# Parallelism and Musical Structures in Ingrian and Karelian Oral Poetry

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

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

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

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>For example, see Hymes (1981); Tedlock (1983) on ethnopoetics; Fine (1984); Honko (1998) on textualization; on epic poetry, see also Foley (1995) and Harvilahti (2003).

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

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

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

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

## **Poetics and Performance**

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

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

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

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

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

#### **Oral Poetry in Kalevala-Meter**

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

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>See also Anttonen (1994); see DuBois (1994) on ethnopoetics of Finnic oral poetry.

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

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

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

# **Local Singing Traditions**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### **Kalevala-Meter and Musical Structures**

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

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

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

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

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

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

# 1. No Connection between Parallelism and Musical Structures

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

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

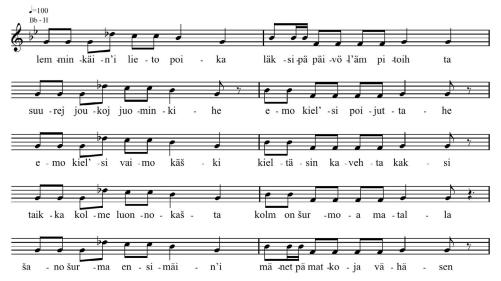


Fig. 1. The beginning of a song on the mythical journey of Lemminkäini, performed by Nasti Huotarin'i from Akonlahti village, Archangel Karelia. Sound recording made in 1938 in a refugee camp. (SKSÄ A130/22a; musical transcription by Ilona Korhonen.)

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

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Mythical maidens.

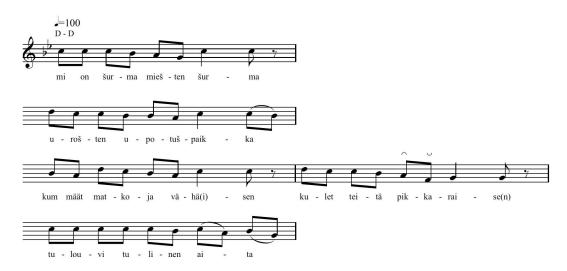
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Mythical maidens.

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

# 2. Melodic Variation Connected to Parallelism

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

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



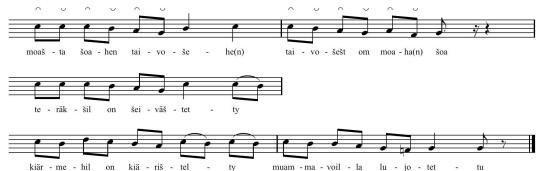


Fig. 2. Lines 10-19 of the song on the mythical journey of Lemminkäini, performed by Siitari Karjalaini from Vuokkiniemi village, Archange Karelia. Sound recording made in 1922. (SKSÄ A 296/5-8; musical transcription by Juulia Salonen.)

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

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

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

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

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

# 3. Verse Repetition Connected to Parallelism

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

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

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

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

| alemma šitäki vielä;        | yet lower:                       | P1R   |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|-------|
| nuori selkä notkumin'i,     | the young back should bow,       | $I^8$ |
| pešty kaula kaartumin'i.    | the washed neck should curve,    | P1    |
| pešty kaula kaartumin'i [ ] | the washed neck should curve [ ] | P1R   |

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

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

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>This verse may be interpreted as a parallel verse to the *Alemma kumartamin'i*, but not to the strictly preceding verse *alemma šitäki vielä*.

#### PARALLELISM AND MUSICAL STRUCTURES

| nur(u)muelle nurkkaamaa | on the lawn to mourn,           | P1  |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-----|
| oi kaalina              |                                 |     |
| oi maalina              |                                 |     |
| nurmuelle nurkkaamaha   | on the lawn to mourn.           | P1R |
| tul tuu kuldoi kutsumaa | My beloved-one came to call me. | Ι   |

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

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

| oi läksin koista kulgomaha   | I set out from my home to walk, | Ι        |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------|
| veräjildä veerömää           | to roll on from the gates,      | P1       |
| oi liiaa veerömää            |                                 |          |
| veräjildä veerömää           |                                 |          |
| izoin uuvesta tuvasta        | from my father's new house,     | I (/P2)  |
| velloin karjoikartanoo/ee    | from the barn of my brother.    | P1 (/P3) |
| oi liiaa kar(a)tanoo         |                                 |          |
| velloin karjoikar(a)tanoo    |                                 |          |
| löim miä jalgoini kiv(v)oihe | I hit my foot on a rock:        | Ι        |
| istusin maaha itkemää        | I sat down to weep,             | Ι        |
| oi liiaa itkemää             |                                 |          |
| istuin maaha itkemää         |                                 |          |
| istusim maaha itkömähä       | I sat down to weep,             | IR       |
| kivem päälle kiljumaa        | on a rock to yell,              | P1       |
| oi liiaa kilijumaa           |                                 |          |
| kiven päälle kil(i)jumaa     |                                 |          |
| kivem päälle kiljumaha       | on a rock to yell,              | P1R      |
| aijoim päälle aikkamaa       | on a fence to sob               | P2       |
| oi liiaa aikkamaa            |                                 |          |
| aijoim päälle aikkamaa       |                                 |          |

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

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

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

# 4. Towards Regular Couplets or Quatrains

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

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

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

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| löysi mättähäm meroista   | Found a tussock on the sea,               | Ι        |
|---------------------------|---|----------|
| yhem mättähän sinnii      | one blue tussock,                         | P1       |
| ras kaalina maja          |   |          |
| ras maalina maja          |   |          |
| toizen mättägän punnaisen | another red tussock,                      | P2       |
| kolmas kelloin karvallee  | a third yellow tussock.                   | Р3       |
| ras kaalina maja          |   |          |
| ras maalina majo          |   |          |
| ["Vähä? Vähä."]           | [A break. Spoken: "A little?" "A little." | ]9       |
| valoi vaskisem pessäisen  | Casted a nest of copper,                  | Ι        |
| muni kultaisem munaa      | laid a golden egg.                        | $I^{10}$ |
| ras kaalina maja          |   |          |
| ras maalina maja          |   |          |
| tuli tuuloi aivoin tuimoi | Rose a fierce wind,                       | Ι        |
| meroiv viihkura vihhaa    | a gust of angry wind:                     | P1       |
| ras kaalina maja          |   |          |
| ras maalina maja          |   |          |
| viiretti munat vetteehe   | rolled the eggs into water,               | Ι        |
| laski pesoil laukasee     | set the nest on the bay of Laukaa         | P1       |
| ras kaa                   |   |          |

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

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>A short discussion between the lead singer and someone in the choir, meaning: "Should I sing a little more?" "Yes, a little more."

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

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

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

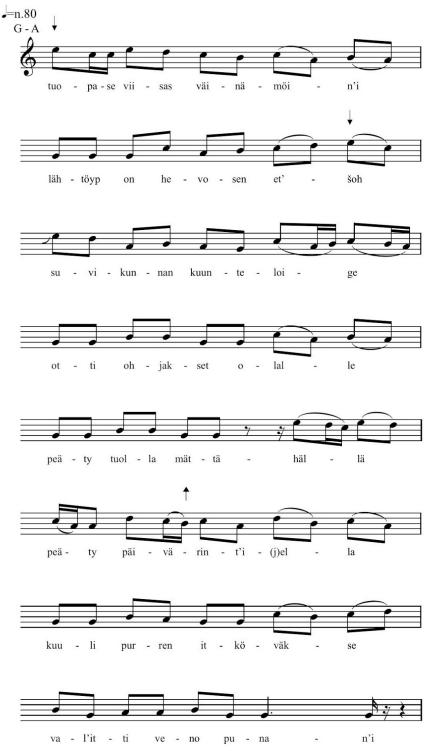


Fig. 3. First lines of the song on the boat trip of the old sage Väinämöinen and the creation of the first Kantele-instrument, performed by Anni Kiriloff from Aajuolahti village, Archangel Karelia. Sound recording made in 1923 in a refugee camp. (SKSÄ A 72/1. 1991, musical transcription by Juulia Salonen.)

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

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

# Local, Genre-Specific, and Individual Strategies of Variation

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

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Again, verses 2-4 are difficult to interpret. Verse 3 in not self-evidently a parallel line to verse 2 (although they relate), but verse 4 is a parallel line to verse 2.

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

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

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

The relationship of parallelism and musical structures encompasses a large range of variation. Many singers did not mark the thematic and parallel structures of their poems in any particular musical or para-linguistic way: the structures of the poem and melody operate on different, independent levels of variation and, thus, form various kinds of convergences and contrasts, as described earlier by Heikki Laitinen (2004). Nevertheless, in both Archangel Karelia and Ingria, singers often seem to accentuate the parallel structures of the poems either by textual repetitions<sup>13</sup> or melodic variations.<sup>14</sup> Repeating only some of the parallel verses (often the last ones) accentuates and lengthens the parallel structures. The resulting pattern is dependent on the melody type and local singing practices, leading to rather different structures in Ingria and Karelia. In some cases, the repetitions mold the poem to fit into the two-line melodic structure; an occasional line may be repeated to match some initial line with the first line of the melody. In other cases, the chosen musical structure and style seems to direct the poetic content towards more regular, dense structures of parallelism and thematic sections than is the conventional local practice. This seems to be connected both to the melody type used and personal preferences: the same singers may structure their poems in a looser (and more common) manner if singing with another melody type or if dictating a poem. Here, the musical structure seems to direct the process of performing a particular version of a poetic theme.

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Resembling the cases described by Pekka Huttu-Hiltunen (2008) and Leea Virtanen (1968).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> As shown by Janika Oras (2010) with certain Estonian melody-types.

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

Finnish Literature Society, SKS (projects of the Finnish Academy no. 288119 and 308381) and University of Helsinki (HY)

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