verse, it spread to the German-speaking area in the 1620s (Meijer, 1978). Also at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was implemented in Frisian poetry. The sources of this new trend were both the Italian endecasillabo and the French alexandrine. On the one hand, the strong Italian influence led to the elaboration of an iambic pentameter in English poetry; on the other hand, the French influence resulted, in Dutch poetry, in the development of a six-iambic-feet metre, namely an alexandrine. German verse directly incorporated the Dutch alexandrine. Pentameters are also found in Dutch poetry but less frequently than alexandrines, while they are (very) rare in German Renaissance poetry.

The calculation of the deviation percentage for each position in every metre enables a detailed analysis of the various implementations. The typology of the instantiations of Renaissance metre in West-Germanic traditions outlines similarities and differences among closely-related traditions. On the one hand, they all share a limited rate of deviation from an iambic pattern and extreme regularity line-finally; on the other hand, they do not always show their regularity peaks on the exact same positions.

In the present study, both alexandrine and pentameter samples are included, in order to compare the two possible versions of Renaissance metre. Three samples of alexandrines have been considered, two Dutch and a German one. For the pentameter, five samples have been selected, two from English authors, a pre-Renaissance and
8.2 West-Germanic Renaissance metre

As mentioned in Chapter 4, in the second half of the sixteenth century the influence of Renaissance metre reached also West-Germanic poetic traditions. It first arrived in English poetry in the work of poets like Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (1516–1547) and Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586) (Duffell, 2014), and reached its canonical form with Shakespeare (1564–1616). Slightly afterwards, Lucas de Heere (1534–1584) introduced the new poetic form into the southern part of the Low Countries; the new metre spread, then, to the Rederijkers groups in the Leiden area (Meijer, 1978). Subsequently, in the 1620s, the new Dutch metre was implemented into German poetry by Martin Opitz, who translated a number of contemporary Dutch poets (Meijer, 1978, p. 108). The first half of the seventeenth century was also the time when Frisian Renaissance developed.

Despite the fact that English and Dutch poets developed the new poetic trend from two different sources, namely the former from Italian endecasillabo and the latter mainly from French alexandrine, two parallels between the two traditions can be made: they both developed an iambic foot-based line as an adaptation of the sources that were not themselves overtly foot-based; also, they both had some previous isolated cases of this metre some centuries earlier (for a more extensive explanation, see Chapter 4). To explain the first point, both the Italian endecasillabo and French alexandrine, despite their differences, cannot be accounted for as foot-based nor strictly iambic. Nevertheless, Dutch and English metres are clearly foot-based and iambic. In Chapter 4, it has been
claimed that this way of implementing the new poetic trend is caused by the necessity of the two traditions to convert it into something which can fit language structure and, more specifically, its word-based phonology.

A number of studies on English iambic pentameter have shown the relevance of the poetic foot or of the prosodic word in structuring the metre. To explain, Kiparsky (1977), Hanson and Kiparsky (1996) and Hanson (1997) define the English metre as having constraints at the foot level in terms of prominence site and type. For instance, Hanson (1997, p. 75) proposes that the pentameter of Sidney does not allow strong syllables in weak positions and has syllables that are strong within the phonological word as the prominence type. In a different interpretation of the same characteristics, Hayes (1989) accounts for the iambic pentameter of Milton by considering a set of rules according to which a prosodic category is selected: within this domain, a peak is considered and its position determined. In this analysis, Milton’s metre considers peaks within the prosodic word and places them on the right element of the poetic foot (Hayes, 1989, p. 252). The present dissertation aims to suggest (as claimed in Chapter 4) that the prosodic word, hence the poetic foot, is the relevant level in all West-Germanic metres considered in this work.

As for the above mentioned previous instances of iambic metre, one famous case of English iambic poetry before the Renaissance is the verse of Chaucer (Saintsbury, 1906; Smith, 1932; Baum, 1961; Halle and Keyser, 1966; Windeatt, 1977; Duffell, 1991, 2000, 2002); while for Dutch, one well-known example is Het Leven van Sinte Lutgart by Willem van Affligem (Zonneveld, 1998, 2000). In both English and Dutch poetry, these and other instances did not affect the tradition significantly and remained isolated experiments. When the iambic metre was reintroduced during the Renaissance, instead, it deeply changed the way of versification of English and Dutch poets and its success was preserved for centuries, until the blossoming of free verse.

Rhythmically speaking, the degree of strictness in terms of iambicity slightly varies among Germanic traditions. In fact, it has been noted that, while English showed a limited degree of possibility of deviation, in Dutch Renaissance metre, the regularity of the metre was not stable but changed through the development of the form (Kazartsev, 2015). To explain, after some initial, quite experimental and free attempts, the verse became gradually more and more regular. In contrast, German Renaissance metre was immediately extremely regular from its first implementation onwards (Kazartsev, 2008, 2015). Kazartsev (2008, 2015) claims that this difference is due to the way the new form entered the poetic tradition: in English, the development of the metre occurred gradually; in Dutch, it was experimental before a theory was developed and, after that had taken place, it became more regular than the English line; the German form, instead, entered the tradition together with its theory, hence constituted from the beginning the most regular form among the three (Kazartsev, 2008, 2015).

A significant difference between English and Dutch-German Renaissance poetic models lies in the number of feet composing the iambic line. In this difference, the fact that they did not have the same source metre becomes evident. In fact, even though from a rhythmical perspective Dutch and English Renaissance metres are extremely similar, English mainly developed a five feet metre, hence, a ten-metrical-position line just like its source metre, the Italian endecasillabo - or, in the case of Surrey, the French vers de dix (Duffell, 2014). In Dutch and, later, German poetry, instead, the main verse was an iambic foot-based alexandrine, in line with the main source for Dutch poets, the French alexandrine. Dutch pentameters from that period are less common than alexandrines but not fully absent; in contrast, the five-feet form in German Renaissance
West-Germanic Renaissance metre

poetry was quite rare. In fact, the use of iambic pentameter in German poetry began much later, in the late eighteenth century (Bjorklund, 1975, p. 6). It is important to mention, though, that, despite the initial success of alexandrines in Dutch and German poetry, pentameter gained success through the following centuries and became a very common form of verse there as well. In this, Dutch and German verse followed a tendency towards preferring a line of ten syllables over one of twelve. This preference appears to be shared by a number of other traditions from among those who developed a Renaissance poetic form. At the same time, it represents the opposite of what happened, instead, in the French source tradition. In fact, French used a decasyllabic metre from before Renaissance and, during Renaissance, replaced it with the alexandrine.

Depending on the length of the line, Germanic metres exhibit either a mid-line marking on the fourth or sixth position, in the case of a five-feet verse, or in the sixth position in six-feet verse. This is in line with the position of mid-line marking and caesura in Romance Renaissance metres. In pentameters, the position of the mid-line marking can vary both in pre-Renaissance (Duffell, 2000) and Renaissance metre in the English tradition. In Dutch, German and Frisian pentameter, as well, the position can vary between the two options. Its variability resembles that of the mid-line marking in the Italian endecasillabo (see Chapter 6). In general, the mid-line marking in the Germanic pentameter is not always reinforced by punctuation and does not necessarily coincide with a word-boundary; it tends to coincide, instead, with a syntactic break.

Both Dutch and German alexandrines usually have a pause after the sixth prominent position, or, in other words, at the end of the third foot. This break is generally more marked than the break in the pentameter and can sometimes be highlighted by the use of punctuation. At the same time, it is not necessarily strongly marked and its coincidence with word-boundary is not obligatory, but varies among authors. Sometimes, the only element marking the middle of the line is the prominence on the sixth syllable followed by a syntactic break. In addition, in a few cases, it can also be completely unmarked and the syntactic break can take place in another position. For example, in Vondel’s alexandrines, a syntactic break after the eighth position can be stronger than the mid-line marking. Generally speaking, the mid-line marking coincidence with word-boundary, even though not obligatory, appears to be more common in Germanic alexandrines than in pentameters. This type of pause in the middle of the line resembles the French caesura; however, it diverges from it because it is not strongly required to coincide with a word-boundary and is not a fundamental element of the metrical template. To explain, caesura in French needs to be extremely marked because it is the only element within the line characterising the metrical pattern (see Chapter 7). In contrast, in Dutch and German the presence of a strict sequence of iambic feet reduces the relevance of a caesura, since the line has other metrical elements creating a pattern and subgroups.

As in the source metres and in other Romance traditions, one extra syllable which is not part of the metrical computing is normally allowed after the line-final foot. In Shakespeare, most of the lines do not have an extrametrical syllable (Cohen, 2017), while in Dutch, German and Frisian the situation is more variable and more or less half of the lines have an extrametrical syllable.
Typology of West-Germanic Renaissance Metre

(1) English
Is it for fear to wet a widow's eye,
That thou consum'st thy self in single life?
Ah! if thou issueless shalt hap to die,
The world will wail thee like a makeless wife;
Shakespeare Sonnet IX

(2) Dutch
Het hoge wonder nieu dat binnen 's werelts palen
In onse tijt verscheen, daert blijvens lust onttrack,
'Twelck hemel schersend' toond' en voort weer nae sich track,
En steldet tot cieraet in sijn besonde salen,
Hooft Sonnetten

English translation: “The high and new miracle that in the world / appeared in our times, where permanent luxury was missing / which the sky showed jokingly and then took back again / and made it a jewel in its extraordinary halls.”

In the Example in 1, the English lines all end with a bold syllable, which indicates the line-final prominent position. In contrast, in the Example in 2, the Dutch lines either end with a prominent position or, in the case the syllable in bold is followed by one in italics, they end with an extrametrical syllable.

The picture becomes more complex when proparoxytone words occur line-finally. In that case, Dutch, German and Frisian normally allow two extrametrical syllables and place the edge of the last poetic foot after the stressed syllable of the proparoxytone. English can follow the practice attested in the other languages but can also form the line-final foot with the two last syllables of the proparoxytone by placing the word-final syllable in the prominent position of the last poetic foot (as shown in Chapter 3).

(3) Two extrametrical syllables in Dutch
[De wel]ret wort [getoomt] [van wy]de te [verwil]deren
[Door god][delieck] [getaggh], [dat uit] [de woel][ken straelt]
[Meer's he][mels Ma][jestiteit], [van nie][mants hant] [te schi][deren.
Vondel, Afschildinge van Christine (Vondel, 1931, p. 590)

English translation: “The world is tamed of spaces to run wild / by the divine power, that lights up from the clouds: / but the Majesty of heaven (is) painted by no one’s hand,”

(4) Last syllable of a proparoxytone in prominent position in English
[Unthri][ty love][liness], [why dost] [thou spend]
[Upon] [thy self] [thy beauty][ty’s le] [gacy]?
[Nature’s] [bequest] [gives no][thing, but] [doth lend],
Shakespeare, Sonnet IV

1 At the present moment, I observe that Frisian can behave like Dutch and German in this respect, since some examples of line-final proparoxytones were also found in the Frisian sample; however, I cannot claim without any doubt that the English-like option is not available in Frisian. More research on this is needed.
In 3 and 4, the brackets indicate the edges of the poetic feet. Obviously, being the text in 3 written in alexandrines and that in 4 in pentameters, they differ in number of feet per line. The lines by Vondel have six feet per line, while those by Shakespeare five.

As can be observed by comparing the Examples in 3 and 4, while, in the first and third lines of the former, the two last syllables of the proparoxytone word are extrametrical and the last prominent position of the line is filled by the stressed syllable of the plurisyllabic word; in the second line of the latter example, the last two syllables of legacy constitute the last iambic foot, therefore -cy fills the last prominent position of the line.

8.3 The study

The present study investigates the metrical patterns of four West-Germanic poetic traditions, namely Dutch, English, Frisian and German, in order to define their characteristics, differences and possibilities of deviation from a perfect iambic template. The deviation percentage for each metrical position in every sample was calculated with the aim of determining where and to what extent deviations from an iambic rhythm are allowed.

Samples from both iambic pentameters and alexandrines are included. The variation within each of the poetic forms sheds light on the metrical differences among the various implementations of the Renaissance metre. A comparison between the two metrical templates and a focus on their similarities highlight the fundamental aspects of Germanic poetry.

In addition, the results of the West-Germanic typology are compared with those of the Romance typology of Chapter 6, in an analysis of the various instantiations of the same metre. In this way, a wider and clearer picture of the spreading process of Renaissance metre can be advanced.

8.4 Samples

The present typology compares the metres of Dutch, English, German and Frisian Renaissance poetry. Eight samples have been used in the study. All of them consist of 130 lines, except for that of German pentameter, which is composed by only 74 lines, due to the rarity of ten-syllable verse in the German poetic tradition of the period. Every sample represents the work by one author. The samples collected are both from alexandrine and iambic pentameter.

Two Dutch samples and a German sample are considered for the study of the alexandrine. As for the iambic pentameter, one Dutch, one Frisian, one German and two English samples are considered. The two English samples are from Geoffrey Chaucer (ca. 1343–1400) and William Shakespeare (1564–1616), hence they represent the iambic pentameter before and during Renaissance. For Dutch, the three samples are from the Renaissance period. No sample from a pre-Renaissance iambic poem was included because they are usually written in tetrameters (see Zonneveld 1998, Zonneveld 1998 and Goossens 2002) and the different line-length would not allow a full comparison with the other samples. The sample of Dutch pentameter is from the same author of one of the two Dutch samples in alexandrines; the work of Joost van den Vondel
(1587–1679) in the two metres was selected, in order to compare metrical differences between the two poetic forms within the work of the same author. The other Dutch sample in alexandrines is from Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (1581–1647). Martin Opitz (1597–1639) is the author of both German Renaissance samples, in alexandrines and in pentameters. As mentioned above, the pentameter sample by Opitz is shorter than the other samples of the study, due to the difficulty of finding ten-syllable lines in German Renaissance poetry. Finally, Gysbert Japiks (1603–1666) is the author of the Frisian Renaissance sample in pentameters. For clarity reasons, the following table shows the two subgroups of the typology (for a more detailed list, see the Appendix in Section 8.8 of the present chapter).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Samples in alexandrines</th>
<th>Samples in pentameters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dutch: Joost van den Vondel</td>
<td>Dutch: Joost van den Vondel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch: Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft</td>
<td>English: Geoffrey Chaucer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German: Martin Opitz</td>
<td>English: William Shakespeare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frisian: Gysbert Japiks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>German: Martin Opitz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The samples were annotated manually and the annotations were verified and corrected by phonologists of the languages under investigation and/or experts in the relative metrical forms. The annotated dataset is provided in the Appendix.2

For the comparison of the typology of Germanic metre with that of Romance metre, the samples from Romance poetic traditions used in Chapter 6 are considered.

### 8.5 Results

The deviation percentage from a perfect iambic pattern in each position in every sample was calculated. The deviation of all Germanic samples is visualised in the two charts in Figure 8.1, where the leftmost chart shows the deviation results for the alexandrine samples and the other those of iambic pentameters. The straight line in both figures represents an ideal perfect iambic line, hence with 0% deviation in every position.

As can be observed in both charts in Figure 8.1, the deviation rate is never higher than 29% and the cases of the highest rate are generally limited to the first two metrical positions, in other words, the first foot. In all other positions, the deviation percentage is quite low (below 13%).

Aside from the generally low deviation, similar aspects between the two metres are the drastic deviation drop after the second position (first foot) and the extreme regularity of the last two metrical positions, regardless of them being the tenth-eleventh (sixth foot), in alexandrines, or the ninth-tenth position (fifth foot), in pentameters. In addition, in both charts it is not possible to notice a general tendency for a deviation drop coinciding with where the mid-line marking is expected to occur.

Given the low percentage of possibility of deviation attested in all samples of both alexandrines and pentameters, it can be concluded that both metres are constituted by a sequence of iambic feet.

In the next two sections, first the results of the iambic pentameter and then those of the alexandrine will be described.

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2In this respect, I would like to thank Dr. Sytsema and Tonio Kellner for double-checking my annotations of Frisian and German, respectively.

3This appendix is available in the digital version of the dissertation.
8.5.1 Iambic pentameter samples

Figure 8.2 displays the deviation rate for the samples representing iambic pentameter. The various charts are divided based on language. Starting from above, the leftmost is the Dutch sample from Vondel, then, the next one, the English pentameter of Chaucer and Shakespeare. The third chart contains the sample by the Frisian poet Japiks and then the last chart is Opitz, that is, the German sample. Here as well, the straight line in the first chart represents the perfect iamb, hence 0% deviation in every position.

As can be noted by comparing the various charts in Figure 8.2, despite the fact the different samples do not exhibit the same rate of deviation for position, some general tendencies can still be identified. First of all, as mentioned in the previous section, the first two metrical positions generally allow for much more deviation from an iambic foot.
Typology of West-Germanic Renaissance Metre

than other positions. This means that the possibility of the first position to be stressed and of the second position to be unstressed, hence the opposite of a regular iambic foot, is relatively high. The deviation percentage on those positions is generally strongly higher in comparison to the rest of the line. In particular, in both English samples, it reaches 29 and 20% of deviation in Shakespeare and Chaucer, respectively; in contrast, the other positions do not go over 9 and 13%, respectively. In Vondel, deviation is generally very low; however, the first two positions, together with the fourth position, represent a deviation peak. Slightly different is the case of Japiks, the Frisian sample, where only the first position has a particularly strong rate of deviation and the second position has a lower rate similar to other positions in the line.

A second common aspect among all pentameter samples is the extreme regularity of the two line-final positions, namely the ninth and the eighth. In those positions, in fact, the deviation percentage is 0% or very close to it.

In the middle of the line, the deviation rate is quite low. Despite deviating increasing on some positions, the percentage is never higher than 13%. In addition, among the samples, no regularity drop line-medially is attested. A recurring fixed pattern in the middle of the line would indicate some sort of mid-line marking; this was the case for most Romance samples which showed a strong tendency of increasing regularity line-medially (see Chapter 6). Only in Shakespeare some regularity drop can be observed in the fourth position; however, its deviation rate is not lower than that of the seventh or eighth position.

In Vondel, the highest irregularity peak is in the fourth position, reaching 6.9% of deviation, followed by the first two positions and, then, the eighth; the seventh position appears to be almost as regular as the ninth and tenth. The two English samples follow a similar pattern, with the middle of the line being strongly less deviating than the first two positions and following some kind of curve of increasing regularity towards the end of the line. One difference between the two English samples is that while Shakespeare has an increase in regularity on the fourth position, which makes the curve towards regularity somehow sharper; in Chaucer, the difference between fourth and fifth position is not that marked. Japiks’ line is characterised by a deviation drop from the first to the third position followed by an increase which turns in a gradual decrease from the seventh position onwards. Finally, in the sample by Opitz, prominent positions have generally a stronger possibility of deviation than non-prominent positions; in terms of feet, this means that the prominent position of the foot is more often unstressed than the preceding position is stressed.

The deviation rate of the eighth position in the various samples needs more explanation. On the one hand, in the English and Frisian samples, the eighth position is part of the gradual increase in regularity towards the end of the line; on the other hand, in the Dutch and German samples, it represents a relative deviation peak before the extreme regularity of the last two positions of the line. Therefore, on the one hand, in English and Frisian a gradual increase in regularity characterising the final part of the line is evident and supports the Strict End Hypothesis (Kiparsky, 1968; Hayes, 1983; Prince, 1989; DeCastro-Arrazola, 2018) (SEH); on the other hand, what can be observed in the other two samples is an interruption of the increase in regularity, right before the extreme regularity of the last two positions. From this perspective, the Dutch and German samples use the eighth position as an element of Poetic Closure (Herrnstein Smith, 1968). The use of an interruption of a pattern in order to prepare the audience for the end of an artistic act has been defined with the name of Poetic Closure (Herrnstein Smith, 1968). In terms of an iambic pattern, a peak in deviation rate on the
prominent position of the penultimate foot constitutes a disruption of iambic rhythm preparing to the end of the line. In this respect, Bjorklund (1975, p. 270) had previously observed that in German iambic pentameter an unstressed syllable on eighth position would create a “temporary vacuum, which, in contrast, dramatises the final event”. The sudden increase of tension reinforces the final resolution. A similar claim has been made by Huron (2006) regarding the role of expectation: an increase of tension precedes the taking place of the expected event (Huron, 2006, p.17). A different interpretation of irregularity preceding line-end has been proposed by De Vries (2019); while analysing Dutch poetry, he observed that poets use regularity disruption to disguise rhyme and that this practice is more effective and particularly common when it takes place in the second line of the rhyme pair (De Vries, 2019). However, no empirical testing in support of this proposal has been provided yet.

Regarding the occurrence of line-final extrametrical syllables, it can be claimed that it is quite limited in the Germanic samples. The author with the highest percentage of them in his sample is Chaucer, with 64 lines out of 130 (49%) ending with an extrametrical syllable. Vondel and Japiks are quite similar in the percentage of lines with one extrametrical position in their samples, exhibiting 59 and 62 instances, respectively. In both samples by Vondel and in that by Japiks, instances of lines with two extrametrical syllables are attested. As mentioned before, they are the results of proparoxytones occurring line-finally. This can be observed in the Example in 5 and 6.

(5) Two line-final extrametrical positions in Vondel’s pentameter
[De duis][tre nacht] [bedeck][te met] [haer vlo]geleen [De ka][mer, daer] [ick een][zaem lagh] [en sliep], [Als Hulft], [belust] [op vangst] [van ’t puick] [der vo]geleen, [Zoo ’t scheen] [door ’t ryck] [kanneel][bosch jae][gen liep].

English translation: “The dark night covered met its wings / the room, where I sleep lonely, / like a clog, eagerly caught the best of the birds, / So it shined, [he] walked hunting through the rich cinnamon-forest.”

(6) Two line-final extrametrical positions in Japiks’ pentameter
[Meytse’ uwz] [to fij][ne’ yerd, Wet][ter, Luft] [in Fjoer]: [t Swird bli][xemmet], [de roe][ren hear] [ick ton]gerjen, [De wijl][de Djier], [wijd-gap][piend’ ney] [uwz hon]gerjen, [Lanst, ick] [fortjog], [’k blieu lan][ger naet] [in uw]pr’.

English translation: “Enemy of earth, water, air and fire. / The sword lightens, I hear the rudder bluster, / The wild animals, with a wide mouth, look at us, / Friend I leave, [I] stay no longer than one hour.”

In 5 and 6, the brackets indicate foot constituency, the syllables in bold constitute the tenth position in each line, the prominent element of the fifth foot, and the following syllables in italics are not included in the metrical computing, that is they are

⁴As in Chapter 6, the present calculation aims to give an overview of the probabilities of attestation of extrametrical syllables based on the number of occurrences in the various samples and does not aim to define the exact frequency with which these syllables occur in each tradition. The appearance of a higher frequency in one sample compared to another might depend partly on the sample rhyme scheme or on other factors. The percentages given here are to be read in relation to the samples and not to the general poetic tradition of a given language.
extrametrical. As can be observed, in both the Dutch (5) and Frisian (6) examples, the stressed syllable of a proparoxytone word is placed in the last prominent position of the line (or, also, last foot), while the following unstressed syllables are excluded from the metrical computing. This is the case for the line-final words in the second and third lines in Vondel’s example and for those in the second and third lines in Japiks’.

Finally, in the small pentameter sample by Opitz, 20% of lines have an extra syllable. The sample with less extrametricality was that from Shakespeare, with only 14 cases, hence only 11% of lines.

8.5.2 Alexandrine samples

The present section focuses on the samples written in alexandrine metre, namely those written by the Dutch poets Hooft and Vondel and that by the German poet Opitz. The rate of deviation of the three samples was plotted and the results are available in Figure 8.3. The three samples are plotted together. Hooft’s sample is the only alexandrine verse, considered here, in which first and second position are significantly more deviating than the rest of the line. In contrast, this is commonly attested among the pentameter samples (except Japiks’ lines, where only the first position was more deviating). In contrast, in the alexandrines by Vondel and Opitz the relatively highest deviation peak is on the fourth and sixth position, respectively; however, it is important to highlight that even in the most irregular position the deviation rate is never higher than 13% and 10% respectively, hence still quite a low percentage. The same counts for the sample by Hooft, where the most irregular position, namely the second, reaches only 19% of deviation, while, line-medially, deviation is never higher than 4.6%.

Line-medially there are deviation drops on odd positions, hence there are more chances for prominent positions to be filled by an unstressed syllable than for non-prominent positions to be filled by a stressed syllable. The percentages that are discussed here are very low and the difference between the deviation rate in an odd and an even position might be of few percentage points.

As in the pentameter samples, a mid-line deviation drop does not necessarily provide information about the position of the mid-line marking. For example, in the alexandrine samples by Vondel and Hooft, a deviation drop is attested in the fifth position but is not necessarily much deeper than a drop in other odd positions. In Opitz, the deviation rate in the fifth position is the same as that in the seventh position and higher than in the ninth position.

The most deviant position in the middle of the line (but also within the entire line), in Vondel, is the fourth position with 13% of deviation. Even though the other even positions in the sample are less deviating than the fourth (with a maximum of 4.6% in the sixth position), odd positions are more regular, with a maximum of 1.5% of possibility of deviation. In Opitz, the most deviating position is the line-medial sixth position, with a 10.7%; the other even positions remain around 6% of deviation rate, with the exception of the twelfth which has no deviation at all. Odd positions in the central part of the line are in between 0 and 3.8%. The German poet, does not appear to be more regular than the Dutch poets included in the present study. This data do not support the claim made by Kazartsev (2008, 2015) regarding the German metre being more regular than the Dutch. However, it is important to highlight that the samples considered are quite limited and only represent one German and two Dutch authors, hence the results cannot be conclusive. Something that cannot be addressed here is
whether the form preserved its initial degree of regularity, as proposed by Kazartsev (2008, 2015), or increased its regularity through time.

Finally, Hooft has very low deviation rate for even positions line-internally, with a maximum of 4.6% (sixth, eighth and tenth exhibiting the same maximal percentage); the maximum calculated for odd positions is 3.8%.

![Figure 8.3: Deviation percentage in each position for alexandrine samples](image)

An aspect common to the three traditions considered is the deviation rate peak in the tenth position, right before the extreme regularity of the last two metrical positions, namely the eleventh and the twelfth. This aspect is in line with what is observed for the Dutch and German pentameter samples.

All three samples have a similar quantity of lines ending with one extrametrical syllable, namely in between 63 and 66 lines (between 48 and 50%). As already attested in the pentameter samples by Vondel and Japiks, two lines in the alexandrine sample by Vondel has two extrametrical positions, due to the fact that they both end with a proparoxytone word as was shown in the Examples in 5 and 6.

### 8.6 Discussion

The deviation rate results for all samples considered showed that none of the samples was strongly deviating from an iambic pattern. This confirms that all Germanic samples are written in an iambic foot-based metre. Another element supporting the main role played by the foot-level and its iambic alternation is constituted by the fact that at other level, except for the line limit, is clearly visible when considering prominences of specific metrical positions. To explain, a tenth prominent metrical position, in the pentameter, and a twelfth position, in the alexandrine, mark the end of the metrical line. Aside from that, no other element can be strongly defined, such as the edge of the first colon, which could be determined by looking at the increase in regularity of certain metrical positions. In fact, despite the fact that some deviation drop is attested in the alexandrine samples by Hooft and Vondel and in the pentameter sample by Shakespeare, this
decrease is not strongly marked or evident in all traditions. For example, the mid-line deviation drop in the alexandrine by Opitz has the same deviation value as the seventh position. The lack of a strong and general tendency at other levels than the foot shows that the main element defining the iambic lines as such is the foot. A sequence of a precise number of iambic feet is the main requirement of the metrical template. The comparison, in this respect, with Romance Renaissance traditions (in Section 8.6.1) provides a better insight into this claim.

Every sample shows a relatively high deviation percentage in the first two positions and, in some cases, these positions represent the freest positions from the requirement of iambic rhythm. This is the case for the alexandrine lines by Hooft, the pentameters by Chaucer, Shakespeare and Opitz and, only regarding the first position, for the pentameters by Japiks. The high deviation rate line-initially is evidence of the fact that, despite the metre of the samples being strictly iambic, constraints and requirements are much weaker at the beginning of the line. The stronger metrical freedom line-initially has been observed in a number of traditions and claimed to be based on a universal principle (Prince, 1989; Kiparsky, 1968; Hayes, 1983; DeCastro-Arrazola, 2018). This leadsto the SEH, according to which the requirement of fitting the metrical template is weaker at the beginning of the line and becomes stricter at the end of the line (Prince, 1989; Kiparsky, 1968; Hayes, 1983; DeCastro-Arrazola, 2018). The increase of strictness is said to be gradual and to become stronger towards the end of the line. In this respect, another common aspect which becomes evident by comparing the Germanic samples needs to be mentioned: all lines included in the typology, regardless of their metre, have an extremely low deviation percentage on the last two positions. In the samples written in pentameters, this means that the ninth and tenth position are extremely regular, hence constitute an iambic foot in almost all cases; in the alexandrines, instead, the eleventh and twelfth positions play this role. Consequently, the comparison between the deviation rate in the first two metrical positions with that of the two line-final positions clearly shows an increase of regularity from a relatively free pattern line-initially to a strict pattern line-finally. In addition, it is important to consider that mid-line positions are generally less deviating than initial positions and more deviating than those at the end of the line. A possible way to visualise the deviation rate regarding first and last positions in both pentameter and alexandrine samples is to exclude medial positions and plot only position one and two and either ninth and tenth for pentameters or eleventh and twelfth for alexandrines.

In Figure 8.4, only first (indicated with 1.first and 2.second) and last positions (indicated with 3.penultimate and 4.last) of all samples from the West-Germanic typology are plotted. The increase in regularity in all samples is clearly visible.

Less straightforward are the results about the eighth position in the pentameter lines and the tenth position in the alexandrines, in other words, the prominent position of the penultimate foot. As described in the results in Section 8.5, while for some traditions the prominent position of the penultimate foot is part of the deviation percentage slope towards the extreme regularity attested line-finally; in others, a relative peak of deviation rate characterises it. The alexandrine samples are identical in this respect, in that they all show the deviation peak on the tenth metrical position. The pentameter samples, instead, are divided into two groups, one having the eighth position as part of the increase in regularity and one having a deviation peak on it. The English and Frisian pentameter samples constitute the first group, while the Dutch and German pentameters are in the second group. On the one hand, the prominent position of the penultimate foot as an element of deviation decrease is in line with the SEH, hence with
the gradual increase in regularity towards the end of the line; on the other hand, the deviation peak constituting Poetic Closure appears to represent the opposite effect. They actually constitute two forces which share the same purpose, namely highlighting the end of the line. Even though, at a first sight, SEH and Poetic Closure seem to contradict each other, they are just two different technique to announce line-ending.

Unfortunately, at this point not enough data is available to determine why certain Germanic samples followed SEH and why others used Poetic Closure. What can be noted is that all alexandrines conform to SEH but the samples are only from those languages which also followed SEH in their pentameter forms. Consequently, rather than being related to the metre, this difference could be due to the difference between poetic traditions. By looking at the poetic sources for Germanic Renaissance metres, namely Italian and French, it can be observed that a deviation peak on the antepenultimate position is commonly attested in both of them. The question is, then, why one Germanic poetic tradition, rather than another, developed the use of Poetic Closure. Its presence in the German samples can be explained by the strong influence of Dutch tradition, hence German poets simply incorporated in their verse what was already present in Dutch poetry. It remains lacking an explanation for the difference between English and Frisian, on one side, and Dutch, on the other. Further investigation is needed in order to solve this issue. One possible point of speculation relates to word-length and to the use of proparoxytone words; to explain, their presence in the Dutch lines often causes the occurrence of an unstressed syllable on the antepenultimate metrical position. This does not seem to be the case for English and Frisian. Word-length might play a role, maybe as contributing factor, but at present, it cannot exhaustively answer the question.

8.6.1 Comparison: West-Germanic and Romance typology

The calculation of deviation percentage per position for the data of the West-Germanic and the Romance typologies leads to the observation of divergences between the two groups but also allows to identify some similarities between them.

When comparing the results of the West-Germanic typology with those of the Romance typology, the most evident difference that can be noted concerns the degree of deviation. In fact, despite the presence of patterns of deviations in the West-Germanic
Renaissance lines, the rate of deviation in all Germanic samples never reaches the high percentages attested in the Romance Renaissance typology. This can be visualised in Figure 8.5, where the Germanic samples in pentameters have been plotted together with the Romance samples. The Germanic alexandrines have not been considered in this plotting, since their difference in line-length would complicate the comparison and risk to falsify the difference in deviation rate for single positions.

For a clearer visualisation, the Romance samples are divided into three groups and Petrarch (the solid line) is placed in the chart with the West-Germanic pentameters, in order to ameliorate the perspective of deviation rate of the West-Germanic tradition in relation to the other samples. Figure 8.5 clearly shows the significant difference between the two branches of the Renaissance metre tradition in terms of distance from an ideal perfect iamb.

Figure 8.5: Deviation percentage in the Romance and Germanic decasyllabic samples

As can be observed by comparing the deviation rates plotted in Figure 8.5, the percentage for the big majority of positions in any Germanic sample is much lower than that of the Romance samples. The common traits that can be observed, instead, are the extreme regularity of the two line-final positions and the relative high rate of deviation line-initially, except the chart with French, Occitan and Portuguese, where line-initial metrical positions do not seem to be particularly marked. In this respect, the metrical line-initial freedom of Chaucer and Japiks is relatively strong, also when compared to that of the Italian, Spanish, Catalan, Sicilian, Neapolitan and Venetian samples.

Within the perspective of a Renaissance metre typology, the deviation peaks in the eighth position observed for Dutch and German pentameter samples are almost unnoticeable when compared with those attested in the Romance traditions. The same could be claimed for the deviation in the tenth position in the Germanic alexandrine
samples (in Figure 8.3), which, in proportion, also show a very low rate of deviation.

![Figure 8.6: Deviation percentage last three metrical positions in Romance and Germanic samples](image)

In Figure 8.6, the deviation rate of the last three metrical positions in Romance and Germanic samples, including both Germanic pentameters and alexandrines, was plotted. The leftmost boxplot of each group represents Germanic samples, while the other constitutes Romance samples. By comparing the results for Germanic and Romance samples, a strong difference between the two groups can be observed regarding deviation on the antepenultimate position, namely the eighth position in pentameters and decasyllables and the tenth position in alexandrines. Deviation rate in the last two positions, namely ninth and tenth in pentameters and decasyllables and eleventh and twelfth in alexandrines, is, instead, quite similar in both Germanic and Romance samples. Therefore, Figure 8.6 shows how low the deviation peak on the antepenultimate positions is in Germanic samples, when comparing it with Romance samples. However, when considering the general low deviation rate of Germanic verse, the deviation peak is still meaningful.

The Romance traditions and some of the Germanic samples, namely those in Dutch and in German, show a relative strong irregularity peak on the antepenultimate metrical position, which disrupts a gradual increase in regularity towards the end of the line and, at the same time, prepares the reader for the poetic closure. Therefore, it can be claimed that the majority of Renaissance metre uses Poetic Closure, regardless of them being Romance or Germanic. English and Frisian samples are the only samples which strongly deviate from this tendency and show a gradual increase in regularity in line with SEH.

An aspect which appears to be shared by the samples of the two typologies concerns the fact that odd positions are generally less deviating than even positions. In other words, it occurs more often that even positions, or also, prominent positions, are filled by an unstressed syllable than that odd, hence, non-prominent positions are filled by a stressed syllable. Prominent positions are generally more irregular; or, from another perspective, it is more acceptable for an unstressed syllable to be in a prominent position
than for a stressed syllable to be in a non-prominent position. This supports Kiparsky’s (1977) account of the iambic pentameter, according to which stressed syllables in weak (non-prominent) positions are more deprecated than unstressed syllables in prominent ones. This preference attested in both typologies supports the hypothesis of a unique underlying structure that leads to different instantiations due to different requirements and constraints which are produced in the interaction between the metrical template and the phonological structure.

Another possible way to visualise the difference between Romance and Germanic decasyllabic-pentameter traditions is to consider the variance for each position among all samples of the two groups. In Figure 8.7, the variance of possibility of deviation for all ten-syllable traditions in both Romance and West-Germanic typologies was calculated. The results clearly show the strong difference between the two groups. The degree of variance in the Romance samples is extremely high, when compared to the Germanic samples.

![Figure 8.7: Variance West-Germanic and Romance metres](image)

It can be claimed that the Germanic traditions considered are evidently strongly closer to the instantiation of an iambic metre than the Romance counterparts. This helps visualising the difference between a proper iambic metre (of Germanic traditions) and one which simply shows a tendency towards iambic rhythm (Nespor and Vogel, 1986; Piera, 1981; Gasparov, 1987; Hanson, 1997) (of a part of Romance traditions, as discussed in Chapter 6).

A further observation that can be made regarding the Germanic-Romance comparison relates to the mid-line marking or caesura. As it was observed in Chapter 6, the Romance traditions exhibit a deviation-rate drop line-medially, either in the fourth position or in the fifth position, which helps locating the caesura or the mid-line marking. In contrast, in the Germanic traditions this mid-line marking is not always visible. In fact, it can be observed in the fifth position in the alexandrine lines by Hooft and Vondel but, among the pentameter samples, it is visible only in Shakespeare, where it takes place in the fourth position. This shows that a deviation drop in the middle of the line is not a strong requirement of the template for all Germanic traditions, given also
the general high regularity in the various positions; while it is, instead, in the Romance traditions. It is important to consider that Romance samples do not have strict requirements regarding prominent positions except for those in the middle of the line and line-finally. In those verses, the middle of the line deviation drop can signal the only recurring prominent position, except for that occurring line-finally, within a free and varying rhythmical sequence. In addition, the line-medial deviation drop in Romance traditions is, in respect to the general high deviation rate allowed, more marked than in Germanic traditions; in fact, the difference in deviation rate with other positions is much higher in the former than it is in the latter. The importance of the mid-line position in Romance traditions is a clue indicating the importance of the colon-level within the metrical template. At the same time, the fact that it is not so strictly required in Germanic verse is evidence of the fact that the foot plays a more important role than the colon in those traditions. Consequently, on the one hand, the visibility of mid-line marking in Romance Renaissance poetry, and the fact that it clearly defines the two line-constituents, confirms the prominent role played by the colon in Romance metre. On the other hand, the fact that the mid-line marking is not necessarily as strong in the Germanic pentameter shows that the colon-level is not the most prominent level of the template; this role is played, instead, by the poetic foot. In other words, Romance traditions are colon-based, while Germanic traditions are not and are actually foot-based. This supports the hypothesis outlined in Chapter 4 about Romance metre being colon-based because developed in languages with a phrase-based phonology and Germanic metre being foot-based because it is built on a word-based phonology.

Figure 8.8: Dendrogram of deviation rates in Germanic and Romance samples

By plotting the vectors representing the deviation rate for every metrical position of the Germanic samples together with the Romance samples into a dendrogram, it becomes even clearer how the former constitute instantiations of iambic metre, while the latter do not. In fact, by observing the dendrogram in Figure 8.8, it is possible to see that all Germanic pentameter samples, namely Vondel, Opitz, Japiks, Shakespeare and Chaucer are placed in the leftmost branch which also includes an perfect iamb (0% of
deviation in every position). The Romance traditions are grouped in different branches and sub-branches, as it was observed in Chapter 6.

8.6.2 Authorship and style

In Chapter 6, a comparison between Petrarch and a Petrarchist, Luigi Tansillo, and one between two samples by the same Neapolitan author, Niccolò Capasso, written in two languages, namely Italian and Neapolitan, were conducted. The first comparison showed that, despite the Petrarchist’s line being quite similar to that by Petrarch, a difference in deviation rate on one metrical position could still distinguish the two poets. In contrast, in the case of Capasso the two samples diverged so much that it could not be possible to determine that they are from the same author only by looking at deviation rate in the various positions.

A similar comparison can be made when considering the two samples by Vondel, one written in alexandrines and the other in pentameters. If the two samples in Figure 8.9 are compared, it can be observed that the pentameter sample is generally less deviating than the alexandrine. The poetic closure appears to be more marked in the alexandrine than in the pentameter; this could possibly be related to the deviation degree of the line. Nevertheless, it is important to mention that the two samples are from different genres, namely theatre, in the case of the alexandrine, and poetry, in the case of the pentameter; this might be the reason behind the metrical differences between the two texts. In fact, the alexandrine by Vondel appears to be more varying than his pentameter and this is probably related to the fact that a text for theatre is much freer than a poetic one and, also, it is generally closer to normal speech.

![Figure 8.9: Alexandrine and pentameter samples by Vondel](image)

It can observed that, in the two charts, deviation peaks occur in similar positions, despite the fact that those in the alexandrine sample are significantly higher. This counts for the first two metrical positions, for the peak on the fourth and for the peak on the antepenultimate position. In other words, despite the different deviation rate, the metrical pattern is still quite similar and follows the same path. In addition, something typical of Vondel samples, which is not found in other Germanic samples, is the relative deviation peak in the fourth position. This feature represents a peculiarity of Vondel’s writing and can be clearly observed in both patterns of deviation in Figure 8.9.
8.7 Conclusion

In the present chapter a typology of West-Germanic Renaissance metre was presented. Samples from Dutch, English, Frisian and German were considered, in order to determine similarities and divergences among the various traditions in terms of possibility of deviation from a perfect iambic template. Both alexandrine and pentameter samples were included. The analysis showed that all West-Germanic traditions exhibit a very low rate of deviation and an extreme regularity line-finally. Generally, the first two metrical positions, namely the first foot, are much freer than the rest of the line. Based on the deviation percentage on the antepenultimate metrical positions, the samples can be divided into two groups: one, in which the antepenultimate position is part of the gradual increase in regularity towards the end of the line, hence, conforming to SEH; English and Frisian samples constitute this group. The other, composed by Dutch and German, is characterised by a deviation peak on the antepenultimate position, as it was generally attested in the Romance Renaissance typology. Poetic closure is a stylistic tool in most Renaissance metres, both the Germanic and Romance languages.

The similarity regarding poetic closure leads to the second aim of the chapter, namely comparing West-Germanic and Romance Renaissance typologies. Despite the strong difference in possibility of deviation between the two groups, some common traits can be identified. In fact, all samples in the two typologies exhibit an extreme regularity on the two line-final positions and more metrical freedom line-initially. Germanic samples do not strongly show a deviation drop line-medially. This, in Romance samples, represents a metrical requirement, since a line-medial and a line-final position represent the only necessarily prominent positions of the verse. It can be observed that, while Germanic metre is based on the regularity of the foot level, Romance metre is based on the regularity of the right-edges of the two cola. This reflects the functioning of phonological structure in the two language groups, one having a foot-based phonology and the other a phrase-based phonology. In other words, the requirements of the metrical template need to adapt to the phonological structure to which it refers, hence of the language filling it.

In conclusion, a brief section on the metre of Vondel showed how, despite the different degree of deviation in his pentameter and alexandr ine, the overall pattern is still quite similar. Deviation peaks and drops of the alexandr ine can also be observed in his pentameter and, in particular, his peculiar deviation peak in the fourth position is attested in both metres.

Finally, a follow-up study would need to expand the present West-Germanic typology into a more exhaustive typology of Germanic traditions, in order to enrich the comparison between Germanic and Romance implementations of Renaissance metre and to further test the claims which were advanced in the present study.
## 8.8 Appendix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Metre</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>n. of lines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft</td>
<td>Sonnetten, Reden van de waerdichheit der poesie</td>
<td>Alexandrine</td>
<td>1610–1615</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Joost van den Vondel</td>
<td>Gysbreght van Aemstel</td>
<td>Alexandrine</td>
<td>1638</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Joost van den Vondel</td>
<td>Gedichten</td>
<td>Pentameter</td>
<td>1645–1656</td>
<td>130</td>
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<td>English</td>
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<td>Canterbury Tales</td>
<td>Pentameter</td>
<td>1476</td>
<td>130</td>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>William Shakespeare</td>
<td>Sonnets</td>
<td>Pentameter</td>
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<td>130</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frisian</td>
<td>Gysbert Japiks</td>
<td>Friesche rymkerse</td>
<td>Pentameter</td>
<td>1663</td>
<td>130</td>
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<td>German</td>
<td>Martin Opitz</td>
<td>Martini Opitzi Acht Bücher, Deutscher Poematum</td>
<td>Alexandrine</td>
<td>1625</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>Martin Opitz</td>
<td>Gedichte</td>
<td>Pentameter</td>
<td>1623</td>
<td>74</td>
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</table>
CHAPTER 9

The development of a poetic tradition. 
Comparing a Dutch corpus of Renaissance poetry with the Archivio Metrico Italiano

9.1 Introduction

The present chapter is a comparison between the development of Dutch iambic metre and of Italian endecasillabo. The methodology for the corpus analysis and for the annotation of the Dutch corpus are described in Chapter 5.

In analysing the two corpora, I focus on two main aspects: (1) the deviation of each work from a perfect iambic line and (2) the relation and influences of one author to the other and across different works. The comparison of the two corpora allows for exploration of the divergences in the evolution of the two poetic forms as well as a proper analysis of their phases.

While the Dutch corpus indicates shift in the Dutch iambic metre from unstable to highly regular, the Italian corpus, on the other hand, shows evidence of little change and preservation of original traits. This is particularly compelling given the longer stretch of time the Italian corpus covers (about 300 years), relative to the Dutch corpus, which only spans about a century. Despite this, the endecasillabo maintains the original traits of its first incorporation.

This observation serves as key evidence for what was claimed regarding the Romance and the West-Germanic Renaissance poetry, and is thus critical to this dissertation. Furthermore, this information also confirms the relationship between phonological structure and the path taken by poetic tradition. As claimed in Chapter 4, Romance traditions preserved the colon-based characteristics of the source metre because their metrical template reflects their phonology being phrase-based. In contrast, West-Germanic traditions needed to adapt the colon-based source metre (written in a
phrase-based language) into a metrical structure more closely resembling a word-based phonology; consequently, they developed a foot-based poetic form.

From this perspective, the difference between Dutch corpus, showing the development of the metre, and the Italian corpus, appearing as static, exactly recreates the Romance-Germanic distinction. On the one hand, the Renaissance metre needed to undergo an adaptation process, in order to adjust to the Dutch metrical structure reflecting a word-based phonology; on the other hand, its incorporation into Italian poetry did not require such strong modifications, allowing for the metre to remain stable from its first instantiations.

The chapter is structured as follows. The authors and works constituting the two corpora are described in Section 9.2 (Section 9.2.1 for the Dutch Renaissance corpus and Section 9.2.2 for the Archivio Metrico Italiano), which are then analysed separately in Section 9.3.1 and 9.3.2. In Section 9.4, the results of the two are compared and an account explaining their differences is outlined. Finally a concluding section summarises the main points of the chapter.

9.2 Corpora

9.2.1 Dutch Corpus

The Dutch Renaissance poetry corpus is partially based on works available on the Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse letteren (dbnl)\(^1\), while other works were provided by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (KB).\(^2\) Ten authors were included in the corpus, viz., Dick Volkertsz Coornhert (1522–1590), Lucas de Heere (1534–1584), Peter Heyns (1537–1598), Jan van der Noot (1539–1595), Jan van Hout (1542–1609), Roemer Visscher (1547–1620), Karel van Mander (1548–1606), Hendrik Laurensz Spiegel (1549–1612), Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) and Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (1581–1647). It is important to specify that the term Dutch Renaissance poetry indicates here poetry written in Dutch, hence, not strictly referring to poetry written within the exact borders of the Netherlands. In fact, while some of the poets included in the corpus were born and lived within Dutch borders, some of them were close to the cultural center of Antwerp (part of the Habsburgian empire then and modern Belgium now). In addition, due to religious persecution or political matters, numerous poets travelled to different countries (Meijer, 1978).

Fifty-four works were selected. The most famous and main Dutch poets were considered and the selection was based on the availability and accessibility of digitised versions of their works. For instance, the sonnets collection by Van der Noot had to be excluded because the only available version\(^3\) comprised pictures of the manuscript in PDF format. The transcription of such type of text without an expertise would lead to high risks of misinterpretations, hence, the decision to exclude it from the analysis.

Initially, the focus was limited to earlier poets, but was ultimately broadened to include poets from later periods, such as P. C. Hooft and Vondel, to allow for a more diachronic analysis of the metre.

\(^1\)https://www.dbnl.org
\(^2\)https://www.kb.nl
\(^3\)Available on dbnl
Longer works, for instance, Coornhert's translation of the Odyssey, were subdivided into different entities in the corpus. Similarly, miscellanea works of one author were divided according to their metre, namely pentameter or alexandrine. A total of 35520 lines was collected. For the annotation of the corpus an automatic annotation system was used (as explained in Chapter 5). For a detailed list of the works included and the number of lines considered per each author see the Appendix in Section 9.6.¹

During the Renaissance, iambic metre replaced accentual verse in Dutch poetry. However, the incorporation of the new metre into the Dutch poetic tradition was far from straightforward. According to the literature (Meijer, 1978; Gasparov, 1996; Zonneveld, 1998), two types of attempts can be distinguished from among the first instances of implementing the new metre: a syllabic and a foot-based attempt. The former consisted of trying to reproduce the same structure of French verse, by having a fixed number of syllables and no precise stress pattern, except the two prominent positions coinciding with the right edge of each colon. The latter consisted of a line composed of a sequence of iambic feet, specifically a stressed syllable preceded by an unstressed syllable, and in some cases divided by a caesura.

Gasparov (1996) and Zonneveld (1998) observed that these two groups follow a geographical pattern; syllabic types were attested in the south of Low Countries, while foot-based forms were first documented in the north. According to this claim, differences in the incorporation strategies are a reflection of the differences in the degree of understanding the French language. It has been suggested that the poets from the south were usually bilingual, speaking both Dutch and French, while those in the north were monolingual with limited knowledge of French. According to this claim, the different incorporation strategies were due to a different degree of understanding the functioning of French poetry.² Following the geographical grouping, the poets of the present corpus can be divided into the two groups indicated in Table 9.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South of Low Countries</th>
<th>North of Low Countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lucas de Heere</td>
<td>Dick Volkertsz Coornhert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan van der Noot</td>
<td>Jan van Hout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Heyns</td>
<td>Roemer Visscher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karel van Mander</td>
<td>Hendrik Laurensz Spiegel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joost van den Vondel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.1: Two geographical groups

However, it is important to mention that it would be very difficult to determine without any doubt the linguistic background of the poets, given their studies, their travels and the socio-political situation of the Low Countries at that time.

Kazartsev (2008), on the other hand, observes that the two types of attempts are connected to the theorisation of the new metre. The freer verse, namely the syllabic line, would be allowed in a stage where theory had yet to be elaborated; the iambic line, instead, exhibiting a more regular stress pattern, would be typical of the period

¹The annotated corpus is available at github.com/mirsdev/Dutch_Renaissance_poetry_corpus
²An alternative account could be to consider that southern poets spoke Flemish, which, in terms of prosodic organisation, is closer to French, due to extensive language contact (Noske, 2005). Based on this perspective, the syllabicity of the southern metre might be related to the prosody of the variety in which it was written.
following the elaboration. Given the theorisation of Dutch metre took place in the 17th century (Kossmann, 1922), this distinction is to a certain extent temporal and potentially divides earlier from later poets.

In addition to comparing the evolution of Dutch and Italian metres, this chapter also investigates the two aforementioned hypotheses. Specifically, I will test whether the analysis of the Dutch lines shows a geographical division and whether the elaboration of the theory represents a breaking point within the tradition.

One final point regarding the Dutch Renaissance corpus which bears mentioning and underscores yet another important distinction from the Italian Renaissance corpus is that while the *endecasillabo* characterises the work of every author, two iambic metres coexist in the Dutch corpus. More specifically, the Dutch corpus shows co-existence of the pentameter and the alexandrine, the latter of which exhibits a higher frequency.

### 9.2.2 Archivio Metrico Italiano

The *Archivio Metrico Italiano* is an annotated corpus of Italian Pre- and Renaissance poetry provided by the University of Padua (AMI, henceforth). The AMI is composed of twenty-three poetic works in *endecasillabi* by thirteen Italian authors. They cover a period from the 1230s–40s to 1567. The corpus contains different phases of *endecasillabo*, from its first spread in *Scuola Siciliana*, to its development in *Dolce Stil Novo* and, finally, to its Renaissance stage.

In chronological order, the authors are Giacomo da Lentini (ca. 1210–ca. 260), Guido Guinizelli (1235–1276), Guido Cavalcanti (1258–1300), Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), Cino da Pistoia (1270–1336), Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374), Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375), Lorenzo il Magnifico (1449–1492), Chariteo (1450–1514), Jacopo Sannazzaro (1457–1530), Antonio Tebaldeo (1462–1537), Giovanni Della Casa (1503–1556) and Torquato Tasso (1544–1595).

Most of the authors are represented in the corpus by one work, with the exception of major poetry authors like Dante and Petrarch, who are represented by two works each. *Rime* and the *Divina Commedia* by Dante are included. It is important to mention that the three parts of the latter are included in the corpus as separate entities, namely *Inferno*, *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*. The same applies for the *Triumphi*, one of the two works by Petrarch, divided into six parts, the other being the *Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta* (*Canzoniere*). In fact, the *Triumphi* is divided into six parts, namely *Triumphus Cupidinis*, *Pudicitie*, *Mortis*, *Fame*, *Temporis* and *Triumphus Eternitatis*. In addition, the *Rime* by Boccaccio are also divided into part one and part two. In order to compare the different parts or books of these larger works, this division has been kept in the present study.

Some lines were excluded because they contained errors or were part of poems not written in *endecasillabi*. No shorter line excluded was longer than six metrical positions plus an extrametrical position, for a maximum of seven syllables per line. Consequently, the corpus used for the present study is composed of a total of 54426 lines (for more detailed information about the corpus and the amount of lines per work and author, see the Appendix in Section 9.7).

As has been described in previous chapters (Chapters 4 and 6), the Italian *endecasillabo* is a ten syllable line with an optional extrametrical syllable (Duffell, 1991; Gasparov,

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6 Available open access on http://www.maldura.unipd.it/ami/php/index.php
7 A twenty fourth author is listed on the website, namely Gaspara Stampa, but her verse is not available online.
1996, p.122). The metre has constraints at the colon level (Nespor and Vogel 1986, Hanson 1997). Two positions in the line are obligatorily prominent, one in the middle of the line, namely either the fourth or the sixth and one in the tenth position (Elwert, 1973; Di Girolamo, 1983; Menichetti, 1993; Bertone, 1999; Beltrami, 2002). The location of the mid-line prominent position can vary across one poem. In Chapter 6, a sample from the Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta was analysed, together with other Romance deca-syllabic samples; it was observed, then, that another common aspect of the metre is the presence of a deviation peak in the eighth position. In other words, there is an unstressed syllable in the prominent position, right before the strongly marked iambic alternation of the last two metrical positions of the line. The last two line-positions, in fact, were shown to be extremely regular in terms of iambic rhythm, compared to other metrical positions.

9.3 Results

9.3.1 Dutch Corpus

Isosyllabicity

After having automatically annotated the stress pattern of every line of the corpus (for a detailed explanation, see Chapter 5), the rate of deviation from an iamb was calculated for each metrical position in every poem or poetic work of the Dutch corpus. The results were vectors representing the deviation percentage in every metrical position of each text. A number of works, especially the earlier ones, exhibit longer lines than expected based on the metre. Some of the cases might be caused by miscalculations of the annotating system due to, for instance, the overlooking of synalepha. However, the number of such cases and the fact that some lines are much longer than expected cannot be solely motivated by the occurrence of a not-particularly common practice like synalepha. An exception to this observation is Vondel’s work, since he made large use of synalepha, as I could observe by manually checking his works; consequently, in his case the present calculation of syllables beyond the line-limit is most probably falsified by the annotating system not detecting synalepha. The extra syllables found in longer lines were excluded from the vectors used to visualise metrical patterns and their attestation was calculated separately. In Table 9.2, an overview of longer lines for each work and the percentage of syllables occurring in positions after the expected metrical line-limit is presented.

As can be observed in Table 9.2, some of the authors, in particular, Coornhert, De Heere and Van Hout, frequently exhibit lines which are much longer than expected. An extreme case is constituted by the Odyssey translated by Coornhert. The works of Hooft, however, are the most isosyllabic in the whole corpus.

The fact that line-length appears to be surprisingly unstable for a number of authors might suggest that isosyllabicity was not the main element Dutch poets were considering when imitating French poetry.
## 9.3. Results

### Pentameters syllables beyond line-limit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Dutch work</th>
<th>11th</th>
<th>12th</th>
<th>13th</th>
<th>14th</th>
<th>15th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coornhert</td>
<td>De eerste vrucht</td>
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<td>4.17%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Heere</td>
<td>Den Hof</td>
<td>20.12%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
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<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van der Noot</td>
<td>Pentameters</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Van Mander</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Second book</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Third book</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Fourth book</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1.4%</td>
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<td>Vondel</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Alexandrines syllables beyond line-limit

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<th>14th</th>
<th>15th</th>
<th>16th</th>
<th>17th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Odyssea:</td>
<td>-Eerste Boek</td>
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<td>21.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Tweede Boek</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Derde Boek</td>
<td>38.3%</td>
<td>42.3%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Vierde Boek</td>
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<td>-Zeste Boek</td>
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<td>-Zevende Boek</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Achste Boek</td>
<td>44.1%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Negen Boek</td>
<td>39.5%</td>
<td>34.8%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Tiende Boek</td>
<td>42.8%</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
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<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coornhert</td>
<td>Recht ghebruyck</td>
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<tr>
<td>De Heere</td>
<td>Den Hof</td>
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<td>0.1%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
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<td>De Heere</td>
<td>Den hof.Sonets</td>
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<td>De Heere</td>
<td>Refrain</td>
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<td>2.1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Heere</td>
<td>Tot den Leser</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Peter Heyns</td>
<td>Various</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van der Noot</td>
<td>Sonnets (bosk)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Van der Noot</td>
<td>Alex. (bosk)</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van Hout</td>
<td>In mate</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visscher</td>
<td>Brabbeling</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiegel</td>
<td>Hertspiegels</td>
<td>-Kalypse</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Taleye</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Melpomen</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
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<td>-Kleo</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Terpsichore</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Erate</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Euterpe</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiegel</td>
<td>(in Brabbeling)</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiegel</td>
<td>Lofdicht</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vondel</td>
<td>Guldenent</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vondel</td>
<td>Lust</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vondel</td>
<td>De vaderen</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vondel</td>
<td>De Gulden</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vondel</td>
<td>Gedichten</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooft</td>
<td>Emblemata</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooft</td>
<td>Alexandrines</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.2: Percentage of syllables beyond the expected line-limit for each Dutch work
General overview of the patterns of deviation

The vectors used to visualise rhythmical patterns were produced by calculating the deviation percentage in each metrical position. They have been plotted into Figure 9.1 and 9.2, where each chart represents the works of one author. In the case of a large number of works per author, for example, Coornhert, the texts were divided into two charts or more. Starting from the top-left, the authors are chronologically ordered. In these two charts, pentameters and alexandrines are displayed together.

Figure 9.1: Possibility of deviation from iambic pattern in the Dutch corpus: Coornhert, De Heere, Heyns, Van der Noot and Van Hout

In the first row in Figure 9.1, the pattern of deviation of Coornhert’s ten parts of *Odyssey* can be observed, all of them showing a relatively highly deviating structure similar to one another. In Coornhert 3, the other of his works can be compared, two of them being pentameters, namely *De eerste vrucht van Ducdalve was de Banninge der uutghewekene* and *Op ’t beclagh van ’t mesbruyck des avontmaels (De eerste vrucht and Op ’t beclagh in the chart, respectively)*; the *Recht ghebruyck* (complete title *Recht ghebruyck ende misbruyck van tydlycke hare*), however, is written in alexandrines and resembles the *Odyssey*’s lines.

The next two charts show the works by Lucas de Heere. The small sample by Peter Heyns (only 114 lines) show high deviation percentage, therefore, his metre does not seem to be exactly iambic. The writing of Van der Noot exhibits different patterns, which do not appear to be close to an iambic alternation. Finally, the small sample by Van Hout (only 138 lines) show a higher regularity than that of previous authors but it is important to highlight that it also has strongly varying line length.
Figure 9.2: Possibility of deviation from iambic pattern in the Dutch corpus: Visscher, Van Mander, Spiegel, Vondel, Hooft

Figure 9.2 starts with Visscher’s line, which exhibits high degree of deviance. In general, Visscher’s poetry is also characterised by a large variety of line types in terms of length. In the present study, the much shorter (not longer than six syllables plus one extrametrical) and much longer (more than fifteen syllables) lines were excluded. However, the lines included are still imparisyllabic.

In contrast, the following author in the next two charts, Karel van Mander, exhibits a greater regularity, when compared to the previous authors. His innovative regularity can be explained by considering that he has been among the theorists of the new poetic form in the preface of his Het schilder-boeck (Kossmann, 1922; Prandoni, 2012). In addition, it has been suggested that he had direct connection to the Italian language and poetry (Meijer, 1978); this can also account for the fact that he wrote only pentameters.

Spiegel’s alexandrines, in the next chart, all contained in Hert-spiegel, have a low deviation rate; the same can be seen for Lofdicht tot eer van Amsterdam, while the work in pentameter and that found in Brabbeling by Visscher is much more deviating.

Vondel pentameters are strongly regular, while his alexandrines appear to be more varying. In this respect, it is important to recall that the automatic annotating system failed in learning synalepha (see Chapter 5) and this might result in showing more irregularity than actually attested. Counting two adjacent vowels as two distinct metrical positions leads not only to a miscount of line-length but also to a misplacing of stressed and unstressed syllables. The automatic annotations error rate, in this case, is expected to be higher than for other author’s works. Therefore, the Vondel data, given
his extensive use of synalepha, need to be considered more cautiously.

Finally Hooft displays a very low deviation percentage from an iamb in both his alexandrines and pentameters.

The first observation that can be made by comparing the various charts in Figure 9.1 and 9.2 is that a gradual increase in regularity characterises them. Despite the differences amongst the authors and their works, one common trait can be identified, namely that even positions are generally more deviating than odd positions. This was also observed both in the Romance and West-Germanic typology (in Chapters 6 and 8, respectively) and will be further discussed in Section 9.4.

An unexpected result relates to the deviation percentage in positions towards the end of the line. Most of the works do not show a gradual increase in regularity line-finally. This contrasts with the observed cognitive tendency regarding line-final regularity (Kiparsky, 1968; Hayes, 1983; Prince, 1989; DeCastro-Arrazola, 2018). However, this might be due to the embryonal stage of the poetic form consisting of numerous, often diverging, attempts to adapt the Romance metre. By contrast, Van Mander, Spiegel, Vondel and Hooft do present an increase in regularity. In the alexandrines by the latter three authors, a relative deviation peak occurs as a tool of Poetic Closure (Herrnstein Smith, 1968).

Geographical and theory-related distinction
Recalling the two hypotheses regarding the development of Dutch Renaissance metre, the geographical distinction predicts two poet groups (as summarised in Table 9.1): a southern group, composed by Lucas de Heere, Jan van der Noot, Peter Heyns and Karel van Mander, and a northern group with the other poets considered in this study. According to this grouping, southern poets are expected to exhibit a more syllabic metre more deviating from an iambic rhythm; in contrast, the northern group would be expected to make an easier transition into an iambic metre. The patterns of deviation in Figure 9.1 and 9.2 suggest that while De Heere, Van der Noot and Heyns do indeed present a less regular metre in terms of both iambicity and line-length, Van Mander’s lines show relatively longer iambic structure. In addition, Coornhert (Amsterdam - Gouda), which should be a representative of the northern group, displays a deviation rate much more similar to that of the southern group.

It could be claimed that the regularity of Van Mander is due to his knowledge of Italian and Italian poetry; however, Coornhert should conform to the northern group, if the geographic aspect is considered as the main criterion.

A further observation in this respect can be made regarding isosyllabicity. As mentioned above, earlier poets do not seem to strongly follow isosyllabicity, their line-length varies and appears to be quite unstable. An important aspect of French poetry is isosyllabicity; since the French form lacks metrical stress patterns, line-length is a fundamental element of French metre. If the geographical hypothesis were true, that is, if the metrical difference was due to a different degree of understanding French poetry, isosyllabicity would be expected in lines written by Dutch bilingual poets. However, such is not the case and line-length is highly variable in the Dutch corpus, particularly in the works of earlier poets, regardless of their origin.

As for the role of theory, it can be noted that the elaboration of theory can also be seen as a playing a role in the regularisation of the metre. In fact, from Van Mander onward, deviation rate generally decreases. At the same time, theorisation cannot be the only factor, since the final form of Dutch iambic metre was achieved much later, with
the poetry of Vondel and Hooft. Consequently, theory is undoubtedly a contributing factor, but it does not represent a clean break in the development of the Dutch poetic tradition. The present study confirms what was observed by Kossmann (1922) (also mentioned Chapter 4) regarding the elaboration of the theory being a process in which poets participated actively and not something categorical. In fact, the possibility of variation from the template varies among authors, just as claimed by Kossmann (1922).

A comparison of the various works according to their metre can reveal more details about the two poetic forms and their development.

**Pentameters and alexandrines**

Figure 9.3 shows works written in pentameters. The comparison of the various charts clearly shows the increase in regularity from one author to the other, until Hooft, whose works shows extreme regularity. However, it is important to highlight that Hooft wrote very few lines in pentameter, exactly only two sonnets. Consequently, it cannot be excluded that with a bigger sample the deviation percentage might have been higher. Pentameters by Coornhert, Van der Noot, Vondel and Hooft show an increase in regularity towards the end of the line. In contrast, in the other works the deviation rate in the last two metrical positions is comparable to that of other positions. In addition, not all lines are composed by ten syllables. In Vondel and Van Mander, an irregularity peak is attested in the eighth position. Surprisingly, Spiegel’s pentameter, instead, shows a strong degree of deviation percentage (higher than 60%) in the tenth position which is completely unexpected in an iambic line and especially, line-finally.

![Figure 9.3: Possibility of deviation from iambic pattern in Dutch pentameters](image)

Figure 9.4 displays the alexandrines included in the corpus. For this particular metre, a gradual decrease in deviation over time as well as high variability in line-length can be observed, especially in the works of earlier authors. Aside from the
higher regularity attested in later poets, in Vondel, Spiegel and Hooft, a deviation peak occurs in the antepenultimate position.

Of particular note is the alexandrine written by Spiegel found in Visscher’s work: the pattern observed here does not conform to that of Spiegel in other works. This might suggest that Visscher was the real author or, at least, that those lines are not by Spiegel. Indeed, the sample resembles Visscher’s, except for the line-final positions which are quite anomalous.

Figure 9.4: Possibility of deviation from iambic pattern in Dutch alexandrines

In order to investigate the relationship and similarities among the works included in the Dutch corpus, two dendrograms were plotted, one containing the works written in pentameters and one with the alexandrine lines. Two dendrograms were produced because comparing two different metres could lead to incorrect calculations and misleading results.

The two dendrograms are provided in Figure 9.5 and in 9.6. In both of them, works are generally grouped based on the author. In the leftmost branch of Figure 9.5, Hooft is in one isolated branch connected to a branch dividing into works by Van Mander, on the left, and, on the right, into two sub-branches, one with Coornhert De eerste vrucht and the other with Vondel’s works. A completely different branch contains the works by De Heere, Van der Noot, Spiegel and the other pentameter by Coornhert. It is likely that with more exact annotation of Vondel’s poetry its position would not be so close to Coornhert, but rather closer to Hooft, given the regularity that was observed in his
samples in Chapter 8.

Figure 9.5: Dendrogram of deviation rates in Dutch pentameters

Figure 9.6 represents Dutch alexandrines. The leftmost group is *Hertspiegel* by Spiegel, followed by his *Lofdicht*. Next to it, two sub-branches contain Hooft’s alexandrines and Vondel’s *Gijsbrecht van Aemstel* and *Lust tot poëzie*, respectively. A different main branch subdivides into three subgroups, the rightmost is further divided into two sub-branches. Starting from the left, the small sample by Van Hout is in one branch. To its right, the Odyssey by Coornhert is in another group. Spiegels lines from Visscher’s book are grouped together with Coornhert’s *Recht ghebruyck ende misbruyck van tydlycke hare* and the lines by Peter Heyns. The works by Lucas de Heere are close to each other. Next sub-branch shows Vondel’s alexandrines and the last sub-branch contains poetry by Van der Noot and *Tot den Leser en Ziender* by De Heere.

In Figure 9.5, it can be observed that, with the exception of one work by Coornhert, more regular works are placed in the left branch, while those with a higher deviation rate are on the right branch. Similarly, in Figure 9.6, the leftmost main branch contains the more iambic lines. Apart from the poetry by Van Mander, the lines exhibiting a stronger iambic alternation are from later poets and this is clearly shown in the two dendrograms. In a way, the two dendrograms also display the development of the metre from unstable and syllabic to a precisely iambic form.

**S-shaped curve of the data**

The data from the Dutch corpus are comparable to what is typically observed when analysing language change over time. More specifically, the development of iambic metre in Dutch poetry appears to behave like a phenomenon of language change in that it follows an S-shaped curve (Nevalainen, 2015). To explain, the S-curve model in language change refers to a “slow beginning when only a few speakers use the incoming form or pattern, followed by a middle stage when it is gaining ground rapidly among the speakers, and a slower final phase in which the vast majority have adopted it.”
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Figure 9.6: Dendrogram of deviation rates in Dutch alexandrines

(Nevalainen, 2015). Similarly, Dutch iambic poetry has a slow start when its form is still quite blurred and unstable, with poets attempting implementing it in divergent and varying ways. After a certain moment, the stage is reached when the line has a stable form and no strong variation occurs. The curve for Dutch alexandrine can be observed in the graph in Figure 9.7; the mean of deviation percentage of each work is displayed and authors are organised in chronological order. Given the amount of samples, authors and titles are abbreviated. The Table 9.3 outlines the abbreviations used in Figure 9.7.
As can be observed in Figure 9.7, the deviation rate gradually decreases until it
reaches a much lower rate in the second part of the graph (an exception is the text by
Spiegel found in *Brabbeling*, but its problematic aspect has already been mentioned).
As for Vondel, the higher deviation rate in some of his works is probably due to two
factors. The first is the automatic annotating system failing to detect synalepha which
might increase the deviation rate. Secondly, differences in genre might motivate the
higher regularity in some works and the stronger deviation in others. For instance, a
theatre play will be undoubtedly less metrically strict than verse in poetry.

Comparing prose and poetry

Finally, a pilot comparison of the rhythmical tendencies of prose and poetry was run by
using a 130-line sample of prose text from Van Mander's *Het schilder-boeck*, his sonnets
and his *Georgica I*. In order to calculate the rhythmical pattern of the prose sample, some
random parts of text were selected and split into lines of more or less ten syllables. In
Figure 9.8, the rhythmical patterns of the three works are displayed. In this chart, the
average occurrence of stresses in each position is plotted.
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As can be observed, the poetry works by Van Mander (Georgica and Sonnets in Figure 9.8) clearly show an iambic alternation, while rhythmical variation in the prose sample causes the line to always be in an undefined 50% of cases. In other words, the prose sample does not show any general tendency towards a specific rhythm but, at the same time, shows some kind of rhythmical balance among stressed syllables.

By considering the stress patterns attested in the two poetry works and in the prose sample by Van Mander, the difference between prose and poetry in the author can be further outlined. The difference between prose and poetry for the author is further outlined in Table 9.4, which compares the five most frequent stress patterns of the three datasets. The number sequences indicate the positions of stressed syllables within the ten-syllable line; for example, in the most frequent pattern attested in Georgica I, stress occurs on the second, fourth, sixth, eighth and tenth syllable, resulting in a perfect iambic line. The percentages in brackets indicate the attestation percentage of these patterns in each dataset.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prose</th>
<th>Sonnets</th>
<th>Georgica</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 3 5 7 9  (4.6%)</td>
<td>2 4 6 8 10  (56.3%)</td>
<td>2 4 6 8 10  (51.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 5 7 9  (3.8%)</td>
<td>1 4 6 8 10  (7%)</td>
<td>1 4 6 8 10  (4.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 3 6 9  (3%)</td>
<td>2 4 5 8 10  (1.8%)</td>
<td>2 4 6 10  (2.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 3 5 7 10  (2.3%)</td>
<td>1 2 4 6 8 10  (1.8%)</td>
<td>2 6 8 10  (1.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 4 6 8 10  (2.3%)</td>
<td>2 4 6 8 9 10  (1.8%)</td>
<td>1 2 4 6 8 10  (0.8%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.4: Comparison of prose and poetry texts by Van Mander: 5 most frequent stress patterns

Table 9.4 suggests that for Sonnets and Georgica there is a strong preference for the most frequent pattern, which characterises 56 and 51% of lines, respectively; as for the prose sample, the most frequent pattern is only slightly more frequent than those which follow it. Therefore, the poetry datasets shows a stricter pattern. This should not
be surprising, since they are written in a specific metre, while the prose sample does not have a metre and, also, its line division was arbitrarily made in this occasion simply for comparative purposes.

The frequency of pattern types in the datasets shows strict adherence of poetry to an iambic pattern. The patterns surrounding prose, on the other hand, reveal trochaic alternation, a diametrically opposite structure to iambic metre. A similar observation can be made for the second-most frequent pattern, deviating from iambic or trochaic only in the first position. Consequently, it seems that, in the case of iambic metre, the metrical template recreates the binarity of the language while simultaneously making use of the opposite rhythmical pattern. Obviously, a broader comparison of prose and poetry would be needed in order to support a similar claim in a more robust way.

Aside from the limits of this small pilot study, its results show how a more extensive comparison of prose and poetry texts can contribute to the definition of the role of the metrical template in using linguistic material.

9.3.2 Archivio Metrico Italiano

As was done with the data from the Dutch corpus, the rate of deviation from an iambic pattern for each metrical position was calculated for every work in the AMI corpus. In Figure 9.9, the deviation percentage of the AMI data is plotted and grouped either chronologically or according to the author, when more works by the same author were included.

Figure 9.9: Possibility of deviation from iambic pattern in the Italian corpus

Starting from the top left, the first chart shows the poet from Scuola Siciliana, Giacomo da Lentini and the stilnovisti, predecessors or contemporaries of Dante, Guido Guinizelli, Guido Cavalcanti and Cino da Pistoia. In this plot, deviation rate is quite similar among the authors, except for Da Lentini who shows a much lower deviation in the first metrical position and a much higher deviation in the second position, relative to other authors. The next chart contains the works by Dante, his Rime and the three parts of Divina Commedia. The third chart on the first row displays the results from the Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta and the seven parts of Triumphi by Petrarch. In both
Dante’s and Petrarch’s plots, the patterns of deviation of the different works are almost identical. On the first chart on the second row, the deviation rate of the two parts of the *Rime* by Boccaccio can be observed. Finally, the last two charts show the deviation results from Chariteo as well as those from Lorenzo Il Magnifico, and those of Giovanni Della Casa, Sannazzaro, Tebaldeo and Torquato Tasso, respectively.

By comparing the deviation rate for each metrical position in the different plots, in Figure 9.9, it is possible to identify some of the changes that have occurred across various authors and traditions. It is important, however, to highlight that these changes are rather marginal and not as deep as those observed in the previous section for the Dutch corpus.

The deviation percentage in the first position doubles from Da Lentini from *Scuola Siciliana* (10%) to the first representatives of *Dolce Stil Novo*: Guinizzelli (20%), Cavalcanti (23%) and Cino Da Pistoia (23%). After that, it is more or less stable, reaching a maximum of 34% in Petrarch’s *Triumphus Cupidinis*.

In the case of the second metrical position, the opposite of what is observed for the first position occurs. In fact, the deviation rate in Da Lentini is at 73% and is further lowered in *Dolce Stil Novo*, falling between 45–53%; a similar rate is preserved in later authors. Position three is quite regular in Da Lentini and Cavalcanti (7%). It raises in Guinizzelli, Cino da Pistoia and Dante (between 13–17%) and, then, rises again until it reaches 30% in later authors, from Petrarch onward, with the exception of Boccaccio, who appears to be following Petrarch’s scheme. Deviation on the fourth is generally quite stable across authors with some higher rate in Petrarch and Chariteo.

The deviation percentage in the fifth position consistently shows high levels of regularity in all the data considered, with a maximum rate of 6% (Lorenzo Il Magnifico) and a minimum of 1% (Chariteo). The deviation percentage in the sixth position slightly decreases after the earlier authors but, except for Chariteo, does not vary significantly. Position seven deviation rate is stable through the corpus. Even if by few percentage points, it can be observed that the irregularity of the eighth position gradually decreases: in Da Lentini it is at 73%, in the *Dolce Stil Novo* poets is in between 40–65%; Petrarch, Boccaccio, Lorenzo Il Magnifico, Chariteo and Tebaldeo exhibit a similar percentage. In contrast, Sannazzaro, Della Casa and Tasso exhibit a deviation in the range of 26–33%. In this respect, it would be interesting to analyse what happened afterwards and if the lower deviation rate in the later poets shows a change in the *endecasillabo* scheme in general or is just a stylistic choice of the individual authors. Finally, ninth and tenth positions are constantly extremely regular in the whole corpus, the latter being at 0% rate of deviation.

The patterns of deviation do not strongly diverge from each other and exhibit, instead, similar characteristics to one another. It can be claimed that they constitute different instantiations of the same metre. By plotting all the works together, in Figure 9.10, the general tendencies can be observed. All patterns show two deviation peaks on the second and in the eighth position, and deviation drops on the fifth and on the ninth and tenth positions.

The deviation peak line-initially and the increase in regularity in the last two positions on one side, and the deviation peak in the eighth position on the other highlight two features of the line. On the one hand, higher irregularity at the beginning and lower irregularity at the end of the line are expected, following the SEH (mentioned in Chapters 6 and 8). Lines have less metrical requirements at their beginning and become stricter towards the end. On the other hand, the deviation peak on the eighth creates Poetic Closure (also mentioned in Chapters 6 and 8). A stronger irregularity right before
the extreme regularity of the line-end makes the latter more evident. The same characteristics were observed in the Romance typology and in part of the West-Germanic typology. The extreme and general regularity in the fifth position signals a line marking in the middle of the line.

As was observed in the typology of Romance Renaissance metre (in Chapter 6), although the lines do not strictly reveal an iambic foot sequence, a similar type of binary unit can still be observed. That is, the plots in Figure 9.9 and 9.10 clearly demonstrate that even metrical positions, which would be prominent in an iambic sequence, are more irregular than odd positions, constituting non-prominent positions. Therefore, there is a significant difference in allowing for deviation between even and odd positions. The metre analysed in this corpus is not iambic, nor foot-based, but still divides syllables in binary units.

By plotting the patterns of deviation of each work as vectors into a dendrogram, the resulting figure (Figure 9.11) shows the connections between authors. In addition, chronological grouping can also be interpreted from it.

Starting from the lefmost branches in Figure 9.11, Sannazzaro, Tasso, Della Casa, Lorenzo Il Magnifico and Tebaldeo represent the latest authors of the corpus and are placed on a different sub-branch generating from the same node of Petrarch’s branches. Chariteo is alone in one branch, closely-connected to Petrarch. Petrarch’s works are grouped together; his Canzoniere is placed in the middle of the majority of the parts of the Triumphi. Triumphus Eternitatis and Temporis are slightly apart, compared to the other parts of the Triumphi. The rightmost main branch contains the earlier poets.

Lentini, as the only representative of Scuola Siciliana is located on an isolated branch. Situated one node below, Cavalcanti distinguishes himself as yet another subgroup. Guinizelli, who might be the first poet of Dolce Stil Novo, is also alone in one sub-branch. The last two sub-branches, generated from the same node, contain Boccaccio, on the one hand, and Dante with Cino da Pistoia, on the other hand. The proximity of Boccaccio and Dante shows how the former was deeply influenced by the latter in his poetic work.

Another possible perspective from which the various samples can be analysed is by
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Looking at their most frequent stress patterns. In this respect, some general tendency can be identified. In fact, when considering the most frequent patterns in the twenty-three works, seven patterns are identified. They are listed in Table 9.5. The sequences in the pattern column indicate the position of stressed syllables. These stressed syllables occur in a numerical sequence of 2 6 10, which is to say that stressed syllables occur on the second, sixth and tenth position.

Nevertheless, by looking at the percentages, also included in Table 9.5, it can be seen that, despite the patterns being those most frequent in the corpus, their percentage of attestation is still quite low. This shows that the variation among possible stress patterns is very strong. Therefore, finding, for example, 92 attested patterns in the first part of Boccaccio’s *Rime* does not tell much about the characteristics of the metrical template.

### 9.4 Comparison of the two corpora

Before we make the comparison between the Dutch Renaissance poetry corpus and the AMI, one element regarding their metrical annotations needs to be mentioned. The Italian corpus was manually annotated, while, for the Dutch corpus, an automatic annotation tool was used. This has the potential to create some differences both in annotation as well as in the results. In addition, the Dutch annotating tool still has its limits, having 97% accuracy and failing in detecting synalepha. One main advantage of the annotating system is its consistency, given that all annotations were completed by the same annotator. The AMI, on the other hand, comprises annotations by several different annotators; the use of a group of annotators might give rise to discrepancies due to differences in individual decisions and perceptions.

By comparing the two corpora, some similarities can be identified. First of all, in both corpora even positions exhibit, in proportion, more deviation than odd positions. This reveals two aspects of metrical positions, one related to their grouping and one about their composition. The higher irregularity allowed in even metrical positions shows
that there are two functionally different metrical positions, offering key evidence for the existence of a binary group of metrical positions. While such a grouping that has been identified in the metrical foot has been recognised in Dutch and more generally in West-Germanic metre, the presence of such a unit has been denied by a number of scholars studying metrics in Italian and other Romance languages (Elwert, 1973; Di Girolamo, 1983; Navarro, 1991; Menichetti, 1993; Bertone, 1999; Beltrami, 2002; Bargalló Valls, 2007). The results of the present comparison do not leave any doubt regarding its presence in the Italian endecasillabo. Similarly, in Chapter 6, it was shown that this is also the case for other the Romance traditions considered.

Another aspect related to the even-odd position difference concerns stressed syllables and their allowability in certain positions. The stronger possibility of deviations on even positions means that unstressed syllables are more often in prominent/even position than stressed syllables in non-prominent position. Therefore, stressed syllables are more restricted in their occurrence than unstressed ones. This supports Kiparsky’s (1977) account of the iambic pentameter, according to which stressed syllables in non-prominent positions are more deprecated than unstressed syllables in prominent ones.

Unlike the AMI, the Dutch corpus does not always show an increase in regularity line-finally. The lack of line-final regularity is particularly attested in earlier authors, whose poetry does not always conform to isosyllabicity.

Three groups can be identified based on the deviation percentage on antepenultimate position: a first group, in which the position has a strong deviation peak and functions as a tool of poetic closure disrupting the rhythm in preparation for line end; a second one, in which the antepenultimate position is part of the gradual increase in regularity towards the end of the line; and a third group, in which this position and those following do not strongly diverge in deviation rate compared to other metrical positions. The Italian corpus is all part of the first group, while, in contrast, the Dutch corpus is divided between the three groups. As mentioned above, pentameters

<table>
<thead>
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<td>Petrarch T. Fame</td>
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<td>4 8 10</td>
<td>Da Lentini</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 4 6 10</td>
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Table 9.5: Most frequent stress patterns
The development of a poetic tradition. Dutch poetry and the AMI

by Coornhert, Van der Noot, Vondel and Hooft show an increase in regularity. The alexandrines by Vondel, Spiegel and Hooft, instead, show a relative peak of deviation in the antepenultimate position, just like the works in the Italian corpus. The same is attested in the pentameters by Vondel and Van Mander. Finally, the other poets do not show any increase in regularity, nor does the deviation percentage of the position differ strongly from other positions.

Another significant difference that can be identified when comparing the two corpora concerns line-medial metrical positions. As mentioned in Chapter 5, no annotation of caesura or of mid-line marking was made when annotating the Dutch corpus nor was marked in the Italian corpus annotations. Nevertheless, in the Italian corpus, a clear strong deviation drop can be observed line medially which splits the line in two parts. The importance of the colon border is clearly visible in the charts in Figure 9.9. In contrast, in the case of Dutch poetry, no mid-line deviation drop is noticeable and, when looking at the charts in Figure 9.1 and 9.2, the line looks as a unitary chunk.

Finally, a more structural distinction between the two corpora as a whole can be made. By focusing on the different patterns of deviation attested within each of them, it can be noted that they strongly diverge in terms of variation from one author to the other.

In the Dutch corpus the evolution of the metre can be observed, while in the AMI corpus the same metre is constant among different authors and periods. The structure of the endecasillabo is more static, while the Dutch Renaissance metre develops and it is actually possible to observe the process of adaptation of the new poetic form. In fact, while in Figure 9.10 it was possible to plot all Italian texts together in order to identify the general tendencies common to all of them; this was not possible for the Dutch corpus, since the types of deviation attested in the earlier authors are strongly different from that of later poets.

The reason for this difference between the evolution of the two metres has to be found in the similarities and differences of the two languages with the source languages: Italian imported the new poetic form from Occitan, while Dutch poets imitated French and (in the case of Van Mander) Italian poetry.

Italian poetry incorporated the metre from a language with a similar structure and, in particular, the same phrase-based phonology macroparameter. Consequently, no macroparameter adaptation was needed; therefore, the Italian endecasillabo preserved the colon-based structure of its source metre. In contrast, Dutch poetry needed to adapt the new form into a different system, where the foot level plays the prominent role into the template, as a consequence of the word-based phonology of the language. The Renaissance metre entering Dutch tradition needed to undergo a resetting of its structure, shifting from a colon-based to foot-based structure, which required some readjustments over time. The best restructuring was not reached immediately and a number of attempts were needed before the final iambic metre was formed. Once this was reached, Dutch poetry acquired the stability that had been present in Italian poetry since the birth of the endecasillabo.
The comparison of a Dutch and Italian Renaissance corpora has shown how the incorporation of the Renaissance metre diverged in the two traditions. On the one hand, the Dutch corpus displays the process of adaptation; on the other hand, the Italian corpus is much more static and all the works are somehow comparable. This confirms what was claimed in Chapter 2 and in Chapter 4 that the implementation of a poetic form is related to metrics taking on the relevant phonological structure.

The Dutch incorporation of Renaissance metre, which was originally designed in a language with phrase-based phonology, required the form to be adapted to a metrical structure reflecting the functioning of a word-based phonology. Therefore, the adaptation was not straightforward and led to the elaboration of a poetic form that only partially resembled its source, namely a foot-based metre.

The implementation of Renaissance metre into Italian poetry, instead, did not require a long adaptation process, since the colon-centered metrical structure recreating the structure of a phrase-based phonology did not strongly differ from that of the source poetic form. Consequently, the evolution of the metre appears to be rather static, with only few small changes characterising it.

In addition, isosyllabicity also strongly distinguishes the two corpora: while in the Italian corpus isosyllabicity is followed quite strictly among the works, in Dutch, instead, it developed through time, just like iambicity. Recalling what was observed in Chapter 4, regarding the comparison between the metrical theory by Van Mander and the Spanish author of the *Libro de Alexandre*: while the Dutch poet focused on feet, which were even absent from the source metre, the Spanish author looked at the isosyllabicity of the source, despite it being iambic. Similarly, isosyllabicity was not immediately implemented in Dutch metre and its line-length stabilised only after its feet sequence was established. In contrast, in the Italian corpus isosyllabicity was immediately stable, just as the prominence of a mid-line and the line-final position. Similar to the comparison between Dutch and Spanish theorisations, the Italian poets discussed here, just like the Spanish author, focused on the number of syllables composing the line; Dutch poets focused on the foot element, disregarding sometimes the number of syllables per line.
9.6 Appendix 1: Dutch Renaissance poetry corpus

<table>
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9.7 Appendix 2: Italian Renaissance poetry corpus

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Conclusion

The purpose of the present dissertation has been to investigate the relationship between phonology and the metrical template and to partially redefine it. I followed the assumption that the metrical template is an abstract structure which imitates that of phonology. While the connection between the two domains has been widely recognised; this work argued that the relationship is bidirectional, in that both structures play an active role in the interaction. Phonology sees metrical structure and fills it with its elements and the metrical structure can stretch the possibilities of phonological material. It can hinder or reinforce phonological characteristics, in order to make them better fit its structure, even if this implies creating more tension with the phonological structure. The interaction is, hence, based on a series of matches and mismatches between the two structures, in a game of tension managed by metrics. This proposal has been outlined in Chapter 2.

The studies developed in the following chapters test the theoretical proposal. The connection between phonology and metrics is shown by the fact that phonology conditions the development of poetic tradition. When a metre is borrowed, this needs to be adapted to the metrical structure which mirrors the phonology of the recipient language. In particular, the metrical template selects a macroparameter based on the macroparameter selected by phonology (phrase or word): this concerns which prosodic domain plays a prominent role in the language; as a reflection, metrics selects which of its layers (i.e. colon or foot) is going to play a prominent role in the poetic form.

The possibility for metrical structure to choose from among the phonological options available, to stretch phonological possibilities in order to better
fit its structure and to create more tension with natural language is confirmed when analysing the differences in the adaptation of the same source form in closely-related traditions. Phonology is not the only factor conditioning the development of a new metre, cultural factors can hinder its function in favour of poetic forms which are not the most natural outcome of phonology. Culture can create tension between the phonological and metrical structure; the only limit to it is that the options selected by metre need to be possible in phonology.

A more detailed overview of the findings follows in the next section. In addition, some interesting side-findings will be discussed in Section 10.2.

10.1 Findings

Firstly, the two language groups under investigation in the present study can be divided into terms of a macroparameter selected in phonology. West-Germanic languages exhibit a higher activation of the prosodic word domain, while Romance languages have a phrase-based phonology. This distinction is reflected in the outcome of the implementation of Renaissance metre: West-Germanic traditions developed a foot-based poetic form, while the Romance traditions preserved the colon-based character of the source. Aside from the observations outlined in Chapter 4, the analysis of the West-Germanic and Romance Renaissance poetry samples (Chapters 6 and 8) and of the Italian and Dutch corpora (Chapter 9) confirm the parametric phonological distinction affecting the elaboration of the new metre: Dutch, English, Frisian and German, having a word-based phonology, were proven to have developed a foot-based poetry; in contrast, Italian, French, Catalan, Occitan, Portuguese, Spanish, Venetian, Sicilian and Neapolitan, due to their phrase-based phonology, all had a colon-based poetic form. The West-Germanic traditions incorporating a Romance source metre needed to adapt the form into a foot-based metre.

Another aspect related to the macroparameter selection which can be observed is the difference in the actual process of developing the new metre in the two language groups. Considering the corpus comparison in Chapter 9, it can be noticed that the Italian and Dutch corpora strongly diverge in the within-corpus differences among the various authors considered. To explain, while, in the Italian corpus, the *endecasillabo*’s form always remains kind of stable, undergoing only minor changes, the comparison of the works included in the Dutch corpus shows that verse underwent a whole process of adaptation which led, at last, to the definitive form. This difference is related to the macroparameter because it shows that, while in the Italian incorporation of the source metre no macroparameter resetting was involved; during the Dutch metrical borrowing, the macroparameter had to be changed from a colon to a foot-based one, as a consequence of the source language being phrase-based, while the recipient had a word-based phonology. Therefore, in the former the metre structure did not need to undergo deep changes, while, in the latter tradition, the re-setting required some time.
Secondly, regarding the interaction between phonology and metre, in this
dissertation it was shown that phonology can explain some of the variation
across poetic traditions, besides from the macroparameter selection. The case
of the English rhyme (in Chapter 3) was used to explore the role of phonol-
ogy in determining poetic practices. The naturalness, for British English native
speakers, of rhyming a prepaoroxytone-word-final syllable with a stressed syl-
labal, both in verse and in isolation, showed that this type of rhyme does not
represent a purely stylistic choice; this claim is made even stronger by the fact
that the rhyme type lacks any relationship to other purely stylistic practices.
The possibility of using this specific type of rhyme is due to the fact that a
similar structure is available in the English phonology, in what Burzio (1994)
defines as ‘weak syllables’. Poetry is free to use the alternative structure avail-
able in phonology in order to better fit its own structure, even if, in the actual phonology, the last unstressed syllable of a specific prepaoroxytone is unfooted;
its material is still somehow available in phonology and poetry can make use
of it.

Interestingly, this type of rhyme seems to be only possible in English, among
the languages under investigation. In German and Dutch it could be poten-
tially possible only with stress-bearing suffixes. The fact that this rhyme only
developed in English is evidence of the fact that this alternative structure is
only available in English phonology and not in closely-related languages. In
this respect, Dutch, Frisian and German group with Romance languages in
rhyming prepaoroxytone words with other prepaoroxytone words. Also, while
in an English iambic pentameter the last syllable of a prepaoroxytone can fill
the last prominent position of the template, this could not possibly happen in
the other traditions considered here; in those, when a prepaoroxytone occurs
line-finally, the last prominent position is filled by the syllable carrying main
word stress and the last two unstressed syllables are considered extrametrical.

In addition, poetry can suppress some phonological characteristics or stretch
phonology in order to have a better fit for its structure, even (or, maybe, es-
pecially) if this means to create tension with phonology. This was supported
by the case of Catalan which, despite being quite similar to languages like,
for instance, Portuguese, has a Renaissance metre that did not evolve in a
way similar to other closely-related traditions. In fact, all Romance traditions
included in this study were shown to have a colon-based metre with some
tendency towards an iambic alternation which was due to the fact that they
are all (except for French) trochaic (see Chapter 6). In contrast, the Catalan
metre, despite being colon-based, does not exhibit any iambic tendency, even
though the language is trochaic and has strong word stress. The reason for this
divergence has to be found in the possibility of the metrical template to sup-
press phonological characteristics in order to show a preference for a specific
structure and to create tension between phonological and metrical structure.
10.2 Some more (side-)findings

During the elaboration of the present dissertation, some side-findings were obtained which are worth mentioning.

First, the typological study of Romance Renaissance metres (Chapter 6) and the analysis of the Italian Renaissance Corpus (Archivio Metrico Italiano) (Chapter 6) contributed to the discussion regarding the tendency towards iambic rhythm, showing it to be a tendency facilitated by phonological characteristics and not representing the evidence for the metre to be actually iambic. When plotting a dendrogram of the Romance traditions in relation to an ideal iambic form, none of them was placed in the branch with the latter. The picture changed when the results of the Romance traditions were compared to West-Germanic traditions (in Chapter 8). In fact, in the dendrogram implemented with the Germanic data, all Germanic samples resulted to be very close to the ideal iamb. In addition, the deviation rate from iamb of the Romance and the West-Germanic works differed significantly, in that the latter never reached the high percentages commonly attested in the former.

Second, despite the Romance languages poetry being evidently not foot-based, the presence of a binary unit grouping metrical positions was identified (Chapter 6). This confirms previous claims regarding the recurrence of binary or ternary grouping in the various layers of metre. Arguing for the presence of a level other than the metrical position and the colon in Romance poetry might appear quite controversial, since most of the related literature has denied this entity. However, the present study provides strong evidence for such a unit, in that the presence of stressed syllables in odd positions appeared to be more depreciated than the presence of unstressed positions in even positions; in general, even (prominent) positions, when compared with an ideal iambic pattern, had a much higher deviation rate than odd (nonprominent) positions. Therefore, a difference between odd and even positions needs to be recognised, in order to account for the difference in deviation rate. In other words, the existence of two types of positions alternating presumes a binary grouping.

A third observation needs to be made about Poetic Closure, consisting, in the case of Renaissance poetic forms, in an irregularity peak before the last two metrical positions. Poetic Closure was attested in all Romance traditions considered in this dissertation (Chapters 6 and 8). In particular, the more purely syllabic the metre the stronger the rate of Poetic Closure attested in the tradition, such as in French, Catalan and Occitan. In addition, also Dutch and German verse exhibited Poetic Closure both in their pentameters and alexandrines. Interestingly, this practice appears to cross language groups. The only exception to the use of Poetic Closure was represented by English and Frisian iambic pentameters.

Finally, one last point worth mentioning concerns isosyllabicity. It has been observed in this study that the Romance works considered generally exhibit isosyllabicity; even in lack of a colon-internal rhythmical pattern, line length
Conclusion

is generally constant. In previous studies, it had been claimed that also the first attempts made by Dutch poets to imitate French alexandrines focused on recreating the isosyllabicity of the Romance poetic form. However, in Chapter 9, when analysing the Dutch corpus of Renaissance poetry, it has been noticed that isosyllabicity was not a strong element in the first attempts of Dutch Renaissance poetry; it got, instead, established when also the iambic pattern of the line became stable. This disproves the geographical hypothesis regarding the development of the Renaissance metre in the Low Countries, in that it shows that southern Dutch poets were not focusing on the number of syllables per line in French verse, disregarding, instead, any rhythmical pattern. It actually shows that Dutch poets, even the first innovators experimenting with the new poetic form, did not focus on the number of syllables per line; they were still focusing on stress, just as they had been doing, previously, with accentual verse. Consequently, the number of syllables per line only became important when the iambic alternation had reached its ultimate, extremely regular stage.

10.3 Future research

In this section, I briefly discuss some prospects for future research.

Above all, something which would need further research would be the relationship between phonology and culture and their role in the development of a poetic tradition. They represent two forces which can reinforce each other but, at the same, can also limit each other. A case showing tension between the two is when the role of phonology in poetry is weakened by cultural factors forcing the poetic form into a different, more marked direction. It would be very interesting to further investigate the roles of the two elements and to try to delimit where one ends and the other starts. It cannot be an easy task but it would definitely be worth trying.

In the next paragraphs, further research points for some of the chapters in the present dissertation are outlined.

Regarding Chapter 3, a qualitative analysis of proparoxytone-oxytone (PO) rhyme sub-types would contribute to define the elements playing a role in the allowance of this peculiar type of rhyme in English poetry. A follow-up experiment would focus only on this rhyme type and contain more instances of the various sub-types. Also, the same rhyme pairs could be displayed in different orders (e.g. caress-gloominess and gloominess-caress), in order to test if order plays a role in the perceived naturalness of the rhyme type. At the current stage of the experiment results, not enough instances of sub-types were available, in order to make a generalisation about it or have strong findings.

A necessary follow-up study would concern replicating the experiments with Dutch, Frisian and German data, in order to test the absence of PO rhymes in the two languages. To explain, no attestation of PO rhymes was found in the German, Dutch and Frisian data, even in the study of the Dutch corpus. The only two exceptions were found in Vondel, namely the rhyme pairs
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10.3. Future research

dorp-onderwerp, “village-subject”, and letterwetenschap-sap, “literary sciences” (humanities)~“juice”, hence, four lines out of 35520 lines. On the other hand, in both the Dutch corpus and in the Frisian sample, examples of proparoxytones rhyming with proparoxytones are found. Testing the naturalness of this type of rhyme for Dutch, German and Frisian native speakers would help verifying that the lack of the rhyme type in the data is due to the lack of an alternative structure in the languages’ phonology. This would provide a more complete picture of the English rhyme’s peculiarity.

With respect to Chapter 5, further research is needed in order to improve the scansion tool for Dutch poetry. Currently, it has a 97% accuracy, however, it is unable to detect synalepha. Importantly, synalepha is widely attested in Vondel’s work, hence, the incapability of the tool to assign it reduces the accuracy of the scansion of his verse and limits the possibility of elaborating strong claims about it. More data or, maybe, a different, more accurate tool could overcome this obstacle.

As for the typological study of Romance and West-Germanic samples (Chapters 6 and 8), including prose texts in the analysis could provide more insights on the naturalness of the rhythmical patterns attested and contribute in defining what of it is metrical and what phonological. In addition, expanding the study into including other Germanic samples and other language groups samples (for instance Slavic languages) would enrich the general picture regarding the core claims of the dissertation. The inclusion of other languages would also contribute in defining more the overview of caesura and mid-line marking (Chapter 7).

Further research would also be needed to better understand the difference in use of Poetic Closure between the West-Germanic traditions. The question is whether the fact that only Frisian and English do not exhibit Poetic Closure depends on the similarity between the two languages or if other factors are at play. Undoubtedly, the Frisian poet was bilingual, speaking Dutch as well, and the influence for the new form of versification came from Dutch. Consequently, the source of the innovation should not be the cause of the lack of Poetic Closure. More authors and more samples should be included, in order to discard the risk of the practice being simply lacking in the poets considered.

Finally, the last observation is about replicability. The last question would be whether the study could be replicated with a completely different poetic tradition and if the results would be, to a certain extent, comparable.


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Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift gaat over de relatie tussen poëzie en taal. Het analyseert de interactie tussen de versmaat en de fonologische structuur. Ik onderzoek deze interactie vanuit twee invalshoeken: 1) ik kijk naar aspecten van de versvorm die de karakteristieken van de fonologie van de gebruikte taal laten zien; 2) ik bestudeer in hoeverre de fonologie invloed heeft op de ontwikkeling van de poëtische traditie.

Poëzie en fonologie zijn verbonden, want gedichten maken gebruik van fonologische elementen in hun structuur. Met andere woorden, gedichten zijn uit fonologisch materiaal opgebouwd. Versvorm gebruikt wat er in de taal beschikbaar is, en daarom is de versvorm een bewijs van de mogelijkheden van de taal op het moment dat de dichter schrijft.

Fonologie heeft invloed op de vorm van het gedichten en op de ontwikkeling van poëtische traditie, omdat poëtische structuur de fonologische structuur navolgt. Anders gezegd, de functionering en de vorm van poëzie hangen van af van de functionering en de vorm van fonologie. Zodoende, als de fonologie de macroparameter selecteert die het prominent niveau van de fonologische structuur bepaalt (d.w.z. het fonologisch zinsdeel of het fonologisch woord); dan selecteert de structuur van poëzie (d.w.z. het metrisch sjabloon) ook een vergelijkbare macroparameter om de functionering van fonologie na te volgen. De metrische sjabloon beslist over een prominente hemistische of over een prominente metrische voet, afhankelijk van of de fonologie een prominent zinsdeel of een prominent woord heeft. De geselecteerde macroparameter geeft vorm aan de versmaat.

Aan de ene kant kijkt de metrische sjabloon naar de fonologische structuur en weerspiegelt deze zijn functionering; aan de andere kant vullen de fonologische elementen de metrische structuur aan. Ik heb vastgesteld dat de selectie van het fonologisch materiaal dat de metrische sjabloon vult, afhankelijk is van een bi-directionele relatie tussen fonologie en metriek. De metrische sjabloon wordt niet passief door fonologische elementen gevuld: hij kan enkele elementen uitkiezen. Met andere woorden, hij kan de fonologische aspecten
kiezen die beter in zijn structuur passen. Dit oprekken van fonologie creëert een bepaalde spanning tussen de fonologische en de metrische structuren. Deze spanning kan gebruikt worden om de afstand tussen poëzie en gewone taal te vergroten.

Al het materiaal dat in de metrische structuur gebruikt wordt, moet al in de taal beschikbaar zijn en de sjabloon kan elementen die in de fonologie bestaan versterken of verhinderen. Bovendien hoeven fonologische en metrische strata niet te verschillen; dat gebeurt als non-linguïstische culturele factoren de versmaat duwen in de richting van een vorm die verder van de gewone taal verwijderd is. Culturele aspecten hebben een belangrijke en ingewikkelde rol in de ontwikkeling van poëzie en deze kunnen de interactie tussen fonologie en metriek beïnvloeden.

Om het verband tussen taal en poëzie te analyseren gebruik ik, in dit proefschrift, de ontwikkeling van de versmaat in de Renaissance als casus. Renaissancistische poëzie is ideaal voor dit onderzoek, omdat het over de meeste Europese landen is verspreid. De verspreiding van dezelfde versvorm over verschillende talen en poëtische tradities laat zien hoe hetzelfde bronvers aangepast wordt aan de eisen van de ontvangende traditie. Dit laat de rol van fonologie zien in het implementatiesproces.

Dit proefschrift volgt de nieuwe versmaat van zijn oorsprong in de 12e-14e eeuw Occitaanse poëzie tot zijn eerste verspreiding over de Europese landen. Ik concentreer me op Romeinse en West-Germaanse poëtische tradities en talen. Behalve naar Occitaanse poëzie, is er ook gekeken naar andere Romeinse talen. Ten eerste Italiaans en Frans, vanwege het feit dat deze een belangrijke rol in de verspreiding van de versvorm hebben gespeeld. Het prestige van het Italiaanse endecasillabo en het Franse alexandrijn heeft veel Europese dichters geïnspireerd. De nieuwe versvorm bereikte ook andere latijnse talen zoals Italiaanse dialecten die al een literaire traditie hadden. Dit laat de rol van fonologie zien in het implementatiesproces.

De implementatie van de nieuwe versvorm in talen uit dezelfde taalgroep benadrukt de aspecten die niet wijzigen in de verschillende poëtische tradities en laat zien hoe deze aspecten verbonden zijn met het bewaren van de instelling
van de macroparameter. De metrische sjabloon van een traditie kan ritmische verschillen veroorzaken door het verhinderen of versterken van elementen die in de fonologie van de taal beschikbaar zijn. Op deze manier helpt het vergelijken van de versvormen uit talen die met elkaar verbonden zijn om een onderscheid te maken tussen fonologische en culturele factoren die van invloed zijn op de ontwikkeling van de versvorm.

De vergelijking van de nieuwe versvorm in een Romaanse bron (d.w.z. Occitaanse, Franse of Italiaanse poëzie) met dezelfde versvorm in de Romaanse dochtertradities (bijv. de Spaanse) en met West-Germaanse tradities (bijv. de Nederlandse) toont het verschil tussen een metrische implementatie binnen een taalgroep en een metrische implementatie van de ene taalgroep naar de andere. Aangezien het bronvers uit een Romaanse traditie kwam, vereiste zijn toepassing in een andere Romaanse taal minder veranderingen dan die in een West-Germaanse taal. Dit onderzoek laat, ten eerste, zien welke metrische elementen moeten veranderd of verwijderd worden tijdens de verspreiding van de nieuwe versvorm van een taalgroep naar een andere. Daarnaast toont het aan hoe deze elementen met de fonologie van de twee groepen verbonden zijn. Het implementatieproces in de nieuwe taalgroep geeft het feit weer dat de nieuwe versvorm zich aan de selectie van de macroparameter moet aanpassen. De veranderingen die de nieuwe versvorm ondergaat, zijn eigenlijk gevolgen van de herinstelling van een macroparameter. Dit betekent dat als de versvorm van de Romaanse naar de Germaanse groep gaat, hij de metrische macroparameter van prominent hemistische naar prominent voet moet herinstellen. Dit is het gevolg van het feit dat de poëzie van een taal waarin het zinsdeel prominent is, zich verspreidt naar een taal waarin het fonologisch woord prominent is (en waarin dus de macroparameter een andere waarde heeft).

In hoofdstuk 2 beschrijf ik het theoretisch kader waarbinnen mijn onderzoek geplaatst is. Het hoofdstuk illustreert eveneens het theoretische voorstel dat uitgewerkt wordt in het tweede deel van dit proefschrift. Kort gezegd, de metrische sjabloon is een abstracte structuur die de fonologische structuur imiteert. Metriek volgt fonologie ook in de macroparameterselectie die gaat over welk fonologisch niveau prominent is. De interactie tussen de fonologie en het metrische sjabloon is bidirectioneel: aan de ene kant vult fonologie de metrische sjabloon aan met zijn elementen; aan de andere kant kan de metrische sjabloon kiezen uit het fonologisch materiaal dat beschikbaar is.

Het theoretische voorstel uit hoofdstuk 2 wordt onderzocht in de andere hoofdstukken. In het eerste deel van het proefschrift kijk ik naar de manier waarop de vorm van de versmaat fonologische aspecten laat zien en hoe fonologie metrische verschillen kan uitleggen. Hoofdstuk 3 gaat over een experimenteel onderzoek over Engelse rijn. In Engelse poëzie kan de laatste onbeklemtoonde lettergreep van een proparoxytoon met een beklemtoonde lettergreet rijmen. Dit soort rijn brengt de mogelijkheid van een alternatieve prosodische structuur in Engelse fonologie aan het licht. Dit soort rijn is niet mogelijk in andere verwante talen. Het laat daarnaast ook zien hoe metriek kan kiezen tussen de fonologische structuren die beschikbaar zijn en welke er
beter bij passen. In hoofdstuk 4 onderzoek ik hoe fonologie de ontwikkeling van een poëtische traditie kan beïnvloeden. Ik richt me op de ontwikkeling van de jambe in West-Germaanse tradities als implementatie van de Renaissance versvorm. Dit proces geeft aan hoe het verschil in waarde van de macroparameter invloed heeft op de implementatie van de versvorm.

In het tweede deel van dit proefschrift gebruik ik digitale methoden om de metrische patronen van verschillende Renaissance tradities te analyseren. In hoofdstuk 6 en 8 analyseer en vergelijk ik samples van Renaissance poëzie uit Romaanse en West-Germaanse talen. Het typologisch onderzoek laat zien hoe de ontwikkeling varieert in de verschillende tradities en tussen taalgroepen. Hoofdstuk 7 geeft een overzicht van het verschil tussen een echt metrische cesuur en het markeren van het midden van de versregel bij prominente metrische posities. Ten slotte vergelijk ik in hoofdstuk 9 twee corpora van renaissancepoëzie, één van de Italiaanse versvorm en het andere van de Nederlandse gedichten. Dit hoofdstuk laat de ontwikkeling van de nieuwe versvorm in twee poëtische tradities zien. De twee tradities zijn uit twee verschillende taalgroepen en de vergelijking laat zien dat dit verschil zichtbaar is in de manier waarop de implementatie gebeurt. De resultaten van de implementatie zijn zoals verwacht zeer verschillend: de Nederlandse poëzie ontwikkelt een metrum gebaseerd op een jambische voet die niet in de Franse bronvorm bestond. Op deze manier kan de ontwikkeling van de versmaat van de eerdere naar de meer moderne dichters opgemerkt worden. Het Italiaans corpus is statischer, de versvorm bewaart de belangrijke rol van de hemistische en er zijn geen grote verschillen tussen de dichters. Het Nederlandse metrum moest zijn/de macroparameter aanpassen, terwijl de Italiaanse metrische structuur direct dezelfde macroparameter van het bronvers kon selecteren.
Mirella De Sisto was born on September 27, 1988 in Caserta (Italy). In 2007, she began her Bachelor’s studies in Lingue, Culture e Letterature Moderne Europee at the Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, specialising in English and Spanish literature. In the fall semester of 2009, she spent five months at Leiden University as part of the Erasmus exchange programme. She obtained her Bachelor’s degree in 2011, with a thesis on the Shakespearean Othello. In 2012, she first enrolled to the Master in Linguistics at Leiden University and then switched to the Research Master’s programme. She graduated in 2014 with a dissertation on two phonological phenomena (metaphony and Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico) occurring in a Southern Italian dialect. In 2013, she worked as a student assistant for Leiden University and Meertens Institute on a phonetic transcription project of recordings from an Albanian dialect spoken in Italy. In 2014, she also obtained the DITALS I certificate (certification in didactics in Italian as a foreign language) from the Università degli Stranieri di Siena. After some in-company working experience in London, she started working as a PhD student at Meertens Institute within the project “The birth of the iamb in Early Renaissance Low Countries”. From 2016 until 2020, she has carried out her doctoral studies. During this time, she went on a three-month research visit to the University of Oxford, at the Language and Brain Laboratory, and also on a brief research visit to the University of Strathclyde. The present dissertation is the result of her research.
# Appendix .1 Annotated samples: Romance Renaissance meter
(Chapter 6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Annotation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ausiàs March</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catalan</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qui no es trist, de mos dictats no cur;</td>
<td>0001 000101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o’n algun temps que sia trist estat,</td>
<td>0011 010101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e lo qui es de mals apassionat,</td>
<td>0001 000101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per fer se trist no cerque loch escur;</td>
<td>0101 010101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lija mos dits mostrans penssa torbada,</td>
<td>1001 011001 x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sens algun’art exits d’om fora seny,</td>
<td>1011 010101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e la raho qu’en tal dolor m’enpeny</td>
<td>0001 010101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amor ho sab, qui n’es la causa estada.</td>
<td>0101 010101 x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alguna part, e molta, es trobada</td>
<td>0101 010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de gran delit en la pensa del trist,</td>
<td>0101 001001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e si les gents ab gran dolor m’an vist,</td>
<td>0001 010101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de gran delit m’arma fon compañíada.</td>
<td>0101 101001x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quant simplament Amor en mi habita,</td>
<td>0001 010101 x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tal delit sent que no ‘m cuyt ser al mon,</td>
<td>1011 010101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e com sos fets vull veure de pregon</td>
<td>0101 010001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mescladament ab dolor me delita.</td>
<td>0001 001001x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prest es lo temps que far te vida’rmita</td>
<td>1001 001101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per mils poder d’Amor les festes colorre;</td>
<td>0101 010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d’est viure strany algu no’s vulla dolrre,</td>
<td>1011 010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car per sa cort Amor me vol e’ m cita.</td>
<td>0001 010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E yo qui ’l am per si tant solament,</td>
<td>0101 010001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
no denegant lo do que pot donar,
a ssa tristor me plau abandonar
e per totstems viur’ entristadament.
Traure no pusch de mon enteniment
que sia cert e molt pus bell partit
sa tristor gran que tot altre delit,
puys hi recau delitos languiment.
Alguna part de mon gran delit es
aquella que tot home trist aporta,
mes que si d’ ell tot lo mon se dolgues.
Ésser me cuyt per moltes gents repres
puys que tant lou viur’en la vida trista,
mas yo qui he sa glori’a l’ull ja vista,
desig sos mals puys delit y es promes.
No s’ pot saber mensys de lla esperiença,
lo gran delit qu’ es en lo sols voler
d’ aquell qui es amador verdader
e ama si vehent s’en tal volença.
Lir entre carts, Deu vos don conexença
com so per vos a tot estrem posat;
ab mon poder Amor m’ ha ’nderocat
sens aquell seu d’ infinida potença.
Axi com cell qui desija vianda
per apagar sa perillosa fam,
e veu dos poms de fruyt en hun bell ram,
e son desig egualment los demanda,
no l’ complira fins part haja ‘legida,
si que ’l desig vers l’ un fruyt se decant,
així’m a pres dues dones amant,
mas elegesch per haver d’ Amor vida.
Si com la mar se plan greument e crida
com dos forts vents la baten egualment,
hun de levant e altre de ponent.
e dura tant fins l’ un vent ha jaquida
sa força gran per lo mes poderos,
dos grans desigs han combatut ma pensa,
mas lo voler vers hu seguir dispensa;
yo ’l vos publich: amar dretament vos.
E no cuydeu que tan ignoscent fos
que no vehes vostr’ avantage b;
mon cors no cast estava congoxan
de perdre loch qui ’l era delitos.
una raho ab ell fon de sa part,
dient que ’n ell se pren aquest’amor
sentint lo mal o lo delit major,
si qu’el content, cascu pot esser fart.
L’ enteniment a parlar no vench tart,
e planament desfeu esta raho,
dient que ’l cors, ab sa complexio,
ha tal Amor com hun lop o renar;
Que lur poder d’ amar es limitat,
car no es pus que un apetit brutal,
e si l’ amant veheu dins la fornal,
no sera plant e molt mensys defensat.
Ell es qui venç la sensualitat;
si be no es en ell prim moviment,
cert guiador es de la voluntat.
Qui es aquell qui en contra d’ ell reny?
Que voluntat per qui l’ fet s’executa,
l’ atorch senyor, e si ab ell disputa,
a la perfí se guia per son seny.
Diu mes avant al cors ab gran endeny:
«Vanament vols e vans son desigs,
car dins hun punt tos delits son fastigs,
romans ne llas, tots jorns ne prens enseny.
Ab tu mateix delit no pots haver:
tant est grosser qu’ Amor no n’es servit;
volenteros acte de be es dit,
e d’aquest be tu no sabs lo carer.
Si be complit lo mon pot retener,
per mi es l’om en tan sobiran be,
e qui sens mi esperança l’ rete
es foll o pech e terrible grosser».
Aytant com es l’enteniment pus clar,
es gran delit lo que per ell se pren,
e son pillart es subtil pensamen,
quie de fins pasts no l’jaqueix endurar.
Plena de seny, no pot Deu a mi dar,
ffora de vos, que descontent no camp;
tots mos desigs sobre vos los escamp;
tot es dins vos lo que’m fa desijar.
Lo viscahi qui-s troba ‘n Alemanya,
paralítich, que no pot senyalar,
si es malalt, remey no li pot dar
metge del mon, si donchs no es d’Espanya,
qui del seu mal haura mes conexença
y entendra millor sa qualitat.
Atal son yo en estrany loch posat,
c’altra sens vos ja no-m pot dar valença.
Yo viu uns ulls haver tan gran potença
de dar dolor e prometre plaher; 0101 001001
yo, smaginant, viu sus mi tal poder 1001 101101
qu’en mon castell era sclau de remença; 0101 101001
yo viu un gest e senti una veu 0101 001101
d’un feble cos, e cuydara jurar 0101 001001
qu’un hom armat yo-l fera congoxar; 0101 010001
sens rompre-m pel, yo-m so retut per seu. 0101 010101
Si com l’infant que sab pel carrer seu 1001 100111
prou be anar, segons sa poca edat, 1101 010101
si en esculls, per cas, se veu posat, 1001 010101
esta pahuruch —no sab hon se té-l peu— 0101 001001
d’anar avant, perque no y veu petjada; 0101 010101x
no vol ne pot usar de cami pla, 0101 010011
que ell per si no fera tal jornada. 0101 010101x
Mos ulls d’aço han feta la bugada 0101 010101x
e tots mos senys s’i son volguts mesclar; 0101 010101x
yo pena-n pas, mas no y puch contrastar, 0101 001001
perqu’algun tant ab delit es mesclada. 0011 001101x

Pere Torroella

Ara pots fer, Amor, les voluntats, 1001 010001
forçar desigs e sotmetre volers, 0101 001001
vençre-ls pus forts e sobrar grans poders 1001 001101
prendre corags e robar libertats; 1001 001001
car tant esforç e poder son doblats 0101 001101
en tal endret per un cars tot novell, 0101 011001
que pots menar entre tots los estats, 0101 010101
del gran al poch e del jove [a]l pus vell. 0101 001001
Si ton esforç fins aci no y duptave, 0001 101001x
mon pensament causa bona raho, 0001 101001
sabent tots sols vençra l’openio 0101 010001
de l’ocios que [a] tu s’abandonave. 0001 010001x
de tal cars cert mon saber ignorave 0101 001001x
deyes exir un cim, entre les dones 0101 011001x
que ‘b la vista forces qui-t contrestave 1010 010001x
ob son renom millor entre les bones. 0101 011001x
Un novell be reporta per bellesa 1011 010101x
que dret mitga qu’entr’umana divina 0101 101001x
segre virtuts, que ses obres affina 1001 011001x
al prim saber temprat per saviesa. 0101 010101x
Sos moviments referien noblesa, 0100 001001x
ab dret compas la veu perlar e riure, 0101 010101x
joue ‘n edat ab lo seny de vallesa 1001 001001x
tal que no-s pot per paraules scriure. 1001 001001x
D’aquests tals bens so stat conexador, 0101 010001
fent d’aquell juy ab pensa ’namorada 1011 010001x
qui fins aci per art falcificada 0101 010001x
imposa ’n mi nom de falç amador. 0101 101001
Mes com lo foch mostre sa gran ardor 1001 100101
ab mes esforç ences dins son contrari, 0101 010101x
per tals migans prenint forças amor, 0101 011001
sol que mes am d’un estrem adversari. 0101 010001x
Vinguen aquells que sens speriment 1011 010001
a mon parlar crehença oblidaren, 0001 010001x
perque so cert que mon juhi loharen 1011 010001x
qui de tals bens mostraven sentiment, 0011 010001x
e mon voler, qui ben amant consent,
1001 010101x
fent egualtat ab la gran conaxença 1001 001001x
tsiquen aquells que sens speriment 1001 010001x
a mon parlar crehença oblidaren,
1001 010001x
Be de mos mals, direm lo finament 0101 010001x
de tots mos dits, per donar vos crehença,
1001 001001x
que sou lo be de tot mon pensament,
1001 010001x
e que sens vos tot delit m’es offensa.
1001 001001x
Callen aquells absseguats per amor 1011 001001x
qu’entre lurs dits han obres falciades;
1011 100001x
callen aquells per qui son recitades 1001 001001x
les gran virtuts del pus digna d’onor.
1001 011001x
Callen aquells qu’es la part de millor 1011 101001x
lo femeni linatge desacorden;
1001 010001x
callen aquells e quants donen lahor;
1011 011001x
parlen mos dits qu’ab veritat s’ecorden.
1001 010101x
Un novell be per mostrar sa potencia
1011 001001x
Deus ha tremes dins femenina forma;
1001 000101x
un novell be de bens novella norma
1011 101101x
tsals qu’als restants tenen de mal presencia.
1001 100101x
Un novell be ho-m se mostra l’essencia
1011 101001x
dels perfets dons d’armes e cors junctats;
0011 100101x
un novell be e nova pestilencia
1011 010001x
porten los mals d’un moren voluntats.
1001 010001x
Aquesta-s diu psalme de veritats,
0101 100001x
d’onor lo cim e de virtuts ministre;
0101 000101x
aquestes-s diu de les dones registre,
1001 001001x
temple de Deu e retret de beutats.
1001 101001x
Aquestes-s diu carrer d’enamorats,
0101 010001x
font d’onestat e port de gentilesa;
1001010001x
aquestes-s diu força de libertats,
0101 100001x
archiu de seny, saber, graci’, abtesa.
0101 011001x
Veniu mirar, harauts e trobadors,
0101 010001
perqu’en lo mon reporteu meravelles; 0101 001001x
veniu mirar, viudes, dones, donzelles, 1001 101001x
per redressar los falliments d’errors: 0001 000101
veniu mirar, machanichs e pintors, 0101 010001
per tal patro renovar vostr’offici; 0101 011011x
veniu mirar, desleyals amadors, 0101 001001
per cambiar per castedat l’offici. 0001 0001101x
Be de mos mals, si d’estremas dolors 1001 101001
algu vol fer contra mos dits judici, 0101 101101x
no us enugeu si-ls vinch mostrar a vos, 1001 010101x
per que mirant no-m reprengue de vici. 0101 101001x
Vos m’aveu fet e podeu fer de mi 1011 001101x
aquell que Deu en mon arbitre mes; 0101 010101x
lo seu poder leix a vos he remes 0101 101101x
Ma libertat negun temps conaquí: 0001 011001x
en un ansemps, ab l’edat de l’entendre, 0101 101001x
me pres amor sens mostrar me de qui, 0101 101001x
fins tant que-m feu a vos per vista rendre, 0101 010101x
mostrant que sols me guardava ‘quel fi. 0101 001001x
Si res fas donchs a vos deu refferir 0101 011001x
so que s segueix en l’estat de ma vida; 1001 101001x
en que pensau recordau si us oblida, 0101 0001101x
carrech teniu de quant pusc fer ne dir. 1001 001101x
Feu servidor segons qui deig servir 1001 010101x
e sere tal qu’entre-ls pus nomenats 0011 101001x
lo meu renom vindreu millor hoyr, 0101 010101x
qu’a vos seran delitosos debats 0101 0001101x
com pensareu: «Yo-l fiu tal devenir». 1001 101001x
Dar me podeu sens reprocha d’onor 1001 101001x
trebals ne dan, compliment de destresa, 0101 001001x
lensant mon cor del sentra de tristes
un viu retret per vostre desfavor.
So que us deman es que-m mostreu amor,
e si no u vol consentir lo voler, 0011 001001x
sots fals semblant encobriu desamor, 0101 001001x
qu’ab ficta grat ham mes falceu lo ver 0101 010101x
qu’ab serts desdenys refforçar ma dolor. 0101 001001x
È si no us plau senta vostre voler 0011 101001x
qu’ab tant’ amor seguesch sos moviments, 0101 010001x
qu’entre mos mals folguan mos sentiments 1001 1000101x
si-ls veig d’acort ab lo vostre voler.
De mos delits si venen desesper,
sens que de vos l’esser d’ells s’acontenta, 1001 101001x
tant mon voler ab lo vostre reffer 1001 001001x
que, si no sou de mon viura contenta, 0011 001001x
preguare Deu per aquell jorn derrer.
Si desig plers, virtuts, honors, ne bens,
entr’aquells met a vos sol’e primera,
là hon vos no podeu ser personera,
negun repos prenan mos pensaments.
A vos ham tant que vaig entre las gents
ab semblant tal que per foll me reprenen;
la hon vos no podeu ser personera,
nulla fi mes voluntats reprenen,
àn vos transport hon ma vida dispenç.
Be de mos mals, no pusch creure ne penç,
possat qu’amor los semblants me detenen,
un hom tant fet ha vostres manaments:
vos desameu, pus virtuts no defenen

Par un sentier inconneu à mes yeux
Vostre grandeur sur ses ailes me porte,
Ou de Phoebus la main sçavante, et forte,
Guide le frein du chariot des cieulx.
Là élevè au cercle radieux
Par un Demon heureux, qui me conforte,
Celle fureur tant douce j’en rapporte,
Dont vostre nom j’égale aux plus haulx dieux.
O Vierge donc, Sous qui la Vierge Astrée
A faict encor’en nostre siecle entrée !
Prenez en gré ces poëtiques fleurs.
Ce sont mes vers, que les chastes Carites
Ont emailez de plus de cent couleurs
Pour aler voir la fleur des MARGUERITES.
Je ne quiers pas a la fameuse couronne,
Saint ornement du Dieu au chef doré,
Ou que du Dieu aux Indes adoré
Le gay chapeau la teste m’environne.
Encores moins veulx-je que l’on me donne
Le mol rameau en Cypre decoré,
Celuy, qui est d’Athenes honoré
Seul je le veulx, et le Ciel me l’ordonne.
O tige heureux, que la sage Déesse
En sa tutelle, et garde a voulu prendre,
Pour faire honneur à son sacré autel !
Orne mon chef, donne moy hardiesse
De te chanter, qui espere te rendre
Egal un jour au laurier immortel.

Joachim Du Bellay

French
D’amour, de grace, et de haulte valeur
Les feux divins estoient ceinctz, et les cieulx
S’estoient vestuz d’un manteau precieux
A raiz ardens, de diverse couleur.
Tout estoit plein de beauté, de bonheur
La mer tranquille, et le vent gracieulx,
Quand celle là naquit en ces bas lieux
Qui a pillé du monde tout l’honneur.
Ell’prist son teint des beaux lyz blanchissans,
Son chef de l’or, ses deux levres des rozes,
Et du soleil ses yeux resplandissans.
Le ciel usant de liberalité
Mist en l’esprit ses semences encloses,
Son nom des Dieux prist l’immortalité.
Loyre fameux, qui ta petite source
Enfles de maintz gros fleuves, et ruysseaux,
Et qui de loing coules tes cleres eaux
En l’Ocean d’une assez vive course.
Ton chef royal hardiment bien hault pousse
Et apparoit entre tous les plus beaux
Comme un thaureau sur les menuz troupeaux
Quoy que le Pau envieux s’en courrousse.
Commande doncq’aux gentiles Naiades
Sortir dehors leurs beaux palais humides
Avecques toy, leur fleuve paternel.
Pour saluer de joyeuses aubades
Celle qui t’a, et tes filles liquides
Deifié de ce bruyt eternel.
L’heureuse branche à Pallas consacrée,
Branche de paix, porte le nom de celle
Qui le sens m’oste, et soubz grand’beauté cele
La cruaulté, qui à Mars tant agré.
Delaisse doncq’ô cruelle obstinée !
Ce tant doux nom, ou bien te monstre telle,
Qu’aussi qu’en tout semblz estre immortelle,
Semblz le nom avoir par destinée.
Que du hault ciel il t’ait été donné,
Je ne suis point de le croire etonné,
Veu qu’en esprit tu es la souveraine :
Et que tes yeux, à ceulx qui te contemplent,
Cœur, corps, esprit, sens, ame, et vouloir emblent
Par leur doulceur angelique, et seraine.
C’étoit la nuyt que la divinité
Du plus hault ciel en terre se rendit
Quand dessus moy Amour son arc tendit
Et me fist serf de sa grand’deité. 0001 001001
Ny le sainct lieu de telle cruauté, 0001 010001
Ny le tens mesme assez me defendit : 0001 010001
Le coup au cœur par les yeux descendit 0101 001001
Trop ententifz à ceste grand’beauté. 1001 010001
Je pensoy’bien que l’archer eust visé 0001 001001
A tous les deux, et qu’un mesme lien 0101 001001
Nous deust ensemble également conjoindre. 0101 001001
Mais comme aveugle, enfant, mal avisé, 0101 011001
Vous a laissée (helas) qui eties bien 0001 010001
La plus grand’proye, et a choisi la moindre. 0001 000101x
Comme on ne peult d’œil constant soustenir 1001 101001
Du beau Soleil la clarté violente, 0101 000101x
aussi qui void vostre face excellente, 0101 000101x
Ne peult les yeulx assez fermes tenir. 0101 001001
Et si de près il cuyde parvenir 0001 010001
A contempler vostre beauté luysante, 0001 000101x
Telle clarté à voir luy est nuysante 0001 010101x
Et si le faict aveugle devenir. 0101 010001
Regardez doncq’si suffisant je suys 0001 000101x
A vous louer, qui seulement ne puys 0001 000101x
Voz grands beautez contempler à mon gré. 0001 001001
Que si mes yeulx avoient un tel pouvoir, 0001 010101x
J’estimeroy’ plus fermes les avoir, 0001 010001
Que n’a l’oiseau à Jupiter sacré. 0101 001001
De grand’beauté ma Déesse est si pleine, 0101 001001x
Que je ne voy’chose au monde plus belle. 0001 101001
Soit que le front je voye, ou les yeulx d’elle, 0001 010001
Dont la clarté saincte me guyde, et meine. 0001 100101
Soit ceste bouche, ou souspire une halaine, 1001 001001x
Qui les oedeurs des Arabes excelle, 0001 010001x
Soit ce chef d’or, qui rendroit l’estincelle 1001 001001x
Du beau Soleil honteuse, obscure et vaine. 0001 010101x
Soient ces cousteaux d’albastre, et main polie, 1001 010101x
Qui mon cœur serre, enferme, estreinct, et lie, 0001 010101x
Bref, ce que d’elle on peult ou voir, ou croyre, 1001 010101x
Tout est divin, celeste, incomparable : 1001 010001x
Mais j’ose bien me donner ceste gloyre, 0001 001001x
Que ma constance est trop plus admirable. 0001 001001x
Auray’-je bien de louer le pouvoir 0101 010001
Ceste beauté, qui decore le monde ? 0001 001001x
Quand pour orner sa chevelure blonde 1001 000101x
Je sens ma langue ineptement mouvoir ? 0101 000101x
Ny le romain, ny l’atique sçavoir, 0001 001001x
Quoy que là fust l’ecolle de faconde, 1001 010001x
Jacques Peletier du Mans

Ce que ma Muse en vers a peu chanter,
Ce qu’en François des auteurs a traduit,
Et ce qu’elle d’elle mesme produit,
Elle vous vient maintenant presenter.
Et s’elle peut vostre esprit contener,
A insi qu’espoir et desir la conduit,
De son gran heur, de sa gloire et bon bruit
A tout iamis se pourra bien venter:
Car ceux qui sont couchumiers de médire
vostre grandeur n’oseront pas dédire:
Quand au futur, elle ne craint rien tel,
Pour ce qu’elle est certaine et assuree
Que vostre nom demeurant immortel,
Le sien sera de pareille duree.
D’autant que l’Art peut moins que la Nature,
c’est ouevre mien, qui sus le viv est pris,
Est moins parfait, et moins digne de prix.
Que de Maron la divine facture.
Mais toy auquel l’en donne la lecture,
Peux enhardir tellement mes espritz
Que le labeur lequel ay entrepris
suivra de pres la vive protraitture.
Virgile mesme onc n’y eust maintenu.
Fay donc ma plume aisee, promte, agile,
Qui le moyen, et le povoir en as:
Car si je suis plus petit que Virgile,
 Aussi es tu plus grand que Mecenas.
M a forcé au cœur s’estoit retraitté, empoine
De se povoir la et es yeux defendre,
Quand vint la bas le coup mortel descendre,
O u rebouschoit tout dard qui les cuerz point.

Pourant troublez es soy de prime face,
oncques n'eut tant de vigueur ny d'espace,

Qu'au besoing peust des armes se saisir:

O u au haut tertre et facheux me retraire

Hors de l'ennuy, don't auiourdhuy desir

L'ay de m'arder, et m'avient le contraire.

I a de penser suis las dou vient, madame,

Que ne sont las les pensers qu'en vous fais,

Et que ie n'ay, pour fuir le grief fais

De ces soupirs, ia abandonné l'ame:

Et qu'en parlant de ce ris qui m'embâme,
Cheveux, et yeux, tous les sons et effetz
De ceste langue, en moy ne son defaitz,

Qui vostre nom iour et nuit tant reclame:
Et que mes piez, quand apres vous ilz vont
en toutes pars, ne sont tous aggravez,

Et dou vient l'ancre, et les escritz gravez

A vostre los: ou, s'il y a default,

C'est Amour seul, et non pas l'art qui fault.

Ces yeux tant beauz, don't fu nauré, en sorte

que de ma playe eux mesmes seroient tente.

N ó vertu d'herbe, ou art qu'enchanteur téte,
Ou d'autre mer quelque pierre qui sortie,

M'ont d'autre amour tellement clos la porte,

Qu'un doux penser seul mon ame contente:

Et si la langue a le suivre a entente,

sa guide bien, non elle blasme en porte.

Sont ces beauz yeux par qui les entreprises,

De mon seigneur victorieuses sont

En tous endroiz, mais plus sus mon costé:

Son ces beauz yeux, qui tousjours leur place ont

De dens mon cuer avec flammes esprises,

Doncq parler d'eux ne fu oncq' desgousté.

Que sens ie en moy, s'amour ne suis sentant?

Si c'est amour, quel peut il estre, et quoy?

Si bon, dou vient l'effet mortel de soy?

Si non, dou vient que le mal m'en plaist tant?

S I l'ars a gré, que vois ie lamentant?

Si a mal gré, qu'en vaut le triste esmoy?

O vive mort! Doux mal, as tu sus moy

Tant de povoir, si n'y suis consentant?

Si l'y consens, a grand tort ie me deux:

Sans gouvernail ie me trouve en mer plaine,
En nef fragile, entre vens si divers, 0101 101001
De savoir vuide, et d’erreur si fort pleine. 0011 001011x
Que ie ne say moymesme que ie veux: 0001 010001
L’esté ie tremble, et brulle les hyvers. 0101 010001
Paix ie ne trouv, et n’ay don’t faire guerre: 1001 010101x
J’espere et crains, ie brulle, et si suis glace: 0101 010011x
I e vole au ciel, et gis en basse place: 0101 010101x
I’embrasse tout, et rien ie ne tien serre. 0101 010111x
Tel me tient clos, qui ne m’ouvre n’enserre, 1011 001001x
De moy na cure, et me tourne la face: 0101 001001x
Vif ne me veut, et l’ennuy ne m’efface, 1001 001001x
Et ne m’occit Amour ny ne defferre. 0001 010001x
I e voy sans yeux, sans langue vois criant: 0101 010101
Perir desire, et d’ayde l’ay envie: 0101 010101x
I e hay moymesme, autruy l’aime et caresse: 0101 011001x
De deuil me pais, ie lamente en riant: 0101 001001x
Egalement me plaisent mort et vie: 0001 010101x
En cest estat suis pour vous ma maistresse. 0001 101001x
Vostre Printemps est florissant assez, 0001 100101
Dieu doint qu’ayez un plantureux esté, 1101 000101x
Et des doux fruiz en l’autonne amassez 0011 001001x
L’hyuer iouir avec ioyeuseté: 0101 010001x
C’est pour le corps qu’ay cela souhaitté: 1001 101001
Quant a l’esprit, il n’en a point mestier 0001 000101x
Pourcu qu’il est, sera et a esté 0001 010011x
en son printemps perdurable et entier. 0001 010011x
Le saison gaye a Venus consacree, 0011 001001x
Qui a Nature entre toutes agree, 0001 101001x
Apres le temps obscur est revenue: 0101 010001x
L’Air tout puissant qui toutes choses cree 1001 000101x
Descend d’enhault, affin qu’il se recree 0101 010001x
Dens le giron de son espouse nue 0001 000101x
I a par amour l’un avec l’autre rit, 1001 101101x
Et ce grand corps baise, embrasse, et cherit 0011 101001x
De sa rosee un corps non gueres moindre: 0001 010101x
Et la liqueur infuse se pourrit, 0001 010001x
Don’t toute espec augmente et se nourrit, 0001 010001x
I a ls sions et plantes on voit poindre, 1001 010111x
A l’arriver de Flore gracieuse 0001 010001x
Maint beau bouton et pierre precieuse, 0101 010001x
Terre feconde engendre de son ventre: 1001 010001x
De l’Aquilon l’alone audacieuse, 0001 010001x
Aux arbrisseaux et fleurs pernicieuse, 0001 010001x
Quitte la place au douz zephyre, et rentre 1001 010101x
L’herbe des champs maintenant sortir ose. 1001 001011x
Et au nouveau soleil elle s'expose:
Nature est prez de couleur jaune, blanche,
bleue et vermeille, un beau tapiz compose:
La vigne heureuse a porter se dispose
Feville et bourg'ons avec nouvelle brance,
D’autre coste par ce grand univers
Les animaux de la terre divers
Tous d’un accord a leurs amours s’émeuvent,
Tan ceux de l’air, que des bois desfia vers:
Les poissons mesme en la grand’ mer convers
Dedens leurs eaus esteindre pas ne peuvent

Italian

Nuovo piacer dal gran disio del vero
Mi parte, e da’ bei fior d’Argo, e di Roma,
E vaga rende la cangiata chioma
De’ culti lauri, onde va l’Arno altero.
Opra è di lui, che al dispietato impero
Nuovo me trasse, e d’aspra indegna soma
Carco di suo voler mi sforza, e doma,
Nè so fuor di sua traccia altro sentiero.
Tal mi volve suo fren, che que’ sospiri,
che di sparger sovente è il cor costretto,
Non in versi, qual pria, ma in rime accolgo.
Vuol, che pur sia quantunque scrivo, o detto,
Dura legge d’Amor, favola al volgo.
Qual in cieca prigione uom pria sepolto,
Se lieto al chiaro giorno I lumi intende,
si ‘l raggio altier l’egre virtudi offende,
Ma tu, Signor, m'affida, e'l ciglio augusto;
In cui qual Sol la maestà sfavilla,
Del mar, ch’io tento in fragil legno angusto,
Apri le vie, che l’onda han più tranquilla,
Che'l gire in porto è di tua man fol opra.
Per lunga via d’alpestrì monti, ed ermi,
Ond’a laude immortal quinci si varca,
La mia mente sen gia serena, e scarca
D’ogni vil cura, e piacer vani, e infermi,
Quando arrestolla Amor, cui mal fa schermi
Nostra debil natura, e d’error carca,
Qual per tranquillo mar spalmata barca,
Cui picciol pesce a mezzo ’l corso fermi.
Ragion mi sgrida, e ben giust’è ’l suo sdegno;
Pur vò dietro a volgar perduto stuolo,
Nè scorgo di virtù l’usato segno.
Si al divio raggio, e a me stesso m’involo,
Poiché Amor tolse a quella Donna il regno,
E al senso diello intenebrato, e solo.
Ben fu de la più pura, e nobil vena
Tolto lo stral, che Amor nel sen mi spinse,
Ben cocenti le fiamme, onde le cinse,
E’l colpo è tal, che dritto a morir mena.
Ma per costei, che di mio danno, e pena
Si pasce, e’n feritate ogn’altra vinse,
Vile metallo in su la fredda arena
Temprò di Lete, e ne l’oblio lo tinse.
Surga poi disse in lei l’ira, e l’orgoglio,
Nè mostri unqua pietà ciglio, né labbro,
Ma più s’impetre al grave mio cordoglio.
Come vivo carbon coll’acque il fabbro
Raccende, ed al rigor d’onda lo scoglio
S’arma di punte, e ne divien più scabbro.
Io son dal bel sentiero omai si lunge,
Per cui con chiaro stile altri fioriro,
Che ’ndarno il mio d’onor caldo disiro
Ognor con duro sprone il pensier punge.
Scorgo, che a degno fine uomo mai non giunge
Per lo sinistro calle, ov’io m’aggiro;
Pur de l’indugio duolmi, e al corso aspro,
Folle, che più dal ver parte e disgiunge.
Tu la mente smarita indietro torna
Del laberinto, ove intricolla Amore,
Donna, se in cor gentil pietà soggiorna,
Se in me giri que’lumi, al cui splendore,
Non che la piaggia, e il monte, il Ciel s’adorna,
Sarò fuor di periglio, e fuor d’errore
Poiché del mondo predator mi stinse
Fra doloroso stuol d’aspra catena,
E chi ne’ dubbi casi or punge, or frena
Già d’acero digiun, ch’oppressa, e vinse
Miei frali spiriti, ed affannata lena,
Secco il vitale umor per ogni vena,
Di nuova forza a suo piacer mi cinse.
Là 've superbia adamantino scoglio
Erge lo sdegno in alto monte, ed aspro,
La cui steril pendice il duolo inonda,
Quivi del rio su l’infelice sponda
Femmi salcio, stillante a piè di scoglio,
Che con lagrime eterne induro, e innaspro.
Invan tentai con l’aure de’ sospiri,
E col rio, che dagli occhi amaro sgorga,
Che avara terra ingrata a miei disiri.
Dolce frutto di pace al fin mi porga.
Non perché in varie forme il Ciel s’aggiri,
E chiaro, e fosco il Sol cada, e risorga,
Fia mai, che gentil pianta in essa io miri,
Benché il cardo, e la felce ognor più sorga.
E pur d’Amor, che a strazio, e morte guida
Doglialmi a torto; il fabbro è di sue pene
Aridi sterpi, e sventurate avene
Son del seme la messe ad uom, che ’l fida
A nudi sassi, e a disolate arene.
Trasse d’insane idee la mente ingombra
Fenicij erranti, e bellicosì Persi
A far suo Dio chi di color diversi
Veste la terra, e l’nero vel disgombra;
Ma se giacean d’eterna morte a l’ombra
Tra quei, che Iddii d’oro, e d’argento fersi,
Rendon men grave il fallo I più perversi,
Se con men falsa immago il ver s’adombra.
Qual fra l’opre di Dio più belle, e rade
Fia pari al Sol, ch’in vasto regno è norma
Dunque, costei, viva del Sole immago
Del cui splendore ogni beltà s’informa,
Se adoro, il mio fallir merta pietade.
Quella sì dura alle mie amare strida,
Che men dura sarebbe a pregar morte.
M’ha giunto a tal, che fia beata sorte
Se quest’oscuo fil Cloto recida.
Del dolce albergo, ove la speme annida,
Trova sempre il disio chiuse le porte,
E perch’innanzi sera al fin mi porte
Il mio crudo avversario ognor mi sfida.
Ma sento ancor, che d’alta luce un raggio,
Tra l’immense caligini profonde,
Rischiarla, e drizza il mio pensier non saggio.
Annotated samples:  
**Chapter 6**  

Voi fide stelle, e crespe chiome bionde  
Scorta siete, e sostegno, ond’io non caggio  
Sommerso in vasto mar, giuoco dell’onde.  
Non perché Amor mia vita infiammi, e strugga,  
Né per farmi posar mai l’arco allente,  
E qual aspe assetato al di fervente  
Da l’arso petto il sangue ognor mi fugga;  
Né perché al mio pregar ritrosa fugga  
Quella crudel, che dell’uman non sente,  

Francesco Petrarca  

Voi ch’ascoltate in rime sparse il suono  
di quei sospiri ond’io nudriva ’l core  
in sul mio primo giovenile errore  
quand’era in parte altr’uom da quel ch’i’ sono,  
del vario stile in ch’io piango et ragiono  
fra le vane speranze e ’l van dolore,  
ove sia chi per prova intenda amore,  
spero trovar pietà, nonché perdono.  
Ma ben veggio or sì come al popol tutto  
favola fui gran tempo, onde sovente  
di me medesmo meco mi vergogno;  
et del mio vaneggiar vergogna è ’l frutto,  
e ’l penter, e ’l conoscer chiaramente  
che quanto piace al mondo è breve sogno.  
Per fare una leggiadra sua vendetta  
et punire in un di ben mille offese,  
celatamente Amor l’arco riprese,  
come huom ch’a nocer luogo et tempo aspetta.  
Era la mia virtute al cor ristretta  
per far ivi et ne gli occhi sue difese,  
quando ’l colpo mortal là giù discese  
ove solea spuntarsi ogni saetta.  
Però, turbata nel primiero assalto,  
non ebbe tanto né vigor né spazio  
che potesse al bisogno prender l’arme,  
overo al poggio faticoso et alto  
ritirarmi accortamente da lo strazio  
del quale oggi vorrebbe, et non pò, aitarne.  
Era il giorno ch’al sol si scolorare  
per la pietà del suo factore i rai,  
quando i’ fui preso, et non me ne guardai,  
ché i be’ vost’occhi, donna, mi legaro.  
Tempo non mi parea da far riparo  

Italian
contra colpi d’Amor: però m’andai
secur, senza sospetto; onde i miei guai
genel commune dolor s’incominciare.
Trovommi Amor del tutto disarmato
et aperta la via per gli occhi al core,
che di lagrime son fatti uscio et varco:
però al mio parer non li fu honore
ferir me de saetta in quello stato,
a voi armata non mostrar pur l’arco.
Que’ ch’infinita providentia et arte
mostrò nel suo mirabil magistero,
che creò questo et quell’altro hemisfero,
et mansueto più Giove che Marte,
vegndendo in terra a ‘lluminar le carte
ch’avean molt’anni già celato il vero,
tolse Giovanni da la rete et Piero,
et nel regno del ciel fece lor parte.
Di sé nascendo a Roma non fe’ gratia,
a Giudea sì, tanto sovr’ogni stato
humiltate exaltar sempre gli piacque;
ed or di picciol borgo un sol n’à dato,
tal che natura e ’l luogo si ringratia
onde sì bella donna al mondo nacque.
Quando io movo i sospiri a chiamar voi,
e l’nome che nel cor mi scrisse Amore,
Laudando s’incomincia udir di fore
il suon de’ primi dolci accenti suoi.
Vostro stato Real, che ’ncontro poi,
raddoppia a l’alta impresa il mio valore;
ma: Taci, grida il fin, ché farle honore
è d’altri homeri soma che da’ tuo.
Così Laudare et Reverire insegna
la voce stessa, pur ch’altre vi chiami,
o d’ogni reverenza et d’onor degnia:
se non che forse Apollo si disdegna
ch’a parlar de’ suoi sempre verdi rami
lingua mortal presumptuosa vegna.
Si traviato è ’l folle mi’ desio
a seguitar costei che ’n fuga è volta,
et de’ lacci d’Amor leggiere et sciolta
vola dinanzi al lento correr mio,
che quanto richiamando più l’envio
per la secura strada, men m’ascolta:
né mi vale spronarlo, o dargli volta,
ch’Amor per sua natura il fa restio.
Et poi che 'l fren per forza a sé raccoglie,
i' mi rimango in signoria di lui,
che mal mio grado a morte mi trasporta:
sol per venir al lauro onde si coglie
acerbo frutto, che le piaghe altrui
gustando affigge più che non conforta.
La gola e 'l sonno et l'otiose piume
anno del mondo ogni vertù sbandita,
ond'è dal corso suo quasi smarrita
nostra natura vinta dal costume;
et è si spento ogni benigno lume
del ciel, per cui s'informa humana vita,
che per cosa mirabile s'addita
chi vol far d'Elicona nascere fiume.
Qual vaghezza di lauro, qual di mirto?
Povera et nuda vai philosophia,
dice la turba al vil guadagno intesa.
Pochi compagni avrai per l'altra via:
tanto ti prego più, gentile spirto,
non lassar la magnanima tua impresa.
A pie' de' colli ove la bella vesta
prese de le terrene membra pria
la donna che colui ch'a te ne 'nvia
spesso dal sommo lagrando desta,
liber cape passavam per questa
vita mortal, ch'ogni animal desia,
senza sospetto di trovar fra via
cosa ch'al nostr'andar fosse molesta.
Ma del misero stato ove noi semo
condotte da la vita altra serena
un sol conforto, et de la morte, avemo:
che vendetta è di lui ch'a ciò ne mena,
lo qual in forza altrui presso a l'estremo
riman legato con maggior catena.
Quando 'l pianeta che distingue l'ore
ad albergar col Tauro si ritorna,
cade vertù da l'infiammate corna
che veste il mondo di novel colore;
et non pur quel che s'apre a noi di fore,
le rive e i colli, di fioretti adorna,
ma dentro dove già mai non s'aggiorna
gravido fa di sé il terrestro humore,
onde tal fructo et simile si colga:
cosi costei, ch'è tra le donne un sole,
in me movendo de’ begli occhi i rai 0101000101x
cria d’amor pensieri, atti et parole; 1001011001x
ma come ch’ella gli governi o volga, 1001000101x
primavera per me pur non è mai. 0010011001x
Gloriosa columna in cui s’appoggia 0010010101x
nostra speranza e ’l gran nome latino, 1001001001x
ch’ancor non torse del vero camino 0101000101x
l’ira di Giove per ventosa pioggia, 1001000101x

Italian

Luigi Tansillo

D’un sì bel foco e d’un sì nobil laccio 0001000101x
beltà m’incende ed onestà m’annoda, 0101000101x
ch’in fiamma e ‘n servitù convien ch’i’ goda, 0100010101x
fugga la libertate e t’éma il ghiaccio. 1001010101x
L’incendio è tal, ch’io m’ardo e non mi sfaccio; 0101010101x
e ’l nodo è tal, ch’il mondo meco il loda: 0101001001x
né m’agghiaccia timor, né duol mi snoda, 1010010101x
ma tranquillo è l’ardor, dolce è l’impaccio. 1010011001x
Scorgo tant’alto il lume, che m’infiama, 1001010101x
e ’l laccio ordito di sì ricco stame, 0101000101x
che, nascendo il pensier, more il disio. 101 0011001
Sia serva l’ombra ed arda il cener mio, 0101 010101
poi che splende al mio cor sì bella fiamma, 0010010101x
e mi stringe il voler sì bel legame. 0010010101x
Amor m’impenna l’ale, e tanto in alto 0101010101x
le spiega l’animoso mio pensiero, 0100010101x
che, ad ora ad ora sormontando, spero 0101000101x
a le porte del ciel far novo assalto. 0010010101x
Tem’io, qualor giù guardo, il vol tropp’alto, 0101010101x
ond’ei mi grida e mi promette altero, 0101000101x
ché, s’al superbo vol cadendo, io pero, 1001010101x
l’onor fia eterno, se mortal è il salto. 0101010101x
Ché s’altri, cui disio simil compunse, 0100011001x
dié nome eterno al mar col suo morire, 0101010101x
ove l’ardite penne il sol disgiunse, 1001010101x
ancor di me le genti potran dire: 0100010011x
— Quest’aspirò a le stelle, e s’ei non giunse, 1001010101x
la vita venne men, ma non l’ardire! — 0101010001x
Poi che spiegiate ho l’ale al bel desio, 1001010101x
quanto per l’alte nubi altier lo scorgo, 1001010101x
più le superbe penne al vento porgo, 1001010101x
e, d’ardir colmo, verso il ciel l’invio. 0011 010101
Né del figliuol di Dedalo il fin rio 1001 010001
fa ch’io paventi, anzi via più risorge: 0001100001x
ma qual vita s’agguglia al morir mio?
La voce del mio cor per l’aria sento:
— Ove mi porti, temerario? China,
ché raro è senza duol troppo ardimento! —
— Non temer (rispond’io) l’alta rovina,
poiché tant’alto sei, mori contento,
se ‘l ciel si illustre morte ne destina. —
Da che presi a cantar l’inclita istoria
vi conseccrai de la mia cetra il suono;
da ora innanzi io vi consacro e dono
il voler, l’intelletto e la memoria.
Mentr’io canto d’Amor l’alta vittoria,
e qual di me vi fece eterno dono,
membrando di qual mano prigion sono,
avrò del vincitor via maggior gloria.
S’io vivo, il vostro raggio in me risplende,
e se potrà l’ingegno, quanto puote
l’alta cagion ch’a farvi onor m’incende,
mentr’il sol guiderà l’ardenti rote,
là onde toglie il dì fin là ove il rende,
saran le lode vostre sparse e note.
Entrò per gli occhi vostri e più non riede
fora il mio cor. Ben forte è chi ‘l ritiene!
Se tai son le finestre e sì serene,
onde vostra bell’alma splende e vede,
ella, che dentro signoreggia e siede,
or qual sarà? Dunque s’èi più non viene,
meraviglia non è, ché maggior bene
dentro trovò di quel che fuor si crede.
Questo sol, questa luna e queste stelle,
che splendon fuor del ciel, non ne dan segno
che dentro ha cose via più chiare e belle?
Gidi, dunque, cor mio, di si bel regno,
mentr’Amore o Fortuna non ten svelle,
perché di tant’onor sei troppo indegno.
Pianta gentil, mentre nel mondo regna
Amor, vivan tue chiome e verdi e folte,
poi che spargesti le ricchezze accolte,
che l’alto possessor mostrar non degna.
Tu spiegasti d’Amor l’altera insegna,
per te fur l’auree treccie al vento sciolte:
deh! che m’avessi allor le luci tolte
per non veder già mai cosa men degna!
D’allor, s’io dormo o veglio, o seggio o vado,
in quel caro gioir lieto soggiorno,
a tutti altri pensier troncando il guado.
Io vidi il sol, tinto d’invidia e scorno,
atuffarsi nell’onde, e, mal suo grado,
ov’ei lasciò la notte, apparve il giorno.
O d’Invidia e d’Amor figlia si ria,
che le gioie del padre volgi in pene,
cauto Argo al male, e cieca talpa al bene,
ministra di tormento, Gelosia;
Tisifone infernal, fetida Arpia,
che l’altrui dolce amorbe ed avvelene;
Austro crudel, per cui languir convene
il più bel fior de la speranza mia;
fiera, da te medesma disamata;
di duol, non d’altro mai, presàgo augello;
téma, ch’entri in un cor per mille porte;
se si potesse a te chiuder l’entrata,
tanto il regno d’Amor seria più bello,
quanto il mondo senz’odio e senza morte.
Cantai, or piango; e se nel duro petto
de la nemica mia destasse il pianto
tanta pietà, quanta n’è gioia il canto,
vivrei nel duol, qual vissi nel diletto.
Ma chi mi fa cangiar voce e soggetto
l’umor de gli occhi miei non degna tanto:
cosi, mercé di lei, convien che quanto
cantai di speme, or pia nga di sospetto.
E perché il pianger mio via più mi spiaccia
(ché l’i gradirei, se ciò non fosse, molto),
que l che più dir vorrei, forz’è ch’io taccia.
Or, poi ch’io pia nga, ed altri vuol ch’io celi
l’alta cagion ch’a pianger m’ha rivolto,
piovan quest’occhi, e questa lingua geli.
Qual torbida procella si repente
volse il buon tempo lieto in tristo e rio?
U’ son le fiamme, donna, che vidd’io
splender nel vostro cor si dolcemente?
Se nell’on de Le te fosser spente,
dovea poter si forte, oimè!, l’oblio,
crudel, ch’un tanto amor, quant’era il mio,
vi fusse, in un di sol, tolto di mente?
Se ben degna cagion da me vi smosse,
lasso!, com’esser può ch’in si poch’ore
fiamma d’amor si viva spenta fosse?
Ombra d’amor fu il vostro, e non amore:
voi mi mostraste il lume, acciò che fosse
la noia de le tenebre maggiore. 0100010001x
Se 'l ben, donna crudel m'avei tolto, 0010010101x
che mi fei dolce e caro ogni dolore, 0001011001x
toglier non mi potrete mai dal core 100010101x
nè il mio fermo voler né il vostro volto. 0010010101x
Se l'onesto gradir mi in ira è volto, 1010010101x

Napolitano

Niccolò Capasso

Se facea na commedia spaventosa 1010010101x
De no cierto dottore a na gran sala 1010010101x
che azzò rescese novele e famosa 0101010001x
Nce avea spise li purchie co la pala 0110010101x
De chille recetante ognuno ngala 101010101x
S'avea fatta na vesta assaje sforgiosa: 0010010101x
Meza Napole stea nante a la scala 1010011001x
Pe trasire a senti chella gran cosa 0110010101x
Nc'era no petrarchista linto e pinto 1010010101x
Che pe spercìa facea la mmalora 1001010001x
Dicenn: in cotal guisa io son rispinto? 0100110101x
Dopo ch'appe aspettato cchiù de n'ora 1010010101x
"vavattenne", rispose uno da d'into 1010 011001x
" CA LI CUGLÌUNE RESTANO DE FORE 1001010001x
Chi piglia la conserva de papagno, 0100010001x
Puro se sceta, Cienzo, a no grà mpegno: 1001010101x
Io strillo, io allucco addesa, ca vennegno, 101010101x
E tu pare, che staje dinto a lo vagno. 0110011001x
Dalle a sso ciuccio, dà senza sparagno, 1010100001x
ch'io pe capezza mo te lo consegno, 1001000001x
Mo serve, Frate mio, ll'arte, e lo gniegno, 0101011001x
E ghioquate le cchierchia, e lo tompagno. 0100010001x
Io pe mme ntanto, nfi, che nn'aggio n'ogna 1001010101x
Non te lo lasso, e si no stace a signo, 0001001001x
Do de mano a lo raffio de la scogna. 1010010001x
Tu le puoje associà lo cotrecigno: 1010010101x
Tu mme lo puoje fa muollo, comm'a nzogna: 1001010101x
Co strudere no dito de lucigno. 0100100001x
Non può fa scena senza dà no sacco: 011010101x
Co ttico non c'è povero, né ricco: 0100100001x
Non te leva sso vizio, o Cienzo, o Micco, 1001010101x
Si non t'è refelato lo ttabacco. 0100100001x
Mo fa duj' anne fu chillo sciabacco, 1010010101x
Che te fece sudà, comm'a lammicco: 0100110101x
Va torna lo Nteresso a Cola Sicco, 0100010101x
O pe la fede mia, Cola, te sciaccio? 0001011001x
Non te vide a mmalora ca si lloco,
Ch’ìnche te suonne volè fa no trucco,
Te nc’aje da fa trovà, comm’a no smocco?
Fatte coscienza, e già che ssi sciasciucco,
Lassala sss’ arte de joquà a lo Crocco:
Va pe sse scote, va zucanno mucco.
Grimaldo, tiene justa ssa valanza,
Ca se tratta de case de coscienza,
E nfa de nje va chiù la to’ sentenza,
Che non va chella de Genetto ‘n Franza.
L’ammico tujo, parlanno co’ crejanza,
Ch’ogn’Opera che fa, joqua de renza,
Mmereta mò chiù grossa penetenza,
O quanno arrecattaje la Sommeglainza?
Chi arrobbà no cantaro a onza a onza,
Comme dice tu mò, non va de squinzo?
Non vorrisse a sss’ acchiaro na cajonz?
Jansenio mio, già si arrevato a Chiunzo,
Ca chi parea d’astregnere lo linzo,
Se pegliarria lo fummo de lo strunzo.
Primmo faceva ogn’anno no recatto
Amenta, quanno n’era tanto addotto;
Ma pceché co lo ffare uno fangotto
Nc’era cuveto sempe co lo fatto;
Penzato meglia, joqua de sbaratton,
Che nn’ha crastate chiù dde sette, o otto;
E de chillo pasticcio male cuotto
Pe cciento scute non nne darria n’Atto.
Ma vi, ca so duj’ anne beneditte,
Ch’è ghiuto sciavecannò li conciette,
E nzavorra li stuarte, eli deritte.
Che buò? Si ll’opere anno ste defiètte
D’esse arrobbate, e d’esse male scritte,
Li’ommo non tene maje le mmanno nette.
Morbò pe capo avea no pappamunno,
Addò lo maro non avea chiù sponna,
Pocca la calannario sempe sfronna,
E d’ogne parte fa parè lo funno;
Mo, ch’ha li guaje se trova de lo munno,
E le tocca qua bota a ghi de ronna,
Vo, che lo Capotiempe s’annasconna
Co no copierchiu ncrespatiello, e ghiunno.
Pile, ch’avite fatta ssa capanna,
L’addore vuosto jarrà nfi a Ravenna,
E chiù, che ll’uoglio v’ognarrà la manna.
Si a la mmalora v’allummava Nenna,  
Lo Giovene, che morze co la zanna,  
Poteva ire abbottarese de vrenna.  
Mo te veo tutta mbolle a nfi a le cciglie,  
Mo, che maeraraje sso totomaglio,  
Che farrai pe parte de fa figlie  
Li vierme, comme fa caso de quaglio.  
Io te consurdo mo, che te scapiglie,  
E te nne vaje deritto a no serraglio,  
Pocca no muorto a chisso, che te piglie,  
Mano lo vorria nculo pe stoppaglio.  
Ma si po nninamente vuje sso ntruglio,  
Si no lo truove, ch’ha pigliato ll’uoglio,  
Portate de sfelacce no bauglio.  
Ca de frutte de maro n’arravuoglio  
Farraje, che tanta no nne fa de Luglio  
Chi revota Miseno a scuoglio, a scuoglio.  
Bello, e guarnuto, auto, e deritto Majo,  
Ch’a nuje Pagliette daje fatica, e gusto,  
Chiantato a dare audiienza a Tizio, e Cajo,  
E una festa faje lo piso justo:  
Mo, che buò vierze, a me cride, ch’è guajo;  
Da quant’ha, ch’esce feccia da sto fusto:  
Io pe mme faccio, Uscia perrò nc’ha corpa,  
Si trova ll’uoso, addò credea la porpa.  
Vide co pena (ca lo genio è buono)  
Ca va la lengua nosta arreto a tutte,  
E ca li Tosche se so puoste ntuorno,  
E benneno pe ncienzo anfi a li grutte:  
Quanno, Dio razia, avimmo tanto suono,  
Tanta dorgezza dinto a sti connutte,  
Che senza troppo spremmere le dammo  
Le base patte vente, e l’annegliammo.  
Comme dice Ossoria, cossì disch’io,  
En’aggio zero a fronta de lo vuosto:  
Ma si da sta Cetà, comm’a Ghiodio,  
Nn’hanno cacciato lo Cortese nuosto,  
E tutte (manco si le fosse zio)  
Fanno a punia pe Dante, e p’Ariosto;  
E si se fa na straccia ogne sfelenza,  
Non vo lo rraso, si n’è de Sciorenza.  
Che s’ha da fare? Uscia se vota a mene,  
E io mme voto, e mosto lo caruso.  
Che spireto po avè dint’a le bene  
No viecchio sbacantato, e palemuso?
| Lloco tuoste nce vonno, e bone schene,  | 1010010101x |
| E ch’aggiano li calle a lo pertuso,   | 0100010001x |
| Ca da Parnaso Apollo co le Ssore     | 1001010001x |
| Chi è ghianchejato lo cacciano fore.  | 1001010001x |

**Napolitan**

**Cesare Cortese**

| Io canto la montagna de Parnaso         | 010101 0101x |
| E li fuonte e ciardine c’have a lato,   | 001001 0101x |
| E a che mandrullo chi nce saglie a caso | 0101 0101x   |
| Pe decreto de Febo è ’ncaforchiaiato.  | 001001 0101x |
| Musa, è la quinta vota che de naso     | 110101001x   |
| Io dongo a st’acqua, mo che so’ assetato! | 0101 10101x |
| Se vuoe crescere tu quanto te devo,    | 011001 1001x |
| Famme na grazia, sisa mentre vevo.     | 100101001x   |
| E tu che saglie e scinne a boglia toia | 010101 0101x |
| Da llà ’ncoppa, e non haie chi te lo beta, | 0010 010001x |
| Segno’ D<on> Dieco, e nne la grazia soia | 0101 0101x |
| Te tene lo gran Re d’ogne Poeta,       | 010001 1001x |
| O de le Muse cuccopinto e gioia,       | 1001 010101x |
| Ausoléia dall’a pe fi’ a la nzeta,     | 1010 010101x |
| Ca si me vene netta, n’auto luorno     | 001001 0101x |
| Lo nomine tuo lavoro a meglio tuorno.   | 010101 0101x |
| Avea già co lo tempo e co la sciorte   | 010001 0001x |
| locato li meglio anne de la vita,      | 010011 0001x |
| E perzo fi’ a li fielece e le sporte   | 0101 010001x |
| Senza vencere maie nulla partita,     | 101001 1001x |
| Tristo dinto e peo fore de la corte,   | 1010 110001x |
| Ca pe tutto è bértù vrenna o redita;   | 001101 1001x |
| A l’tènto no cricco desperato         | 0100 010101x |
| Me disse: muta luoco e muta stato.     | 010100101x   |
| Dove iarraggio, ’n Franza o a Lommandia? | 1001 010101x |
| Nigro me, ca pe tutto ne’è travaglio!   | 1000010101x |
| Povera e nuda vaie, Filosofia!         | 100101 0101x |
| Dovonca arrive non t’è dato n’aglio,   | 0101 000101x |
| Chi la vertù cansoce non ha cria!      | 100101 0001x |
| Con chi pó dare aiuto non c’è taglio:   | 010101 0101x |
| Pe tutto la Fortuna te trabocca,       | 010001 0001x |
| E maie non âscie chi te sputa ’mmocca! | 0101 010101x |
| Cossì dicennone, vènneme ’n crapicció | 0101 10101x  |
| De ire dove Febo è gran Signore,        | 010101 0101x |
| E sta a la serpentina co lo miccio     | 010101 0001x |
| Pe fare bene a ogn’ommo de valore;     | 0101 110001x |
| E quanto bello na matina alliccio,     | 0101 0010101x|
| Napole mio lassanno, e pe faore        | 100101 0001x |
De Febo stizzo, assai liete e felici
N quincone mise sto viaggio fice.
N mezzo a lo munno (e dica chi le piace
Ca 'm–Beozia o a Gragnano sta 'Lecona)
Senza autro a tuorno na montagna stace,
Dove non pò saltare ognone perzona;
N chesta né caudo maie né friddo face,
N chesta maie non chiovélleca né tròna,
Ma sempe è maggio, e perzò sempe siente
Arraglie de felice e de contiente.
Ncoppa a la cima soia è no palazzo,
O bene mio, che maiestria de spanto!
Dove le Muse e Febo co sollazzo
Ad ognone tiempo stanno 'n riso e 'n canto.
Non è opera già de quatto a mazzo!
De le fràveche tutte porta vanto
Che foro fatte a forza de tornise
A tiempo de Romane o de Franzise.
Tutto de pretà pommece e mauntune
E fatto, a la zemina lavorato,
A quatto cante, a quatto torriune,
Che pare no castiello spiccecato.
Saglie a la porta pe tre scalantrune
E truove na cucina a prismo 'ntrato,
Dove chì arriva friddo e s'ascia stracco
Se pò scarfare e 'nchirese lo sacco:
Perché, tra l'autre cose degne e belle
Che Febo ha 'n uso, prismo che poeta
Le parle, vò che s'ënhia le bodelle,
Ca non s'accorda Museca e Dïeta.
O stile de 'nauzaresse a le stelle!
O che piatosa deittà descreta!
All'autre parte canta puro e berna,
Ca allanche se no' spienne a na taverna.
Passata sta cucina âscie na sala,
Dinto na stallà, accanto a na despenza;
Da llà pe no recuoncolo se cala
A no soppiño, fatto p'azzellenza;
Ecco, a na gallaria vaie pe na scala,
(Perdòneme lo Duca de Sciorenza!) Ca chesta a pede chiuppo passa chella,
C'ha tanto nome che sia ricca e bella.
A desfazio de Fidia e Tiziano;
Libre a bizzèzza, a fascio le scrittura,
Quale stampate e quale fatte a mano;
Le perne e gioie a tòmmola, e mesure
Che no' lo pò contare 'nciegno umano:
Lo sanno chille a chi fece Minerva
Lo vagno d'uoglio e la sepposta d'erva.
Llo sta Febo, et ha le sore a lato,
Ch'ognuna tene 'mmano no stromiento;
Da ná gran corte stace 'ntornïato
D'uommene vertoluse a ciento a ciento.
Io, dopó che lla 'ncoppa fui arrivato,
Traso la porta, ch'è d'oro e d'argiento,
E' mmiezò a doie colonne veo no mutto:
«Chi trase aseno miezo, n'esce tutto».
Passo cchiù 'nnanze, e tanto giro 'ntuorno
C'arrivo dove Febo stea seduto,
E a lo prenzpio aviette tanto scuorno
Che pe spanto e stopore restaie muto;
Po' m'addenocchio, e dicole: «Buon iuorno».
Isso m'abbraccia e dice: «Benmenuto!»
Io saccio perché biene e de che haie voglia:
Frate, haie trovato proprio carne e foglia!»
Io lo rengrazio, et isso lebrecaie:
«Io voglio che te iove sto viaggio,
E azzò de me te laude sempe maie
Ecco, t'abbraccio, e azzettote pe paggio.
Va' t'arreposa, mo; sta sera o craie
Voglio c'agg no buono veveraggio».
Che core pienze che faciette, tanno,
Se be' ogne punto me pareva n'anno?
La sera aspetto, commo tavernaro
Ch'aspetta lo percaccio, e po' non vene.
Ecco, lo Sole se 'ncaforchia a maro,
Foiennò pe li débete che tene;
Ecco, lo preggia l'Arba, e lustro e chiaro
Se mostra: io conto l'ore. O Dio, che pene!
Quanno Febo me chiamma, e bò che trasà
A no bello ciardino de sta casa.
Llà tu vide na rosa moscarella
Che 'mmiezo ne' nasciuto no cetrulo,
Llà bide c'a na fico troianella
Nce spontà a corneciello lo fasulo:
Vide da na lattuca mortarella
Scire la falanghina de Pezzulo,
E da no milo sciuoccolo o amarena
Pezze de caso cchiù ca n'è l'arena.
Spallère ha de cocoze e molegnane,
Prègole de cetrola e de cepolle,
Quatre de mercolella e maiorane,
Conzierte de vorracce e fogliamolle,
Pe mmiezo no gran frùsciolo de fontane

Napolitan

Velardiniello

Cient'anne arreto ch'era viva Vava,
nnante che fosse Vartommeo Coglione,
dicea no cierto che l'auciello arava
a tiempo che sguigliaje lo Sciatamone.
Nc'era lo Kfre Marruocco che s'armava,
panzera, lanza longa e toracone,
e po'jeva a trovà li Mammalucche
co balestare, spigarde, e co ttrabucche.
Chillo fu tiempo che Berta filava,
Lo chillo doce vivere a l'antica!
Portave brache, e nullo delleggiava!
"Quatt'ova a Cola!" te dicea la Pica.
Si pe la via na femmema passava,
le dicevano: "Ddio la benedica!''.
Mo, s'uno parla, e chella se curruzza.
Chi te pienze che ssia? Monna Maruzza.
O bell'ausanza, e ddove si' squagliata?
Pecchè non tuorne, o doce tiempo antico?
\text{Pigl}iave co lo bisco, a na chiammata,
cient'auccelluzze a no truncu de fico!'\text{Le femmene, addorose de colata,}
'n dobretto s'aunevano a no vico,
danzanno tutte 'n chietta, (oh bona fede!)\text{la Chiarantana e po' lo Sponta-pede.}
Dove se trova mai tanta lianza!'\text{Lo marito si ccaro a la mogliera,}
che a mano a mano 'ntravano a na danza\text{co chella ciaramella tant'autera!}
Vedive, a chioppa a chioppa, na paranza\text{co chell'antica e semprece manera!}
Lo vecchio a chillo tiempo era zitiello,\text{Le femmene assettate mmiezo chiazzza,}
non c'era n'ommo ch'avesse parlato,\text{Lo chillo non era tempo ammagagnato!}
a vernava 'n cajola la cajazza.\text{Chillo non era tempo ammagagnato!}
Chill'ommo, che 'n chill'anno era nzorato,\text{Le femmene assettate mmiezo chiazzza,}
era tenuto pe gallo de razza.\text{Chillo non era tempo ammagagnato!}
Ll’uno co ll’autro lo mostrav’a dito: 10010 00101x
“Chillo che passa mo, chill’è lo zito!”. 100101 1001x
Tutte le bon’ausanze so’ lassate! 1001010 101x
Le rose mo deventano papagne! 0101 010101x
Lo vicenato, ’n chietta e ’n lebertate, 00010 10101x
a chillo tempo jevano a li vagne, 01010 10001x
cò la guarnaccia e le nnuce conciate; 0001 001001x
né nc’erano nè fraude e nè magagne. 0100 110101x
E ghi evano abbracciate a otto, a diece, 0101010 01x
cchiù ghianche e rosse che le mmela-diece.

Chella co la gonnella de scarlata 1000010 001x
portava perne grosse comme ’ntrita. 0101010 101x
La faccia senza cuoncio, angelecata, 010101 0101x
che te terava comm’a calamita. 00010 10101x
O vecchia, o zita, o donna mmaretata, 01 01 010101x
parea che fosse la Sia Margarita.

Ogge ll’hai quatt’a grano comm’a ova! 1011010 101x
Nnante la festa nn’aie fatta la prova. 10010 11001x
Li juoche che faceano a Campagnano 01010 101x
a scarreca varrile ed a scariglia; 01010 0101x
a stira mia cortina, a mano a mano, 01010 10101x
a ssecutame-chisto, para-piglia;

e po, cagnanno juoco, o tempo ’nvano! 01 01 0101x
Quanno nce penzo l’arma s’assottiglia, 10010 10101x
de donne a pp reta nsino, a ccovalera, 01010 0101x
tutto lo juorno, nsino a notte nera.
Chelle bote che ghi evano a Formiello 1010 010001x
La gente, te parevano formiche.

Tutte ’n forma, co coppole e cappiello, 1010 010001x
A ccavallo a le chierchie, e co bessiche, 101001 0001x
Se devano co ttiempo a lo scartiello 0100 010001x
Co chillo fruscio de stivale antiche;

Po co zamponge, e co le cciaramelle 1001 001001x
Danzavano le becchie, e le citelle.

Mo che nce penzo, a chill’ antiche sfuorge, 1001 0101x
Rido co ll’ uocchie e chiagno chell’ ausanza 1001 0101x
Jive a la festa co li passaguarge, 10010 00101x
Co ccauze a brache nfi sopra a la panza.

Pareva ll’ ommo comm’ a no San Gioge, 01010 10101x
Passanno chella notte sempe ’n danza ! 01010 101x
Mo jamm sempe arreto comm’ a grangio, 01010 0101x
E penzo a chell’ aetate, e me n’ arragio.

Jo penzo a chell’ aetate, e ben comprendola 0101 0101xx
Quann’ era tanto bene, e tant’ accummolo, 1101 0101xx
Co chillo juoco de la sagli- pendola, 01010 00101xx
Ed a lo fossetiello co lo strummol.
Oh vita nzuccarata comm’ ammendola!
Lo tortano chiiu grusso de no tummolo!
Lo lupo era comparo co la pecora,
E l’ ascio zio carnale co la lecra.
Da vecchie antiche aggio sentuto dicere
Che treccalle valea na chiricoccola;
Avive pe seie grana, e non t’ affricere,
Tridece polecie co la voccola.
Va accatta meza quatra mo de cicere
A ste spoteche, e bide si se scoccola
Lo vino, ch’ era fatto a parmentiello,
Valea no ncoronato a barreciello.
La pizza te parea rota de carro,
Quant’ a no piecor’ era lo capone!
Avive quanto vuoiie senza caparro!
Va piglia mo ‘n credenza no premione!
Mo a malappena può accattare farro,
Che non t’ associa adduossio lo jeppone!
Li cuofene de dattole arbanise
Comm’ a nnocelle de li calavrise
Tann’ era, a la marina, Jacovella,
Che ammezzava a li cuorve de parlare.
Pe cinco grana avie na pecorella,
Tre ffecatielle pe quatto denare.
Mo la carne de vacca e de vitella
Te volle ‘n canna, e non ne può accattare!
E tanno puro a la taverna n’ accio
Co no tornese avie, e no sanguinaccio.
Filavano a le cchianche ll’ ossa maste,
Le nnateche, e lacierte de vitiello.
Na pennolata avive de pollaste
De cchiù de sette, pe no carreniello.
Pe ssaturà manipole e cchiù maste
Co no denaro avive no criviello
De veròle monnate caude caude
Senza magagne e senza nulla fraude.
Lo cefaro sautava frisco frisco
da la tiella quanno lo friive.
De mnaate, de recotte e ccaso frisco
Ne’ era la grassa, e cchiù non ne volive.
Lo natatore te chiammava a ssisco
Pe ddarte le ppatelle vive vive.
Va nii a la Preta mo, se non te ncresce!
Strill’ a le ciaole, non puo’ avè no pesce!
Dove so le ccorreie co li mordante 101001 0001x
Ch’ erano tutt’ argiento martellato, 1001010 101x
Tutte guarnute a pponta de diamante, 1001 01001x
Co li cornette tutte appise a llato? 10010 10101x
Li Banche co montune d’oro nnante, 0100010 101x
Ch’ appena mo nce trovo no docato! 0101010 101x
Tu non puo’ jire mo pe nfi a lo Muolo, 101101 0101x
Che n’ ascie pe la via no marejuolo. 010001 0001x
Dov’ è lo tiemo de li Baccanale, 11010 00101x
Li scisciole, freselle, e le mmagnose, 010001 0101x
Li musece a cantà lo Carnevale 010001 0101x
Co ccetole accordate a le bavose? 010001 0001x
Co ll’ autre chelle, tutte a li stivale, 01010 10101x
Co chille mazze de fronnelle e rrose, 01010 00101x
Fatta ch’ aveano po’ la matenata, 100101 0101x
Facevano na bella preteiata. 0100 010101x
Dov’ è ghiuta la festa de la Sceuza, 1110010 001x
Li casielle d’ Isca e le ppastiede, 000101 0001x
Tant’ abballà, che te dolea la meuza, 1001 000101x
Contiente pe nfi a ll’ ogne de li piede? 0100 010101x
Mo che nce truove? Solamente ceuza, 10010 10101x
E màreve, e pporchiacche, e bapade! 0100 01 0101x
Po’ faceano le grutte a Morgoglino 101001 0101x
Co cciaviarielle e puorce e meglio vino. 0101 010101x
Le femmene, la sera de San Gianne, 0100 010011x
Jevano tutte ’n chietta a la marina. 100101 0001x
Allere se nne jeano, senza panne, 0101010 101x
Cantanno sempe maie la romanzina. 010101 0101x
Mo, figlio mio, so trapassate l’anne 1 101 010101x
Che accossine nfurnave la farina! 01010 010001x
Ogge è ssurto lo tiemo de li latre, 1110 010001x
Che no nne puo’ accàtà doje meze quatre! 100101 1101x
Po te nne jive pe la rua Francesca, 10010 00101x
Pe cchelle pparte de le Cantatrice, 01010 00101x
(Tann’ era vivo Francisco Maresca!) 11010 01001x
Co tanta suone... Che ttiempo felice! 01010 01001x
E co chelle ffontane d’ acqua fresca, 0010010 101x
Co chelle gente guappe cantatrice, 0101010 101x
Tozzolejanno cu ffesta e co gioia, 1001001 001x
Lo canto se sentea nfi a Sant’ Aloja. 010001 1101x
Tann’ era magna chella vecchia aitate 11010 10101x
Che maie mancaro tuortene a l’ ancino! 01010 10001x
Jive co ll’ oro ‘n mano pe le strate 10010 10001x
E non trovave sbirro o marranchino. 000101 0001x
Chelle ssemmente so tutte mancate, 10010 01001x
Co chille Capodanne e Sammartino!
Mo regna chella gente, a senza mio,
Che n’ hanno fede a lloro e manco a Ddio!
E mo, Napole mia bella e gentile,
Si’ ghìuta ’n mano a ttant’ ausorare!
Quant’ jere bella si’ ttornata vile,
E baje sperta cercanno sanzare.
Io da la varva mne scicco li pile,
Ca te veo da sti lupe laniare.
Peo si’ ogge, che non fuste jiere
‘N mano de pisciavinnole e bucciere!
Non vedarraggio maje retornato
Lo tiempo ch’ jere, Napole, felice!
Comme Fortuna va cagnanno stato!
So’ sssecche, chelle nnobbele radice!
Io stopafatto resto, anze ncantato,
Ca Cajazza si’ ffatta, da Fenice!
Saie quanno fuste, Napole, corona?
Quanno regnava Casa d’ Aragona.

Raimon Gaucelm de Bezers

A Dieu done m'arma de bon'amor
and de bon cor e de tot bon talan;
e tot quant ai atressi li coman
per tal que-m gar de pen'e de dolor,
e que-m perdo so qu'ai fag per folhatge,
e que-m garde a la fin de turmen;
e no-lh plassa qu'ieu fassa lunh passatge
ni malvestat contra son mandamen.
D'aisso preguj de cor lo mieu senhor,
et atressi que non an demembr
mi ni negun de totz selhs quez estan
en est segle malvat, galiador;
e quada us pregue-l de bon coratge
qu'el nos perdo le nostre fallimen
e que-ns meta dedins son bel regnatge
lo iorn que nos penrem trespassamen.
Doncx no-ns prezem, quar petit de valor
avem cascus en est segle truan;
quar totz homes d’aquest mon poiriran,
que no-y aura paupre ni rick honor;
ni ja negus non portara estatge
que aja fach ni lunh belh bastimen;
per que deuram pauc prezar lo carnatge,
sol las armas vencson a salvamen.
Quar s'anc fezem per negun temps folhor
ni lunha re qu’a luy sia pezan,
enqueras tot nos tornara denan,
segon q’aug dir a quascun confessor.
E no-us pessetz Dios y honre paratge;
mar selhs qu’auran fag bon captenemen
vays elh e [en] sofriran cauitvatge
auran s’amor sobre tot maiormen.
Doncs ben deuram al rey plen de doussor
esser humils quascus ab belh semblan,
quar ses s’amor no valram un aglan,
ans seriam totz ardens en pudor;
e doncx be fa totz hom gran gazaanhatge
que-l retenga per amic, e gran sen,
e pot o far quascus ses son dampnatge,
bos faitz fazen et estan lialmen.
En la verge car’ab car piusellatge,
e car en lieys non ac corrompemen
devem aver totz bon e ferm coratge
que per s’amor vengam a salvamen.
Ab grans trebalhs et ab grans marrimens
veirem hueimais Cristïantat estar,
pus mortz es selh qu’era del mon ses par,
qui valia sobre totz los valens,
qu’era de cor, per Jhezu Crist, issitz
del sieu pais contr’als fals Turcx aunitz.
E Dieus a-l pres et trach d’aquesta vida,
pero non l’er trop esta mortz grazida.
Mortz es lo reis, don em trastotz perdens,
tan que lunhs hom no pot ben adisamar.
E ges per so sa mortz no-ns deu mermar,
ans devem mielhs pus afortidamen
totz anar lai, ab armas gent garnitz,
per secorre a selhs qu’elh a gequitz
e per amor que-l dans e la fallida
restauressem en alquna partida.
Ar fora temps qu’om se crozes breumens,
e clercia o degra prezicar
per tot lo mon, e tal perdon donar
qu’om se-n crozes pus afortidamen,
et enaissi los Francx foran seguitz
et ajudatz e trop pus afortitz.
Mar la Gleiza esta tan endurmida
que de passar negus homs no-n covida.
Ans vos dirai que fan comimalmens
selhs que la crotz solían far levar:
elhs, per deniers, la fan a moutz laissar,
e degron mielhs prezicar a las gens!
Quar moutz n’esran sai flax et adurmitz?
Quar del crozar nullhs prezicx no-i ‘s auzitz!
E del prezic degra-s movre tals crida
per que-s crozes la gens pus afortida.
Si per lo mon fos bos acordamens
que Cristïas se denhesson amar
e-s volguesson contr’als Turcx acordar,
non lur foro ja pueis trop defendens,
ans cre fosso totz mortz o escofitz,
e la terra, on ilh se so noiritz,
per Cristïas fora leu conquerida
que ja lunh Turc non trobera guandida.
Maires de Dieu, Verges emperaitritz,
pus pres avetz aquelh que-ns era guitz,
al rei Felips donatz longamens vida
e gardatz lo de dan e de falhida.
A penas vau en loc qu’om no-m deman:
«Raimon Gaucelm, avetz fag re novelh?»
Et ieu a totz respon ab bon talan
quar totas vetz m’es per ver bon e belh,
e-m plai quant aug dir de mi: «Aquest es
tals que sap far coblas e sirventes!»
E non per so qu’ieu vuelha qu’om del mon
m’en don raubas, qu’ieu n’ai pro e sai don.
E per so n’ai joi et alegrier gran
quar mant home valen m’en fan sembelh
de lur amor e m’en venon denan,
qu’estiers nulh temps non gazanhei castelh,
borda ni mas, ni-l quart d’un clarmontes,
ans me costa que val .v. cens tornes!
E no m’o planc quar d’aval e d’amon
n’aug mais nominar lo mieu frair’En Ramon.
Pero aquelh que dis que trop mal fan
selhs que donan, men pus que fals mezel[h]:
quar qui dona, a lauzor on que an
e grat de Dieu, que-l mon ten en capdelh,
quar ses donar luns hom valens non es.
Pero mais val lo dos on pus francx es,
quan Caritatz l’adutz a cor volon
lai on Merces li fai planca e pon.
Mas negus homs no vei, don m’es pezan,
Bernardt de Ventadorn

Can vei la flor, l’erba vert e la folha
Et au lo chan dels auzels pel boschatge,
Ab l’auteur joï, qu’eu ai en mo coratge,
Poya mos chans ! e nais e creis e broilha.
E no m’es vis c’om re poscha valer,
S’eras no vol amor e joï aver,
Pus tot can es s’alegr’ e s’esbaudeya.
Ja no crezatz qu’eu de joï me recreya
Ni.m lais d’amar per dan c’aver en solha,
Qu’eu non ai ges en poder que m’en tolha,
C’amors m’asalh, que’m sobresenhoreya
E.m fai amor cal que.lh plass’, e voler.
E s’eu am so que no.m deu eschazer,
Forsa d’amor m’i fai far vassalatge.
Mas en amor non a om senhoratge,
E qui l’i quer, vilanamen domneya,
Que re no vol amors qu’esser no deya.
Paubres e rics fai amdos d’un paratge!
Can l’us amics vol l’autre vil tener,
Pauc pot amors ab ergolh remaner,
Qu’ergolhs dechai e fin’ amors capdolha.
Eu sec cela que plus vas me s’ergolha
E cela fuïh que.m fo de bel estatge,
C’anc pois no vi ni me ni mo mesatge
Per qu’es be sal que ja doncs no m’acolha!
Mas dreih l’en fatz, qu’eu m’en fatz fol parer,
Car per cela que.m torn’ en no-chaler,
Estauc aitai de leis que no la veya.
Mas costum’ es tostems que fols foley.
E ja non er qu’el eis lo ram no colha
Que.l bat e.l fer , per c’ai razo que.m dolha,
Car anc me pres d’autrui amor enveya.
Mas, fe qu’eu dei leis e mo Bel-Vezer,
Si de s’amor me torn’ en bon esper,
Ja mais vas leis no farai vilanatge.
Ja no m’aya cor feli ni sauvatge,
Ni contra me mauvatz cossel no creya,
Qu’eu sui sos om liges, on que m’esteya,
Si que de sus del chap li ren mo gatge!
Mas mas jonchas li vehi a so plazer,
E ja no.m volh mais d’a sos pes mover,
Tro per merce.m meta lai o.s despolha.
L’alga del cor, c’andos los olhs me molha,
M’es be guirens qu’eu penet mo folatge,
E conosc be, midons en pren damnatge
S’ela tan fai que perdonar no.m volha.
Pois meus no sui et ilh m’a en poder,
Mais pert ilh qu’eu en lo meu dehazer!
Per so l’er gen s’ab son ome plaideya.
Mo mesatger man a mo Bel-Vezer,
Que cilh que.m tolc lo sen e lo saber,
Me tol midons e leis , que no la veya.
Amics Tristans, car eu no.us posc vezer,
A Deu vos do, cal que part que m’esteya.
Be m’an perdut lai enves Ventadorn
Tuih mei amic, pois ma domna no m’ama!
Et es be dreihz que ja mais lai no torn,
C’ades estai vas me salva’t’ e grama.
Ve.us per que.m fai semblan irat e morn:
Car en s’amor me deleih e.m sojorn
Ni de ren als no.s rancura ni.s clama.
Aissi co.l peis qui s’eslais’ el cadorn
E no.n sap mot, tro que s’es pres en l’ama,
M’eslaissei eu vas trop amar un jorn,
C’anc no.m gardei, tro fui en mei la flama,
Que m’art plus fort, no.m feira focs de forn!
E ges per so no.m posc partir un dorn,
Aissi.m te pres d’amors e m’aliama.
No. m meravilh si s’amors me te pres, 0001 001001
Que genser cors no crei qu’el mon se mire: 0101 010101x
Bels e blancs es, e frescs e gais e les 1011 010101
E totz aitams com eu volh e dezire. 0101 011001x
No pose dir mal de leis, que non i es! 001 1 010001
Qu’el n’agra dih de joï, s’eu li saubes! 0101 011001
Mas no li sai, per so m’en lais de dire. 0001 010101x
Totz tems volrai sa onor e sos bes 0101 001001
E.lh serai om et amics e servire, 0011 001001x
E l’amari, be li plass’ o be.lh pes, 0001 101011
C’om no pot cor destrenher ses aucire. 1001 010001x
No sai domna, volgues o no volgues, 0110 010001
Si.m volia, c’amar no la pogues.
Mas totes res pot om en mal escrire . 0101 01 010101x
A las autras sui aissi eschazutz ! 0010 101001
La cals se vol me pot vas se atraire, 0101 010101x
Per tal cove que no.m sia vendutz 0001 001001
L’onors ni.l bes que m’a en cor a faire! 0101 010101x
Qu’enoyos es preyars, pos er perduutz! 0011 010001x
Per me.us o dic, que mals m’en es vengutz, 0011 101011
Car trait m’a la bela de mal aire . 0011 010011x
En Proensa tramet jois e salutz 0010 011001
E mais de bes c’om no lor sap retraire! 0001 100101x
E fatz esfortz, miracles e vertutz, 0101 010001
Car eu lor man de so don non ai gaire, 0101 0100101x
Qu’eu non ai joï, mas tan can m’en adultz 1001 001001
Mos Bels Vezers e’n Fachura, mos drutz, 0101 001001
E’n Alvernhatz, lo senher de Belcaire. 0001 010001x
Mos Bels Vezers, per vos fai Deus vertutz 0101 0101 01
Tals c’om no.us ve que no si’ ereubutz 1101001001
Dels bels plazers que sabetz dir e faire . 0101 0101101x
Per melhs cobrir lo mal pes e.l cossire 0101 011001x
Chan e deport et ai joï e solatz! 1001 011001
E fatz esfortz car sai chantar ni rire, 0101 010101x
Car eu me mor e nul semblan no.n fatz! 0101 011001
E per Amor sui si apoderatz, 0001 100001
Tot m’a vencut a forsa e a batalh . 1001 010001x
Anc Deus no fetz trebalha ni martire, 1101 010001x
Ses mal d’amor, qu’eu no sofris en patz! 0101 100101
Mas d’aquel sui, si be.m peza, sofrire, 0011 001001x
C’Amors mi fai amar lai on li platz! 0101 011001
E dic vos be que s’eu no sui amatz, 0101 0110101
Gu.s no reman en la mia nualha . 0100 100101x
Midons sui om et amics e servire, 0101 001001x
E no.lh en quer mais autras amistatz 0001 010001
Mas c’a celat los seus bels olhs me vire,
Que gran bem fan ades can sui iratz!
E ren lor en laus e merces e gratz,
Qu’el mon non ai amic que tan me valha.
Molt me sap bo lo jorn qu’eu la remire:
La boch’ e ls olhs e.l fron e ls mas e ls bratz
E l’autre cors, que res non es a dire
Que no sia belamen faissonatz.
Gensor de leis no poc faire Beltatz,
Per qu’eu m’en ai gran pen’ e gran trebalha.
A mo talen volh mal, tan la dezire,
E pretz m’en mais, car eu fui tan auzatz
Qu’en tan aut loc auzei m’amor assire,
Per qu’eu m’en sui conhdes et enenshatz.
E can la vei, sui tan fort envezatz:
Veyaire m’es que.l cors al cel me salha .
Dins en mo cor me corrotz e.m azire,
Car eu sec tan las mias voltatz.
Mas negus om no deu aital re dire,
C’om no sap ges com s’es aventuratz.
Que farai doncs dels bels semblans privatz
Falhirai lor mais volh que.l mons me falha
Ab lauzengers non ai ren a devire,
Car anc per lor no fo rics jois celatz.
E dic vos tan que per mon escondire
Et ab mentir lor ai chamjatz los datz .
Ben es totz jois a perdre destinatz
Quez es perdutz per la lor devinalha.

Luis de Camoães

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portuguese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quem vê, Senhora, claro e manifesto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O lindo ser de vossos olhos belos,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se não perder a vista só em vê-los,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Já não paga o que deve a vosso gesto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Este me parecia preço honesto;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mas eu, por de vantagem merecê-los,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dei mais a vida e alma por querê-los,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donde já não me fica mais de resto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assim que a vida e alma e esperança,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E tudo quanto tenho, tudo é vosso,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E o proveito disso eu só o levo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porque é tamanha bem-aventurança</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O dar-vos quanto tenho e quanto posso,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Que, quanto mais vos pago, mais vos devo.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Amor é fogo que arde sem se ver;
É ferida que dói, e não se sente;
É um contentamento descontente;
É dor que desatina sem doer.
É um não querer mais que bem querer;
É um andar solitário entre a gente;
É nunca contentar-se de contente;
É um cuidar que ganha em se perder.
É querer estar preso por vontade;
É servir a quem vence, o vencedor;
É ter com quem nos mata, lealdade.
Mas como causar pode seu favor
Nos corações humanos amizade,
Se tão contrário a si é o mesmo Amor?
Mas, quanto não pode haver desgosto
Onde esperança falta, lá me esconde
Amor um mal, que mata e não se vê.
Que dias há que n’alma me tem posto
Um não sei quê, que nasce não sei onde,
Vem não sei como, e dói não sei porquê.
Busque Amor novas artes, novo engenho,
para matar-me, e novas esquivanças;
que não pode tirar-me as esperanças,
que mal me tirará o que eu não tenho.
Olhai de que esperanças me mantenho!
Vede que perigosas seguranças!
Que não temo contrastes nem mudanças,
andando em bravo mar, perdido o lenho.
Mudam-se os tempos, mudam-se as vontades,
Muda-se o ser, muda-se a confiança;
Todo o Mundo é composto de mudança,
Tomando sempre novas qualidades.
Continuamente vemos novidades,
Diferentes em tudo da esperança;
Do mal ficam as mágoas na lembrança,
E do bem, se algum houve, as saudades.
O tempo cobre o chão de verde manto,
Que já coberto foi de neve fria,
E em mim converte em choro o doce canto.
E, agora este mudar-se cada dia,
Outra mudança faz de mor espanto:
Que não se muda já como solá.
Eu cantarei de amor tão docemente,
Por uns termos em si tão concertados,
.1. Annotated samples:

_Romance Renaissance meter_

_(Chapter 6)_

Que dois mil acidentes namorados
Faça sentir ao peito que não sente.
Farei que amor a todos avivente,
Pintando mil segredos delicados,
Brandas iras, suspiros magoados,
Temerosa ousadia e pena ausente.
Também, Senhora, do desprezo honesto
De vossa vista branda e rigorosa,
Contentar-me-ei dizendo a menos parte.
Porém, pera cantar de vosso gesto
A composição alta e milagrosa
Aqui falta saber, engenho e arte.
Amor, que o gesto humano n'âlma escreve,
Vivas faíscas me mostrou um dia,
Donde um puro cristal se derretia
Por entre vivas rosas e alva neve.
A vista, que em si mesma não se atreve,
Foi convertida em fonte, que fazia
A dor ao sofrimento doce e leve.
Jura Amor que brandura de vontade
Causa o primeiro efeito; o pensamento
Endoudece, se cuida que é verdade.
Olhai como Amor gera, num momento
De lágrimas de honesta piedade,
Lágrimas de imortal contentamento.
Transforma-se o amador na cousa amada,
por virtude do muito imaginari;
não tenho, logo, mais que desejar,
pois em mim tenho a parte desejada.
Se nela está minha alma transformada,
que mais deseja o corpo de alcançar?
Em si somente pode descansar,
pois consigo tal alma está ligada.
Mas esta linda e pura semideia,
que, como um acidente em seu sujeito,
assim com a alma minha se conforma,
está no pensamento como ideia:
e o vivo e puro amor de que sou feito,
como a matéria simples busca a forma.
De quantas graças tinha, a Natureza
Fez um belo e riquíssimo tesouro,
E com rubis e rosas, neve e ouro,
Formou sublime e angélica beleza.
Pós na boca os rubis, e na pureza
Do belo rosto as rosas, por quem mouro;
No cabelo o valor do metal louro;  
No peito a neve em que a alma tenho acesa.  
Mas nos olhos mostrou quanto podia,  
E fez deles um sol, onde se apura  
A luz mais clara que a do claro dia.  
Enfim, Senhora, em vossa compostura  
Ela a apurar chegou quanto sabia  
De ouro, rosas, rubis, neve e luz pura.  
Sete anos de pastor Jacob servia  
Labão, pai de Raquel, serrana bela;  
Mas não servia ao pai, servia a ela,  
E a ela só por prémio pretendia.  
Os dias, na esperança de um só dia,  
Passava, contentando-se com vê-la;  
Porém o pai, usando de cautela,  
Em lugar de Raquel lhe dava Lia.  
Vendo o triste pastor que com enganos  
Lhe fora assi negada a sua pastora,  
Como se a não tivera merecida;  
Começa de servir outros sete anos,  
Dizendo: – Mais servira, se não fora  
Para tão longo amor tão curta a vida!  
O fogo que na branda cera ardia,  
Vendo o rosto gentil que na alma vejo.  
Se acendeu de outro fogo do desejo,  
Por alcançar a luz que vence o dia.  
Como de dois ardores se incendia,  
Da grande impaciência fez despejo,  
E, remetendo com furor sobejo,  
Vos foi beijar na parte onde se via.  
Ditosa aquela flama, que se atreve  
Apagar seus ardores e tormentos  
Na vista de que o mundo tremer deve!  
Namoram-se, Senhora, os Elementos  
De vós, e queima o fogo aquela neve  
Que queima corações e pensamentos.  
Vencido está de amor meu pensamento  
O mais que pode ser vencida a vida,  
Sujeita a vos servir instituída,  
Oferecendo tudo a vosso intento. 

Diniz I de Portugal

A mha senhor que eu por mal de mi  
vi, e por mal d’ aquestes olhos meus
e por que muitas vezes maldezi
mi e o mund’ê muitas vezes Deus,
des que a nom vi, nom er vi pesar
d’al, ca nunca me d’al pudi nembrar.
A que mi faz querer mal mi medes
e quanto amigo soia aver
e desasperar de Deus, que mi pes,
mi e o mund’ê muitas vezes Deus,
des que a nom vi, nom er vi pesar
d’al, ca nunca me d’al pudi nembrar.
A por que mi quer este coração
saír de seu logar, e por que já
moir’ê perdi o sem e a razom,
peso m’êste mal fez e mais fará,
des que a nom vi, nom er vi pesar
d’al, ca nunca me d’al pudi nembrar.
A tal estado mh adusse, senhor,
o vosso bem e vosso parecer
que nom vejo de mi nem d’al prazer,
nem veerei já, em quant’eu vivo fôr,
E queria mha mort’e nom mi vem,
que nom vejo prazer de múm nem d’al,
nem veerei já, esto creede bem,
u nom vir vôs que eu por meu mal vi.
E queria mha mort’e nom mi vem,
por que que tamanh’ê o meu mal
que nom vejo prazer de mim nem d’al,
nem veerei já, esto creede bem,
u nom vir vôs que eu por meu mal vi.
E queria mha mort’e nom mi vem,
por que que tamanh’ê o meu mal
que nom vejo prazer de múm nem d’al,
nem veerei já, esto creede bem,
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nem veerei já, esto creede bem,
u nom vir vôs que eu por meu mal vi.
E queria mha mort’e nom mi vem,
por que que tamanh’ê o meu mal
que nom vejo prazer de múm nem d’al,
nem veerei já, esto creede bem,
ca d’outra sei eu, que o bem sabia,
a que vós a tal pedra lançastes.
E de colherdes, razom seria,
da falsidade que semeastes.
Ai flores, ai flores do verde pino,
se sabedes novas do meu amigo!
Ai flores, ai flores do verde ramo,
se sabedes novas do meu amado!
Se sabedes novas do meu amigo,
aquel que mentiu do que pôs comigo!
Se sabedes novas do meu amado,
aquel que mentiu do que mi á jurado!

Vós me preguntades polo voss’amigo,
e eu bem vos digo que é san’vivo.
Vós me preguntades polo voss’amado,
e eu bem vos digo que é viv’e sano.
E eu bem vos digo que é san’e vivo
e seera vosc’ ant’o prazo saído.
E eu bem vos digo que é viv’e sano
e seera vosc’ant’o prazo passado.

Amiga, faço-me maravilhada
como póde meu amigo viver
u os meus olhos nom o pódem veer,
ou como pod’alá fazer tardada;
ca nunca tam gram maravilha vi,
poder meu amigo viver sem mi,
e par Deus, é cousa mui desguisada.

Amiga, estade ora calada
um pouco, e leixad’a mim dizer
per quant’eu sei cert’e poss’entender.

Nunca no mundo foi molher amada
como vós de voss’amigu’; e assi,
se el tarda, sol nom é culpad’i,
se nom, eu quer’em fícar por culpada.
Aí amiga, eu ando tam coitada
que sol nom poss’em mi tomar prazer,
cuidand’em como se pode fazer
que nom é já comigo de tornada;
e par Deus, porque o nom vej’aqui
que é morto gram sospeita tom’i;
e se mort’ê, mal dia eu fui nada.

Amiga flemosa e mesurada,
nom vos dig’eu que nom pode seer
voss’amigo, pois om’ê, de morrer;
mais par Deus, nom sejades sospeitada
d’outro mal d’el, ca des quand’eu naci,
nunca d’outr’ome tam leal oi
falar, e quem end’al diz, nom diz nada.
Amiga, sei eu bem d’unha molher
que se trabalha de vosco buscar
mal a voss’amiço polo matar;
mais tod’aquest’, amiga, ela quer
porque nunca com el poude poer
que o podesse por amig’aver.
E busca-lhi com vosco quanto mal
ela mais pôde, aquesto sei eu;
e tod’aquest’ ela faz polo seu
e por este preito, e nom por al,
porque nunca com el poude poer
que o podesse por amig’aver.
Ela trabalha-se, a gram sazom,
de lhi fazer o vosso desamor
aver, e a ende mui gram sabor;
e tod’est’, amiga, nom é se nom
porque nunca com el poude poer
que o podesse por amig’aver.
E por esto faz ela seu poder
para faze-lo com vosco perder.
Como me Deus aguisou que vivesse
em gram coita, senhor, desque vos vi!
ca logo m’el guisou que vos oi
falar; desi quis que er conhecesse
o vosso bem a que el nom fez par;
e tod’aquesto m’el foi aguisar
ental que eu nunca coita perdesse.
E tod’est’el quis que eu padecesse
por muito mal que me lh’eu mercer,
e de tal guisa se vingou de mi;
e com tod’esto nom quis que morresse,
porque era meu bem de nom durar
em tam gram coita nem tam gram pesar;
mais quis que tod’este mal eu sofresse.
Assi nom er quis que m’eu percebesse
de tam gram meu mal, nem o entendi,
ante quis el que por viver assi,
e que gram coita nom mi falecesse,
que vos viss’eu, u m’el fez desejar
des entom morte que mi nom quer dar,
mais que vivendo peior attendesse.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Giacomo da Lentini</th>
<th>Sicilian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lo giglio quand’è colto tost’è passo,</td>
<td>0101010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da poi la sua natura lui no è giunta;</td>
<td>0101010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ed io dacunche son partuto un passo</td>
<td>0101010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da voi, mia donna, dolemi ogni giunta:</td>
<td>0101010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perché d’amare ogni amadore passo,</td>
<td>0101001011x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in tante alteze lo mio core giunta;</td>
<td>0101001011x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>così mi fere Amor, lvunque passo,</td>
<td>0101010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com’aghila quand’a la caccia è giunta.</td>
<td>0100100101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oi lasso me, che nato fui in tal punto,</td>
<td>0101 010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’unque no amasse se non voi, Chiù gente!</td>
<td>10100001 01x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questo saccia madonna da mia parte:</td>
<td>1010000101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in prima che vi vidi ne fui pronto,</td>
<td>0101010111x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>servivi ed inoraivi a tutta gente;</td>
<td>0101010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da voi, bella, lo mio core non parte.</td>
<td>01 10 001001x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si come il sol, che manda la sua spera</td>
<td>0101 010001x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e passa per lo vetro e no lo parte,</td>
<td>0100010001x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e l’altro vetro che le donne spera,</td>
<td>0101010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>che passa gli occhi e va da l’altra parte,</td>
<td>0101010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>così l’Amore fere là ove spera</td>
<td>0101010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e mandavi lo dardo da sua parte:</td>
<td>1010010001x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in tal loco che l’omo non spera,</td>
<td>1011001001x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8passa per gli ochi e lo core diparte.</td>
<td>1001001001x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo dardo de l’Amore là ove giunge,</td>
<td>0100010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da poi che dà feruta si s’aprende</td>
<td>0101010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di foco, c’arde dentro e fuor non pare;</td>
<td>0101010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e li due cori insenoma li giunge:</td>
<td>0011010001x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de l’arte de l’amore si gli aprende,</td>
<td>0100010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e face l’uno e l’altro d’amor pare.</td>
<td>0101010111x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Or come pote si gran donna entrare</td>
<td>0101010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>per gli occhi mei che si piccoli sone?</td>
<td>0101010001x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e nel mio core come pote stare,</td>
<td>0001010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>che ‘nentr’esso la porto laonque i’ vone?</td>
<td>1010010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loco laonde entra già non pare,</td>
<td>1010010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ond’io gran meraviglia me ne done;</td>
<td>0101010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma voglio lei a lumera asomigliare,</td>
<td>0101010101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sè gli ochi mei al vetro ove si pone.</td>
<td>0101100101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo foco inclusi poi passa di fore</td>
<td>01010100101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo suo lostrore, sanza far rottura:</td>
<td>0101 10101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>così per gli ochi mi pass’a lo core,</td>
<td>01010100101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no la persona, ma la sua figura.</td>
<td>00010 10101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rinovellare mi voglio d’amore,</td>
<td>01010100101x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poi porto insegna di tal criatura.</td>
<td>0100100101x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Molti amadori la lor malatia
portano in core che 'n vista non pare,
ed io non posso sí celar la mia
ch'ella non paia per lo mio penare;
però che son sotto altrui segnoria,
né di meve non ho neiente a fare,
se non quanto madonna mia vorrìa,
ch'ella mi pote morte e vita dare.
Su'è lo core e suo son tutto quanto,
e chi non ha consiglio da suo core,
non vive infra la gente como deve;
cad io non sono mio né più né tanto,
se non quanto madonna è de mi fore
ed uno poco di spirito è 'n meve.
Donna, vostri sembianti mi mostraro
esperanza d'amore e benvolenza,
ed io sovr'ogni gioia lo n'ho caro
lo vostro amore, e far vostra piagenza.
Or vi mostrate irata, dunqu' è raro
senza ch’io pecchi darmi penitenza,
e fatt’avete de la penna caro,
come nocchier c’ha falsa canoscenza.
Disconoscenza ben mi par che sia
la conoscenza che non ha fermeze,
ché si rimuta per ogni volere;
dunque non siete voi in vostra balía,
né in altrui ch’ia ferme probeste,
e non avrete bon final gioire.
Ogn’omo ch’ama de’ amar lo suo onore
e de la donna che prende ad amare;
è folle chi non è soferitore,
ché la natura de’ l’omo isforzare,
e non de’ dire ciò ch’egli ave in core,
ché la parola non pò ritornare:
e da la gente tenut’è migliore
chi ha misura ne lo suo parlare.
Dunque, madonna, mi voglio sofrire
di far sembianti, a la vostra contrata,
ché la gente si forza di mal dire;
però lo faccio, non siate blasmata,
ché l’omo si diletta più di dire
lo male che lo bene, tale fiata.
A l’aire claro ho vista plogia dare
ed a lo scuro rendere clarore,
e foco arzente ghiaccia diventare,
e fredda neve rendere calore,
e dolze cose molto amareare,
e de l’amare rendere dolzore,
e due guerrieri in fina pace stare,
e ’ntra due amici nascereci errore.
Ed ho vista d’Amor cosa più forte:
ch’era feruto, e sanùmi ferendo;
lo foco donde ardea stutò con foco.
La vita che mi de’ fue la mia morte,
lo foco che mi stinse ora ne ‘ncendo:
ch’Amor mi trasse, e misemi in su’ loco.
Lo m’aggio posto in core a Dio servire,
com’io potesse gire in paradiso,
al santo loco, c’aggio auditò dire,
quella c’ha blonda testa e claro viso,
ché sanza lei non potéria gaudere,
estando da la mia donna diviso.
Ma no lo dico a tale intendimento
perch’io peccato ci volesse fare,
se non veder lo suo bel portamento
e lo bel viso e ’l morbido sguardare:
ché lo mi terrìa in gran consolamento
vegendo la mia donna in ghiora stare.
Lo viso mi fa andare alegramente,
lo bello viso mi fa ruvegliare,
lo viso me conforta ispesamente,
l’adoorno viso che mi fa penare.
Lo chiaro viso de la più avenente,
l’adoorno viso riso mi fa fare:
di quello viso parlàne la gente,
ché nullo viso a viso li pò stare.
Chi vide mai così begli ochi in viso
né si amorosi fare li sembianti,
né bocca con cotanto dolce riso?
Quand’eò li parlo moroli davanti,
e paremi ch’i’ vada in paradiso,
e tegnomi sovrano d’ogn’amanti.
Eo viso, e son diviso da lo viso,
e per aviso credo ben visare;
pèrò diviso viso da l’aviso,
ché’l viso che lo divisare;
e per aviso viso in tale viso
Antonio Veneziano

L’origi a la Canicula s’inclina
li yorna opposti a lu chiù forti yelu,
e l’elefanti a la luna non china
fa riverenza cu gra’ affettu e zelu,
e l’helitropiu si gira e camina
comu è lu cursu di lui diu di Delu.
Iu chi farrò cu vui, cosa divina,
mia stilla, luna, suli, anzi miu celu?
La terrena mia dia, gloria e coruna
di quantu’ l’arti e la natura sghizza,
lu suli ha a l’occhi, a la facci la luna,
l’arcu a li gighia e cometa a ogni trizza;
still l’accenti, e li palori ognuna
su nettari et ambrosia di ducizza.
M’invidia l’ayru, Amuri e la Fortuna,
ch’aduru in terra un celu di billizza.
Forza è ch’iu v’ama, e a chistu mi destina
l’immensa grazia di cui prisu fui,
né sta fatali mia forti catina
rumpiri si porrà in eternu chiui.

Chi s’un planeta et una stilla inclina
et opera cu nui, volendu nui,
chi sarrà d’una machina divina
di tanti celi comu siti vui?
S’un terrestri vapuri in ayya spintu
lla si condensa e fulguru diventa,
quali forza criditi chi da un fintu
celesti lampu di vostr’occhi iu senta?
Siccu, ardu, intronu, tornu un homu pintu;
I’animali si ndi va, lu corpu allenta:
e si non caiju affattu mortu e estintu,
lu focu, perché è vostru, mi sustenta.
In ogni locu m’immaginu e criju
per miu confortu ritrovarci a tia,
ma quandu, ohimè, m’addugnu poi e m’avviju,
cosa non trovu chi comu tia sia.
Perchi si per l’ardenti e gran disiju
cà e là mi fingiu chillu chi vurria,
sai chi su tutti li cosi chi viju?
Figura tua di terra e tu la dia.

Chiù peyu chi non è sia lu miu statu,
xhedimi quantu beni mi volivi,
ch’iu chiù non parlu, non dicu né xhiatu:
su ritrattu di morti intra li vivi.
Iu fui chillu Prometheu risicatu
chi fina in celu per lu focu ijvi,
e portai focu tantu esterminatu
chi lu miu sulu è focu e ogn’autru è nivi.
Anima travaghiata, chi non sai
chi sia riposu e sula ti molesti,
e comu Euripu vughì, scurri e vai
in autu, in baxu, in mezu, tardu e presti;
anzi undi mancu su, llà sempri stai
et undi sempri su, llà mancu resti,
lù beni suprahumanu, almu e celesti!
Su xhiammi occulti e ntrinsichi tormenti
chilli ch’alcuni tennu per mia spassi.
Cui non cridi ch’iu canta per l’azzenti?
Ma è la virtuti chi sicca e disfassi.
L’amara babbalucia mai si senti,
poi ntra lu focu pari chi cantassi.
Cussì ntraveni a l’amanti scuntenti:
lù focu l’ardi e pari ch’exalassi.
Casa propria d’Amuri è lu miu pettu,
l’alluga a cui ci placi ad annu o a misi;
dettìa a lu miu cori per rizettu
e doghìa per lueri si ndì prisi.
Lu cori, vistu lu to bellu aspettu,
lassau lu pettu e ad autru albergu attisi;
per non restari vacanti in effettu
Amuri focu per cori ci misi.
chi s’in tia l’oddìu in mia l’amuri crixi;
pur’hai di mia non sacciu chi di cura,
puru segretamenti mi complìxi.
È ben ch’assenti sia la tua figura,
davanti l’occhi mai non mi spirixi;
e suspittari mi fai ad hura ad hura
ch’in tutti cosi ancora tu influixi.
Quandu, tiranna, a casu ti placissi
di fari di mia stissu notomia,
e carni e sangu et ossa mi vidissi
iu letu e tu contenti ristirissi
e satisfaa la tua chirurgia,
Ogni tua cudeltati m’inveneva,
vipera belia mia, perfin’a l’ugni,
e per contratiu m’allegra e serena
chi cu lu to venenu ogn’autru scugni.
Ma timu a lu poi, a l’ultima xena
di la mia vita, ch’affattu non sdugni
e non diventi contra di mia hyena,
chi manu sulla terra mi perdungi.
Fammi una littra, Amuri, a cui mi sdinga,
tutu lu statu miu facci asapiri;
sia lu to dardu pinna chi ci singa
ad unu ad unu tutti li martiri,
carta lu cori miu, li lagrim’inga
e veloci curreri li suspiri.
Dì’ ch’a lu mancu ndi mostru una ncinga
si si contenta di lu miu moriri.
Chista vitturisùa mia nimica,
chi di miu kali triunfa et exulta,
forz’è chi a amarla li mei voghi chica,
perchì la tegnu nnezu l’alma sculta.
illa tal xhiamma in pettu mi nutrica
chi tantu chiù m’offendi quantu è occulta:
iu l’amu e l’amirà poi in forma antica
lu nudu spiritu e la carni sepulta.
Perchì mi gavitassi truvai un ngegnu,
ti detti lu miu cori, chi l’hai llocu;
forsi cussì ci fussi alcun ritegnu,
stimanduti tu stissa qualchi pocu.
Et, huh per mia, ch’ogn’hura a peyu avvegnu;
pensai cu ss’acqua astutari stu focu,
et hora lu miu cori m’havi a sdegnu,
pighiau la qualitati di lu locu.
Poi chi lu focu to non purrà chiù
cinniri ad acqua immonil et a venti,
chiù gran fermizza in mia provirai tu
in alma, in corpu, presenti et assenti.
Mi duni ogn’hura morti duci e amena
cu l’attrattivi toi modi et infidi.
Si canti, si gratissima sirena,
si chiangi, un cocodrillu chi m’aucidi;
si xhiati, di pantera è la tua lena,
si guardi, un basiliscu a l’occi annidi.
E tuttu è nenti, sai ch’è la mia pena?

Francisco de La Torre
Entre pajas se enciende la divina Luz de Amor, cuyo rayo al Cielo alcanza, paja conserva el fruto mi esperanza, en paja el trigo su alto peso inclina. Propiamente en su forma se examina, la empresa a que Amor Niño se abalanza, que una sobre otra es Cruz, la larga es Lanza; la corta, Clavo; la más corta, Espina. Pero la paja es leve, ¿y la acomodo a grave leño, a lanza, que infiel raja, a espina, y clavo de tirano modo? Mas ¡ay! que así se ajusta, el que así baja, que hierro, acero, Espinas, Cruz y todo, en quien muere de amor, monta una paja. Esta es, Tirsis, la fuente do solía contemplar tu beldad mi Filis bella; éste el prado gentil, Tirsis, donde ella su hermosa frente de su flor ceñía. Aquí, Tirsis, la vi quando salía dando la luz de una y otra estrella; allí, Tirsis, me vido; y tras aquella halla se me escondió y ansí la vía. En esta cueva desde monte amado me dio la mano y me ciñó la frente de verde hiedra y de violetas tiernas. Al prado y haya y cueva y monte y fuente y al cielo desparcendo olor sagrado, rindo de tanto bien gracias eternas. Noche, que en tu amoroso y dulce olvido escondes y entretienes los cuidados del enemigo día; y los pasados trabajos recompensas al sentido. Tú, que de mi dolor me ha conducido a contemplarte, y contemplar mis hados, enemigos ahora conjurados contra un hombre del cielo perseguido: así las claras lámparas del cielo siempre te alumbrén, y tu amiga frente de belén y ciprés tengas ceñida. Que no advierta su luz en este suelo el claro Sol mientras me quejo, ausente, de mi pasión. Bien sabes tú mi vida. Cuantas estrellas tiene el firmamento, la selva flores, y el Euxino arenas,
tantas y más son, Títiro, mis penas
si yo me entiendo con el mal que siento.
Bien es que la ocasión de mi tormento
tiene principio de las más serenas
lumbres del cielo; mas de dos ajenas
voluntades jamás viene contento.
Vos, que miráis del puerto la tormenta,
y descubris en su rigor el claro
norte que os hizo descubrir la tierra:
mirad mi luz, a quien el cielo avaro
con turbias nubes cubre; porque sienta
cuanto mal hace si una vez se cierra.
Cuántas veces te me has engalanado,
clear y amiga Noche! ¡Cuántas llena
de oscuridad y espanto la serena
mansedumbre del cielo me has turbado!
Estrellas hay que saben mi cuidado,
y que se han regalado con mi pena;
que entre tanta beldad, la más ajena
de amor, tiene su pecho enamorado.
Ella saben amar, y saben ellas
que he contado su mal llorando el mío,
envuelto en los dobleces de tu manto.
Tú, con mil ojos, Noche, mis querellas
oye, y esconde; pues mi amargo llanto
es fruto inútil que al amor envío.
Sigo, silencio, tu estrellado manto,
de transparentes lumbres guarnecido,
enemiga del sol esclarecido,
ave nocturna de agorero canto.
El falso mago Amor, con el encanto
de palabras quebradas por olvido,
convirtió mi razón y mi sentido,
mi cuerpo no, por deshacerle en llanto.
Tú, que sabes mi mal, y tú que fuiste
la ocasión principal de mi tormento,
por quien fui venturoso y desdichado,
oye tú solo mi dolor, que al triste
a quien persigue cielo violento
no le está bien que sepá su cuidado.
Claro y sagrado río, y tu ribera
de esmeraldas y pórfidos vestida
corto descaso de una amarga vida,
que entre amor y esperanza desespera.
Cierto mal, bien incierto, ausencia fiera,
gloria pasada y gloria arrepentida,
tienen tan acabada y combatida
la triste vida, que la muerte espera.
Tú, que lavas el monte y las arenas
rojas de mi Cyterón soberano,
leva mi voz y lástimas contigo.
Alivía tú, llevándolas, mis penas;
así veas tu rostro tan humano
cuando yo despiadado y enemigo.
Bella es mi ninfa, si los lazos de oro
al apacible viento desorden;
bella, si de sus ojos enajena
el alto desde que siempre lloro.
Bella, si con la luz que sólo adoro
la tempestad del viento y mar serena;
bella, si a la dureza de mi pena
vuelve las gracias del celeste coro.
Bella, si mansa; bella, si terrible;
bella, si cruada; bella, esquiva; y bella
si vuelve grave aquella luz del cielo;
cuya beldad humana y apacible
no se puede saber lo que es sin vella,
ni, vista, entenderá lo que es el suelo.
Línea del punto que al valor provoca;
hielo a la vida en defensor valiente,
a complejiones hecha de la gente,
templada, cuerda y destemplada loca.
Hebra que coses la insolente boca;
del duelo y la defensa estrecha puente;
pirámide de luz resplandeciente
que al cielo del honor tu punta toca.
Sangrienta insignia el pecho te procura,
luciente hoja te codicia el mayo,
lingua sin voz te rige la cordura;
Sea, si importa, tempestad tu ensayo,
rompe la nube de tu vaina oscura,
y sin trueno de voces, hiere rayo.
El español, que halló la nueva tierra
tras larga mar, tras larga desventura,
gozó del oro que la tierra dura
en sus entrañas escondido encierra.
Y si del vulgo la opinión no yerra,
ensalzando de Cristo la fe pura
venció tras el despojo que asegura
la más dudosa y más difícil guerra.
| Vos solo, a quien tocó la mejor parte | 11000100101x |
| de este triunfo inmortal, vuestra habéis hecho | 10100100101x |
| que fue vuestro despojo este tesoro. | 01000110001x |
| Aquí no días de conquistar el arte, | 01110001001x |
| virtud que en un hidalgo, honrado pecho, | 01010101001x |
| se estima en mucho más que plata y oro. | 01010101001x |

**Spanish**

Garcilaso de la Vega

| Cuando me paro a contemplar mi estado, | 00010001001x |
| y a ver los pasos por do me ha traído, | 01010001001x |
| hallo, según por do anduve perdido, | 10010001001x |
| que a mayor mal pudiera haber llegado; | 00110100001x |
| mas cuando del camino estó olvidado, | 00000100001x |
| a tanto mal no sé por do he venido; | 01011100001x |
| sé que me acabo, y más he yo sentido | 10010001001x |
| ver acabar conmigo mi cuidado. | 10010101001x |
| Yo acabaré, que me entregué sin arte | 10010001001x |
| a quien sabrá perderme y acabarme | 00010100001x |
| si ella quisiere, y aun sabrá querello; | 10010001001x |
| que pues mi voluntad puede matarme, | 00000100001x |
| la suya, que no es tanto de mi parte, | 01001000001x |
| pudiendo, ¿qué hará sino hacello? | 01010100001x |
| En fin, a vuestras manos he venido, | 01001001001x |
| do sé que he de morir tan apretado, | 01100100001x |
| que aun aliviar con quejas mi cuidado, | 00010100001x |
| como remedio, me es ya defendido; | 00010100001x |
| mi vida no sé en qué se ha sostenido, | 01011100001x |
| si no es en haber sido yo guardado | 01001100001x |
| para que sólo en mi fuese probado | 00010101001x |
| cuanto corta una espada en un rendido. | 10110101001x |
| Mis lágrimas han sido derramadas | 01001100001x |
| donde la sequedad y la aspereza | 00000100001x |
| dieron mal fruto dellas y mi suerte: | 10110100001x |
| ¡básten las que por vos tengo lloradas; | 10000100001x |
| no os venguéis más de mí con mi flaqueza; | 10110100001x |
| allá os vengad, señora, con mi muerte! | 01010100001x |
| La mar en medio y tierras he dejado | 01010101001x |
| de cuanto bien, cuitado, yo tenía; | 00010101001x |
| y yéndome alejando cada día, | 01001010001x |
| gentes, costumbres, lenguas he pasado. | 10010101001x |
| Ya de volver estoy desconfiado; | 10010100001x |
| pienso remedios en mí fantasía; | 10010000001x |
| y el que más cierto espero es aquel día | 00110110101x |
| que acabará la vida y el cuidado. | 00010100001x |
De cualquier mal pudiera socorrerme con veros yo, señora, o esperallo, si esperallo pudiera sin perdello; mas no de veros ya para valerme, si no es morir, ningún remedio hallo, y si éste lo es, tampoco podré habello. Un rato se levanta mi esperanza: mas, cansada de haberse levantado, torna a caer, que deja, mal mi grado, libre el lugar a la desconfianza.
¿Quién sufrirá tan áspera mudanza del bien al mal? ¡Oh corazón cansado!
Esfuerza en la miseria de tu estado; que tras fortuna suele haber bonanza. Yo mismo emprenderé a fuerza de brazos romper un monte, que otro no rompiera, de mil inconvenientes muy espeso. Muerte, prisión no pueden, ni embarazos, quitarme de ir a veros, como quiera, desnudo espiritu o hombre en carne y hueso. Escrito está en mi alma vuestro gesto, y cuanto yo escribir de vos deseo; vos sola lo escribisteis, yo lo leo tan solo, que aun de vos me guardo en esto. En esto estoy y estaré siempre puesto; que aunque no cabe en mí cuanto en vos veo, de tanto bien lo que no entiendo creo, tomando ya la fe por presupuesto. Yo no nací sino para quereros; mi alma os ha cortado a su medida; por hábito del alma misma os quiero. Cuanto tengo confieso yo deberos; por vos nací, por vos tengo la vida, por vos he de morir, y por vos muero. Por ásperos caminos he llegado a parte que de miedo no me nuevo; y sí a mudarme a dar un paso pruebo, y allí por los cabellos soy tornado. Mas tal estoy, que con la muerte al lado busco de mi vivir consejo nuevo; y conozco el mejor y el peor apruebo, o por costumbre mala o por mi hado. Por otra parte, el breve tiempo mío, y el errado proceso de mis años, en su primer principio y en su medio,
mi inclinación, con quien ya no porfío,
la cierta muerte, fin de tantos daños,
me hacen descuidar de mi remedio.
No pierda más quien ha tanto perdido,
bástate, amor, lo que ha por mi pasado;
válgame agora jamás haber probado
a defenderme de lo que has querido.
Tu templo y sus paredes he vestido
de mis mojadas ropas y adornado,
como acontece a quien ha ya escapado
libre de la tormenta en que se vido.
Yo había jurado nunca más meterme,
a poder mio y mi consentimiento,
en otro tal peligro, como vano.
Mas del que viene no podrá valerme;
y en esto no voy contra el juramento;
que ni es como los otros ni en mi mano.
De aquella vista pura y excelente
salen espíritus vivos y encendidos,
y siendo por mis ojos recibidos,
me pasan hasta donde el mal se siente.
Éntranse en el camino fácilmente,
con los míos, de tal calor movidos,
salen fuera de mí como perseguidos,
llamados de aquel bien que está presente.
Ausente, en la memoria lo imaginó;
mi espíritus, pensando que lo vian,
se mueven y se encienden sin medida;
mas no hallando fácil el camino,
que los suyos entrando derretían,
revientan por salir do no hay salida.
Señora mía, si yo de vos ausente
en esta vida turo y no me mueran,
paréceme que ofendo a lo que os quiero,
y al bien de que gozaba en ser presente;
tras éste luego siento otro accidente,
que es ver que si de vida desespero,
yo pierdo cuanto bien de vos espero;
y así ando en lo que siento diferente.
En esta diferencia mis sentidos
están, en vuestra ausencia y en porfía,
no sé ya que hacerme en tal tamaño.
Nunca entre sí los veo sino reñidos;
de tal arte pelean noche y día,
que sólo se conciertan en mi daño.
¡Oh dulces prendas, por mi mal halladas,
dulces y alegres cuando Dios quería!
Juntas estás en la memoria mía,
y con ella en mi muerte conjuradas.
Boscán, vengado estás, con mengua mía,

Andrea Calmo

No ve maravegiè cari Signori,
Si son intrao à far sta bizzarria,
Che per no dirve ponto di busia,
Vedo che ’l mondo vuol de sti saori
So che dirà certi compositori,
Che son vergognà a Dona Poesia;
Ma se i savesse la mia fantasia,
I sarave i mie primi deffensori.
Me par ch’ognun pol far del so cervelo;
Zo che ghe piaxe al sagramento mio,
E chi nol crede, si vaga al bordelo,
L’è pezzo haver el lavezzo schachio,
E le calze fruae, con el mantelo,
Cha far el grando dottorao a Lio.
Si havesse bevuo in Helicona,
E manzao de l’herbe de Pernaso,
O che alle Muse havesse dao del naso;
No sarave trattao da una pipona.
Mo sil piasesse al putto de Latona,
Che cavalcasse sora del Pegasa;
Farave dir de mi, onde che taso,
Infina che Minerva me spirona.
Perche si ben e son dalla contrae,
Nassuo infra canestri, ree, e treziole;
So far d’un pan tre fette, e do panae.
Altro ghe vuol, cha centure, e parole,
A farsi tegnir savij in veritae,
Se no se par da Mascare Verole.
Le Muse si m’ha tolto à zudegar,
E vol che al mio despetto sia Poeta;
Dagandome una certa riegoleta,
Che saverò, senza mai studiar.
Parnaso si m’ha dao puo da manzar
De le so herbe, in t’una fritoleta;
E Heliconà m’ha messo una borsetà,
Per farme ogni grossezza evacuar.
Minerva al cao m’ha fatto un’onzion;
El Pegaso si m’ha tol’t’a redosso,
E Apollo m’ha donao el so Liron.
Giunon m’ha dao el so rochetto in dosso,
E Mercurio el parlar de Ciceron;
Grasso, ch’a puochi el ciel ghe cola adosso.
Benedeto sia ’l zorno, e ’l mese, e l’anno,
E le stason, el tempo, e l’hora el ponto,
E la contrà, el liogo, onde fu zonto
Da quel bel viso, che me fa gran dano.
Sia benedeto el primo dolce affanno,
Ch’Amor m’ha dao quando son sta zonzonto
E l’arco con le frezze, che m’ha ponto
D’una piagha mortal, piena d’inganno.
Benedeta la boxe, el so parlar,
I passi, el sonno, i veci, e la bellezza,
I andamenti, el star, el caminar.
Sia benedetta quella so vaghezza,
El so vestir, col so pulio manzar
De far la morte star in allegrezza.
O fio, ti a trovà pur bon tromba
Che al mondo mai per lie no si sorisse
In tel grosso mio stil poco rebomba;
Perche ’l besogneria el parlar d’Ulisse.
O’ seu Febo, Mercurio, e vu Orfeo,
Ovidio, Ennio, Verzilio cantaori,
Davit con la baldosa, e Tolomeo.
Piu le brigae la mostrerà col deo,
O belle man, che m’allegraio el viso;
O vitta galantina, petto bianco,
O bona gratia, che m’ha averto ’l fianco
Portando ’l cuor de là dal Paradiso;
Occhi sassini, sotto un brav friso,
De laudarve mai no sarò stanco,
Quando saroi un zorno per vu franco
De cusi caro, e cusi gran serviso?
Cho penso alla presentia tanto degna,
Ston tutto stupeffao amirativo,
S’il cagasangue adesso no me vegna,
Da che hora haverio el vostro olivo
Anema mia? d’ogni vertue pregna,
Che muoro in vu, e in vu ritorno vivo.
Dolce ire, dolce paxe, dolci sdegni,
Dolce mal, dolce ben, e dolce peso,
Dolce parlar, dolce vardar suspeso,
Dolce pensar, e dolci, e bei desegni.
Dolce'l negociar, cho i dolci pegni,
Dolce quel zorno, che fo vento, e preso,
Piu dolce, che si havesse mille regni.
Dolce quel passizar per geometria,
Dolce quei so vardari mansuetti,
E dolce'l so mostrarse in ogni via.
Dolci occhi, che si dolci fa i so sonni,
O dolce vita, con golosi effetti,
O dolce carne, o dolci cari donni.
Parerà forsi stranio a le brigae,
Se lauderò culie, che me tormenta;
In fatti, in ditti, o dove me talenta,
Astretto da la so rara beltae.
Amor m'ha dà manzar de ste panae;
E vuol ch'ai mio despeto me contenta;
No trovo con presenti, o servitue
Una bona parola, ni un cignetto,
Ben puovere fadighe, mal passue,
A grizzoli, ho pur qualche saoretto;
Ma slagagnoso, che par pie de grue,
El resto stago, cho fa un cagnoletto.
Si credesse per morte insir de pene,
Col mio bizzaccho restaria amazao,
O ingropando la becha strangolao;
Ho punto à una a una, le mie vene.
Tanto che m'haveria desnombolao,
O in t'un canal me sarave negao,
O impio de piombo le recchie ben piene.
Ma el dolor, che ho si furibondo,
Me durerà fina in l’altro mondo.
El remedio sarave, a varir presto,
Far do agui, in un tratto, in una calda,
Zoe, che Madonna, e mi fesse del resto.
Ascolto pur, e no aldo novella,
De quella cara, e dolce mia nemiga;
Ni so che far, nianche so che me diga,
Chel cuor teme, e speranza s'il pontella.
Ghe voio ben, e sia mo brutta, o bella,
Pezzo che una Gabrina, o qualche striga,
E fin che vivo, la sarà mia amiga.
Destinada dal Ciel e d’ogni stella,
Perche no se comuove a passion,
Qualche mio amigo, e far che la se placha.
Che l'è mercede, aidar un tribulao.

Von a la becharia, come una vacha,

Tanto Cupido me tien infrezzao,

Perchel cognosse, che son troppo bon.

Za chel ciel, e la terra, el vento tase;

E che ogni anemal dorme de vena

La notte, le so stelle a torno mena,

E in tel so letto, el mar senz'onde zase.

Mi pianzo, penso, e ardo in tre fornase

Continuamente, per mia dolce pena;

Ond’ho la mente d’ira, e d’ogia piena,

Ma pensando à madonna ho qualche pase.

Perche certo colù ch’è inamorao,

Sconvien patir sette madonna ho qualche pase.

Giovanni Battista Maganza

Dimme, boari, vu che la doman

per anar a versuro a’ insì del fen,

se daguanno la frua ve vaghe ben.

tanto c’habbiè a sbezeffo e vin e pan,

do ’l lieva l’alba, c’ha le belle man

di ciel cossì, co a’ fè vu in terra el gran,

Sèto, Viga me bella, con la xe?

Dis de no. Zurèlo in bona fe’,

ch’a’ cherzo ben che messier Giesondio

e i no ghe tira pi el cuor da far ben.

ch’agnon ven santo, co ’l ven despossente.

Viga me bella no crer mè pi gniente

e ch’i n’habbia piaser pi con gi hae.

al zanzar de to barba e de to mea,

ch’agnon ven santo, co ’l ven despossente.
Oro s fin mai fo visto a filare, 101101 0001x
con xe le drezze ch’Amor g’ha ingroppè; 0101001 001
in ruose in su la latte sparpagnè 010001 0001
a le tu carne se pò somegiare. 0001 0010001x
Que verle, o fior de spin, se pò cattare 010101 0101x
con xe i biè lavri e i dente che te ghè?
Cerpilio no uole tanto, no a la fe’,
con fa, Viga me bella, el to arfiare.
Mo quando in Paraíso mè s’aldrì
tagno a favellar si dolcemen,
nè che cantasse al muò che te fe ti?
Chè s’ti gi appassi el di la notte ven,
e s’ti gi avri la notte, el se fa di.
Oh, sea benetto el primo che catà
sta bona usanza de voler stropare
una putta, che sea da mariare,
quando la vuol anar fuora de ca’!
Ché i gaviniegi, che va per contrà,
e sti piti polì, che vuol magnare
quante putatte i s’imbate a scontrare,
quelìè, ch’a’ vu dir mi, i no vederà.
È se qualcun disesse: “O turlulù,
mo que farèto ti, che se te stè
un’hora a no la vèr, te tiri su?”,
a’ ghe responderiesi che ’l no gh’è
muo, né sieve, si ben comettù,
che ’l no ’l passe du uocchi inamorè.
Sentà, caro Begotto, chivelò
su st’herba fresca e pina d’ulimento,
aldi el fime, che fa un scrocolamento
si dolce, che ’l m’ha squasio indromenzò.
Dige: “Pare Reron, Reron beò,
scambia pur la to acqua in ariento,
dasché se v che ’l se ghe spiechzia drento
quel oraro nassù su quel fossò.
È ti, caro e bel herbole innorio,
che da ferdo, da caldo, e sita e ton
t’ha guarentò messier Domenedio,
possa vèrte dagn’hora el Carpagnon
s bello e fresco, e po al tratto de drio
lagar de le to pole al me Paron”.
Ziralda bella, a’ t’he vezù a ballare,
e de zenaro sotto al to bel pe
nascer tanti fioritti, che ’l no gh’è
bruolo d’avrile, che i saesse fare.
Va’ di’ che ’l vissinello sapia anare
incerca e si leziere con te vè!
A’ cherzo, se te vuò, te ballerà
senza bagnarte inchin per sora el mare,
e seanto ivelò a quell’acqua in cima
te sentirissi agnon criar: “L’è quella
che in lo mare nascé fuor de la sbima!”.
Con se vè in cielo la boara stella
infra tutte le altre esser la prima,
cossi ti è al mondo an ti, Ziralda bella.
O Dio, perché no sonte un gran sletran,
ch’a’ sapie ovrar na penna e un calamaro
con fé quelù, che del so bel oraro
se fé na zuogia con le purpie man?
Che inchina on nasce el sole la doman,
e onve che la sera el va a ponaro,
a’ farae dir de vu, cuore me caro,
zigio nassù don che fo fatto Adan.
A’ no sè que a’ no faga e que a’ no diga
per farve hanore, m’al tratto de drio
a’ vezo po ch’a’ perdò la faiga;
ch ’l me poere è s’un caval rostio,
che, quanto pi el bon voler ghe ciga
che ’l vaghe inanzo, el se recula indrio.
ve somenè in lo cuore e per lo viso
tutte le gramesie del Paraiso,
darme tanto celibrio, ch’a’ poesse
dir de vu tutto quel che mè a’ volesse,
de bona seltra e d’un bon scaltrimento
e no co è un vissigon, ch’è pin de vento,
ch’a’ Pava, e incerca a Pava cento megia,
agnon de vu se farae smaravegia.
Chi cercasse sto mondo inchina in cao
per tutte le città, per agno villa,
no catterà né femena né putta,
che sea si inamorà, co a’ son mi, in gi uocchi
del me Menon, ch’a la pioza e al sole
tutto mè ’l di per mi passa per Sacco.
A’ sofrirà tuor su de peso un sacco
de fava, an du, pur che Menon da un cao
buttasse man e zaponnare al sole
quante piante xe inte la nostra villa,
e poer fare ch’ello mè co gi uocchi
fuora ca mi no guardasse altra putta.
A’ g’ho paura un di che qualche putta
no me 'l tuogie de man, co 'l ven in Sacco.  
'L ha mo na ciera, un cimegar co gi uocchi,  
un trar de pe, che 'l par bon china in cao.  
Mo que v’imparereste se in la villa  
una m’ha ditto a mi che 'l pare el sole?  
O spiegio pi lusente che n’è il sole,  
s’ti è el me Menon, se mi a’ son la to putta,  
deh, fa’ che vegna presto a la to villa,  
perqué a’ no stago ben mi sola in Sacco,  
ch’a’ son senza de ti purpio co è un cao  
che ghe manche le regie, el naso e gi uocchi.  
El me vegné le lagreme in su gi uocchi,
Appendix 2  Annotated samples:  
Germanic Renaissance meters  
(Chapter 8)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Annotation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Het hoge wonder nieu dat binnen swerelts palen 010101010101x
Jn onse tijt verscheen, daert blijvens lust ontrack, 0101 010101
‘Twelck hemel schersend’ toond’ en voort weer nae sich track, 010101010101x
En steldt tot cieraet in sijn besonde salen, 010101010101x
Dat ick voor die t niet sach sal childeren en verhalen, 010101010101x
Wil Min, die mij de tong ontbont als t hert ontstack, 10 0101010101
Verstant, tijt, inckt, papier, en penne viel te swack: 11101010101
Al stelds’ een godt int werck om haer vol wt te malen. 0101 0101010101x
Ter hoochster trap sijn noch de rijmen niet gecomen, 0101 0101010101x
Jck merck het aen mijn selfs, twert lichtlijk waergenomen 010101 01010101x
Van die door Minne schrijft sijn blijschap oft gedach, 010101 010101
Die t waer bedencken can, stilswijgent overlegge 010101 01010101x
Wat alle schrift verwint, en daer nae sucht’ en segge, 010101 01010101x
Wel salich was het ooch dat haer int leven sach 010101 010101
Genen poëet te recht ijets vrolijx, oft bedaerts 100101010101x
Can singen in gedicht, nu, noch, tot genen tije, 010101 01010101x
T’ en sij dat hij beroert met vreemde raserije 010101 01010101x
Gelaeft sij wt de claes Fontein des vluggen paerts 010101 01010101x
En mächtich soo gemaeckt te singen ijets vermaerts 010101 010101x
Doort inneblasen van der Dichters Godt bedijc, 010101 01010101x
Dats van des dichters siel een opperheerschappie 100101 01010101x
Die boven t’ lichaem vlecht, gereinicht van het aersch. 010101 01010101x
De siel van den poët vertoonh zich in sijn dichten 010101 0101010101x
Soo, recht Pythagoras sijn jongers onderrichten 100100010101x
Van onser sielen reijs, en wonderlijk bedrijf, 010101 010001
Achylles siel was in Homerus lijf gescholen 0101 1001010101x
Jn Alexanders lijf Homerus siel verholen, 000101010101x
En nu woont Nasoos siel in Blijdensinnes Lijf. 010101 01010101x
De stralen mijns gesichts die ’r mengden inde stralen, 010101 01010101x
Van vve schoonheits glans, en van v oogen claer, 010101 01010101x
Weerkerende tot mij, soo brachten sij met haer 010001 010101x
De waere Beeltenis dies’ onvoorsichtich stalen, 01010101 010101x
Van t aerdichst dat natuur deed’ in v voorhooft malen, 010101 0101010101x
En t’ waerdichst van v geest, datmen mach lesen daer.
Dees voerdens’ in mijn hart, dat voelende t’ beswaer,
Maeckt van de noot een duecht en gaet haer selfs in halen.
Sij maecktent tot een kerck daers’als godin geërt
Gestadich t harte dwingt tot vijerige begeert
Van t’ geen dat haer gelijckt, met hete blixem koortsen,
Voor overst van mijn siel daer werts’ erkent alleen,
En van den drang van mijn gedachten aengebeen
daer branden tot haer eer duisent en duisent toortsen.
Ghentiel goddin alleen besitster van mijn hert,
Schoon Ziele van mijn ziel, meestres van mijn gedachten,
Wiens schoonheidz clare glans, en gracij mijn vercrachten,
Als inden blonden strick mijn hert geuangen wert,
Indien ghij niet aensiet de wreethaijt van mijn smart,
En stopt v oren voor mijn al te sware clachten,
Van mij en hebdij niet dan droeffheijt te verwachten,
En de melijdeloose doot en d’ aerde swart.
En wilt de trouwe van v dienaer recht bekennen,
Verlost ick werden sal van droeffheijt sorch en pijn,
Mijn hert dat door het vuijr soud’ lichtelijck verteeren,
En sal dan nummermeer in assche cunnen keeren,
Maer in een schonen brant altijt onsterfflijck sijn.
Wech soete sotternij, flux segg’ ick wilt verreijsen,
Eer dat mijn cranke brein sich t’ eenemael vergeckt.
Soo niet dan anxt, en vaer int sotte minnen steekt,
En sorge vol verdriet, waer van het hart mach eijsen;
O Min wt mijn verstant wilt dan te rudge deijsen,
Ghij die mij het vernuft, met lose schijn, bevelckt.
Flux soete sotternij, wech segg’ ick, en vertreckt,
Met v beloften schoon van ijdele gepeijsen.
Datmen der Minnen cracht in sijn gemoet gedoocht,
Wanneer een vaste gront sich aen v hoop vertoocht,
Js eenichsins geraên, maer die cunt ghij niet vinnen.
Te minnen sonder hoop is droom en beuseling;
Dies soete sotternij vertreckt van hier gering,
Wech segg’ ick, en vertreckt wt mijn verwerde sinnen.
Als Ariadne sat en deed’ haer droeve clachten,
Over het wreet vertreck van Theseus deze siet,
Dat met sijn schip en volck meinedich van haer vliet,
Sij dorsten nae de Doot mistroostich van gedachten,
Dat haer, de geen, die sij behouden had, verriet.
Een Godt haer edel Deucht niet onvergolden liet,
Troost wt den hemel quam, wa’en sijse minst verwachten.
Want Bachus die haer sach soo schoon en soo bedroeft,
Door medelijden Mins beginsel heeft geproefd,
Die door haer claere deucht gevoet wert in sijn sinnen.
Hij coosse tot sijn vrouw’ en als Godin verhief,
Om beter, sij verloor, een vals en tijlĳck Lief,
En creech een die haer mint, en eeuwech sal beminnen.
Leitsterren van mijn hoop, planeten van mijn jeucht,
Vermogen oogen schoon in hemels vuijr ontsteken
Als ghij v vensters luickt soo sietmen mij ontbreken
Mijns levens onderhout, een teder soete vreucht:
Want ghij besluit daerin een saligende deucht
Vriendlijcke vrolijckheid; De Min met al sijn treken,
Jock, Lach, Bevallijckheit daerinne sijn geweken
En wat ter werelt is van wellust en geneucht.
Natuire die daer schijnt in droeve damp begraven,
Doort missen van v glans, beteurt haer rijkste gaven,
Die gh’ altesaem besluit in plaets soo nau bepaelt;
Daer sich mijn wufte siel soo verr’ in heeft verdwaelt.
Mijn Vrouw, de Min, en Jck, hebben een harde strijt,
Daer in wij alle drije wel mochten t’ onderraken,
Jck en de Min om haer gedurichlijcken blaken,
En sij bemint haer selfs de Min en mij te spijt,
Indien dat sij t verderf door sellefs minnen lijt
De Min salt sonder haer niet lange cunnen maken,
En sterreft ghij O Min, ick sal oock moetien smaken
Het eint mijns levens daer ghij t’ onderhout van zijt.
Maer wijt en woest genooch om alles in te sluiten,
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Het eint mijns levens daer ghij t’ onderhout van zijt.
Maer wijt en woest genooch om alles in te sluiten,
Daer sij t verderf door sellefs minnen ligt
De Min salt sonder haer niet lange cunnen maken,
En sterreft ghij O Min, ick sal oock moetien smaken
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Maer wijt en woest genooch om alles in te sluiten,
Daer sij t verderf door sellefs minnen ligt
De Min salt sonder haer niet lange cunnen machen,
En sterreft gij O Min, ick sal oock moeten smaken
Het eint mijns levens daer gij t’ onderhout van zijt.
Van t geen datse Liefd’ en soete weerleift hieten
Helas de traenen blank over mijn wangen vlieten
Als ick aent wrwerck denck dat qualijck was gestelt:
Och moester die de tijt met wren af cunt meten
Gistr’avont misten ghij, en had v const vergeten
Wel viermael sloech de clock in min dan een quartier
Maer nae mijn liefs vertreck doordient began te dagen,
En heeft de clocke boven sesmael niet geslaegen
Jn eenen tijt docht mij van twaelef wren schier.
Indien mijn leven sich can verweren
Tegen mijn wreet geluck en ongesiene cans,
Dat jck verdoven sie de Son-gelijcke glans
Vrouw, van v oogen schoon, door ouderdooms vermeren
En v goudt-dradich haijr in silver-draet verkeren,

Joost van den Vondel
Alexandrine

Het hemelsche gerecht heeft zich ten lange lesten
Erbarremt over my en mijn benaewude vesten
En arme burgery, en op mijn volcx gebed
En dagelix geschrey de bange stad ontzet.
De vyand, zonder dat wy uitkomst durfden hopen,
Is, zonder slagh of stoot, van zelf het land verlopen.
Mijn broeder jaaght hem na. Zy nemen vast de wijk,
En vlughten haestigh langs den Haerelemmer dijck.
Zoo stuift de zee voor wind met haar gedreve golven
Zoo zaghen menighmael een kudde wrede wolven
En felle tigers vliën voor 't ysselick geschreeuw
Van aller dieren vorst, den hongerigen leeuw,
Om niet al levendigh en versch te zijn verslonden
Van hem, die op zijn jaght geen aes en had gevonden.
Hoe snel, hoe onverziens is deze kans gedraeit!
Alhier, daer 't leger lagh, is 't veld alsins bezaeit
Met wapens en geweer, verbaest van 't lijf gereten,
Van ingebeelden schrick, en uit der hand gesmeeten,
Om zonder hindernis te vlieden langs den wegh.
Ja op 't verjaeren zelf van 't jaerige belegh
Word d’afgestrede muur van 't lang belegh ontslaegen.
Hoe zal het ganche land van ons verlossing waegen!
De Kermerlander had met Waterlander dier
Gezworen duizendwerf, dat hy met zwaard en vier
Vernielen zou eerlang de menschen en de daecken,
En tot een kerreckhof en asch en puinhoop maecken
Mijn oud, mijn wettigh erf, en delven al mijn eer
In eenen poel, tot wraeck van Floris hunnen heer,
Om wiens vervloeckte dood ick lijde zoo onschuldigh,
Als yemant lyden magh, doch draegh mijn kruis geduldigh;
Of zoo ick schuldigh ben en heeft het my gemist,
’t Is uit onnoozelheid, en zonder argh of list.
Neef Velzen, lang geterght, van eige wraeck geprickelt,
En 't schoonste voorgestelt, en eerst de zaeck verbloemt
Met wonderbaeren glimp; maer 'k heb hun wit verdoemt,
Zoo dra als ick verstont, hoe grof zy zich vergreepen,
Met den gevangen graef op Engeland te scheepen,
En sloegh dien voorslagh af, ten beste van 't gemeen,
En ried de ridderschap en al de groote steen
Te roepen, om den vorst 'ijn' moedwil te besnoeien,
En geen uitheemsche maght noch koningen te moeien,
Noch overzees geweld te haelen in het land,
Veel min het hoofd des lands te helpen aen een' kant;
Waer uit een springvloed is van zwartgeen gesproten,
Die over steden ging en vast gebouwde sloten,
En dorpen zonder end, en menschen zonder tal,
Van allerhande staet, dien 't eeuwigh smarten zal,
Al had zy uitgeroit ten negenste gelede,
Wat Velzens stram bestond, of van zijn maeghschap scheen,
De nieuwe ridderschap en steden in 't gemeen
Verbonden zich wel streng, met diergezwooren eeden,
Handtasting en geschrift, dat zy bezeeglen deden
Van nu in eeuwigheid met onverzoenbren haet,
Aen Woerden, Velzens bloed en Aemstel dezen smaed
Te wreecken, en van zoen te reppen noch te roeren.
Ons maegschap zit verdruckt, durf schil noch wapen voeren
En geeft gewilligh schot en lot, om zoo gerust
De hoop was, dat de tijt allengskens slyten zou
De bitterheid des volx, en d’oude wrock versterven;
Waarom ick my getrooste in ballingschap te swerven
Veel jaeren achter een. Of ymmers, doen de zoon
Van Floris werd gehaelt in aller zielen troon,
Verhoopte ick zonder last van deze burgerije
Te keeren in ’t bezit en d’erref-heerschappij
Van Vecht en Aemstelstroom; dan ’t laes! ’t is al om niet.
En was ’t om my alleen, het was een klein verdriet.
Ick liet my zelf van lidt tot lidt in stucken zaegen,
En sprackmen daer mee vry mijn al t’onnoozel bloed,
Mijn lieve gemaelin, en willige onderzaeten.
Ick wou om hunnen wil alleen mijn leven laeten,
En springen in een’ poel, en stoppen deze wel,
En dempen met een' sprong de nimmerzatte hel. 010101 010101
Dat weet hy, die het al bezichtig't uit den hoogen, 010001010101x
En wat in duister schuilt, met zijn alzienden oogen, 010101 010101x
Ontdeckt tot op den grond, en alle harten kent. 010001 010101
Waerom hy oock mijn Recht gehandhaeft heeft in 't end, 010101 010101x
En met den zegekrans my heerlijck begenadight, 000101 010101x
En tegens al de maght der vyanden verdaedight, 010101 010001x
Die licht slaen in den wind van ouds genote deughd, 010 001 010101
Waer aen wy volck en vorst verplIchten van ons jeughd 10010 1010001
Zoo yvriggh, zonder oit van trouwe te verandren. 010101 01010101x
Mijn vader heeft gestreckt een hoofd vn Waterlanderen 010101 010101xx
En Kennemers in 't veld, en met geweld alom 010001 010101x
(Hoewel door nood geparst) vervolght den adeldom, 010101 010101x
En aller vyandschap op zijnen hals geladen. 010101 010101x
De koning Willem zou getuigen van zijn daeden, 010101 010101x
Indien hy eenmael moght verrijzen uit het graf. 010101 010101x
Ick zelf heb Floris trouw gehandhaeft by zijn' staf, 010101 010101x
Zoo lang hy zat vervoooght, en niet een woord kon spreecken. 010101 010101x
'tHeb hem zijn vaders dood rechtvaerdigh helpen wreecken, 100101 010101x
Het koninglijck gebeent ontdeckt, den Vries getemt, 01000101 0101
En als geheimen raed in al zijn heil gestemt: 010101 010101
Met Brero voor de vuist het Vlaemsche heir geslaegen, 010101 010101x
Doen Guido nijdigh was, dat Floris, al 'tuitheemsch 010101 010101x
Gezint, zijn' erfgenaem wou huwen aen den Teems, 010101 010101x
En Vlaendren Walchren zocht to trappen met zijn rotten. 01010 1010001x
Oock voer ick over zee, om hem de kroon der Schotten 010101 010101x
Te zetten op het hooft, hoewel het anders viel. 010101 010101x
Ick stond den graef en 't volck ten dienst met lijf en ziel, 010101 010101x
En noch verzaemelmen in 't harnas zoo veel troepen, 010101 010101x
Die over Amsterdam en Aemstel wraecke roepen, 010101010101x
En brullen nacht en dagh, en zien niet hoe de vlam 010101 010101x
Van deze fellen brand haer' eerste oorsprong nam 010101 010101x
Uit Floris geile borst, en 't schandelijck omhelzen 010101 010001x
En schennen van mijn nicht, die schoone bloem van Velzen, 010101 010101x
'tVerongelijck en den adel, in zijn Recht, 01000010 101
Bezworen met zijn' mond. Verblinde menschen, zeght, 010101 010101x
Indien geen wrock en wraeck uw oogen en verblind, 010101 010101x
Zoud hy niet stofs genoegh tot Aemstels onschuld vinden? 100101 010101x
Hoe zochtmen hem van ouds te maecken tot een' slaef! 010101 010101x
Wat leed hy niet al leeds van Bisschop en van graef! 010101 010001
Men wou zijn lofflijk bloed in 't bisdom niet gedooogen. 010101 010101x
d'Artsbisschop aen den Rijn kon met zijn nijdige oogen 010101 010101x
Niet aenznien ons geluck, gaf Gozewijn de schop, 001001 010101x
En zette zijnen neef den hoogen myter op. 010101 010101x
Wy streden om den staf, tot datze my en Woerden, 010101 01010101x
In Utrecht, met veel smaeds, van yder aengehoort. 010101 010101
Men heeft my ’t Vrielandsch slot ontweldight, hem Montfoort. 010101 010101
’kBeken: het slot was my met voorwaerde opgedraegen, 100101001011x
Maer nergens om gebouwt, dan om mijn land te plaegen. 010101 100101x
’k heb ’s graeven vangenis wel zeven jaeren lang 010100 010101
Bezuurt, en Zwaenenburgh noch afgestaen door dwang 010101 010101x
Mijn erf in leen verkeert, en manschap moeten zweeren 010101 010101x
Daer ick eerst God alleen, en anders geene heeren 100101 010101x

Latin

2. Annotated samples:  
Germanic Renaissance meters  
(Chapter 8)

Dutch

Joost van den Vondel

Pentameter

Wie op dit graf, HIER RUST DE WITTE, leest, 1001 100101
Geloof’ die naam is naer de Deught geweest; 0101 010101
Het zy men op zyn wit, de Godtsvrucht, lett’, 010101 0101
Of ’t vroom gemoet des mans ten spiegel zett’, 0101 010101
Die meer dan acht-mael zeven jaer oprecht, 0101 010101
Met tong en pen, ’t oneffen heeft beslecht, 0101 010101
Den oudsten rock der Rechtsgeleerden droegh, 0101 010101
En ’t swaerste stuck, tot op een goutaes, woegh 0101 010101
Naar zyn waerd, om yeders recht en plicht 0101 010101
t’Ontdeken door den strael van zyn gezicht; 0101 010101
Dies dickmael Hof en stadt en menigh dorp 0101 010101
Zich d’uitspraak van dien Voorspraak onderworpp. 0101 010101
Nu deckt de zerk zyn afgeslaeft gebeent’, 0101 010101
Terwyl gy hoort aen ’t klagen der gemeent’, 0101 010101
Hoe ’t Outer zucht, de Rechtbanck zit belaën, 0101 010101
Op zulck een zuil mocht Kerk en Raethuis staen. 0101 010101
Aldus leeft Hulft tot eer der Hasselaeren. 0101 010101x
Ons Raethuis viel zijn moedigheit te kleen: 0101 010101
Hy wou voor ’t lant zich waegen op de baeren, 0101 010101x
Daer Hollant en Britanje om ’t zeerecht streên. 010101 0101x
Dat ’s niet genoegh: dees zeehelt zet ons paelen 0101 010101x
Noch verder dan de Straet van Gibraltar, 0101 010101
Op ’t heerlijk spoor der Hollantsche amiraelen, 0101 010101x
Uit liefde tot de schoone morgenstar; 0101 010101
Daer sluit zyn hoop een nieuwe weerelt open. 0101 010101x
Wat meer? al wat een edel hart durf hopen. 0101 010101x
Ghy steeckt dan af, voor d’Amsterdamse paelen, 0101 010101x
Om over zee te zweven, daer de dagh 01010101 101
Batavie vergult met d’ eerste straelen, 010101 010101x
En geuren brengt, uit ootmoedt en ontzagh: 0101 010101
Daer d’ eilanden om stryt, van alle kanten, 101001 010101x
Aenhouden om gehoor, voor 't Hollantsch Hof,
Door Koningen en smeeckende Gezanten,
Met hunne kroon gebogen in het stof.
Wanneer ghy koomt in 't Oosten te belanden,
Zoo kust dien Helt eerbiedighlyck de handen;
En melt hem, wat ick onlangs heb gedroomt.
De duistre nacht bedeckte met haer vlogelen
De kamers, daer ick eenzaem lagh en sliep,
Als Hulft, belust op vangst van 't puick der vogelen,
Zoo 't scheen door 't ryck kannelbosch jaegen liep.
En fierliche van zilver, en lyn gout,
En purperverf, en scheen van min 't ontvoncken,
On zoo veel schoons als haere pluim ontvouwt.
Eneas volghde aldus, door bosch en struicken,
De vogels, hem gestuurt van 's moeders dack,
Op dat hy hen, als leitsmans, moght gebruiken.
De kannel duif streeck op een' kannelboom neder.
De Hollander, gedoocken onder 't loof,
Viel op een knie met zyne jaghtbus weder.
Gelyck hy plaght, en mickte op dezen roof.
Myn geest verschrickte, en, om hem in te toomen,
Sprack dus bedacht den jongen schutter aen:
O Jongeling, hoe wil u dit bekoomen?
Het schieten is u lest niet wel vergaen.
Ghy jaeght, 't is waer, geen' draeck, noch Kolchis stieren,
Noch everzwyn, noch tigers, wilt van aert.
Maer uwe jaght naer tamme en macke dieren,
Is 't voorspoock. dat my allermeest vervaert.
Geen duif noch spreeuw heeft vreesslycke kluiven,
Noch moort geen mensch: maer echter hou u schuw:
Versteurt geen vlught van spreeuwen noch van duiven:
Hoe mack zy zyn, die vogels dreigen u.
Het heught my hoe een spreeuw u had gebeeten,
En meer gewont dan stael en donderkloot,
Daer 't Britsche geschut op zee van was bezeten,
Toen ghy den Teems braveerde met ons vloot.
Dus sprack ick naeu, of 't vogelroer gesprongen
Gaf met zyn slot den schutter eenen slagh.
Op zyne heup, dat hem, van pyn gedrongen,
Het hart ontzonck, daer hy ter aerde lagh.
Gaf met zyn slot den schutter eenen slagh.
De Droomgodt was op deze slagh vervloogen.
Naer zyn spelonck. 'k ontwaeckte in 't bange bedt:
En schoon ick my geluckigh vont bedrogen,
Noch bleef myn hart met schromte en schrick bezet.
Nu wenschte ick, dat hy geene duiven langer
Belaeghde op tack en boom, noch in haer vlught,
Al ging deze oock van een musschaetnoot zwanger,
Of pypkanneel: hy schuw' die duivelucht.
Hy schuwe mede Oostindische Harpyen,
Een snoot gebroet, bekent in d' oude tyt,
Het welck op strant een anders gasteryen
Besmet, en noode een dischgenootschap lydt.
Het aenzicht schytent een maeght gelyck van wezen.
Zy hongert, van geen dischgerecht verzaet.
Haer kraeuwels, scherp geslepen, staen te vreezen.
Zy scheit met stanck, en vloeckt al watze haet.
Men moet haer nest met achterdocht genaecken:
Want staet men haer een voet te na in 't licht,
Zy zal een' vloet van dreigementen braecken:
En uit gevaer, ter goeder tyt, geborgen,
Die Thetis zoon, den dappren oorloghshelt,
In zijnen schilt durf vaeren, op het velt
Voor Troje, om d'eer van een verwelckbre kroone:
Die zich gewende in sneeuw op 't ys te draven,
De hemel had haer tot de kroon gekoren,
Geschapen tot het erf van ’s vaders Rijck,
Of liever tot dry scepters te gelijck,
En zuick een’ bergh van lauren haer beschoren.
Vernuif en geest van jongs op in haer bloncken.
De lust tot kunst en letterwetenschap
En wisheit holp haer aen den smaeck van ’t sap,
Door Plato milt den leerling toegeschoncken.
De Wijsheit, van Egypters en Chaldeeuwen

Geoffrey Chaucer

Whan that Aprille with his shoures soote,
The droghte of March hath perced to the roote, And bathed every veyne in swich licour, Of which vertú engendred is the flour; Inspired hath in every holt and heeth The tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne Hath in the Ram his halfe cours y-ronne, And smale foweles maken melodye, That slepen al the nyght with open ye, So priketh hem Natúre in hir corages, Thanne longen folk to goon on pilgrimages, And palmeres for to seken straunge strondes, To ferne halwes, kowthe in sondry londes; And specially, from every shires ende Of Engelond, to Caunterbury they wende, The hooly blisful martir for to seke, That hem hath holpen whan that they were seeke. In Southwerk at the Tabard as I lay, Redy to wenden on my pilgrymage To Caunterbury with ful devout corage, At nyght were come into that hostelrye Wel nyne and twenty in a compaignye Of sondry folk, by aventure y-falle In felaweshipe, and pilgrimes were they alle, That toward Caunterbury wolden ryde. The chambres and the stables weren wyde, And wel we weren esed atte beste. And shortly, whan the sonne was to reste, So hadde I spoken with hem everychon, That I was of hir felaweshipe anon, And made forward erly for to ryse,
2. Annotated samples:
Germanic Renaissance meters
(Chapter 8)

To take oure wey, ther as I yow devyse. 0101 101001x
But natheles, whil I have tyme and space, 0101 010101
Er that I ferther in this tale pace, 0101010101x
Me thynketh it acordaunt to resoun 0101 010101
Of eech of hem, so as it semed me 0101 100101
And whiche they weren and of what degree, 0101 10101
And eek in what array that they were inne; 0101010101x
And at a Knyght than wol I first bigynne. 100101 0101x
A Knyght ther was, and that a worthy man, 0101 010101
That fro the tyme that he first bigan 01010 10101
To riden out, he loved chivalrie, 0101 010101
Trouthe and honóur, fredom and curteisie. 1001 100101x
Ful worthy was he in his lordes werre, 0100 100101x
And thereto hadde he riden, no man ferre, 010 1010101x
As wel in cristendom as in hethenesse, 0101010101x
And evere honóured for his worthynesse. 0101010101x
At Alisaundre he was whan it was wonne; 0101010101x
Ful ofte tyme he hadde the bord bigonne 0101010101x
In Lettow hadde he reysed and in Ruce,— 0101010101x
No cristen man so ofte of his degree. 0101 010101
In Gernade at the seege eek hadde he be 101 0010101
Of Algezir, and riden in Belmaryl. 0101 010101x
At Lyeys was he, and at Satalye, 10101 10101x
Whan they were wonne; and in the Grete See 0101 010101
At many a noble armee hadde he be. 0101 011001
At mortal batailles hadde he been fiftene, 01010 10101
And foughten for oure feith at Tramyssene 0101010101x
In lyste thries, and ay slayn his foo. 01010 10101
This ilke worthy knyght hadde been also 010101 0101
Somtyme with the lord of Palaty e 0101010101x
Agayn another hethen in Turkuye; 0101010101x
And evermore he hadde a sovereign prys. 0101 010101
And though that he were worthy, he was wys, 0101 010101
And of his port as meeke as is a mayde. 1001 010101x
He nevere yet no vileynye ne sayde, 0101 010101x
In al his lyf, uno no maner wight. 0101 010101
He was a verray, parfit, gentil knyght. 0101 010101
But for to tellen yow of his array, 0101 010101
His hors weren goode, but he was nat gay; 0101 100101
Al bismótered with his habergeon; 1010 101001
For he was late y-come from his viage, 01010 10101x
And wente for to doon his pilgrymage. 0101010101x
With hym ther was his sone, a yong Squiér, 010101 0101
A lovyere and a lusty bacheler, 1010 010101
With lokkes crulle as they were leyd in presse. 0101010101x
Of twenty yeer of age he was, I gesse. 0101010101x
Of his statûre he was of evene lengthe, 0101010101x
And wonderly delyvere and of greet strengthe. 0101010101x
And he hadde been somtyme in chyvachie 0101010101x
In Flaundres, in Artoys, and Pycardie, 0101010101x
And born hym weel, as of so litel space, 0101 010101x
In hope to stonden in his lady grace. 0101010101x
Embrouded was he, as it were a meede 01001 10101x
Al ful of fresshe floures whyte and reede. 0101010101x
Syngynge he was, or floytynge, al the day; 1001 010101
He was as fresh as is the month of May. 0101 010101
Short was his gowne, with sleves longe and wyde; 1001 010101x
Wel koude he sitte on hors and faire ryde; 0101010101x
He koude songes make and wel endite, 0101010101x
Juste and eek daunce, and wel purtreye and write. 1001 010101x
So hoote he lovede that by nyghtertale 01010 10101x
He sleep namoore than dooth a nyghtyngale. 0101010101x
Curteis he was, lowely and servysáble, 0101 100101x
And carf biforn his fader at the table. 0101010101x
A Yeman hadde he and servántz namo 0101010101x
At that tyme, for hym liste ride soo; 101 0010101x
And he was clad in cote and hood of grene. 1001 010101x
A sheef of pecock arwes bright and kene, 0101010101x
Under his belt he bar ful thriftily— 1001 010101
Wel koude he dresse his takel yemanly, 0101 010101
His arwes drouped noght with fetheres lowe— 0101010101x
And in his hand he baar a myghty bowe. 1001 010101x
A not-heed hadde he, with a broun viságe. 1001010101x
Upon his arm he baar a gay bracér, 0101 010101
And by his syde a sword and a bokeler, 1001010101x
And on that oother syde a gay daggere, 1001010101x
Harneised wel and sharp as point of sperce; 0101010101x
A Cristophere on his brest of silver sheene. 0101010101x
An horn he bar, the bawdryk was of grene. 0101 010101x
A forster was he, soothe as I gesse. 01001 10101x
Ther was also a Nonne, a Prioresse, 011010 0101x
That of hir smylyng was ful symple and coy; 1001 010101
Hire gretteste ooth was but by seinte Loy, 0101 010101
And she was cleped madame Eg Sentryne. 0101010101x
Ful weel she soong the service dyvyne, 0101 010101x
Entuned in hir nose ful semely; 10001 0101x
And Frenssh she spak ful faire and fetisly, 0101 010101
After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe, 1001 010101x
For Frenssh of Parys was to hire unknowe. 0101010101x
At mete wel y-taught was she with-alle:
She leet no morsel from hir lippes falle,
Ne wette hir fyngres in hir sauce depe.
Wel koude she carie a morsel and wel kepe
That no drope ne fille upon hire brist;
In curteisie was set ful muchel hir list.
Hire over-lippe wyped she so clene
That in hir coppe ther was no ferthyng sene
Of grece, whan she dronken hadde hir draughte.

William Shakespeare

From fairest creatures we desire increase,
That thereby beauty's rose might never die,
But as the riper should by time decease,
His tender heir might bear his memory:
But thou contracted to thine own bright eyes,
Feed'st thy light's flame with self-substantial fuel,
Making a famine where abundance lies,
Thy self thy foe, to thy sweet self too cruel:
Thou that art now the world's fresh ornament,
And only herald to the gaudy spring,
Within thine own bud buryest thy content,
And, tender churl, mak'st waste in niggarding:
Pity the world, or else this glutton be,
To eat the world's due, by the grave and thee.
When forty winters shall besiege thy brow,
And dig deep trenches in thy beauty's field,
Thy youth's proud livery so gazed on now,
Will be a totter'd weed of small worth held:
Then being asked, where all thy beauty lies,
Where all the treasure of thy lusty days;
To say, within thine own deep sunken eyes,
Were an all-eating shame, and thriftless praise.
How much more praise deserv'd thy beauty's use,
If thou couldst answer 'This fair child of mine
Shall sum my count, and make my old excuse,'
Proving his beauty by succession thine!
This were to be new made when thou art old,
And see thy blood warm when thou feel'st it cold.
Look in thy glass and tell the face thou viewest
Now is the time that face should form another;
Whose fresh repair if now thou not renewest,
Thou dost beguile the world, unbliss some mother. 010101 0101x
For where is she so fair whose uneared womb 0101 010011
Disdains the tillage of thy husbandry? 01001 00101
Or who is he so fond will be the tomb 0101 010101
Of his self-love, to stop posterity? 0101 010101
Thou art thy mother’s glass and she in thee 0101 010101
Calls back the lovely April of her prime; 0101 010101
So thou through windows of thine age shalt see, 0101 010101
Despite of wrinkles, this thy golden time. 01010 10101
But if thou live, remembered not to be, 0101 010101
Die single and thine image dies with thee. 0101 010101
Unthrifty loveliness, why dost thou spend 010101 0101
Upon thy self thy beauty’s legacy? 0101 010101
Nature’s bequest gives nothing, but doth lend, 0101010 101
And being frank she lends to those are free: m101 010101
Then, beauteous niggard, why dost thou abuse 01010 10101
The bounteous largess given thee to give? 0101 010101
Profitless usurer, why dost thou use 1001 010101
So great a sum of sums, yet canst not live? 010101 0101
For having traffic with thy self alone, 010101 0101
Thou of thy self thy sweet self dost deceive: 1001 010101
Then how when nature calls thee to be gone, 010101 1001
What acceptable audit canst thou leave? 101001 0101
Thy unused beauty must be tombed with thee, 10010 10101
Those hours, that with gentle work did frame 101 1010101
The lovely gaze where every eye doth dwell, 0101 010101
Will play the tyrants to the very same 01010 10101
And that unfair which fairly doth excel; 0101 010101
For never-resting time leads summer on 01010 10101
To hideous winter, and confounds him there; 01010 10101
Sap checked with frost, and lusty leaves quite gone, 0101 010101
Beauty o’er-snowed and bareness every where: 1001 010101
Then were not summer’s distillation left, 0101 010101
A liquid prisoner pent in walls of glass, 010101 0101
Beauty’s effect with beauty were bereft, 1001 010101
Nor it, nor no remembrance what it was: 0101 010101
Leese but their show; their substance still lives sweet. 1001 010011
Then let not winter’s ragged hand deface, 1001 010101
In thee thy summer, ere thou be distilled: 01010 01001x
Make sweet some vial; treasure thou some place 01010 10101
With beauty’s treasure ere it be self-killed. 01010 10101x
That use is not forbidden usury, 0101 010101
Which happies those that pay the willing loan; 0101 010101
That’s for thy self to breed another thee, 0101 010101
Or ten times happier, be it ten for one; 10010 10101
Ten times thy self were happier than thou art, 0101 010101
If ten of thine ten times refigured thee: 0101 010101
Then what could death do if thou shouldst depart, 0101 010101
Leaving thee living in posterity? 0101 010101
Be not self-willed, for thou art much too fair 0101 010101
To be death's conquest and make worms thine heir. 01010 010101
Lo! in the orient when the gracious light 10011 010101
Lifts up his burning head, each under eye 01101 010101
Doth homage to his new-appearing sight, 0101 010101
Serving with looks his sacred majesty; 0101 010101
And having climbed the steep-up heavenly hill, 0101 10101
Resembling strong youth in his middle age, 01010 10101
Yet mortal looks adore his beauty still, 0101 010101
Attending on his golden pilgrimage:
But when from highmost pitch, with weary car, 0101 010101
Like feeble age, he reeleth from the day, 0101 010101
The eyes, ‘fore duteous, now converted are 0101 10101
From his low tract, and look another way:
So thou, thyself outgoing in thy noon
Unlooked on diest unless thou get a son.
Music to hear, why hear’st thou music sadly?
Sweets with sweets war not, joy delights in joy:
Why lov’st thou that which thou receiv’st not gladly,
Or else receiv’st with pleasure thine annoy?
If the true concord of well-tuned sounds,
By unions married, do offend thine ear,
They do but sweetly chide thee, who confounds
In singleness the parts that thou shouldst bear.
Mark how one string, sweet husband to another,
Comes each in each by mutual ordering;
Resembling sire and child and happy mother,
Who, all in one, one pleasing note do sing:
Whose speechless song being many, seeming one,
Sings this to thee: ‘Thou single wilt prove none.’
Is it for fear to wet a widow’s eye,
That thou consum’st thy self in single life?
Ah! if thou issueless shalt hap to die,
The world will wail thee like a makeless wife;
The world will be thy widow and still weep
That thou no form of thee hast left behind,
When every private widow well may keep
By children’s eyes, her husband’s shape in mind:
Look what an unthrift in the world doth spend
Shifts but his place, for still the world enjoys it;
But beauty’s waste hath in the world an end,
And kept unused the user so destroys it.
No love toward others in that bosom sits
That on himself such murd’rous shame commits.
For shame deny that thou bear’st love to any,
Who for thy self art so unprovided.
Grant, if thou wilt, thou art beloved of many,
But that thou none lov’st is most evident:
For thou art so possessed with murderous hate,
That ‘gainst thy self thou stick’st not to conspire,
Seeking that beauteous roof to ruinate
Which to repair should be thy chief desire.
O! change thy thought, that I may change my mind:
Shall hate be fairer lodged than gentle love?
Be, as thy presence is, gracious and kind,
Or to thyself at least kind-hearted prove:
Make thee another self for love of me,
That beauty still may live in thine or thee.

Frisian

Gysbert Japiks

L.Èt yynne juwn (de Sinn’ oone’ oore’ ig Duyn,
Nacht-wâdsters eag belitsen mey yen Wolck’,
Fiijld, wetter, luft oer-teyn mey mejy bruyn)
Siet Reonts oon’ Strân, in wâlde’ uuvt herte-kolck,
Yen triene-gjealp; dy lanx her wangen del
Roon, wiet en hiet; in biet in spliet her fel.
O Friesche! (sey-se’) in dear mey wârmt-se stom,
In jae beschaet, in laey ynn’ swijme’ az dea.
O Friesche! (seys-s’) da-se hette weer bekôm)
O ‘t hert bejout m’, hoe ‘s, ljef, dijn Reonts jinn’ nea!
Reonts, eren, Reonts, dijn hert, dijn siel, dijn sin,
Fljueg hinne’ oer-drovig suchtjen sonder eyn,
Reyts, reyts yn ‘t hert fen him dy Reonts forjit
(Wierom ick tuwzen tuwzen trienen weyn:)
Om fijnne-min, dy him, spoar-bjuester, rit.
O Friesche! koe ‘k mijn trienen yn dijn bloed
Trog-mingje ’k wit ick recke dijn gemoed.
Mar ’t iz om naet al het ick kley oef gâl,
De Goden habbet, ljef, (ocht!) doz forsjoen,
(Ìt ty, it ty to goe; naet to dijn fâl:)
Dat jae dit bjuester fream Djier oon dy joen’.
Ick rop, ick rop oone’ Hijmmel in bejear
Sijn tjuwg, ljef, dat ick om dijn ljearde stear.
Ho schoe ick libbbe! 'k fiel dijn hert in sin
Ljeaf, eren rjeecht in sljeecht oon my forbuwn,
Nu fest oon dizzz' blier-eage Meeremin,
Dy (hoe-se' eack sjongt) jaec 's duwbbeeld falsk ynn' gruwn.
O 't tjeuefter graef mijn winsch' 't ljeach bin ick sed,
Om dy mijn treast, trog Mercurs floyt' forret,
De sill'ge Deugd iz klear fen uwz forteyn.
k Sjogh mey de Gods-tjenst spot in toeyl bedrieuwen,
In schoeren, trog 't hier-kleauwen sonder eyn.
In loyts ick ford, it hert wirt my trog-dolge,
k Sjog 't heylig' rjeucht, trog onrjeucht, sterck forfolge,
k Sjog wreethyts fuwl in lick hyer triomfeerjen,
Ik sjog mey wijrt in spijt de Free fexeerjen,
k Sjog lays in goech wjueck-drayen az in Ljeap'.
Ho schoe in from, rjeucht-uwit, seft-sinnig minsche,
Hy naet az free, rjeucht, ljeafde in Goads-freez winsche,
Yn docken tijd in stiwn; ijn docken Lân;
By swerren, flockjen, beestig' bjealgerye,
In oef ick bleau, het kin ick oorz ferwachtje
Az pleaec' op pleaec', uwz suwnen, ney ick achtje,
Meytse' uwz to fijne' yer, Wetter, Luft in Fjoer:
Y gnoorje doz, het wol y 't Lân bykibbbe,
Gong uwt jo salm, wol y fornoegge libbbe.
Salm binne wy uwz eyn forriet in pleag'.
De wijlde Djier, wijd-gappjend' ney uwz hongerjen,
Lanst, ick fortjog, 'k blieu langer naet in uwre'.
Sape' y fortjea, ney 'k her, Gôd wol jo lied.
Mar herte' in wïrd, swier holle', eer dat wy schiede,
Rin naet jon Lân, mar tjog de wrâd uwt. Hey!
Y dwane' az 't Hert, az 't schetten iz, sil 't rinne
Troeg Bosch in Beame' oer fjild in heyde hinne,
Dogge', al wier 't komt, it bringt sijn iguren mey,
Y gnoorje doz, het wol 't Lân bykibbbe,
Gong uwt jo salm, wol y fornoegge libbbe.
Salm binne wy uwz eyn forriet in pleag'.
D'Oprjuechte deughd let yerzen, stiel nog fjoer-wirck;
Mar stiet allijck in Klippe', oef getten moer'-wirck,
Dat wicket 't nog schrickt foor storm nog swiere-fleag.
Yen from gemoed, al woe de wrâd om-kere,
AZ me' eerst it hyunning dopp'-waegs knet in trieuwt
Den rint 'er 't swiet so tin uwt dat 'et drieuwt,
Mar, kneeddet me' oon, dear teant him tjocker swiet
Dat fier' wey 't foorder yn swiethyte' smeyts oergiet.
So 's 't mey uwz frjuen'e. Hy sjongt yn 't wircks beginn'
Wrâds djoey-behâd, dy lib-teel-swiete Minn':
Mar hertse' ho swiet sijn grouwne' harp' droant ford-oon,
t Sill'ge' Hijemelsch' gaest-swiet' Tjerck-boosch, mey God-Soon.
Ney 't gea-leaz', haed-wijze', Haeg'-liets Herders tean'.
Dear Bregeman in Breed to weyde gean'.
Dear Salm-ljeafds traep' dript wierck, grient', kruwd in blomt',
In Dauw' lauwg'-fied-wiets oer-floed', wier hy komt:
Om 't dat se' him, klim-om-klardd', laet ijn Moars huwz,
Yn 't yvigh wol, dear uwr' nogh stuwn' lieafd' scheyn 't
SO ljep to Hôars' Lâns jeif're puwck SIBILLA,
So preall' S'e ijin' seal, dy Rieds Heerlijcke spruwt,
So gloarre-glanzjet S'e ond're tuwz' nen uwt,
Az eer'n yn Turnus f juecht-buwn' blonck Camilla.
So twingt S'e it hoev',loffs, rjuechts; den op in trøjay',
Den op in rin; Den op in jey, az fleande:
Naet oorz allijck in Haeze-wijnhuwn', geande
Om leck're bout' t'eyn-mijnjen to sijn prôay.
Den tockleteamm't S'e oer beck, mey ljeppe' op ljeppen,
Steeg, rjuecht oer eyn'; Den det S'e im stôack-stil stean
Hann' bakjende d'e Hôarshalz'; Den lit S'e im gean
Tripp'-tred opp' staep', omme' amme weer to reappjen.
Den lied't S'e im ruwn, in ringet ringe' oon ring';
Den tel; Den saeft; Den schean; den rjuecht; ney 't teamjen
Fen socken hânn', dy 't hijnzer wit to preamjen;
Den spôarret S' dat 't Hôarz fljuecht oer wringe' in kling'
Mar nint're stuwn, mey stjoer gelaet oer grijmme,
Az d'e âd Camill', dy Fryg' ney Fryg' laey dôl,
In lôacke' allijck in Wrigge' uwt Pluwtôs hûl,
To dat S'e uwt-biet, fen Aruns pijll' trogflijmme.
Dizz' het nin nea, nin dey-dolck' kin her Heyn.
O! waa S'e oon-gloerret stirt, az salm forwonne.
Kniele' Aruns, jouw't: dijn boey-tried iz folsponne,
Ljuentje' om behâd', dijn frydomm' rint red t'eyn'.
NU iz de dey forronn' mey uwre' in stuwn,
Oermits de Sinn' dol-duwck't, ynn' wetters gruwn.
Meyts' uwz nu sliep (fen God, om restjen, juwne)
Komm', sviehte sliep uwz eagen firiddig binne,
Dat swierljick Droagjen naet ontstjoerge' uwz sinne',
Dat sorgge' in aengste' uwz rest-njue naet oer-rinne
Komm' sviehte sliep. Maer wezze' uwz feste borge,
Dat nin Nacht-grijmme' uwz fettet bye lorge,
Dat wy naet reytsje'ijn' Fijnne waese' in forge,
Mar y, boppe al, Tjercke'-Haed, jôn Weytsers seyne,
Woll-sill'ige Ing'len, dats' all' on-rie weyne,
Dat jon Schiep jo, fenne' Hol, naet wirdde' onteyne
Az den trogg' sliep forquicke (ljeeve HEERE)
Wy firdig, moarn-yer t'uws berop weer-keere,
Holp' dat uwz dwaen in litten, to jon eere,
LOf-sjong, mijnsiel, lof-sjong uwzljeave HEERE,
O hert, ô herte-gruwn’ sjong tanck in eere
Sijn heylge Namme’, al het iz binne my.
Lof-sjong mijn siel, him dy dy’t swiette’oer-reyne,
Trog wollert’, goe op goe-died’, seyne’op seyne’,
Hy schinst dy quijt all’on-rjuecht wîrd in dïede,
Dy ren eck-oor’, dijn God in dy oors, schiede.
Hy healjet al dijn sjochte’ in smertigheyt.
Hy het dijn libben ’t Graefs fordear onthelle.
Hy het dijn holle’ om-kroone’. Owaschoe telle
Oer dy sjijn on-gruwn’ djiep’ barmhertigheyt.
Hy het mey swiet’, mey djoer’ oer-wirdde’ goeden
Dijm mûlle proppe’ in sed mecke’, yn oeeroedem,
Wier trog, allijck in Eern’, for ny ’t dijn jeugd
Hy iz de Heer dy eere, dy rjuecht rjuechte
Oer ’t rjuecht dat wirt, trog onrjuechts twange oerfjuechte,
O fill’ge deugd! ô wirdde hymmel-deugd!
Hy het trog Mosis, sijn trouw’ tjiener, litten
Sijn wird, sijn wey, sijn weten dwaen to witten
Oon Israël, sijn folck, fen team’ to team’.
Hy iz barmhertig, frjuenlijck, fest, goe-diedig,

German

Martin Opitz
Alexandrine

Zweymal ist jetz und gleich der schöne Früling kommen 1001 01010101x
Vnd zweymal hat der Frost deß winters abgenommen 010101 010101x
Der bäume grunes kleid als Venus zu mir kam 0101 010101x
Vnd dir zugab. vorhin entbrandten meine Sinne 0101 01010101x
Durch Durst der Ewigkeit als ich mich zu gewinnen 010101 010001x
Der Tugendt schloß befließ: jetzt bin ich meine Ziehr 010101 010101x
So weit von jhnen ab so nah’ ich bin bey dir. 010101 010101x
Wie offt hab’ ich bißher gehoffet frey zu werden 010110 010101x
Wie offtmals hatten mich geführet von der Erden 010101 010001x
Die Flügel der Vernunft wann nicht das weite Meer
Der grossen Freundligkeit in dir gewesen wer? 010101 010101x
Jedoch wird mich vnd dich Thalia nicht verschweigen 010101 010101x
Mein Augentrost ich geh’ ich geh’ jetzt zu ersteigen 010101 010001x
Der Ehren hohes Schloß; ob gleich der schnöde Neid 010101 010101x
Den Weg verwachen wird den Weg der Ewigkeit. 010101 010101x
Der schnellen Jahre Flucht so alles sonst kan tödten 010101 010101x
Hat nicht Gewalt in vns; die trefflichen Poeten 010101 010001x
Sind viel mehr als man meynt: jhr hofer Sinn vnd Geist 010101 010101x
Ist von deß Himmels Sitz' in sie herab gereist. 010101 000101
Ein frey Gewissen auch ist gar nicht angebunden 010101 010101x
An das Geschrey deß Volcks das ähnlich ist den Hunden: 010101 010101x
Sie bellen in die Luft wo sie nicht können gehn 010101 010101
Vnd bleiben doch allhier weit von dem Himmel stehn. 010101 010101x
So bald vns Atropos den Faden abgeschnitten 010100010101x
So balde haben wir auch vnser Recht erlitten: 010101 010101x
Wann vnser Seel' vnd Geist deß Leibes sind befreyt 010101 010101
Vnd lassen diese Welt so lest vns auch der Neidt. 010101 010101x
So ward auch Hercules der Kern der Helden inne 010100 010101x
Daß niemandt weil er lebt die Mißgunst zähmen könne. 010101 010101x
Diß ist der alte Lauff. Ich den du hier siehst stehn 010101 101001
Vnd auch dein Lob mit mir soll nimmer vntergehn: 010101 010101x
So wiltu dennoch jetzt auß meinen Händen scheiden 010101 010101x
Du kleines Buch vnnd auch mit andern seyn veracht? 0101 01010101
Gewiß du weissest nicht wie hönisch man jetzt lacht 010101 010101
Wie schwerlich sey der Welt Spitzfindigkeit zu meiden. 010101 100101x
Es muß ein jeglich Ding der Menschen Vrtheil leiden 010101 010101x
Vnd ob es tauglich sey steht nicht in seiner Macht; 100101 010101
Der meiste Theil ist doch auff schmähen nur bedacht 010101 010101
Vnd denckt was er nicht kan dasselbe muß' er neiden. 010101 010101x
Noch dennoch (daß du nicht so offt' vnd viel von mir 010101 010101x
Auffs neue dulden dürfst daß ich dich nehme für) 010101 010101
Muß ich dir loß zu seyn vnd aufzuzugehn erleuben. 100101 010101x
So ziehe nun nur hin weils ja dir so gefellt 010101 010101
Vnd nimb dein Vrtheil an zieh' hin zieh' in die Welt; 010101 010101x
Du hestest aber wol zu Hause können bleiben. 010101 010101x
Vnd ihr Herr Brättigam vermeynet frey zu bleiben 010100 010101x
Durchs Regiment der Lieb' vnd laßt bey jhr euch schreiben 100101 010101x
In dem gantz Teutschland fast anjetzt zu Felde liegt 010101 010101
Vnd vnser schönes Reich sich feindlich selbst bekriegt. 010101 010101x
Nein; hier ist gleichfalls Streit. ich will nicht viel vermelden 110101 010101x
Wie die Amazonen gleich allen hohen Helden 10001010 101x
Sich mit der Faust erzeigt die Brüste weg gebrand 010101 010101x
Den Spieß daran gesetzt vnd auß den Feind gerannten. 010101 010101x
So auch erwehn' ich nichts von der Spartaner Frawen 010101 010101x
Wie sie ihr Hertze mehr dann Weiblich lassen schawen 010101 010101x
Als Pyrrhus in ihr Land die Elephanten bracht 010101 000101
Vnd jhr Männer selbst verzagt dardurch gemacht. 010101 010001
Wil von der Böhmischen Valaska nichts nicht sagen 10000101 01x
Die sieben Männer hat in einem Streit' erschlagen 010101 010101x
Vnd vielen andern mehr die mit gewehrter Hand 010101 010101x
Nicht weniger behertzt nur minder sind bekand. 01001 010101x
Diß laß ich alles gehn; ich will nur bloß berühren 010101 010101x
Wie Venus Krieg auch pflegt gleich als jhr Mars zu führen. 010101 100101x
Ein alter Knecht ist schwach: so auch ein alter Mann.
Sie halten beyde Wach. Hier dieser steht gemeine
Für seines Hertzen Haus der für dem Capitayne:
Sie wenden ihr Gemüth vnd Augen für vnd für
Der afft des Feindes Thor; der afft der Liebsten Thür.
Ein Kriegesmann muß fort durch Wind Schnee Frost vnd Regen:
Ist dessen schönste weg er lebt sich nichts bewegen
Zeucht vber Land vnd See fragt nach den Wellen nicht:
Sein Wind ist jhre Gunst sein Nortstern jhr Gesicht.
Ein Landsknecht darf allzeit nach Weine sich nicht sehnen
Lescht offtmals mit der Bach: ein Buhler mit den Threnen.
Der Krieg ist vngewiß: auch hier ist schlüpffrig Eiß;
Man weiß nicht was man will vnd will nit was man weiß.
Diß Volck ist auch bewehrt: die Stirnen sind die Schantzen
Die Oberwehr der Mund die Augen jhre Lantzen
Die Brüst’ ein ander Schild. wer lieben Faultheit nennt
Der gibt genung an Tag wie wenig er es kennt.
Achilles der ist nie so laß von Troja kommen
Als wann Briseis jhn den starcken Sinn benommen:
So matt gieng Hercules von keiner Helden That
Als wann jhn Omphale er sie gefangen hat.
Den edlen grossen Mann hat noch deß Löwens Rachen
Noch die Stymphalides noch bleiche Gifft deß Drachen
Vnd was deß Wesens mehr nie vnter sich gebracht
 Doch ward sein hoher Sinn gelegt durch Weibermacht.
Hie findet seine Lust nimpt keines Feindes wahr
Das blinde Liebeswerck die süsse Gifft der Sinnen
Vnd rechte Zauberey hat letzlich hier ein End’;
Es wird das lose Kind so mich verführen können
Gott lob jetzt gantz vnd gar von mir hinweg gewendt.
Nun suche wo du wilt dir anderwerts Poeten;
Hier Venus hab’ ich mir gesteckt mein eignes Ziel;
Es ist mir deine Gunst jetzt weiter nicht von nöthen;
Ich haß’ all’ Eitelkeit; es liebe wer da wil.
Wann trheil vnd Verstand bey mir zu rathe sitzen
So hattest du mir zwar bethört den jungen Sinn: 010101 010101
Jetzt seh’ ich daß dein Sohn sey ohne wahn vnd Witzen 010101 010101x
Dein Wesen ist ein Markt da Leid wird feil getragen 010101 010101x
Ein Winckel da verdruß vnd Wehmuth jnnen steht 010001 010101
Ein’ Herberg’ aller Noth ein Siechhaus’ vieler Plagen 010101 010101x
Ein Schiff der Pein ein Meer da Tugend vntergeht. 0101 010101
Wo soll die Schönheit seyn wann alles wird vergehen 010101 010101x
Die Lippen von Corall diß Alabaster Bild 010101 000101
Die Augen so jhr seht gleich als zwo Sonnen stehen 01010100101x
Der rothe Rosenmund der weissen Brüste Schild? 010101 010101x
Sie sollen vnd wir auch als Asch’ vnd Staub entfliehen 010101010101x
Vnd allzugleiche gehn den Weg der Eitelkeit: 010101 010101x
Pracht Hoffart Gut vnd Geld vmb das wir vns so mühren 110101 010101x
Wird Wind vnd Flügel noch bekommen mit der Zeit. 010101 010101x
Ist Liebe laut’ nichts, wie daß sie mich entzündet? 010101 010101x
Ist sie dann gleichwohl was, wem ist ihr Tun bewußt? 010101 010101x
Ist sie auch recht und gut, wie bringt sie böse Lust? 010101 010101x
Ist sie nicht gut, wie daß man Freud aus ihr empfindet? 0101 01010101x
Lieb ich gar williglich, wie daß ich Schmerzen trage? 010100 010101x
Muß ich es tun, was hilfts, daß ich solch Trauren führ? 0101 010101x
Tu ichs nicht gern, wer ists, der es befiehlet mir? 0101 01100101
Tu ich es gern, warum, daß ich mich dann beklage? 010101 010101x

Vnd du wirst auch bey meiner Buhlschafft stehen 001001 010101x
O Delia du Bildnuß aller Ziehr: 0100 010101x
Ich wil auch dich durch meine Verß’ erhöhen; 010101 010101x
Ich wil dein Lob erweitern für vnd für. 010101 010101x
Sey nicht erzürnt Asterie mein Leben 0101 010001x
Weil ich anjetzt so sehr weit von dir bin 0101 101001x
Daß ich mich hab’ in andre Huld ergeben 010101 010101x
Vnd frembde Gunst mir kommen in den Sinn. 0101 010101x
Ich habe dich in jhren Augen funden: 010101 010101x
Dein Angesicht’ und rosenrother Mund 0101 010101x
Dein schönes Haar ist so in jhr verbunden 010101 010101x
Daß ich sie nicht für dir erkennen kundt’. 010101 0101x
Ich fandt in jhr was ich bey dir verlassen; 010101 010101x
Ich fand in jhr dich so gebildet ein 010101 0101x
Daß ich vermeyn’ ich könne sie nicht hassen 0101 01010101x
Ich müsse denn auch dir zu wider seyn. 010101 010101x
O Delia du Spiegel meiner Frewden 0100 01010101x

Martin Opitz
Pentameter
Du Ebenbild der schönsten in der Welt
Vergönne doch daß sich mein’ Augen weiden
Weil deine Ziehr mein Leben in sich helt;
Weil ihr Gesicht’ ist so in dich geschrieben
Daß sie ihr selbst nicht ähnlicher seyn kan
Wie wolt’ ich dich mein’ Augenlust nicht lieben?
Ach nimb mich doch von jhrentwegen an.
So wil ich auch mit steten Versen ehren
Dein’ hohe Ziehr vnd edlen Augenschein.
So lange man von Liebe nur wird hören
Wird man züglich’ auch deiner inndenck seyn.
AV weh! ich bin in tausend tausend Schmertzen
Vnd tausend noch! die Seufzer sind vnbsunst
Herauff geholt; kein Anschlag List noch Kunst
Verfengt bey jhr. wie wann im kühlen Mertzen
Der Schnee zugeht durch Krafft der Himmel-kertzen
Vnd netzt das Feld; so feuchtet meine Brunst
Der Zehren Bach die noch die minste Gunst
Nicht außgebracht. Mein’ Augen sind dem Hertzen
Ein schädlichs Gifft: das Dencken an mein Liecht
Macht daß ich jrr’ vnd weiß mich selber nicht
Macht daß ich bin gleich einem blossen Scheine
Daß kein Gelenck vnd Gliedmaß weder Krafft
Noch Stärcke hat die andern keinen Safft
Noch Blut nicht mehr kein Marck nicht die Gebeine.
Er ist der Rußt dem der Fürsten und Soldaten
Und wunder sein seine gleichlosen thaten.
Also daß billich er durch seine thaten
Ein Spiegel ist für Fürsten vnd Soldaten.
Vnd singet stets: Moritz durch deine thaten
Bistu der Ruhm der Fürsten vnd Soldaten
Wie tröstlich ists wann eine grosse Schar
Wann Völcker sind zusammen in Gefahr
Es beissen uns die Thränen nich so sehr
Die Pein ist froh wann jhrer sind noch mehr
Des Ungemachs von dem kein Mensch ist frey
Begeht nich einer daß er ein Armer sey
Ist keiner groß hat niemandt Geldt und Gut
So wächset noch den Armen Hertz’ und Muth:
Der ist getrost der grossen Schaden fühlt
Derselbe weint mit dem das Wetter spielt
Hoch über See an unbewohnten Strand:
Wann tausent Schiff’ auff dies’ und jene Handt
Wann Mast und Bret umbs Meer gestrewet sind
Un schwimmen hin un der Nord-western-Windt
Der Phryxus hat die Schwester sehr geklagt  
Auff dem sie sich darvon zu fliehn gewagt  
Un schnell’ ertranck. Die Pyrrhe und jhr Mann  
Noch haben sie so kläglich nich gethan  
Die menge Schiff’ und Schiffer die wir sehn  
Wann nur die Luftt wird auff die höhe when  
Wir armes Volck wie wird es da uns gehn  
Wann nun die See gemach wird höher sthn  
Die Mutter wird dem Sohn’ und er auch jhr  
Da Troja war; schawt Mutter schawt doch hier  
Von fernen seht da liegt die Stadt hinein  
Zum Himmel raucht. Diß wird das Zeichen seyn.