

The Metrical Structure of Kashmiri Vanivun

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Abstract

Poetics, as Roman Jakobson states in his remarks about poetry in relation to linguistics, primarily deals with the question, “*What makes a verbal message a work of art?*” In oral traditions of poetry, various linguistic entities are employed by poets in the formation of metrical constraints without making them obvious as conscious sets of rules (See Kiparsky 1972 [1988]: 96). Many different clues are employed by poets in traditional societies to help understand the nature of these linguistic entities. The main objectives of this paper are: (1) to describe the metrical structure of *Vanivun* – a popular genre of Kashmiri folklore, and (2) to analyze the metrical constraints/peculiarities characterizing the elegant structure of this poetic genre. As a poetic genre, *Vanivun* poses a challenge to most available models of poetic composition where PROMINENCE is treated in terms of metrical asymmetry between Strong and Weak positions. The metrical structure of *Vanivun* presents a three-way distinction in terms of prominence where beats can be classified as: Strong, Weak or Intermediate. The distinction is based on interplay of quantitative, positional and rhythmic factors characteristic of Kashmiri phonological stress (See Munshi & Crowhurst 2011). Under this view, each metrical division (“measure”) in a line typically behaves like a trisyllabic prosodic word in which a primary stress falls on the first and a secondary (“intermediate”) stress on the third (final) syllable. The desired output is achieved through various repair mechanisms in the form of quantity-increasing and/or decreasing strategies applying to the input.

Keywords: accentual verse, lexical selection genres, metrics, metricality, morphophonemics, quantitative verse, sprung rhythm, stress, syllabic verse, versification.

The Metrical Structure of Kashmiri Vanivun¹

1. Introduction

This paper aims to describe and analyze the metrical structure of *Vanivun* – a form of poetic discourse in the oral traditions of Kashmir. A vast amount of literature on metrical traditions concerns versification in a small number of languages, most of which are European. Many of these languages belong to the so-called “lexical selection” genres, in which the metricality of a verse depends on a judicious selection of lexical items (words) pronounced as the language dictates.² Most of these genres are characterized by what is termed as “text-to-tune alignment” in the literature where a correspondence is sought between linguistic groups or prosodic constituents (syllables, words and phrases in language) and musical groups (notes in a tune or melody) (Cf. Dell and Halle 2009, Libermann 1975). There are a number of poetic traditions in the world where text-to-tune correspondence is not a requirement; thus, it is possible to distort or modify lexical items according to the meter or the rhythm of the poetic genre or the song. This may vary even within a tradition. For example, poetry in Early Modern English was recited in a way that emphasized the meter. In the present day English, poetry is recited in a more “natural” way that conceals the meter. In Urdu *ghazal* performances, some singers bring out the meter in the song, others don't pay any attention to it, and some subtly

negotiate between the meter and the melody. Still, it can be argued that the meter of a line of Shakespeare or that of a *ghazal* is invariant, no matter how we recite or sing it.³ Vanġvun, which originated as a style of recitation, belongs to the repertoire of genres or verbal arts characterized by phonological and morphological (morphophonological) manipulation of words in the poetic instances (i.e. lines or verses) which employ various linguistic strategies as “repair mechanisms” to achieve metricality. The linguistic strategies involve a significant amount of modification or restructuring of the phonological forms and are vigorously employed by the composer or “poet”.⁴ -

Remaining within the broad framework of the generative metrics theory (e.g. English (Halle & Keyser 1971, Kiparsky 1977), Greek (Prince 1989), Persian and Arabic (Maling 1973, Hayes 1979, Prince 1989)), I argue that the verse meter in Vanġvun consists of an abstract periodic template onto which linguistic material is mapped with the help of a set of correspondence constraints; any metrical infelicities are “repaired” by the use of quantity-increasing and/or quantity-decreasing strategies. The available pattern is determined by constraints on: (1) line length and temporal organization,⁵ (2) number of metrical units or measures, (3) syllable weight or syllable quantity in the metrical units, and (4) organization of stress or prominence patterns in the metrical units. The result is one (and only one) of the many different metrical patterns available in the entire repertoire of Kashmiri poetic discourse. It is this unique verse meter together with a fixed or unique melody which characterizes the poetic genre, viz., *Vanġvun*. The fixed melody, which was added to a specific (Muslim or “folk”) variant of the genre over the course of its evolution, preserves the linguistic and/or metrical constraints characterizing the poetic tradition.

Following Kiparsky (2010), the study makes a distinction between **narrow metrics** (where a set of correspondence constraints between metrical and prosodic rules determine the metrical analyses/scansions; narrow metrics excludes performance/delivery) and **broad metrics** (where a set of performance conventions apply on the scansions leading to “acceptable deliveries”). My analyses go along the framework of the “broad” metrics where delivery (recitation and text-setting) fall under the province of metrics. Thus, although a distinction is made between *verse design* (metrical system), *verse instance* (metrically parsed text), and *delivery instance* (recitation or performance), the current analyses demonstrate that the three are closely interlinked and not exclusive of each other. The underlying claim is that the verse instance is “composed” (created) and “performed” (delivered) by the author (poet or composer) simultaneously; in other words, composition and performance are not independent of each other. In this context, I would like to emphasize that although the fixed melody is one of the important aspects of (a certain type of) Vanġvun, the defining feature is the meter and not the melody.

Note that a separate verb *vanġvun* ‘to perform Vanġvun, the specific genre of poetry’, is used for the act of performance, as opposed to *gevin* ‘to sing’ -- the verb used for performing a musical rendition of a poem or ‘song’.⁶ In other words, the delivery or performance of a *vanġvun* is strictly distinguished from the delivery or performance (‘singing’) of a *bə:tʰ* (the Kashmiri word for) ‘song’ (See §2 and §3 for more on this). *Vanġvun* is a strict meter, governed by a set of metrical constraints

and determined by a set of prosodic rules where there is no necessary one-to-one correspondence between lexical stress and metrical stress. Thus, a prosodic “word” can be scanned differently in different verse instances, and this has no bearing, whatsoever, on the syntax or semantics of the verse.

The database for the study constitutes of fifteen different texts and a number of individual verses popularly known among the speakers of the Kashmiri language and identified as “Vanġvun” by the native speakers. Most of the texts are of unknown authorship and are orally preserved, being memorized and passed on from generation to generation.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. In §2, I present the sociolinguistic and historical background of the poetic genre, along with a note on how it is performed. In §3, I provide an overview of the basic stress pattern in Kashmiri followed by a discussion on the structural aspects of Vanġvun in §4 in terms of the verse design (§4.1), delivery or recitation (§4.2), and rhyme scheme (§4.3). A detailed description of the repair mechanisms involved in arriving at a certain metrical structure is provided in §5, which gives an overall picture of the linguistic means of parallel patterning in the form of quantity-increasing (§5.1) and quantity-decreasing (§5.2) strategies. This is followed by a discussion and analysis of the metrically-driven repair mechanisms employed by the composers and their implications in §6 (i.e., scansions in §6.1, syllable structure in §6.2, and metrical structure in §6.3), and concluding remarks in §7.

2. Background

As noted earlier, Vanġvun is a genre of Kashmiri folk poetry which is not classified as a type of *bā:tʰ* ‘song’. Historically speaking, it is a form of ceremonial ‘chant’ composed of sessions which cover sequences of rituals associated with various stages in particular socio-cultural events. Over the course of its evolution, the performance of the poetic genre has undergone various changes, including the adoption of a melody, and in the modern times is perceived as a form of ‘singing’. Therefore, even though historically incorrect, for the purposes of this paper, I will use the term “song” for a (metrically parsed) text in a special sense as a cover term for any poetic genre in Kashmiri that is ‘performed’ or ‘sung’, including Vanġvun.⁷

Although little is known about the historical origin of Vanġvun, this particular style of poetry is believed to have originated in the Vedic Sanskrit period. It is highly venerated in Kashmiri society.⁸ In contrast to the written poetic traditions of Kashmir, which have been greatly influenced by and perhaps even adopted from the poetic traditions in other languages, such as *ghazal*, *nāẓm*, *marṣiya* and *masnavi* from Urdu and Persian, Vanġvun belongs to the repertoire of oral traditions which are indigenous. Other very popular genres of indigenous Kashmiri oral tradition include: *vacun*, *rov* (or *rof*), *ĉʰakġr*, *laḡi:-ṣah*, and *ba:ṇḡi-pə:tʰġr*, among others. Historically speaking, a poetic instance in all these traditions is ‘performed’ rather than written and/or ‘read’.

Because Kashmiri society is divided into two main religious communities, viz., Muslims and Hindus, certain Vanġvun songs are unique to each community because of various themes and rituals. One of the distinguishing features between the Hindu and Muslim Vanġvun is the mode of delivery; thus, while “MuslimVanġvun” sounds more or less like ‘singing’ because of its musical melody,⁹ a typical “Bata Vanġvun” (Hindu Vanġvun) is more closer to the original chanting style of recitation. In addition, there are also differences in the selection of the lexicon which reflect the sociolectal differences characteristic of the varieties of the language of the two communities (i.e., Persian and Arabic loans in Muslim Kashmiri as opposed to Sanskrit and Indo-Aryan loans in Hindu Kashmiri).

As a poetic form of linguistic discourse, Vanġvun is characterized by a number of features – linguistic as well as extra-linguistic, which make it very different from other forms of Kashmiri poetic discourse. Most Vanġvun songs have been preserved orally; thus, the authorship of a large number of songs is not known. Over the course of its development and evolution, some changes have taken place in terms of the nature of the thematic content of Vanġvun. Thus, originally a part of *lila* or devotional lyrics of Hindus, Vanġvun also found its way into the Muslim *naat* (a verse tribute to the Prophet Mohammed).¹⁰

A Note on the Performance

Traditionally, Vanġvun is not accompanied by musical instruments; in this respect it differs from some other forms of Kashmiri folk poetics such as *ġ^hakġr*, *laġi:-šah*, *ba:ŋġi-pə:t^hġr*, etc. which are generally accompanied with musical instruments. Originally, Vanġvun was only performed by a specialist – an elderly woman, who would sit on a raised platform in front of a group of women (see Dhar 2003: 5, 16). The specialist would often improvise many new verses extemporaneously based on a proto verse during a performance, and the rest of the women would repeat the verses; the act was performed as a ritual. In modern times, the restriction with regard to the ‘specialists’ has more or less been relaxed; thus, almost all adult women familiar with Kashmiri culture participate in a Vanġvun. Nowadays, most Vanġvun songs are memorized, and some have been recorded in print or as manuscripts. Improvisation is rarely observed, although new compositions are constantly added to the repertoire. During a performance, women gather and sit in two comfortably organized groups or rows, approximately equal in number. Facing each other, one group takes the lead and the other follows. The lead group ‘performs’ a couplet and then the other group repeats the same couplet. While the first line of each couplet is performed only once, the second line is repeated after a very conspicuous pause, which is filled by an audible *ummm* (see (1) for illustration).

(1) The first couplet from a Muslim Vanġvun

Group 1:

bismelah kərit ^h hemay vanġvunuy	(Line 1)
sa:hiban anja:m onuye:	(Line 2)
ummm.....	(A conspicuous pause)
sa:hiban anja:m onuye:	(Repetition of Line 2)

Group 2:

bismelah kərit ^h hemay vanġvunuy	(Line 1)
sa:hiban anja:m onuye:	(Line 2)
ummm.....	(A conspicuous pause)
sa:hiban anja:m onuye:	(Repetition of Line 2)

‘By saying “Bismillah” I will start the *Vanġvun*
Sahib has brought you good fortune’¹¹

Quite often, a Vanġvun has an opening couplet followed by different sets of verses the content of which is determined by the order of various events (steps) in a ritual ceremony.¹²

3. An Overview of the Kashmiri Stress Pattern

In order to have a clear understanding of the analyses presented in the following sections, it is important to provide an overview of the Kashmiri stress pattern vis-à-vis the theoretical framework used in this study. The metrical system of Kashmiri belongs to the class of languages where CVC syllables are favored over CV syllables but defer to CV: syllables. This is because in Kashmiri closed syllables belong to a distinct class than CV and CV: syllables. The language presents a four-way weight scale CV:C> CV: > CVC > CV where the property that distinguishes closed (CV:C and CVC) syllables from both CV and CV: syllables is that the closed syllables possess a non-weight-bearing coda which branches from a syllable's final mora (See Munshi & Crowhurst 2012: Note that this account does not require CV:C syllables to be trimoraic). Thus, within each traditional weight class (viz., bimoraic and monomoraic), the syllable with the branching mora, CV:C and CVC, is the better stress peak than its open counterpart (CV: and CV respectively) (*Op Cit.*). Under this approach syllable codas play a role in stress systems indepently of mora count (See deLacy (1997), Crowhurst & Michael (2005) and Wiltshire (2006)).

The distribution of stress in Kashmiri is sensitive to: (i) *positional factors* – a syllable's position in a word, (ii) *rhythmic factors* – the avoidance of stress lapses and clashes, and (iii) *structural factors* – whether a syllable contains a long or a short vowel, and whether the syllable is open or closed. The language makes a distinction between **primary** and **secondary** stress. Stress in compounds behaves differently than non-compounds in that each component in a compound behaves like an individual word where the first syllable is always stressed. Note that

“prominence” and stress assignment was measured in this study by the following criteria. First, it relies on the intuitions of the author who is a native speaker of Kashmiri and a trained linguist. Stressed syllables have a higher pitch than unstressed syllables in Kashmiri; primary and secondary stress can be identified in terms of the relative degrees of intensity in pitch. Further, vowel duration (not to be understood as phonological “length”) is the strongest and most reliable cue for “primary” stress; for “secondary” stress, intensity is the primary cue though duration can also help. A summary of the basic generalizations on word stress in Kashmiri is provided in (2) (Note: henceforth, a dot “.” indicates a syllable boundary; primary and secondary lexical stress is represented by acute [´] and grave [`] accents respectively):

(2) Basic generalizations on word stress in Kashmiri.¹³

- i. Primary stress always falls on the word-initial syllable. Thus, any syllable occupying the initial position receives primary stress irrespective of its weight. For example, *ká.lĥ* ‘head’, *sá.bĥz* ‘green’, *á.mà:r* ‘love, affection’, *yám.bĥr.zàl* ‘narcissus’, *pá:.gàl* ‘mad’.
- ii. Stress occurs on every syllable containing a long vowel (CV: and CV:C). For example, *má:ṭà:mà:l* ‘maternal grandparents’ house’, *kʰá:nḍà:n* ‘(extended) family’.
- iii. Word-final CVC syllables are always stressed (e.g. *vá.ni.vùn* ‘a poetic genre in Kashmiri’, *hṣŋ.gĥŋ* ‘chin’, *kʰá:n.ḍà:rĥŋ* ‘wife’), while word-final CV syllables never are (e.g. *ká.ŋi* vs. **ká.ŋi* ‘stones’; *má.lĥ.ri* vs. **má.lĥ.rì* ‘ripples’).¹⁴
- iv. CVC syllables in medial positions may be stressed (*yú.ni.vàr.si.tì:* ‘university’) or unstressed (*yám.bĥr.zàl* ‘narcissus’) depending on rhythmic factors which tend to avoid possible stress clashes (**yám.bĥr.zàl*) or stress lapses (**yú.ni.var.si.tì:*).
- v. CV syllables generally avoid stress except when they occur word-initially, or when there are no potential stress-bearers (CVC or CV: syllables) in close proximity (e.g. *ká.lĥ* vs. **ká.lĥ* ‘head’, *má.lĥ.ri* vs. **má.lĥ.rì* ‘ripples’, and *má.ha.rè.ŋi* vs. **má.ha.re.ŋi* or **má.hà.re.ŋi* ‘brides’).
- vi. Vowels of CV syllables are often syncopated in favor of stressed CVC syllables (e.g. *ká.tĥ.ri* → *kát.ri* ‘potsherds’).

Many constraints apply with reference to the structure and position of units in the metrical grid (in the sense of Prince 1983), stress peaks and unstressed syllables; a detailed optimality theoretic analysis and a comprehensive constraint hierarchy is available in Munshi & Crowhurst (2012). The most central of these constraints which are of prime importance to this study are listed in (3):

(3) Central constraints on stress (from Munshi & Crowhurst (2012):

A. INITIALSTRESS: Align-Left (PrWd, $\acute{\sigma}$)

Obligatory word-initial stress requires the constraint INITIALSTRESS

b. WSP: Weight-to-Stress Principle

Heavy syllables are stressed.

c. *PEAK_{FT}/NOBRANCH(μ):

Any mora in a stress peak must branch.

D. FINALSTRESS: Align-Right (PrWd, $\acute{\sigma}$)

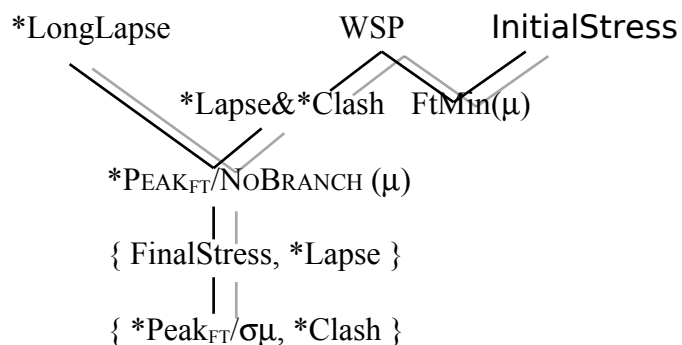
Obligatory word-final stress requires the constraint FINALSTRESS

e. *CLASH:

No stressed syllables are adjacent.

While the constraints INITIALSTRESS and WSP are never violated, *PEAK_{FT}/NOBRANCH(μ), *CLASH and FINALSTRESS are often violated in non-poetic language. In addition to these, other important constraints include: *Lapse (which avoids a stress lapse where two adjacent syllables are unstressed), * LongLapse (which avoids a lapse longer than two syllables), FtMin(μ) (which requires that feet should contain at least two moras), and *Peak_{FT}/ $\sigma\mu$ (which promotes stress on bimoraic syllables in favor of monomoraic CV and CVC syllables). The following table in (4) provides a schematic representation of the constraint hierarchy in the form of a Hasse diagram (4a) and a summary of the constraint rankings (4b) as given in Munshi & Crowhurst (2012):

(4) a. Hasse diagram:



b. Summary of constraint rankings (notations slightly modified in this study)

Ranking	Justification
WSP » *Pk _{FT} /NoBr(μ)	k ^h á:n.ḍà:.rìŋ > * k ^h á:n.da:.rìŋ
WSP » FtMin(μ)	v ^h é.rì: > *v ^h é.ri:
InitialStress »	sá.bìz > *sa.bíz

*Pk _{FT} /NoBr(μ)	
InitialStress » FtMin(μ)	və.ri: > *və.ri:
*Pk _{FT} /NoBr(μ) »	ká.ri > *ká.ri
FinalStress	
*LongLapse »	má.ha.rè.ri > má.ha.rè.ri
*Pk _{FT} /NoBr(μ)	
FinalStress »	yém.bir.zàl > *yém.bir.zal
*Peak _{FT} /σμ	
*Pk _{FT} /NoBr(μ) » *Lapse	má.li.ri > *má.li.ri
FinalStress » *Clash	sá.bìz > *sá.bìz
*Lapse » *Peak _{FT} /σμ	lá.fàŋ.gi > *lá.fàŋ.gi
*Lapse » *Clash	lá.fàŋ.gi > *lá.fàŋ.gi
*Lapse&*Clash »	dʒá.lan.dà.ri > *dʒá.làn.da.ri
*Peak _{FT} /NoBranch(μ)	

Source: Munshi & Crowhurst (2012)

One of the central claims that I make in the present study based on the discussions and analyses that follow is that Vanɪvun provides one of the most optimal meters available to the Kashmiri poetic traditions. Under this analysis, the stress assignment is not lexically-driven but is determined by the metrical or rhythmic divisions in a line. Thus, a metrical division or “Measure” (also (loosely) designated as a (metrical) “foot” in the following analyses) in a poetic line (verse) behaves like a (trisyllabic) prosodic word presenting one of the most optimal structures in the metrical system. The desired output is achieved through various repair mechanisms which are available to the composer in the form of quantity-increasing and/or decreasing strategies that can be applied to the input enabling the author to stretch or to skew the poetic instance as the need be (More on this in §5 and §6).

4. Structural Aspects of Vanɪvun

In order to understand the metrical structure of the verse, we need to look at two important components of Vanɪvun, viz. *verse design* and *delivery instance* (recitation or song). Given its role in the present analyses, a third component, *rhyme*, is also described briefly for a general understanding of the verse.¹⁵

4.1. Verse Design

The basic component of the Vanɪvun verse is a “measure” or metrical “foot”.¹⁶ The song is divided into couplets and each line in a couplet is composed of four metrical divisions (feet). Each foot consists of one strong beat (corresponding to a metrically “strong” syllable), which occurs at the left edge of the foot. A varying number of syllables may occur in weak or less prominent positions; these range from one to three in all feet except the last foot of every even-numbered line which

always contains a single “strong” syllable; thus, the second line in each couplet is invariably shorter than the first line.¹⁷ For illustration, consider the data in (5) and (6) below (Note: Vowels of the metrically most prominent syllables are henceforth represented as **bold and underlined**; edges of metrical feet are designated by “↑”, and “↑↑” represents the right edge of the final foot in even lines. Following traditional binary distinctions of feet into “Strong” and “Weak”, “S” represents a metrically strong syllable and “W” a metrically weak syllable.):

(5) Example from (1) repeated here

Couplet #1: **b**ismelah karit^h hemay vanivunuy
sa:hiban anja:m onuye:

‘By saying “Bismillah” I will start singing Vanivun (for you)
Sahib has brought you good fortune (today)’

Foot structure (tentative):¹⁸

↑SWW	↑SW	↑SWWW	↑SW	↑
↑SWW	↑SW	↑SW	↑S	↑↑

(6) Excerpt from a rarely performed comical Vanivun¹⁹

Couplet #1: **a**di-k^hor adi-lok go:mut č^hotuye:
ami k^hoti o:suy motuye: ja:n

‘The half-bald, handicapped (person) has turned grey
A madman would have been better’

Foot structure (tentative):

↑SWW	↑SWW	↑SW	↑SWW	↑
↑SWWW	↑SW	↑SWW	↑S	↑↑

Couplet #2: k^haji muri yeza:r zan hay č^hes buhuri:
vuhuri: t^ha:vinam xul^hhas vat^h

‘(His) wide-bell trousers look like sacks
I hope he gives me an option for divorce within a year’

Foot structure (tentative):

↑SWWW	↑SW	↑SWW	↑SWW	↑
↑SWW	↑SWW	↑SWW	↑S	↑↑

(7) First two couplets from a popular Vanivun, often sung as a *be:th* by bridesmaids

Šo:xi ča:niva:a:yey Čangi nay sa:zo: (1)

a:k^ho: šahare: ši:ra:zo:

hu:ri č^hey vaniva:n nu:ri- mahara:zo: (2)

a:k^ho: šahare: ši:ra:zo:

‘For (my) wish for you, I will play *Chung*, flute and music

You have come from the city of Shiraz
 Fairies are singing for you, O splendid groom
 You have come from the city of Shiraz'

Foot structure (tentative):

↑SWWW	↑ SW	↑ SWW	↑ SW	↑	(1)
↑SW	↑ SWW	↑ SW	↑ S	↑↑	
↑SWW	↑ SWW	↑ SWWW	↑ SW	↑	(2)
↑SW	↑ SWW	↑ SW	↑ S	↑↑	

From the above examples we see that from one to three weak syllables can be present in each foot. The various possible combinations are: SW, SWW, and SWWW (except for S in Foot #4 of even lines, which always contains a single strong syllable of the type CV:(C) or CVC).²⁰ So far, I have only referred to syllables as “strong” and “weak” based on their distinction in terms of being “more” or “less” prominent. That there is more to the degrees of prominence is evident from the examples in (7) below, where both (metrically) strong and intermediate syllables are marked for prominence. . (Note: To distinguish between lexical (phonological) and metrical stress, two separate representations are given. Thus, primary and secondary lexical stress is represented by acute [´] and grave [`] accents respectively in the “Lexical” representation provided in the first tier. In the “Metrical” (Poetic) representation (second tier), all metrically prominent syllables are represented as **bold**, and the most prominent (Strong) ones are **bold and underlined**).

(7) Data illustrating the degrees of prominence in lexical and metrical stress:

a.	sóni-šrà:n	kérìtáv	rópi-kà:yà:yè:	(Lexical) (1)
	↑sóni-šrà:n↑	kəritav↑	ropi-ka:↑ya:ye: ↑	(Metrical)
	gold-bath	do.Imp.Pl	silver-skin.Dat	
	šrḥgà:r	móhabàt	má:yè: hún	(2)
	↑šrḥgà:r↑	mohabat↑	ma:ye: ↑ hún ↑↑	
	make-up	love	affection of	

‘Bathe the (bride’s) silver body with gold
 And beautify her with the make-up of love’

yóhà	má:y-	móhabàt	várìtani	á:yè:	(3)
↑yohay	ma:y-↑	mohabat↑	varitani↑	a:ye: ↑	
this	affection-	love	express	came.Pl.	

áz	vétastà:yè:	má:zè:-rà:t ^h	(4)
↑az	vetas↑ta:ye: ↑	mə:ze:↑-ra:t ^h ↑↑	
today	Vitasta.Dat.	henna-night	

‘(We) have come to express love and affection,
 Today is Vitasta’s mǝ:zi-ra:t (night of henna)’

b.	bísmelàh	kérìt ^h	hémay	vánivunù	(1)
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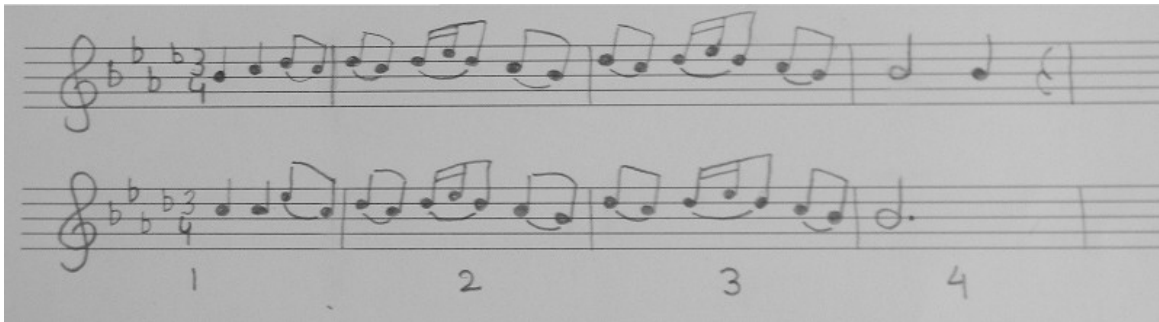
↑bismelah↑ <i>Bismillah</i>	kə:rit ^h do.PPL	↑hemay start.1Sg	vani↑vu:nuy↑ <i>vanivun</i>	
sá:hibàn ↑sá:hiban↑ Sahib.Erg	ánjà:m ↑a:nja:m goal /fortune	ónuyè: ↑o:nuy↑e: brought	↑↑	(2)
‘By saying <i>Bismillah</i> I will start the <i>Vanivun</i> for you Sahib (God) has brought you good fortune’				

That many of the words in the examples above have in fact been modified to achieve metrical well-formedness will be discussed at length in section 5§ below (cf. *ropi-ka:ya:yè:* ← /ropi-ka:ya:yi/ where the final *i* is lengthened (and qualitatively changed to) *e:* and *vaniivunuy* ← /vanivun/ where a morphophonemic ending *-uy* is added for metrical purposes). There are restrictions on the syllable weight in certain positions (e.g. /kərit^h/ [kərit^h], /anja:m/ [ánjà:m], and /vanivunuy/ [vánivunuy] (lexical) are modified to [kə:rit^h], [a:nja:m] and [vani↑vu:nuy] (respectively) in the metrical representation; see (7b) above). However, we will see in the following sections that a strictly mora-based analysis cannot account for the metrical structure of *Vanivun* because both monomoraic and bimoraic syllables are allowed in initial and final position of a (non-line final) foot (More on these topics in §5 and §6).

4.2. Delivery (or Recitation)

A unique feature of *Vanivun* is its **delivery** or **style of recitation**. Among Hindus, the delivery is generally (but not always) in the form of a chant (Refer to §2 for more on general performance). In the Kashmiri Muslim community, however, over the course of time, *Vanivun* has developed as a distinct variant form of the genre which is accompanied by a unique melody. Thus, there is one and only one musical structure for all types of Muslim *Vanivun* regardless of what kind of ritual they are a part of. The melody is not like a typical melody used in other musical renditions of poetry or ‘songs’ in that literally the melody of an entire text is based on the melody of a single couplet, repeated over and over again throughout the performance for each of the following couplets. In fact the same “musical” notes are repeated even within a single line in a slow (and sort of a) monotonous manner. The melody for a standard Muslim *Vanivun* couplet is represented in (8) below (Note: each line is divided into four measures.viz., “1”, “2”, “3” and “4” starting from left to right):

(8) Melody of a standard Muslim *Vanivun* couplet ²¹



Notice that in (8) the notes in Measure #2 and Measure #3 in both first and second line are exactly alike, and so are the notes in Measure #1 of both the lines. Further, the difference between the notes of Measure #1 and Measure #2 or Measure #3 in each line is also very slight and the first three measures in both the lines end in the same note. A slight variation in melody can be observed in different renditions of the same verse instance (metrically parsed text); thus, for instance, all the measures may have more or less the same notes as in Measure #2 or #3.

Note that the underlying claim in this study is that it is the fixed style of recitation which provides an abstract template for the metrical structure of Vanivun. The fixed melody acts as a tool to not only memorize the text but also the metrical structure. Thus, in this melody each measure in a line corresponds to a metrical division or foot. Each measure is further divided into three units, and each of the three units corresponds to one note except for Measure #4 of Line #1 which may split into two or three notes, and Measure #4 of Line #2, which comprises a single long note. The notes correspond to beats (referred to as “Beat #1”, “Beat #2” and “Beat #3” below) starting from left to the right edge of a foot. In (non-final) bisyllabic feet, the vowel of the first syllable is mapped onto two metrical beats (i.e., Beat #1 and Beat #2 in a foot containing three beats). This syllable is comparable to two syllables in the abstract metrical representation which involves a process of vowel rearticulation; the first vowel in each such pair is more prominent than the second. Furthermore, syllables in foot-medial position (corresponding to Beat #2 in a Measure) are always short (“CV” or “CVC”). Thus, a metrical foot with a medial heavy (CV:(C)) syllable is not permitted in this (foot-medial) position. However, syllables in foot-final position (corresponding to Beat #3) may be “CVC” or “CV:(C)” but never “CV” (In Measure #4 this requirement is fulfilled by the only single beat designated as “Beat #1”). A schematic representation of the syllable structure corresponding to the metrical as well as the melodic frame is provided in (9) (Note: the metrically strong syllables are indicated as **bold** and the most prominent ones are **bold and underlined**. A dot “.” indicates the boundary between the adjacent beats):

(9) Schematic representation of the abstract metrical and the melodic frame in terms of syllable structure:

Measure: 1 ↑ 2 ↑ 3 ↑ 4

Line:

- 1: ↑CV(VC).CV.CV(V)C ↑CV(VC).CV.CV(V)C ↑CV(VC).CV.CV(V)C ↑CV(VC).CV.CV(V)C ↑
 2: ↑CV(VC).CV.CV(V)C ↑CV(VC).CV.CV(V)C ↑CV(VC).CV.CV(V)C ↑CV(V)C ↑↑

Note that, for the purposes of this study, “CV(VC)” refers to CV, CVC, CV:, and CV:C syllables, “CV(V)C” refers to CVC, CV:, and CV:C syllable, “CVC” refers to “VC” and “CVC”, and “CV” refers to CV and V. As noted earlier, there is no necessary one-to-one correspondence between linguistic entities and metrical units in Vanivun -- a requirement termed as “text-to-tune matching” or “text-to-tune alignment” in the literature. To make this point clear, a comparison can be made with a (true) musical rendition or singing (as opposed to recitation or performance) of (what is underlyingly) a Vanivun text in the form of a *bə:tʰ* ‘song’ where text (linguistic units – words and phrases) and tune (musical constituents) are usually aligned.²²

4.3. Rhyme Scheme

Two types of rhyme are observed in Vanivun – “internal” rhyme (between the lines of a couplet) and “external” rhyme (across couplets or stanzas). External rhyme, when present, follows the canonical pattern with rhyming words (or rhyming components) occurring in the last foot of the last line of each stanza. Internal rhyme, however, often breaks away from the canonical rhyming pattern resulting in the following two possibilities.

- i. Foot #4 in Line 1 rhymes with any foot in Line 2
- ii. Foot #4 in Line 2 rhymes with any foot in Line 1

There seem to be no particular restrictions on the presence of external rhyme, while internal rhyme is almost always observed. Consider examples in (10) and (11) for illustration (Note: Rhyming elements are *italicized*).

(10) Internal rhyme but no external rhyme

Example 1: Foot #4 in Line 1 rhyming with any foot in Line 2

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>adi-kʰor adi-lʰok go:muʔ ɕʰotuyɛ:</i> | ‘The half-bald handicapped has turned grey |
| <i>ami kʰoʔi o:suy motuyɛ: ja:n</i> | A madman would have been better’ |
| <i>kʰaji muri ye:za:r zan hay ɕʰes buhuri:</i> | ‘(His) wide-bell trousers look like sacks |
| <i>vuhuri: tʰə:vinam xulihas vatʰ</i> | I hope I can get a divorce within a year’ |
| <i>həndis tay hu:nis ha:ŋkal kərivo:</i> | ‘Tie (marry) a sheep with a dog? |
| <i>gədi:ni: ɕʰə:rivo: xulihas vatʰ</i> | First, look for an option for divorce’ |

Example 2: Foot #4 in Line 2 rhyming with any foot in Line 1:²³

- | |
|--|
| <i>ɕʰa:ni sʰindi ənim-ay kʰra:vi han məliye:</i> |
| <i>təʰi pɛʰtʰ ɕʰəlim-ay kʰoʔi pʰəliye:</i> |

‘I brought you a *k^hra:v* (wooden sandals) from the carpenter’s
On that, I washed your little feet’

yəzɪman bə:yi: k^hra:v c^hɪn k^hɪrɪnɪy
ma:lin-ik pəc^h hay pəh het^h ə:y

‘O groom’s mother, put on the *k^hra:v* in your feet
(Bride’s) guests have arrived with the *pəh*’²⁴

(11) Both internal and external rhyme:

sonɪ-šra:n kəritav ropɪ ka:ya:ye:
šrɪŋga:r mōhabat ma:ye: hūnd
yohay ma:y-mūhabat varitani a:ye:
az vetasta:ye: mə:ze:ra:t^h

lagnɪ bo:g su:z harmok^hɪ ganga:ye:
az vetasta:ye: mə:ze:ra:t^h

‘Bathe the (bride’s) silver body with gold
And beautify her with the make-up of love
(We) have come to express love and affection
Today is Vitasta’s *mə:zira:t*’

‘The beautiful *Ganga* has sent the *lagnɪ bo:g*
Today is Vitasta’s *mə:zira:t*’

Note that rhyme is sometimes maintained at the cost of the phonological input. For example, in the rhyming pair *a:ye:* and *vetasta:ye:* in (11) above, the underlying forms are /ə:y/ ‘they came’ and /vetasta:-i/ ‘Vitasta-Dative’, which would surface as [ə:y] and [vetasta:yi] respectively in “non-poetic” language.²⁵

5. Linguistic Strategies for Parallel Patterning

Various linguistic strategies are employed by poets and composers to arrive at the specific metrical structure of Vanivun. Thus, “metricality” is achieved by various repair mechanisms which involve phonological and morphophonological manipulation of the verse through the use of quantity-increasing and quantity-decreasing strategies. Depending on the structural, positional and rhythmic constraints on stress, there are restrictions on syllable weight in certain positions in a foot. However, we will see in the following discussions that a strictly mora-based analysis cannot account for the metrical structure of Vanivun because both monomoraic and bimoraic syllables are allowed in initial and final position of a (non-line final) foot

5.1. Quantity-increasing Strategies

Different quantity-increasing strategies are employed in Vanivun to manipulate the forms of utterances used in non-poetic language. These include vowel insertion, vowel lengthening and cliticization.

Vowel Lengthening and Vowel Insertion

Vowel lengthening and insertion result in an increase in syllable quantity.²⁶ Poetic insertion involves the addition of a vowel and/or a semivowel. Lengthening involves increase in the vowel quantity. In some cases, both vowel quality and

vowel quantity are affected. Consider examples in (12) for illustration followed by a summary of changes in (13) (Note: Metrically repaired forms are provided in the second tier. Poetic insertion or lengthening is indicated by square brackets “[]”; the inserted or lengthened vowels under consideration in (12) are in *italics*. Deletion/reduction (discussed later) is indicated by putting the metrically deleted item in parentheses).

(12) Data illustrating vowel insertion and vowel lengthening²⁷

- a. yézman-bə:yì: kári bísmelàh (Before repair) (1)
 ↑yáz[i]màn-↑bə:yì: ↑kári bís↑m[è]/làh ↑ (After repair)

groom’s parent-lady. Voc do.Imp.f *bismillah*

nóš háy č^héy ná:ri-vízmalàh híš (Before)(2)
 ↑nóš háy č^héy ↑ná:ri-víz↑m[è]/làh²⁸↑híš ↑↑ (After)
 daughter-in-lawHon is.2Ben fire-lightning like
 ‘O groom’s mother, say *Bismillah*
 (Your) daughter-in-law is like a fiery bolt of lightning’.

- b. bísmelàh kárit^h hémáy vánívunù²⁹ (Before) (1)
 ↑bísmelàh ↑ k[è]/rit^h ↑ hémáy vání(i)↑v[úu]núy ↑³⁰ (After)

Bismillah do.PPL start.1Sg to sing *Vanívun*.Emph

sá:hibàn ánjà:m ónúy (Before) (2)
 ↑sá:hibàn ↑ [áa]/njà:m ↑ [óo]/núy↑-[è:] ↑↑ (After)

Sahib.Erg outcome brought.2Ben-Voc.f.sg

‘By saying *bismillah* I will start (singing) *Vanívun* for you
 Sahib (God) has brought you (good) outcome (fortune)’

- c. róp^h són véšì hét^h dív.tà: é:y (Before) (1)
 ↑róp[í] són ↑véšì hét^h ↑ dív[í]/tà: ↑á:y[è:] ↑³¹ (After)

silver gold girlfriends along with Gods came.

ná:gi-kànyà:yì pé:rà:vni (Before) (2)
 ↑ná:gi-kàn↑yá:y(i)[è:] ↑ pé:rà:v↑n(i)[è:] ↑↑ (After)
 snake-woman.Dat beautify

nák^hì tá:rak drá:y pó:šìpù:zà:yì (Before) (3)
 ↑nák^hì tá:↑rak[í] drá:y ↑pó:šì-pù:↑zà:y(i)[è:] ↑ (After)
 along stars went.Pl flower-worship

áz vétastà:yì mǎ:zi-rá:t^h (Before) (4)
 ↑áz vétas↑tá:y(i)[è:] ↑ mǎ:z(i)[è:] ↑-rá:t^h↑↑ (After)
 today Vitasta.Dat henna-night

‘Gods came along with silver, gold, girlfriends
To beautify the *na:gi-kanya:*,
Along went the stars for *po:ši-pu:za:*
Today is Vitasta’s *mā:zi-ra:t*³²

(13) Changes involved in (12) above:

Word Input	Non-poetic output	Poetic output (after repair)
/yəzman-bə:yi:/	yəzmàn-bə:yì:	↑yáz[í]màn↑-bə:yì: ↑
/kərit ^h /	kərit ^h	↑k[ə]rit ^h ↑
/bismelah/	bísmelàh	bis↑m[è]lāh ↑
/vīzmalah/	vīzmalàh	vīz↑m[ā]lāh ↑
/anja:m/	anjā:m	↑[ā]njā:m ↑
/pə:ra:vni /	pə:ra:vni	↑pə: ra:v↑n[è:] ↑↑
/ pu:za:yi /	pù:zà:yi	pù:↑zā:y[è:] ↑
/ vetasta:yi /	vétastà:yi	vétas↑tā:y[è:] ↑
/rop son/	róp ^h sòn ³³	↑róp[í] sòn ↑
/ ta:rak/	tā:rak	tā:↑rak[í]

Note that vowel insertion (epenthesis) results in the addition of a light syllable corresponding to the foot-medial (weak) position. This happens in disyllabic feet beginning in an initial CVC syllable and having medial consonant clusters of the type C₁C₂ where C₁ is an obstruent (stop, affricate or fricative). Vowel lengthening takes place in the following situations: 1) when the initial syllable of a disyllabic foot is a CV, and/or 2) when the final syllable in a non-final foot is a CV. In addition to vowel insertion and vowel lengthening, a process of consonant insertion is also observed in some cases where a glide such as *y* is added in the coda position of a foot-final light open syllable (CV). Consider (14) for illustration where *tí* (Non-poetic) → *tay* (Poetic) involves an increase in syllable quantity where a foot-final CV becomes a CVC for metrical purposes.³⁴

(14). Data illustrating consonantal insertion

- a. Excerpt from a *vanivun* performed before wedding shower
- | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------|------------------|-----|
| hú:ràn | tí | pá:riyàn | át ^h i | ván:nà:và:y | (Before repair) | (1) |
| ↑hú:ràn | ta[y] | ↑pá:riyàn | ↑át ^h i | ván(í)↑nà:và:y | ↑ (After repair) | |
| Huris.Dat and fairies.Dat hand.Obl sing vanivun.CAUS.2Ben | | | | | | |
| rumi-rumí | más | míc(í)rà:váyè: | (Before; 12 morae) | | (2) | |
| ↑rumi-rum(í) ↑ | máas | míc(í) ↑rā:vā: ↑yē: ↑↑ | (Aft; 11 morae) | | | |
| Little braid- braid hair untie.2fsg | | | | | | |

‘I will bring *Huris* (heavenly bodies) and fairies to sing *Vanivun* for you
I will untie your hair (little) braid-by-(little) braid’

b. A couplet from a rarely performed comical *vanivun* composition

hándìs	tí	hú:nìs	há:ṅkal	kérivu	(Before; 12 morae)
--------	----	--------	---------	--------	--------------------

↑hándʒis **ta**[y]↑ húnis ↑há:ŋkàl ↑kérivò: ↑ (After; 13 morae)
 Sheep.Dat and dog.Dat chain do.Voc.m.pl.
 gódʒini: cʰé:rivu xulihás vátʰ (Before; 12 morae)
 ↑gódʒini: ↑cʰé:rivò: ↑ xulihás ↑ vátʰ↑↑ (After; 12 morae)
 first searc.Voc.m.pl divorce.Dat way
 ‘Tie (marry) a sheep with a dog?
 First, look for an option for divorce’

Cliticization

Cliticization is restricted to the right edge of the metrical foot; it results in the addition of a metrically strong syllable. Thus, certain morphophonemic entities (“MPs”) can be cliticized to word endings. Such MPs, rarely used in “non-poetic” language but very common in poetry, carry certain semantic content, as opposed to “vocables,” which do not apparently carry a semantico-referential meaning, although the latter may also be sometimes used. Although different MPs serve metrical purposes in Kashmiri, the most frequently used are *-(iy)e:* or *-ay* and *-o:* designated as ‘MP.f.sg.’ and ‘MP.m.sg’ (respectively) in the examples in (15) below. The two are claimed to be based on historical suffixes which can be translated as ‘Voc.f.sg’ and ‘Voc.m.sg’. In non-poetic Kashmiri, *-(iy)e:* corresponds to *-i* and *-o:* to *-a*. For instance, *ves-i* (non-poetic) vs. *ves-iyē:* (poetic) ‘girlfriend-Voc.f.sg’ and *ya:r-a* (non-poetic) vs. *ya:r-o:* (poetic) ‘friend-Voc.m.sg’. (Note: All cliticized items are *italicized* ..

(15) Cliticization of morphophonemic endings

- a. ↑šó:xì čá:ni ↑ vá:yèy ↑čángi náy ↑sá:z[-ò:] ↑ (1)
 wish.Obl your play.2Ben.Dat Chung flute music- MP.m.sg
 ↑ á:kʰ[-ò:] ↑ šáhar-(i)[è:] - ↑šî:rà: ↑z-[-ò:] ↑↑ (2)
 came.m.sg-MP.m.sg city-of- Shiraz- MP.m.sg

- ↑hú:rì čʰéy ↑ vánívā:n ↑ nú:rì- mäh(a)↑rá:z-[-ò:] ↑ (3)
 fairies be.2Ben.Dat sing.Pres.Cont light.Gen-bridgroom-MP.m.sg
 ↑ á:kʰ[-ò:] ↑ šáhar-(i)[è:] - ↑šî:rà: ↑z-[-ò:] ↑↑ (4)
 came.m.sg-MP.m.sg city-of- Shiraz-MP.m.sg

‘For (my) wish for you, I will play *Chung*, flute and music
 You have come from the city of Shiraz
 Fairies are singing for you, O splendid groom
 You have come from the city of Shiraz’³⁵

- b. ↑čʰá:nì sʰndi ↑ánimày ↑kʰrá:vi hán ↑ málì-[-yè:] ↑ (1)
 carpenter-Gen brought.2Ben. Khrav Indef. by sale-MP.f.sg.
 ↑táʰ[i] pɛʰtʰ čʰəlīmày ↑ kʰóri-pʰəl(i)-[-yè:] ↑↑ (2)

that.Emph on washed.2Ben. feet-piece-MP.f.sg.

‘I bought you a *k^hra:v* (wooden sandals) from the carpenter
On those, I washed your small feet’³⁶

Notice that the final *-o:* in *sa:zo:*, *a:k^ho:*, *ši:ra:zo:*, *mahara:zo:* (15a, Lines (1), (2) and (3)) and *-(y)e:* in *məliye*, *p^həliye* (15b, Lines (1) and (2)) are MPs cliticized to the preceding words. The corresponding forms used in everyday speech are: *sà:z* (/sa:z/ ‘music’), *ši:ra:z-í* (/ši:ra:z-í/ ‘Shiraz-Loc’), *mahara:z-í* (/mahara:z-í/ ‘bridegroom’), *məɭi* (/məɭi/ ‘on sale’), and *p^həɭi* (/p^həɭi/ ‘small grains (of something)’).³⁷

5.2 Quantity-decreasing Strategies

Various quantity-decreasing strategies are employed in Vanɪvun to maintain the metrical structure. These include truncation and omission of lexical items.

Truncation

Truncation involves deletion or reduction of (short) vowels for metrical purposes. Metrically reduced (or deleted) vowels occupy the right edge of the metrical foot (More on this later). Consider the data in (16) for illustration (Note: Vowels under consideration are provided in parentheses):

(16). Data illustrating vowel reduction/deletion

hú:ran	tí	páriyàn	át ^h i	vánina:váy	(Before repair)	(1)
↑ <u>h</u> ú:ran	tay	↑ <u>p</u> áriyàn	↑ <u>á</u> t ^h i	ván(í)↑ <u>n</u> á:váy	↑ (After repair)	
Huris.Dat	and	fairies.Dat	hand.Obl	sing vanɪvun.CAUS.2Ben		
rúmi-rúmí		más	míci:ra:viyè:		(Before)	(2)
↑ <u>r</u> úmi-rúm(í)	↑	<u>m</u> áas	míci(í)↑ <u>r</u> á:və:↑ <u>y</u> è:	↑↑	(After)	
Little braid-RED	hair	untie.2.MP.fsg				

‘I will bring *Huris* (heavenly bodies) and fairies to sing Vanɪvun for you
I will untie your hair (little) braid-by-(little) braid’

Notice in (16) that the only short vowels occupying the position which undergoes vowel reduction is *í*. For the purposes of this study, all reduced vowels are treated as deleted and may not be shown in the following discussions unless need be. Note that in Kashmiri some vowels (such as, *a* and *u*) surface as *í* when occurring in a weak (unstressed) position. Recall that the only short vowels that can appear word-finally (and, therefore, unstressed) are *í* and *i*.

Lexical omission

Metricality is often also achieved through the omission of lexical items. The

most frequently omitted lexical items include: the verb ‘be’, conjunctives (such as ‘and’), prepositions, etc. Consider the examples in (17) (Note: the lexical items under consideration are in parentheses; an asterisk “*” indicates ungrammaticality).

(17) Data illustrating omission of lexical items

Non-Poetic Form:

vánvivi: viginèv ló:l̥ (t̥) má:yá:yi *(sá:n/s̥:t̥)
 sing.Imp.f.Pl young women.Voc.Pl love and affection.Obl with_
 áz *(č^hé) vétastà:yi m̥:zi-rà:t^h
 today is.f Vitasta.Dat henna-night.f.

Poetic Form (after metrical repair):

↑v^{án}vivi: ↑viginèv ↑ ló:l̥ má:↑y^áyè: ↑
 sing.Imp.f.Pl young women.Voc.Pl love affection.Obl
 ↑áz. ve.tas↑t̥a: a.ye: ↑m̥:ə.ze:-↑r̥a:t^h ↑↑
 today Vitasta.Dat henna-night.f.

‘Beautiful/young women, sing with love and affection
 Today is Vitasta’s m̥:ze:-r̥a:t’

Notice the deletion of *t̥* ‘and’, *sa:n/s̥:t̥* ‘(along) with’, and *č^he* ‘be.Pres.f.sg’ in (18). While deletion of conjunctions is also possible (although less preferred) in non-poetic language, omission of verb ‘be’ and postpositions is considered ungrammatical in various contexts. In poetry, however, such omissions are very common in Kashmiri.

6.0 Discussion and Analysis

In the following discussions and analysis of the metrical structure, I begin with a note on *scansion* (the act of determining and, in this case, orally performing the metrical character of the line), followed by a detailed account of the syllable structure and metrical rules (Given that there are numerous systems of “scansion” which are often contradictory in terms of the assumptions that underlie them, the term (i.e. “scansion”) is loosely used for a metrical representation of a text).

6.1. A Note on Scansion

In his discussion of the metrics of the Latvian folksongs, Zeps (1963) “showed that a rule of vowel apocope, obligatory in the spoken language, is disregarded in the scanning of a line, so that a word reduced by apocope from *n* or *n-1* syllables can be metrically counted as either *n* or *n-1* syllables” (quoted from Kiparsky,

1972). Thus, the syllable which is deleted by apocope (final vowel deletion) in the spoken language can be recovered in singing.³⁸ In many instances of *vanivun*, we see that vowels which were historically deleted are resurrected in poetry for metrical purposes. One example is the following line from (12c) above repeated as (19) below in which the non-poetic forms *ə:y* and *rop^h* surface as poetic *a:ye:* and *ropi* (respectively) where the historical change of final vowel reduction and deletion in *a:ye:* and final vowel deletion and aspiration of a final voiceless stop are undone and the original vowels are resurrected in the poetic form (cf. Indo-Aryan *rupa* ‘silver/coin’, *de:vata:* ‘(Hindu) God’, and Hindi *a:ye:* ‘they have come’):³⁹

(19) Example (Line #1) from (12c) reproduced here:

<i>rop^h</i>	<i>són</i>	<i>tì</i>	<i>vesì</i>	<i>het^h</i>	<i>dívta:</i>	<i>ə:y</i>	(Before poetic repair)
↑ <i>ropi</i>	<i>són</i>		↑ <i>vesì</i>	<i>het^h</i>	↑ <i>dív[i]tà:</i>	↑ <i>a:ye:</i>	↑↑ (After poetic repair)
silver	gold	and	girlfriends	along	Gods	came.Pl	
‘The gods have come along with silver, gold and girlfriends’							

An important aspect of the *Vanivun* meter is that several possible repair strategies are available to the composer; a set of performance conventions apply on the scansion leading to “acceptable deliveries”. Thus, in a line such as Line (1) in (20) below, the metricality of the verse can be achieved by increasing/decreasing the quantity of various syllables which can lead to different possible poetic outputs as in (21); a summary of the changes involved is provided in (22). That the composer prefers (21c) over the other three possibilities is a matter of choice, which in this case is influenced by rhyme (between *–vonuy* and *–onuy(e:)*).

(20) Opening couplet from a Muslim *Vanivun*

↑ <i>bísmelàh</i>	↑ <i>ká: rìt^h</i>	↑ <i>hémày</i>	<i>ván</i> ↑ <i>vò:nù:y</i> ↑	(Line 1)
<i>Bismillah</i>	do.PPL	start.1Sg	sing <i>vanivun</i>	
↑ <i>sá:hibàn</i>	↑ <i>á:njà:m</i> ↑	<i>ó:nù:</i> ↑ <i>yè:</i> ↑↑		(Line 2)
Sahib.Erg	goal /fortune	brought		

‘By saying *Bismillah* I will start singing *vanivun* for you
Sahib (God) has brought you good fortune’

(21) Alternate ways of scansion for Line 1 in (20):

Input:

/bismelah kərit^h hemay vanivun/

Non-poetic output (before repair):

[bísmelàh kərit^h hémày vánívùn]

Possible Poetic outputs (after repair):

- a. ↑bīsmelāh ↑kəːrɪtʰ ↑həmiyəː ↑vənivùn ↑
 b. ↑bīsmelāh ↑kəːrɪtʰ ɪy ↑həməy vən↑vəːnuy ↑
 c. ↑bīsmelāh ↑kəːrɪtʰ ↑həməy vən↑vəːnuy ↑
 d. ↑bīsmelāh ↑kəːrɪtʰ ↑həməy vən↑vunuyəː ↑

(22) Changes involved in the alternate ways of scansion in (21):

- Lengthening of *ə* (/kərit^h/ > *kə́:rít^h*; bisyllabic Foot #2), reduction of *a* to *i* and addition of MP *-e*: (/hemay/ > *hémíyè*: in Foot#3).
- Addition of an MP *-iy* (/kərit^h/ > *kə́:rít^hiy*, Foot #2); deletion of *i*, change in vowel quality from *u* to *o* (for rhyme), lengthening of *u* (*o*) and insertion of the MP *-uy* (/hemay vanivun/ > *hémáy vən[↑]və:n-ùý*; Foot # 3 and Foot #4).
- Lengthening of *ə* (/kərit^h/ > *kə́:rít^h*; bisyllabic Foot #2), deletion of *i* (Foot #3) and lengthening of *o* (<*u*) (Foot #4).
- Lengthening of *ə* (Foot #2), deletion of *i* and insertion of *-uye*: (/hemay vanivun/ > *hé.máy vən[↑]vùnuyè*: ; Foot #3 and Foot #4).

Furthermore, the same word or phonetic string can be differently scanned in different places, depending on metrical requirements. Consider the word /bismelah/ [b'ismelàh] (*italicized*) in (23a) and (23b):

(23) Data illustrating different scansions of the word /bismelah/ [b'ismelàh]:⁴⁰

- a. $\uparrow y\grave{a}z\grave{i}man - \uparrow b\grave{a}:yi:$ $\uparrow k\grave{a}ri$ *bi* $\uparrow me\grave{e}lah$ $\uparrow$
groom's mother.Voc do.Imp *Bismillah*
- $\uparrow n\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{S}$ hay $\mathfrak{C}^{\text{hey}}$ $\uparrow na:ri - v\mathfrak{I}z\uparrow ma\grave{a}lah$ $\uparrow hi\mathfrak{S}$ $\uparrow\uparrow$
daughter-in-law Hon is.2Ben fire-lightning like
- 'O groom's mother, say *Bismillah* (Ar. 'in the name of Allah')'
(Your) daughter-in-law is like a fiery bolt of lightning'.
- b. $\uparrow bi\grave{s}melah$ $\uparrow k\grave{a}:ri^{th}$ $\uparrow$ *hemay* *van* $\uparrow vo:nuy$ $\uparrow$
Bismillah do.PPL start.1Sg sing *vanivun*
- $\uparrow sa:hiban$ $\uparrow \grave{a}anja:m$ $\uparrow$ $\mathfrak{O}:nu:\uparrow ye:$ $\uparrow\uparrow$
Sahib.Erg goal /fortune brought
- 'By saying *Bismillah* I will start singing *vanivun* for you
Sahib (God) has brought you good fortune'

Thus, we have **bis↑me:lah** ↑ in (23a), where it is scanned across a foot boundary with */-me-/* (which is lexically unstressed) being the metrically most prominent syllable, and **↑bis.me.lah↑** in (23b), constituting one metrical foot where there is a one-to-one correspondence between lexical stress (in natural speech

forms) and metrical prominence (in poetic language). It is necessary to make a clear distinction between poetic language and natural speech because certain linguistic entities/forms are only representative of poetic language. Thus, forms like *vanivunuy* and *onuye*: (in (20b)) are only used in the poetic language and (though historically grammatical) sound very strange in natural speech. The corresponding non-poetic (natural) way of producing an utterance like the one in (20b) is that in (23), which differs not only in terms of morphophonology but also in word order (Kashmiri is a Verb-second language where the inflected verb must occupy the second position in the sentence; such a restriction does not necessarily apply in poetry):⁴¹

(23) Reproduction of (20b) in natural speech:

bísmelàh	kórit ^h	hémày	vánivùn
<i>Bismillah</i>	do.PPL	start.1Sg	sing <i>vanivun</i>
‘By saying <i>Bismillah</i> I will start the <i>vanivun</i> (for you)’			
sá:hibàn-(h)ày	ónùý	ánjà:m	
Sahib.Erg -2sg.f.Ben	brought.2.Ben	goal /fortune	
‘Sahib (God) has brought you good fortune’			

6.2 Syllable Structure

A striking feature of the measures or feet in *Vanivun* is the structure of their syllables. We observed in §5 that various strategies are employed by poets to increase or decrease syllable quantity in metrical feet. Although a number of different syllable combinations are present in the input, in many cases these are metrically “repaired” so that the syllable count and quantity in the output are more or less consistent across different verses. Thus, the number of syllables in an ideal (non-final) foot is three (except Foot #4 in even lines, which contain a single strong syllable of the type CVV(C) or CVC) and Foot#4 in odd lines which is mostly bisyllabic, but sometimes also trisyllabic). There are also restrictions on syllable weight in certain positions. Based on these observations, a generalized metrical pattern for an ideal *Vanivun* couplet could be argued to be one of **dactylic tetrameter**, which can be schematically represented as in (24):

(24) Metrical structure of an ideal *Vanivun* couplet:

	1	2	3	4	
Line 1:	↑	SWW	↑	SWW	↑
Line 2:	↑	SWW	↑	SWW	↑
				S	↑↑

That there are three degrees of prominence (as opposed to two) is revealed by a closer look at the syllable structure in metrical feet. This is illustrated in (25), which

contain examples of metrical feet taken from the data described in the preceding sections:

(25) Various syllable combinations in metrical feet:

Input	Poetic output	Examples
a. Monosyllabic feet:		
(C)VC	(C)V.CV.CV:	/məl ^h / → ↑m <u>ə</u> .li.-ye:↑
(C)V:C	(C)V: CV:	/a:k ^h / → ↑ <u>a</u> :k ^h -o:↑
b. Disyllabic feet:		
(C)V.CV(C)	(C)V.CV.CV(C)	/kərit ^h / → ↑k <u>ə</u> :.rit ^h ↑
(C)VC.CV(C)	(C)V.CV.CV(C)	/yəzma/ → ↑y <u>ə</u> .zɪ.man↑
(C)VC.CV:(C)	(C)V: C.CV:C	/šrɪŋga:r/ → ↑šr <u>i</u> :ŋ.ga:r ↑ ⁴²
		/anja:m/ → ↑ <u>a</u> :n.ja:m ↑
c. Trisyllabic feet:		
(C)V:C.CVC.CV	(C)V:C.CVC.CVC	/hú:raŋ ti/ → ↑ <u>h</u> u:raŋ. tay↑
d. Tetrasyllabic feet:		
CV.CV.CV.CV	CV.CV.CVC	/rumi-rumi/ → ↑ <u>r</u> u.mi.-rum↑
(C)V.CVC.CV.CV	(C)V.CVC.CVC	/hemay vanɪvunuy/ → ↑ <u>h</u> e.may. van↑v <u>o</u> :nuy↑ ⁴³

The changes involved in (25) above are: addition of MPs in foot-final position in feet which are underlyingly monosyllabic (25a), vowel lengthening in foot-initial position in feet which are disyllabic and begin in a CV (25b), CV → CVC in trisyllabic feet with final CV syllables (25c), and vowel deletion in the foot-final position in tetra-syllabic feet ending in CV syllable (25d). No changes are observed when the above syllable structure is consistent with the metrical structure (26):

(26) No changes when syllable structure correctly reflects the metrical structure:

(C)V.CV.CVC	/viginev/	↑v <u>i</u> .gi.nev↑
(C)VC.CV.CVC	/bismelah/	↑b <u>i</u> s.me.lah↑
(C)V.CV.CV:(C)	/vanɪva:n/	↑v <u>a</u> .nɪ.va:n ↑
(C)V:C.CV.CV:C	/šo:k ^h ɪ sɪ:t/	↑š <u>o</u> :k ^h ɪ. s <u>ɪ</u> :t↑
(C)V:C.CV:(C)	/ja:n-ja:n/	↑j <u>a</u> :n-ja:n↑

Notice that syllables in foot-medial position are always short (CV or CVC). Thus, a metrical foot with a medial heavy syllable is not permitted. However, syllables in foot-final position may be CVC or CV:(C) but never CV. Consider the examples in (27) taken from the data provided earlier. Thus, *|ja:n-ja:an| is not permitted because the medial syllable is long and cannot occupy this position which must be metrically weak. Similarly, *↑lə:l. h̃n.di↑, *↑rum-ru.m̃↑, and *↑mas. m̃.ci↑ are not allowed because the final syllable is a CV.

(27) Possible syllable outputs⁴⁴

Input	Poetic Output
/lə:li h̃ndi/	↑lə:li. h̃nd↑ (cf. *↑lə:l. h̃n.di↑)
/rum̃-rum̃/	↑ru.m̃.-rum↑ (cf. *↑rum-ru.m̃↑)
/dər̃ gand̃/	↑də.ər̃. gand↑ (cf. *↑dər̃ .gan.d̃↑)

Based on the data and analyses in this section, a generalized syllable structure for a typical foot is ↑CV(VC). CV.CV(V)C↑ (for trisyllabic feet) and ↑CVV(C).CV(V)C↑ (for disyllabic feet), except for Measure #4 of Line#2 which contains a single syllable of the type CVC or CV:(C) (See also (9) above for a schematic representation of the syllable structure invoked here). That outputs with foot-final CV and foot-medial CV: syllables are not allowed points to the fact that a metrical constraint on syllable structure vis-à-vis position is in place. This constraint is sensitive to the general distribution of stress in Kashmiri, which is affected by positional, rhythmic, and structural factors (See §3 above and §6 below). The current analysis does not permit a purely mora-based explanation for the metrical structure of Vañvun because both monomoraic and bimoraic syllables are allowed in foot-initial and foot-final positions of a (non-line final) measure (i.e., CV, CVC and CV:(C) in foot-initial and CVC and CV:(C) in foot-final position). Thus, a (non-final) metrical foot may contain as three (e.g. in *animay* and *kə:rit̃*) to five (e.g. in *a:t̃ĩva:r* or *soñĩšra:n*) moras. In other words, a mora-based analysis will need to account for as many as 12 to 20 morae in Line #1 and 10 to 16 morae in Line #2, and is, therefore, not suitable for this study.⁴⁵

Before proposing a set of metrical constraints for Vañvun meter, I present a statistical analysis of the syllable quantity in Vañvun feet. Data in Table 1 indicate a relationship between the types of syllables in given positions. The database for the analysis constitutes of 100 lines (i.e. fifty couplets) from fifteen different texts and divided over 400 metrical feet, of which 300 are non-final while the remaining 100 are final feet (i.e., 50 each for Line 1 and Line 2 in a couplet) (Note: S₁, S₂, and S₃ represent syllables in initial, medial and final positions of a trisyllabic foot corresponding to metrically **Strong**, **Weak** and **Intermediate** beats; an asterisk “*” indicates a violation leading to metrical ill-formedness).

Table 1: Relationship between syllable quantity and position within feet

	Foot #1			Foot #2			Foot #3			Foot #4 Line #1			Foot #4 Line #2
	S ₁	S ₂	S ₃	S ₁	S ₂	S ₃	S ₁	S ₂	S ₃	S ₁	S ₂	S ₃	S ₁
(C)V	32	60	0	45	44	0	25	36	*2	9	10	0	0
CVC	23	9	5	7	2	63	11	6	43	0	0	29	6
CV:(C)	45	*1	35	48	*1	37	64	0	55	41	0	21	44
Empty positions	0	30	0	0	53	0	0	42	0	0	40	0	0
Trisyllabic feet	70			47			58			10			0
Disyllabic feet	30			53			42			40			0
Monosyllabic feet	0			0			0			0			50
Total feet	100			100			100			50			50
Total lines	100												

Based on the observations in Table 1, and given considerations for rhyme and refrain which resulted in a number of repetitions, I argue that a majority of the non-final feet are trisyllabic. Final feet in odd lines (Line#1) are predominantly disyllabic while those in even lines are monosyllabic without exception. Metrical violations are comparatively small in number and are limited to non-final feet. Thus, a total of four violations (out of 400) were noted in the entire data set and all of these were found in non-final feet. These include two foot-medial heavy (CV:C) syllables (as shown in (28)), and two foot-final light CV syllables leading to metrically ill-formed feet (provided in (29)) (Note: feet under consideration are *italicized*; metrical or grammatical ill-formedness is marked with an asterisk “*” in front of the foot or morpheme under consideration).

(28) Data illustrating feet with medial heavy syllables:

- a. ↑yéz[í]màn(í) ↑ *k^hódà:y-às ↑át^hi máng(í)↑nà:váy↑ (Line#1 of a couplet)
Groom’s father good.Dat from ask.Fut.Cause.2Ben
‘Oh groom’s father, I will ask (this) from God’
- b. ↑*véna:yák↑ có:rùm ↑ á:t^hivà:r ↑ d^hérimày↑ (Line#1 of a couplet)
Vinayak fourth Sunday fasted.2Ben.
‘I observed fast on the fourth Sunday of Vinayaka’

(29) Data illustrating feet with final CV syllables

- a. ↑ná:vàs ↑č^hón:is ↑ *són mók^hti ↑jár(a)[í]y[ó:] ↑ (Line#1 of a couplet)

Name.Dat your.Dat gold pearls embellish.1.2msg

‘I will embellish your name with gold and silver’

- b. ↑**Šók**[i]lām ↑ kə[ə]rīt^h ↑ hémāy vān(i)↑vu[u:]nūy ↑
Shoklam do.PPL start.1Sg sing *vanivun*

↑**rūt** p^hāl ↑**dyūtūy* mā:j-i ↑ b^hā:və:↑nī:↑↑ (Metrically ill-formed)
 ↑**rūt** p^hāl ↑*dyūtūy* mā:j-*(i)↑ b^hā:və:↑nī:↑↑ (Grammatically ill-formed)
 good fruit gave.2Ben mother-Erg. Bhawani
 ‘By saying *Shuklam* I will start singing *vanivun* for you
 Mother (Goddess) Bhawani has brought you good fortune’

Note that shortening of lexically stressed heavy syllables is not allowed owing to prosodic constraints which require phonologically long vowels to be stressed, and, hence, the metrical ill-formedness of (28a) and (28b). Further, the deletion of a vowel in foot-final (weak) position is not permitted in (29a) owing to phonotactic constraints which do not allow final clusters of the type [Obstruent-Obstruent]. Vowel deletion is not allowed in (29b) because of morphological constraints (i.e., the deletion of the ergative case marker *-i* leads to ungrammaticality; another similar example from the data set is the tetra-syllabic foot ↑lā:li hīnd-i↑ ‘Laila of-Abl.Sg’ where deletion of *-i* leads to ungrammaticality; cf. ↑lā:li hīnd↑ ‘Laila of-Abl.PI’)).

6.3. Metrical Rules

Based on the analysis of the syllable structure in the preceding section, a three-way distinction of weight with respect to syllables in metrical feet is proposed. Thus, a metrically **STRONG** syllable corresponds to the most prominent syllable in the foot; this is the first syllable in a metrical foot, which can be a CV, CVC, or CV:. A metrically **WEAK** syllable corresponds to the least prominent syllable in the metrical foot; this is the foot-medial syllable in a trisyllabic metrical foot which is a CV or a CVC (an exception being a disyllabic final foot, where a medial syllable is absent). A metrically **INTERMEDIATE** syllable occupies the final position in a metrical foot; it can either be a CV: or a CVC (but never a CV), and is more prominent than the medial syllable but less prominent than the first syllable in terms of both duration and pitch/intensity (cues used for prominence/stress).

The above discussions and analyses help us arrive at the following set of metrical rules governing Kashmiri Vanivun (30):

(30) A Summary of the Metrical Rules for Vanivun

- i. A line consists of four divisions (feet) each containing one metrically strong position at its left edge followed by one or more (metrically) weaker positions; a position corresponds to a syllable or beat in the abstract metrical template.

- ii. An ideal foot consists of three metrical beats of varying prominence. Thus, the medial beat corresponds with the shortest and weakest syllable, while the first beat (syllable) is the strongest in prominence.
- iii. The foot-final syllable can either be a CVC or a CV:(C) but never a CV; it must be metrically repaired if it is quantitatively “weak”.
- iv. Disyllabic feet must possess an initial heavy syllable irrespective of whether the final syllable is monomoraic (CVC) or bimoraic (CV:C). Thus, feet of the type *CV(C).CV(VC) are not permitted.
- v. A syllable occurring in a metrically “weak” position may be lexically stressed. Alternatively, a syllable occurring in a lexically unstressed position may occur in a metrically “strong” position but it must be phonetically repaired in order to receive (metrical) stress.
- vi. No outrides or extrametrical positions are permitted; thus, extrametrical elements are either omitted or highly reduced.

As a poetic genre, Vanivun poses a challenge to most available models of poetic composition where PROMINENCE is treated in terms of metrical asymmetry between **Strong** and **Weak** positions. Based on the above findings, I propose a grid-based metrical structure for Vanivun in (31), which shows three degrees of prominence; each position in this metrical grid represents a syllable corresponding to **Strong**, **Weak** and **Intermediate** positions (in that order).⁴⁶

(31) A grid-based representation of the metrical structure⁴⁷

Foot #:	1	2	3	4
	*	*	*	*
	*	*	*	*
Line 1:	↑*	* *	↑ *	* *
	*	*	*	*
	*	*	*	*
Line 2:	↑*	* *	↑ *	* *
	*	*	*	*
	*	*	*	*

Thus, the metrically most prominent position occupies the left edge of the foot, whereas the right edge is occupied by the second most-prominent position; the foot-medial position is occupied by the metrically least prominent (weak) syllable. Given the metrical structure in (31) and the constraints on the assignment of stress in Kashmiri, it can very well be argued that a typical metrical "foot" in Vanivun behaves like a trisyllabic prosodic word with a medial weak (CV) syllable and a

final non-CV syllable which receives an intermediate (or "secondary") stress, while the first syllable receives the strongest (or "primary") stress.

The assignment of metrical stress is independent of lexical stress but consistent with the basic stress pattern in Kashmiri summarized in (2) in §3 above. The occurrence of stress on word-final syllables in Kashmiri is an effect of a constraint FINAL STRESS, which is the mirror image of another constraint INITIAL STRESS (For a more detailed account of Kashmiri word stress, see Munshi & Crowhurst 2012). FINAL STRESS is often violated in non-poetic language by the constraint which prohibits light (CV) syllables from receiving stress. In this paper I claim that the same set of prosodic constraints which apply in spoken Kashmiri also apply in Vanivun which is a poetic genre. Vanivun offers one of the most optimal meters for the language with a minimum number of violations of the stress-related constraints as described in §3. Stress is foot-based (as opposed to being word-based); thus, a metrical foot behaves exactly like a prosodic word with unique structural properties representative of the meter. Any mismatches between metrical and prosodic rules are dealt with by various repair mechanisms. Thus, when the foot-final syllable is a CV or when the underlying foot is tetra-syllabic ending in a CVCV sequence, the constraint FINAL STRESS, which would otherwise be violated (because final CV syllables never receive stress), is maintained by the application of a quantity-increasing/decreasing mechanism which results in a final non-CV syllable (which can be a "CV:" as in $\uparrow me.li.ye:\uparrow \leftarrow /me.li/$, or a CVC as in $\uparrow hu:.ran. tay\uparrow \leftarrow /hu:.ran\ ti/$ and $\uparrow ru.mi.-rum\uparrow \leftarrow /rumi-rumi/$). Furthermore, a potential stress clash (guided by the constraint *CLASH, which prohibits adjacent stressed syllables) is avoided by the non-availability of medial heavy (CV:) syllables which are stress-attractors. Recall that *CLASH can be violated in Kashmiri by WSP (Weight to Stress Principle) which requires heavy syllables to be stressed.

7. Concluding Remarks

The underlying structure of any single line of a verse is its meter. Given the differences in the poetic traditions of different cultures, no single pattern of versification occurs. Therefore, various methods and strategies have been employed by different scholars to analyze poetry. The standard way of describing and analyzing versification has been to use "syllable" as the basic and constant measuring unit of meter, except for so-called *vers libre*, in which versification is based only on intonations and pauses (Jakobson 1960: 360). Thus, a *syllabic* verse is a poetic form with a fixed number of "syllabics" (syllables or syllabic segments) per line or stanza, regardless of the number of (phonological) stresses present; versification in this case is based on the opposition of syllabic peaks and slopes (Syllabic versification is common in languages that are syllable-timed, such as, Japanese). A second type of verse, called *accentual* verse, is a poetic form involving a contrast between stressed and unstressed syllables as levels of high and low prominence; the syllable prominence in most accentual patterns deals with either word stress or syntactic or phrasal stress (Accentual verse is common in stress-

timed languages, such as English). A third type, called *quantitative* (or “chronemic”) verse, involves a contrast between long and short syllables perceived as more or less prominent; the contrast in this case is usually carried out by phonemically long and short syllable nuclei the duration of which is determined by the amount of time needed for pronunciation (Quantitative verse is found in Classical Greek, Arabic and Sanskrit; see Jakobson 1960: 360).⁴⁸ A number of complex poetic traditions have been described in the literature; these exhibit features of more than one of these basic/major verse types. For example, the classic Russian meters exhibit a *syllabic accentual* (or “syllabo-tonic”) pattern characterized by: (1) a stable number of syllables from the beginning of the line to its last downbeat, (2) the last downbeat always carrying a word stress, (3) the upbeat never being occupied by a stressed syllable if the downbeat falls on an unstressed syllable of the same word unit (i.e. lexical inversion is not allowed), and (4) a compulsory word boundary between the lines (See Jakobson 1960: 361). Classical Sanskrit meters exhibit a *syllabo-quantitative* pattern defined by a sequence of a fixed number of syllables in a fixed order of succession (Deo 2007: 63). Similarly, a (so-called) “variant” verse type in English poetry is Hopkins’s *Sprung Rhythm*. Sprung rhythm, according to Kiparsky (1988), has been described as a *purely accentual* verse, often compared to *accentual-syllabic* meters, which requires a fixed number of stressed syllables alternating with “from zero to three or more ‘slack syllables’, grouped arbitrarily into rising or falling feet” allowing “mismatches in both strong and weak positions”. Kiparsky maintains that “strict” sprung rhythm “excludes all inversion of lexical stresses, even at the beginning of a line or after a syntactic break, where it is routinely accepted in standard meter”. In other words, lexical stress is prohibited in weak positions in sprung rhythm. Feet in sprung rhythm are “assumed to be equally long or strong and their seeming inequality is made up by pause or stressing” (See Kiparsky 1988: 307-312).

Meter in Kashmiri Vanġvun shares a number of features with sprung rhythm as described in Kiparsky (1988), which include (most importantly): (1) a constant number of downbeats in each line, alternating with a varying number of upbeats, and (2) a constant relative length (or duration) of different feet or measures. Thus, the number of upbeats (weak syllables) in a typical foot is 1 to 3 in the Input, as opposed to sprung rhythm, which contains zero to 4 (or more) weak syllables in a foot; the number of downbeats in a line always being constant (4 in the case of Vanġvun). As in sprung rhythm, in Vanġvun meter, feet can be claimed to be equally long or strong (in terms of duration/quantity). However, any metrical or performance infelicities in Vanġvun are avoided through the use of various repair strategies, such as deletions, insertions, repetitions, lengthenings, cliticizations, etc. In case of sprung rhythm, any seeming inequality between various feet is compensated by pause or stressing.

Despite a number of similarities with it, Kashmiri Vanġvun represents a development beyond sprung rhythm, in that it shows features of syllabic and accentual verse, as well as of quantitative verse. The metrical pattern, often maintained by restructurings of the phonological input, is consistent with the phonological typology of the language in which “stress” is determined by

positional, rhythmic and structural (quantitative) factors. The number of metrically **strong** (as well as metrically **intermediate**) syllables is always constant – a feature shared with syllabic versification; syllables in **weak** and **intermediate** positions are repaired in order to achieve a certain output. Inversion of lexical stress is possible; thus, lexically stressed syllables may be metrically weak (unstressed) and vice versa (For instance, [yóhəy má:y-] vs. ↑yóhəy má:y-↑ ((7a), Line (3) where *ma:y* has a primary lexical but a secondary (“intermediate”) metrical stress and *hay* occupies a metrically weak position), [héməy vánívunəy] vs. ↑héməy vánívunəy↑ ((7b), Line (1) where *may*, which occupies a lexically stressed position, appears in a metrically weak (unstressed) position and *vu* which is lexically unstressed occupies a metrically strong position), and [kári: bísmeləh] vs. ↑kári: bísmeləh ((12a), Line (1), where *bis* which has a primary lexical stress, occupies a position which is metrically “intermediate” in terms of its prominence). Finally, there is a compulsory clause boundary between the lines; thus each line begins with a new syntactic clause or a sentence.⁴⁹

As a distinct genre of Kashmiri poetry with a set of defining features, an attempt can be made to place Vanívun in the framework of the *parametric typology* proposed by Hanson & Kiparsky (1996), which makes a distinction between *metrical rules*, which are correspondence constraints between metrical and linguistic forms, and *prosodic rules*, which are special phonological processes that apply in poetry. In this framework, a “linguistic expression is METRICAL if it can be parsed in accord with the constraints defining a given meter in a way consistent with (formally unifiable with) the relevant phonological representations of the language” (Hanson & Kiparsky 1996: 292). Vanívun meter is a development that takes off from this definition of “metricality” in that here metricality is achievable through the application of special morphophonological operations available to the poet/composer. The prosodic rules are not lexically-based, but rather foot-based, where feet are defined in a meter built on a specific structural template. There is a strict one-to-one connection between this structural template (in other words, meter) and the features of the melodic frame in a Muslim Vanívun. Although one of the defining features of the Muslim Vanívun is its melody, slight deviations are permissible as long as the metrical structure is not violated. However, any changes in the metrical structure lead to the ill-formedness and, hence, unacceptability of a verse within the genre. The genre makes use of an “optimal meter” which is representative of the lexical phonological structure of the language. In an oral tradition such as this, the melodic frame provides a tool to memorize and preserve the metrical frame characteristic of the poetic genre, which was historically considered to be “sacred” so that any change or deviation in recitation (or meter) would have been considered a violation of the tradition.

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² See Fabb and Halle (2008) for a comprehensive account of the meters used in different poetic traditions of the world, such as, English, Southern Romance, French, Classical Arabic, Sanskrit, Latvian, and meter used in the Old Testament.

³ *Ghazal* as a poetic genre has also been adopted into the Kashmiri literary traditions.

⁴ See Michael (2004) which analyzes similar principles governing the poetic well-formedness of *Karintaa* chants in Nanti, an Arawak language spoken by a small number of people in southeastern Peru.

⁵ Here "temporal organization" refers to the duration of measures or divisions in a line in the delivery process.

⁶ The term *vanġvun* originally meant 'to repeat'. This meaning of the word has, however, fallen out of the current use and is replaced by its new meaning, i.e., 'to perform Vanġvun, the specific genre of poetry'. The word *vanġvun* probably has its origin in *vanun* 'to say (something)'.

⁷ Vanġvun provides a strong insight into the distinctive traditional belief system of the Kashmiri society. As a form of rich and popular folk culture Vanġvun is a reflection of Kashmiri social life in a historical perspective (See Fayaz 2001, Dhar 1995-2004). Specific Vanġvun songs are performed during each significant part of a social ceremony or ritual. These include: *mā:zi-ra:t* 'the night of henna' (as in traditional South Asian weddings, henna tattooing is part of a typical Kashmiri wedding. Henna is used to paint brides' and women's hands and feet with beautiful drawings. The groom's little finger is dyed with henna too); *mas mīcīra:vun* 'to untie hair' (a wedding ritual which involves the untying of the bride's many plaits braided earlier; this is followed by the wedding shower), *me:k^hal* or *yagnopavit* (the Hindu ritual of baptizing a youth, the bridegroom), *a:b še:run* (Lit. 'to prepare water') or *šra:n* 'bath' – the wedding shower ceremony, *kroor* (a Hindu wedding ritual of decorating the house with flowers following whitewashing), *k^hutnī* or *k^hatanha:l* (Muslim circumcision ritual), *zarī ka:sai* (the ritual of shaving off of *zarī* 'the first hair of an infant'), *kan comīŋ* 'ear-piercing (ceremony for girls)', and so on.

⁸ Like written poetic traditions, oral poetry in Kashmiri has its origins in two strong cultural sources in terms of its form and content – a native Indo-Aryan tradition, and a non-native Perso-Arabic tradition (see Handu 1988: 1295). Most oral poetry associated with rituals and religious festivals, especially in the case of the Hindu community, has been largely unaffected by foreign influences.

⁹ It should, however, be noted that the melody is no longer limited to use among Muslims.

¹⁰ Among Hindus, Vanġvun typically starts with the exclamation *henzee* followed by the proto-verse. For example, the opening lines of a traditional Hindu Vanġvun are:

henze:

šoklam kārīt^h hyotuy vanġvonuy
rut p^hal dyutuy mā:ji b^havə:ni:

'With a recitation of *šoklam* we've started (chanting/singing) the *Vanġvun*
Mother Bhavani has bestowed upon us a boon gift/fruit'

(Data from Pushp, n.d.)

Among the Muslims, who adopted a variation of Vanġvun which is representative of intercultural influence, the word *šoklam* is replaced by *bismelah* (< Arabic *bismillah*), along with other lexical and thematic variations. The term *šoklam* comes from the popular hymn of auspicious inauguration, the *mangala śloka*; cf. Sanskrit *śuklam* (Note: the meaning of the word *henze*: could not be verified. It could mean 'women' or 'ladies'; See Pushp, n.d)

¹¹ The word *Bismillah* is an Arabic loan meaning 'in the name of Allah (God)'; the word *Sahib* (perhaps from Urdu) most likely refers to God or to the Prophet Mohammed.

¹² However, there are a number of songs where, except for the first (and sometimes the last) couplet, the order of the couplets does not matter during a performance. Thus, the remaining stanzas may be sung in varying orders according to how they are recalled in the memory of the people performing them.

¹³ Stress pattern in Kashmiri differs from that of Urdu or Hindi where stress is generally predictable on the basis of syllable weight (Hussain 1997; also see Dyrud 2001).

¹⁴ Note that the only short vowels that can appear word-finally in Kashmiri are [i] and [ɨ].

¹⁵ Although not a characteristic feature of the genre, a Vanġvun may also have a refrain repeated in various stanzas. Consider the following Vanġvun for illustration; here, *az vetasta:ye mā:ze:-ra:t* is the refrain. The song is performed on the *mā:zi-ra:t* 'night of henna' at a Hindu wedding:

sonī-šra:n kārītav ropī ka:ya:ye:	'Bathe the (bride's) silver body with gold	
šrīŋga:r mohabat mā:ye: hund	And beautify her with the make-up of love	
yohay mā:y mohabat varītani a:ye:	(We) have come to express love and affection	
<i>az vetasta:ye: mā:ze:-ra:t^h</i>	Today is Vitasta's <i>mā:zi-ra:t</i>	lāgnī bo:g
su:z harmok ^h ī gānga:ye:	'The beautiful <i>Gānga</i> has sent the <i>lāgnī bo:g</i>	

<i>az vetasta:ye: mǎ:ze:-ra:tʰ</i>	Today is Vitasta's <i>mǎ:zi-ra:tʰ</i>
<i>vanvivi: vigneṽ lolī ma:ya:ye:</i>	'Girls! Sing <i>vanivun</i> with love and affection
<i>az vetasta:ye: mǎ:ze:-ra:tʰ</i>	Today is Vitasta's <i>mǎ:zi-ra:tʰ</i>
<i>ropī son vesī hetʰ divṽta: a:ye:</i>	'Devṽtas have bought silver, gold and friends
<i>na:gi-kanya:ye pə:ra:vne:</i>	To beautify the <i>na:gi-kanya:</i>
<i>nakʰī ta:raṽ dra:y po:ṣī-pu:za:ye:</i>	Along, went the stars for <i>po:ṣī-pu:za:</i>
<i>az vetasta:ye: mǎ:ze:-ra:tʰ</i>	Today is Vitasta's <i>mǎ:zi-ra:tʰ</i>

¹⁶ As noted earlier, the term (metrical) "foot" is used loosely in this study to refer to a metrical division which repeats itself. Thus, use of the term "foot" in the metrical sense is different from its use with regard to the assignment of lexical stress.

¹⁷ Note that Foot #4 of odd lines corresponds to two beats, while the Foot #4 of Line 2 has only one beat

¹⁸ The foot structure provided here is "tentative" because we will see later that the syllables are "repaired" in order to map onto an abstract metrical template which allows a certain number and quantity of syllables in specific positions.

¹⁹ The song provides information about Kashmiri society of earlier times. The message is conveyed in a humorous way in the form of a song addressed by a young bride getting married to a very old groom.

²⁰ Note that "C" is used in a general sense to refer to one or more consonants. Kashmiri allows upto two consonants in onset and coda positions (See Munshi & Crowhurst 2011 for more details).

²¹ Dhar (2003: 56) presents slightly different melodies for a set of Hindu and Muslim Vanivun performances. The melody provided here is based on the Muslim style of singing Vanivun. For a demonstration of a musical rendition of a Vanivun by Arti Tiku Kaul see: <http://www.shehjar.com/list/0/180/1.html>.

²² Following is a very popular *vanivun* text which has also been "sung" as a *be:th* (as opposed to being performed as a *vanivun*); notice the strict *vanivun* meter is not reflected in singing where and text matches with the tune in terms of stress assignment:

šó:xī čá:ni vá:yèy cángi náy sá:zò: (1)
á:kʰò: šáhari- šī:rà:zò:
'For (my) wish for you, I will play *Chang, Nay* and music
You have come from the city of Shiraz'

hú:ri čʰéy vánívā:n nú:ri- máharà:zò: (3)
á:kʰò: šáhari- šī:rà:zò:
'Fairies are singing for you, O splendid groom
You have come from the city of Shiraz'

ló:li hĩndi gári čʰíy báḥ šàṭṭh vá:zò: (5)
sá:si-bāzi na:maci ráninā:vā:n

ló:l čʰéy pú:riṭʰ sórmī ṭī sá:zò: (7)
á:kʰò: šáhari- šī:rà:zò:
'House of (your) Laila(brid)e has 1200 cooks
Thousands of sacred foods are being cooked
Your bride is beautified; collirium and music!
You have come from the city of Shiraz'

číy čʰúkʰ yézimān čonùṽ máharà:zò: (9)
cá:kʰò: ló:li hĩndi dārivā:zò:
ló:l čʰéy pú:riṭʰ sórmī ṭī sá:zò: (11)
á:kʰò: šáhari- šī:rà:zò:

'You are the chief guest and you are the groom
You have entered through Laila's door
Your bride is beautified; collirium and music!
You have come from the city of Shiraz'

For a musical rendition go to: URL <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xbsz9xkZDsU>

²³ Excerpt from a Vanivun sung at *poh* – a ceremony after a newly wedded woman gives birth to her first child

²⁴ *Poh* is the gift that the parents of the new mother bring to the parental house of their son-in-law.

²⁵ The term "non-poetic" is used very narrowly in this study to refer to the forms most frequently available in everyday speech and (oral/written) prose.

²⁶ The two processes are treated under a single heading because they are phonological, as opposed to cliticization, which is morphophonological in nature.

²⁷ Some examples in this section also involve metrical vowel insertion. For instance, insertion of the vowel *i* in *yəziman*. This change is consistent with the historical developments in Kashmiri phonology and syllable structure, which underwent vowel epenthesis to break certain medial clusters. Such epenthetic vowels are often deleted in unstressed positions in the spoken language (See Munshi 2001 and Munshi & Crowhurst 2011).

²⁸ Notice the change in vowel quality from *a* to *ə* in *vīzməḷah* which could be motivated by rhyme (with *bismeeḷah*)

²⁹ Note that, although not shown here, the final *-uy* in *vāṇivunūy* is itself a result of poetic repair through the addition of a morphophonemic ending – a topic discussed later.

³⁰ Recall that Foot#4 of Line 1 is usually bisyllabic.

³¹ An explanation for the change *ə* > *a*: (in *ə:y* > *a:y(e:)*) is that historically *ə*: resulted from *a*: when a high front vowel followed. This historical form is claimed to have been resurrected in poetry.

³² This is an excerpt from a Kashmiri Hindu wedding song.

³³ Final aspiration in [rɒp^h] is the result of a historical change because of which (some) voiceless stops are aspirated in word-final position. Addition of a vowel in the poetic form removes final aspiration.

³⁴ Note that /a/ surfaces as [ɪ] in unstressed positions in Kashmiri.

³⁵ First stanza of a very popular *Vanivun* sung at the groom's reception by his in-laws (Also sung using a non-traditional melody, in which case it is no longer *Vanivun*).

³⁶ First couplet from a *Vanivun* sung at *poh* – a ceremony after a newly wedded woman gives birth to her first child.

³⁷ That these clitics are morphophonemic and not simply meaningless phonological endings is illustrated in the following example where mismatch of MPs leads to ungrammaticality (as designated by an asterisk “*”):

	šo:xɪ	ča:ni	va:yey	čangɪ	nay	sa:z- <u>o</u> :	wish.Obl
your	play.2Ben.Dat	<i>Chung</i>	flute	music-MP.m.sg			
	a:k ^h - <u>o</u> / *a: k ^h - <u>ay</u> /*a:yk ^h - <u>ay</u>				šahar-e:-ši:ra:z- <u>o</u> :		
	came.m.sg-MP.m.sg/*came.f-MP.f.sg/*came.f-MP.f.sg				city-of-Shiraz-MP.m.sg		

‘For (my) wish for you, I will play *Chung* (a musical instrument), flute and music
You have come from the city of Shiraz’

Thus, although *|a:k^h-ay šahare:- ši:ra:z-o:| and *|a:yk^h-ay šahare:- ši:ra:z-o:| are metrically perfect, both are ungrammatical because *a:k^h-* ‘came.m.sg’ does not agree with *-ay* ‘MP.f.sg’, and *a:yk^h-ay* ‘came.f-MP.f.sg’ does not agree with *ši:ra:z-o:* ‘Shiraz-MP.m.sg’.

³⁸ See Kiparsky (1968) for the metrical structure of the Finnish epic *Kalevala*, where the metrical system is determined at the morphophonemic level, permitting various apparent irregularities at the phonetic level. Also see Kiparsky (1972) for the metrics and morphophonemics of the Rigveda.

³⁹ The same is true of non-poetic *kānyā:yi* and *pə:ra:vni* versus poetic *kanya:ye:* and *pə:ra:vne:* in the following line of the same verse:

[ná:gi-kànyà:yi pə:rà:vni]
[ná:gi.-kan|yá:a.ye: |pə:ə.ra:v|ne: ||

where the historical change of final vowel reduction is undone and the original vowel is resurrected in the poetic form. Note that the central vowel *ə*: in *ə:y* (from *a:*) had resulted from a historical vowel harmony change induced by a following high front vowel which was then deleted in word-final position. The change involved was *ə*: > *a:/_e:* (i.e., *a:ye:* > *ə:y*). See Munshi (2001) for a detailed account of diachronic vowel changes in Kashmiri.

⁴⁰ A similar example in English could be from Blake's *The Tyger* in the two most salient lines:

— *Did* he smile his work to see?

Did he who made the Lamb make thee?

Note that in the first line, “did” is an *ictus*, while in the second, it's an *upbeat*.

⁴¹ A similar example of such changes is that of the meter in Urdu *ghazal* where differences in pronunciation (and, therefore, stress placement) may be found on the basis of poetic and non-poetic (“natural”) instances of a word. For example, a word like *me:re:* ‘mine. Oblique’ may be scanned as [me:re:] or [mere:] based on metrical requirements.

⁴² Initial clusters are treated as single consonants.

⁴³ Note that this phrase extends over two metrical feet. The metrical foot under consideration is the one on the left. The foot on the right side is a disyllabic final foot of an odd line in which case /u/ has undergone lengthening as well as change in quality to *o:* (for metrical purposes and for rhyme).

⁴⁴ The examples here show the boundaries for metrical feet based on the data used in this study. These need not coincide with word boundaries. Thus, *míçí* in /mas míçí/ is only part of the word *míçíra:vay* (used in the phrase *mas míçíra:vay* ‘I will untie your hair’). Another similar case is /dərí gándí/ where *gándí* is only part of the word *gándína:vay* ‘(I) will get tied/assembled (for you)’. Further, the placement of metrical stress is not shown here but is understood.

⁴⁵ See Schuh (1995) for a mora-based account of meter in Hausa oral poetry. In this analysis, the basis of poetic meters is syllable weight where a metrical unit (called a metrical “position”) spans two moras.

⁴⁶ The terms *uddaata*, *anuddaata* and *swarita* are used by Dhar (2003) for ‘strong’, ‘weak’ and ‘intermediate’ positions (respectively) in Vaní^í*vun*.

⁴⁷ A grid-based metrical structure reflects speaker intuitions about syllable prominence more accurately than either tree-based representation or an SPE-style numerical representation (See Hayes (1983) for a grid-based theory of English meter; also see Liberman & Prince (1977)).

⁴⁸ A fourth type called “tonemic” versification is found in tonal languages such as classical Chinese poetry which have a distinction between syllables with “modulations” as opposed to the “non-modulated” syllables (Jakobson 1960: 360).

⁴⁹ Note that sprung rhythm does not put any restrictions on the grammatical integrity of a line.