New Applications of Jakobson's "Broad Metrics": Sung Poetry and Dual-Metered Verse

Igor Pilshchikov*

Abstract. This article extends Roman Jakobson's framework of "broad metrics" to sung poetry. Building on his dichotomies of verse design/instance (poetic meter and rhythm) and delivery design/instance (recitation rules and performance), it proposes an additional dyad: musical design/instance (musical meter and rhythm), which often diverge from verse patterns. The study also incorporates Mihhail Lotman's concept of secondary meter to account for dual metricity in verse. Analysis of sung texts with dual-metered verse structures – such as but not limited to hyperpaeonic syllabotonic meters – shows how verse and music coalesce to shape delivery rhythms that may oscillate between multiple meters. Whenever this occurs, the choice of a particular rhythmic variant is conditioned by the delivery design (performance strategy). The model is substantiated by case studies of three Soviet-era songs.
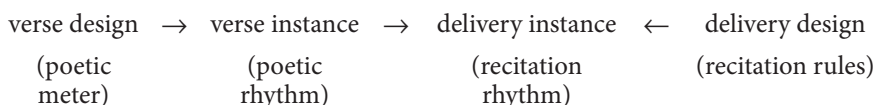
Keywords: meter and rhythm, dual metricity, hyperpaeons, segmented dolnik, taktovik, verse and music, sung verse, Soviet-era songs, "bard" poetry

Introduction

In his seminal essay, "Linguistics and Poetics" (1960), Roman Jakobson reformulated the Russian Symbolist and Formalist distinction between meter and rhythm (see Pilshchikov 2024) as the dichotomy of verse design and verse instance (Bradford 1994: 78–79). In "Meter and Performance", Paul Kiparsky (2010) underscores the importance of Jakobson's refinement for the analysis of performed poetry. As he reminds us, Jakobson also introduced the notion of "delivery instance" (encompassing text-setting and recitation), thereby expanding the scope of metrics from "narrow" to "broad". Although conditioned by verse instances, permissible deliveries are not identical to them. As a matter of fact, Jakobson further complemented this triad with a fourth component,

_____

*   Author's addresses: Igor Pilshchikov, University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Slavic, East European and Eurasian Languages and Cultures, 320 Kaplan Hall, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90095, USA; Tallinn University, School of Humanities, Uus-Sadama 5, Tallinn 10120, Estonia, email: pilshch@tlu.ee.
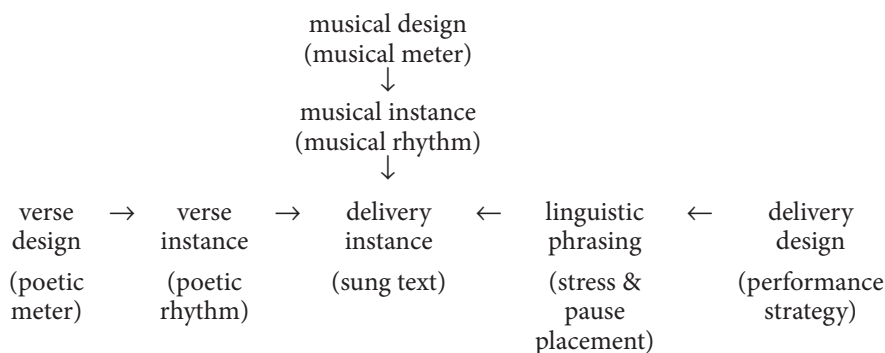
"delivery design", which refers to performance conventions guiding the reciter to either "cling to a scanning style or tend toward prose-like prosody or freely oscillate between these two poles" (Jakobson 1960: 366). In this model, the delivery instance is shaped by both the verse instance and the delivery design:

verse design   →   verse instance   →   delivery instance   ←   delivery design

   (poetic   (poetic   (recitation   (recitation rules)

   meter)   rhythm)   rhythm)

Jakobson's primary concern was the recitation of written poetry rather than the singing of songs. Nonetheless, his model can be effectively adapted to the analysis of sung poetry. In this case, the delivery instance is governed simultaneously by two distinct metro-rhythmical structures: the verse design and instance, and the musical design and instance (Dell, Elmedlaoui 2008: 27; Halle 2011: 187). These patterns do not necessarily coincide. As Kiparsky observes:

> The composer and performer of a song constructs a match between three tiers of rhythmic structure: linguistic prominence, poetic meter, and musical rhythm. They are organized along similar principles, as hierarchies of alternating prominence [...]. But they are autonomous, in the sense that a text has an intrinsic prosodic form independently of how it is versified, a stanza has an intrinsic metrical form independently of how it is set to music, and a tune has an intrinsic musical rhythm independently of the words that may be sung to it. (2006: 7)

When discrepancies arise, the performer may shape the delivery instance in accordance with either of the competing structures, or, in Jakobson's words, "freely oscillate between these two poles". A tentative scheme may be outlined as follows:

musical design
(musical meter)
↓
musical instance
(musical rhythm)
↓

verse   →   verse   →   delivery   ←   linguistic   ←   delivery
design   instance   instance   phrasing   design

(poetic   (poetic   (sung text)   (stress &   (performance
meter)   rhythm)   pause   strategy)
                                                          placement)

This issue, already complex in itself, is often illustrated through relatively simple poetic meters, such as English trochaic tetrameter or French heptasyllabic meter. To advance the discussion, I turn instead to three Soviet-era Russophone songs, each built on a more complex verse meter that does not coincide with the song's musical meter. These examples enable us to observe how complex metrical structures interact with musical settings and how performers resolve these tensions in practice. The central question, then, is how dual-metered structures can be brought into alignment with musical patterns.

1. Hyperpaeon III (Penton III)

My first example is the song "Podmoskovnye vechera" (lyrics by Mikhail Matusovsky, 1955; music by Vasilii Solovyov-Sedoy), originally composed for the documentary *V dni Spartakiady narodov SSSR* (*At the Spartakiad of Peoples of the USSR*, 1956), in which the first two quatrains were performed by Vladimir Troshin.[1] Troshin subsequently sang it at the 6th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow (1957), and Van Cliburn played an instrumental version at the close of his concert at the Moscow Conservatory (1958).[2]

The song was therefore tied to landmark events at the height of the Khrushchev Thaw. Its title, usually translated as "Moscow Nights", more literally means "Evenings in the Moscow Suburbs" or "Evenings in the Moscow Countryside". The text was initially titled "Leningradskie vechera" ("Leningrad Evenings" / "Leningrad Nights"), but the adjective *leningrádskie* ['(evenings) in Leningrad'] is longer than *moskóvskie* ["(evenings) in Moscow']. To link the song with Moscow, the poet chose the isorhythmic adjective *podmoskóvnye* ['(evenings) near Moscow'].

The song's international popularity began after Kenny Ball and His Jazzmen released an instrumental jazz arrangement, "Midnight in Moscow" (1961).[3] It became so famous that it was the only Soviet song to appear on Dmitri Nabokov's LP *Russische Lieder* (1974), compiled with his father, Vladimir Nabokov, and annotated by the latter (Efimov 2025: 107–108). Surprisingly, Nabokov père described "Evenings in the Moscow Countryside" as "a pleasant

---

1   https://youtu.be/VlOMQfVTsaw?t=2572; also in Lebedeva, Lebedev 2023.

2   https://youtu.be/r9aKbfnMSrY&t=5840

3   https://youtu.be/UqHR04KZGxo, https://youtu.be/xEG6VFUUKTM

romance evoking the atmosphere of dachas and evening tea on the outskirts of present-day [!] Moscow":[4]

Source: Lebedeva, Lebedev 2023

The poem's meter belongs to the group of syllabotonic hyperpaeonic meters, characterized by foot lengths exceeding four syllables (Kviatkovsky 1966: 205, 230–233; Kholshevnikov 1972: 36–40; 1987: 37–38; Rudnev 1989: 92–95; Gasparov 2001 [1993]: 127–128; Pilshchikov 2024: 109). All are twentieth-century experiments, with one exception: at the end of the eighteenth century the polymath Nikolai Lvov pioneered one hyperpaeon as a replica of a particular rhythmical variant of Russian epic verse (Zhirmunsky 1925: 249–253; 1966 [1925]: 229–233; Shtokmar 1941: 334–335; Bezzubov 1978; Gasparov 1978: 17, 39–40). Specifically, the meter is penton III; it is constituted by a five-syllable foot (hence "penton") with an obligatory stress on the third syllable (thus "III"). Extensively employed in Aleksej Koltsov's imitations of folkloric lyric poetry in the 1830s, it came to be known as *kol'tsovskij pjatislozhnik* (Koltsov's pentasyllable). It retained folkloric and song-related associations in later poetry, including Matusovsky's lyric (Gasparov 1999: 269–270; Zholkovsky 2018: 184–185; 2025: 243–246, cf. 252–254).

The meter of "Podmoskovnye vechera" is two-foot penton III with a regular alternation of dactylic and masculine rhymes.[5] Like many hyperpaeons, it

---

4   MPS 20 21988-7, BASF 0666 219. *Russische Lieder gesungen von Dmitri Nabokov, Baß* (℗ 1974 by MPS Records). Orchester der Volksoper Wien. Program notes for a two-side record of twelve Russian songs in Dmitri Nabokov's rendition and all English verse translations are by Vladimir Nabokov (© 1973 by Vladimir Nabokov).

5   The ending, which follows the last "strong" position in verse, is called a clausula and may contain from 0 to 2 syllables. Clausulae can be rhymed or unrhymed, and they do not affect the metrical definition of a line even if they create a catalectic effect. A zero-syllable clausula

features a caesura – a compulsory word boundary between the feet, known in classical philology as diaeresis. In its first publication (Matusovsky 1957: 98), the first line was explicitly accentuated – an accent mark was printed over the second *y* in the passive participle *slyshný* ['heard'], to avoid confusion with the equally possible stress *slýshny*. The latter would yield an amphibrachic reading: "Ne sl**ý**shny v sad**u** ‖ dazhe sh**o**rokhi" instead of "Ne slyshn**ý** v sad**u** ‖ dazhe sh**o**rokhi" ['Are not heard in the garden ‖ even the rustling sounds'].

In the following transcriptions, unstressed syllables are designated as 0, and stressed syllables as 1. Fully realized stresses are marked with acute accents, while rhythmically ambiguous, potentially atoned syllables are marked with grave accents.[6] In schematic strings, the symbol "1" is *italicized* when it corresponds to a monosyllabic word and **bolded** when the syllable is in the constantly stressed position. Word boundaries are indicated as | (or ¦ before and after clitics), and caesuras as ‖:

I   ₁ Не слышны́ в саду́ ‖ да́же шо́рохи,   0¦0 **1**|0 1 ‖ 1 0|**1** 0 0
    ₂ Всё здесь за́мерло ‖ до утра́.   *1*|*1*|**1** 0 0 ‖ 0 ¦0 **1**
    ₃ Е́сли б зна́ли вы̀, ‖ ка́к мне до́роги   1 0|**1** 0|*1* ‖ *1* |*1*| **1** 0 0
    ₄ Подмоско́вные ‖ вечера́.   0 0 1 0 0 ‖ 0 0 **1**

II ₁ Ре́чка дви́жется ‖ и не дви́жется,   1 0|**1** 0 0 ‖ 0 ¦0¦**1** 0 0
    ₂ Вся́ из лу́нного ‖ серебра́.   *1*|0¦**1** 0 0 ‖ 0 0 **1**
    ₃ Пе́сня слы́шится ‖ и не слы́шится   1 0|**1** 0 0 ‖ 0 ¦0¦**1** 0 0
    ₄ В э́ти ти́хие ‖ вечера́.   1 0|**1** 0 0 ‖ 0 0 **1**

III ₁ Что́ ж ты̀, ми́лая, ‖ смо́тришь и́скоса,   *1*|*1*|**1** 0 0 ‖ 1 0|**1** 0 0
    ₂ Ни́зко го́лову ‖ наклоня́.   1 0|**1** 0 0 ‖ 0 0 **1**
    ₃ Тру́дно вы́сказать ‖ и не вы́сказать   1 0|**1** 0 0 ‖ 0 ¦0¦**1** 0 0
    ₄ Всё, что на́ сердце ‖ у меня́.   *1*|0¦**1** 0 0 ‖ 0 ¦0 **1**

IV ₁ А рассве́т ужѐ ‖ всё заме́тнее.   0¦0 **1**|0 1 ‖ *1* |0 **1** 0 0
    ₂ Так, пожа́луйста, ‖ бу̀дь добра́,   0|0 **1** 0 0 ‖ *1* |0 **1**
    ₃ Не забу́дь и ты̀ ‖ э́ти ле́тние   0 0 **1**|0¦*1* ‖ 1 0|**1** 0 0
    ₄ Подмоско́вные ‖ вечера́.   0 0 **1** 0 0 ‖ 0 0 **1**

---

is traditionally termed *masculine* (*m*), a monosyllabic clausula *feminine (F)*, and a disyllabic clausula *dactylic* (*D*). Hyperdactylic clausulae (three syllables and more) are rare.

6   On rhythmical ambiguity, see Zhirmunsky 1925: 95–120; 1966 [1925]: 93–113; Gasparov 1974: 132–137, 148–149; Pilshchikov 2019.

Building on the statistical dichotomy suggested by Jakobson (1979a [1930]), elaborated into a trichotomy by Kiril Taranovsky (1953: 1–45; 2020 [1953]) and applied to the analysis of paeonic meters by Mihhail Lotman (1995: 310–314), we can distinguish between rhythmic tendencies, dominants, and constants and, in turn, between three types of positions in verse:

> Weak positions (W): filled by unstressed syllables or monosyllabic words;
> Strong positions (S): filled by stressed or unstressed syllables of mono- and
> polysyllabic words;
> Constants (C): obligatorily filled by stressed syllables.

In Russian versification, unlike in Czech or English, the final strong position is always obligatorily stressed (exceptions are exceedingly rare); it should therefore be treated as a C rather than an S (Jakobson 1979a [1930]: 131; 1960: 361). Paeons and hyperpaeons contain more than one C.

The statistics of stresses on the odd-numbered syllables in each hemistich in this song are as follows:

syllables	first hemistich			second hemistich		
	I	**III**	**V**	**I**	**III**	**V**
stressed	10	16	4	6	16	0
%	62.5	100	25	37.5	100	0

I will refer to the rules governing *correspondence* between structures of different levels (e.g., poetic meter and poetic rhythm, or musical meter and musical rhythm) as *correspondence rules*, and those governing *congruence* between the structures of the same level (e.g., poetic meter and musical meter, or different types of poetic meters) as *matching rules*.

The correspondence rules for Russian syllabotonic meters, as described by Kolmogorov and Prokhorov (1968: 404–406) and Lotman (1995, 2000),[7] may be summarized for our case as follows:

> *Either*
> W or S or C ← a monosyllable
> W or S ← 0
> S or C ← 1

---

7   For an Anglophone summary, see Lotman 1995: 339–349. On the principles of formulating correspondence rules, see Halle, Keyser 1971: 139–180 (Chapter 3).

or

W → 0 or a monosyllable
S → 0 or 1 (including monosyllables)
C → 1 (including monosyllables)

As in binary meters, S positions in penton III are equivalent to *syllaba anceps* (Zhirmunsky 1925: 252; 1966 [1925]: 232; Shapir 1996: 282–283). But why the caveat regarding monosyllables? In Russian literary versification, an unstressed syllable may occupy an S position, and a W position may be filled by a stressed syllable, but not within the same word. For this reason, the well-formedness of a metrical line depends on word boundaries. Configurations like "01|100" are permissible in Koltsov's penton III, whose formula accordingly is WWCWW, and they occur as exceptions in Russian folkloric trochee and its imitations (Lotman 1995: 304; 2000: 232). However, such configurations would not produce a well-formed literary trochee, due to the "trans-accentuation ban" (Gasparov 1974: 14), also known as the Tomashevsky–Jakobson rule: "...within one word-unit a joint coincidence of the stressed syllable with the upbeat and of the unstressed syllable with the downbeat is inadmissible" (Jakobson 1979b [1955]: 168). Hence, in binary meters "a word stress can coincide with an upbeat only as far as it belongs to a monosyllabic word unit" (Jakobson 1960: 361; see Pilshchikov 2019: 62–64 for discussion).

In Matusovsky's poem, the even-numbered positions II and IV in each hemistich are filled by unstressed syllables or monosyllabic words (whether atoned or stressed makes no difference). Consequently, its meter can, parenthesizing optional clausula elements, be described as SWCWS ‖ SWC(WW), or line by line for the entire quatrain:

SWCWS ‖ SWCWW
SWCWS ‖ SWC
SWCWS ‖ SWCWW
SWCWS ‖ SWC

In Russian versification, (hyper)paeonic meters can be interpreted as dual-metered structures, governed concurrently by the rules of both (hyper)paeonic and binary meters (Lotman 2022). When loaded with extraschematic stresses, penton III readily "disintegrates" either into trochaic trimeter with a masculine caesura or clausula or into trochaic trimeter with a dactylic caesura or

clausula[8] – similarly to nuclear disintegration.[9] The stressing of the first syllable in Matusovsky's penton (62.5%) is markedly higher than in Koltsov's and post-Koltsovian pentons (25% and 20%, respectively, according to Bezzubov 1978: 115–117), and approximates the figures for the first syllable of well-formed trochaic tetrameters by Koltsov (62.1%), Ivan Nikitin (63.3%), and Afanasij Fet (65%) (see Taranovsky 1953: 302).

The matching rules for the hyperpaeonic and trochaic interpretations of this meter are as follows:

$$S \quad W \quad C \quad W \quad W \quad \| \quad S \quad W \quad C \quad (W) \; (W)$$
$$\updownarrow \quad \updownarrow \quad \updownarrow \quad \updownarrow \quad \updownarrow \qquad \updownarrow \quad \updownarrow \quad \updownarrow \quad \updownarrow \quad \updownarrow$$
$$S \quad W \quad S \quad W \quad S \quad \| \quad S \quad W \quad C \quad (W) \; (W)$$
$$\textit{or:} \quad C \qquad\qquad \textit{or:} \quad S \quad W \quad C$$

In essence, the trochaic notation indicates how the poem could be *scanned* if it were written in real trochees with pre-caesural truncation.[10] The trochaic rhythmization helps to "reconcile" the poem's rhythm with musical rhythm, but not completely: for reasons outlined above and discussed further below, not all pentonic lines are isorhythmic with trochees. As Zhirmunsky remarked of Koltsov's pentons, "the trochaic rhythm remains nothing more than the overriding rhythmical cadence, while the only obligatory metrical features are the constant number of syllables (5) and the constant stress on the third syllable" (Zhirmunsky 1925: 253; 1966 [1925]: 232–233).

---

[8]   Lotman (1986: 75; 2022) termed this phenomenon "secondary meter" – a label coined in parallel to Gasparov's concept of "secondary rhythm" (Gasparov 1974: 77–78; cf. Jakobson 1960: 362–363).

[9]   Daniil Andreev, an advocate of hyperpaeons and even hyper-hyperpaeons (Orlitsky 2018: 580–583), depicted them as "superheavy transuranic meters" ("Сверхтяжелые, трансурановые размеры"). This line is three-foot penton III, as is the meter of his entire metapoetic *Hyperpaeon* (*Giper-peon*, 1951), from which it is taken (Plungian 2007: 3; Zholkovsky 2018: 187–188). A poet and visionary, Andreev spent ten years in Soviet prisons and labor camps, where this poem was composed. Reversing Mayakovsky's celebrated image of writing poetry as "mining radium" from "tons of verbal ore", Andreev likens his own "rule-breaking" poetry to plutonium, extracted from radioactive ore in a labor camp.

[10]   As Boris Tomashevsky noted in various contexts, scansion is "a natural operation since it is nothing but an emphatic clarification of the meter". "This artificial scansion is not an arbitrary act, for it only demonstrates that constructional law which is invested in the lines". "Scansion is analogous to counting aloud in learning a song or in the movement of the director's baton" (qtd. in Lotman 1976 [1972]: 45).

For convenience, tied notes at the end of a hemistich (♩‿|♪) are represented as rests after the bar line (♩|𝄽) – an adjustment that does not affect the matching since the onbeat and offbeat placement assigned to each syllable remains unchanged.[11]

♪♪♪♩ ♪♩♩ ♩ |♩
♪♪♪♩ ♪♩♩
♩ ♩ |♩♩ |𝄽 ♩♪♩♪
𝄾 ♪♩ ♪♩♩ ♩ |♩

We can now describe the song's musical meter by aligning its musical instances with metrical grids, as proposed by Liberman (1975), developed for musicology by Lerdahl and Jackendoff (1983), and applied to text-and-tune analysis in Halle and Lerdahl 1993, Hayes and Kaun 1996, Hayes and MacEachern 1998, Kiparsky 2006, Dell and Halle 2009, Dell 2015, and Hayes and Schuh 2019. Following Liberman (1975: 276), I prefer to use numbers rather than dots, asterisks, or *x*'s in the gridlines, but, following Fabb and Halle (2008), I begin with 0 rather than 1 as the lowest gridlevel number, thereby preserving the same lowest numerical symbol across all aligned structures. The highest level corresponds to bars and coincides with the downbeat. Double matching denotes syncopation.[12] According to Liberman (1975: 266), the *metrical grid* is "a kind of intuited structure of *time itself*, while *metrical patterns* are intuited structures of events in time". This distinction is "parallel to the distinction between meter and rhythm in music".[13]

```
2      2     2      2
1 1    1   1 1  1   1 1
0000  00  00 00 00   00 00
♪♪♪♪|♩   ♪♪♩ ♩   |♩
```

---

[11]   For ties and melismas in tune-to-text matching, see the acute remarks of Rudolf Zaripov in his pioneering study *Cybernetics and Music* (Zaripov 1971: 119–120).

[12]   For the interpretation of syncopation in the framework of generative musical theory, see, e.g., Temperley 1999.

[13]   "*Metrical grids* are defined formally as an ordered set of ordered sets, representing the levels in a grid, of which the lowest level (the initial set) is considered *terminal*; and a function *F* that maps each nonterminal level onto a proper subset of the next level down, in such a way that the image set conforms to the ordering relations on all levels". "*Metrical patterns* are formally defined as trees, with uniformly binary branching, and a relation *strong/weak* defined on the two elements of each nonterminal constituent" (Liberman 1975: 302).

```
2      2      2
1   1   1    1   1   1
00 00   00 00 00 00
♪♪♪♪│♩ ♩ ♪♩♩


2      2      2      2
1   1 1   1  1   1 1  1
00 00 00  00 00 00 00 00
♪ ♩│♪♪ ♩│♪♩ ♪♪♪ ♩


2      2      2      2
1  1  1  1  1  1  1  1
00 00 00 00 00 00 00 00
♪♪ ♪♪│♩ ♪♪♩ ♩ ♩│♩
```

The rhythmic patterns of tune and text – musical instances and verse instances, or, in other terms, musical rhythm and verse rhythm – must be aligned. "The condition on the association of a text and a tune is that their metrical patterns be *congruent* [...]. Roughly, one tree must be superimposed on the other without any conflict of constituent structure or (metrical) node labels" (Liberman 1975: 276). In practice, however, congruence is often only partial. This results in violations – either of metrical rules or natural language rules – which become unavoidable when the performer is compelled to align linguistic rhythm with musical rhythm.

The following presents a romanization of the first two quatrains, with the gridlevel numbers and position codes aligned to each syllable. The "correct" pentonic interpretation is supplemented by a potential trochaic interpretation, supported by the trochaic beat of the song's music (Zholkovsky 2018: 188), even though not all poetic lines conform to it, producing "a sui generis counterpoint of verse rhythm and musical rhythm" (2018: 189; 2025: 252):

```
I      2  0   1   0 2       1  0   2 1   2
       Ne slyshný v-sadú       dázhe shórokhi,
p:     S   W   C   W  S   ‖  S   W   C W   W
*t:    S   W   S   W  C   ‖  S   W   S W   C


       2  0   1  0 2        1  0 2
       Vsjó zdés' zámerlo       do utrá.
p:     S   W   C  W S     ‖   S W C
*t:    S   W   S  W C     ‖   S W C
```

```
           2  1    20 1            1    0 2 0 1
           Ésli b ználi vỳ,        kák mnè dórogi
p:         S W    CW S     ‖    S     W C WW
˚t:        S W    SW C     ‖    S     W S W C


           1   0  2 10          2  1 2
           Podmoskóvnye         vecherá.
p:         S   W  C WS     ‖    S WC
˚t:        S   W  S WC     ‖    S WC



II    2   0   1  0 2        1 0   2  1 2
      Réchka dvízhetsa       i ne dvízhetsa,
p:    S   W   C  W S    ‖   S W   C  WW
˚t:   S   W   S  W C    ‖   S W   S  W C


           2 0  1   0 2          1 0 2
           Vsjá iz lúnnogo       serebrá.
p:         SW C  W S      ‖    S W C
˚t:        SW S  W C      ‖    S W C


           2   1   2  0 1          1 0  20 1
           Pésnja  slýshitsa       i ne slýshitsa
p:         S   W   C W S    ‖    S W C  WW
˚t:        S   W   S W C    ‖    S W S  W C


           1 0 2  10            2  1 2
           V-éti tíkhie         vecherá.
p:         SWC WS       ‖    S WC
˚t:        SWS  WC      ‖    S WC
```

I do not dwell on unstressed monosyllables in S positions at the beginning of lines, aligned with Gridlevel 2. Some, such as the negative particle *Ne* ['not'] in lines I.1 and IV.3, can be atoned; others, such as the conjunction *A* ['and'] in line IV.I, are not reduced at the beginning of a syntagma [Knjazev et al. 2007: 387–388]. More problematic are polysyllabic words extending to the fifth syllable of the pentasyllabic foot. These positions are consistently aligned with Gridlevel 2 beats, which are occupied by long – quarter or half – notes. They thus match with C positions in the potential trochee and are unequivocally stressed. No discrepancy arises when such words are disyllabic – for

example, *v-sadú* ['in the garden'] in line I.1 – since they align with gridlines 0.2 (the potential trochee's WC positions) and are neither trans-accentuated nor double-accentuated.

Longer words, however, present difficulties. Trisyllables such as *shórokhi* ['rustling sounds'] in I.1 (gridlines 2.1.2), *dórogi* ['dear'] in I.3 (2.0.1), *dvízhe*[t͡s]*a* ['is moving'] in II.1 (2.1.2), *mílaja* ['darling'] in III.1 (2.1.2), and *výskazat'* ['outspeak'] in III.3 (2.0.1), or tetrasyllables *zamétne*[j]*e* ['more visible'] in IV.1 (0.2.1.2) and *pozhál*[us]*ta* ['please'] in IV.2 (0.1.0.2), span both the penton's third position (C in penton, S in trochee) and its final pre-clausal position (S or W in penton, C in trochee). Aligned with two stress peaks, they become either trans-accentuated or double-accentuated, as if "musically scanned" (Zholkovsky 2018: 189; 2025: 252). Yet Russian prosody admits no secondary stress in non-compound words, so such accentuation violates the language's basic rules.

Furthermore, forms like *zámerlo* ['fell quiet'] in I.2 (1.0.2) are only performable if the phoneme /o/, which merges phonetically with /a/ in *unstressed* positions due to the standard Russian *akanye* ("a-ying"), is sung as a long *stressed* [á:], i.e., [zàmerlá:]. This, however, constitutes a violation of both Russian prosody (double accentuation) and morphonology, the result of *zamerlá* being the feminine and not the required neuter form of this verb. Even so, this is precisely how Solovyov-Sedoy himself performed the line.[14] Troshin, whose recordings from different years survive, always sings it the same way.[15] Similarly, in II.2 he sings the adjective *lúnnogo* ['moonlight'] in the same position 1.0.2 as [lùn-navá:] instead of [lún:əvə] – a pronunciation unattested outside this song.

Attempts have been made to interpret such cases of double accentuation as trans-accentuations and to explain them as a folkloric influence (Lebedeva, Lebedev 2023). This explanation, however, is unsatisfactory, above all because similar phenomena appear in songs composed without any intention of folkloric imitation. In any case, these are minor discrepancies compared to what can occur when performing lyrics written in more complex meters.

---

14   https://youtu.be/I8cyYSTQQBw?t=26

15   Compare the 1977 Soviet Gosteleradio performance: https://youtu.be/7F4aC2elEp0

2. Hyper-hyperpaeon IV (Hexon IV)

The next examples come from the genre known as "bard songs" (*bardovskie pesni*), also referred to as "author's songs" (*avtorskie pesni*), performed by their own writers, who often accompanied themselves on guitar rather than composing for professional singers (Smith 1984; Novikov 1998; Kulagin 2011; Bogomolov 2015, 2019). Among the best-known Russophone "bards" are Alexander Galich, Bulat Okudzhava, and Vladimir Vysotsky, who rose to prominence in the 1960s. Their success was preceded by earlier instances of the genre in the 1930s and 1940s, with the work of poets such as Pavel Kogan, Mikhail Ancharov, and Mikhail Lvovsky, whose songs were also performed by both professional and unprofessional singers.

My next example is Lvovsky's 1961 song "Na Tikhoretskuju sostav otpravitsja" ("The Train Will Depart for Tikhorétskaja Station"), which was set to music by at least two different composers, most famously by Mikael Tariverdiev in 1965. The song tells the story of a girl on a train who, apparently heartbroken after a recent breakup, still remains resilient. "Tikhorétskaja" refers to the railway station of that name.

Source: sheetsmusic.top

Lvovsky's song frequently appeared in anthologies of Russian "bard" songs and, until the late 1970s, also mistakenly circulated in unauthorized collections of Vysotsky's songs and poems (cf. Smith 1977: 71). The error arose because Vysotsky – a renowned songwriter and performer, a leading actor in the neo-avant-garde Taganka Theatre, and arguably the most recognizable figure of the late Soviet era – enjoyed performing this song.

Lvovsky first incorporated the piece into his 1961 play *Drug detstva* (*A Lifelong Friend*), with music composed by Tariverdiev. Its popularity, however, skyrocketed much later, following its inclusion in Eldar Rjazanov's 1975 comedy *Ironija sud'by, ili S legkim parom!* (*The Irony of Fate, or Enjoy Your Bath!*), which went on to become a New Year's Eve classic and has been hailed as "the most famous and popular movie in Soviet culture since World War Two" (MacFadyen 2003: 221). The film is particularly noted for its erudite and sophisticated soundtrack, composed of recited and sung poems (Gushchin 2024). In it, Polish actress Barbara Brylska played the female lead, with her singing voice supplied by Alla Pugachova, Russia's most celebrated pop star of the 1970s and 1980s.

This song is relevant to the present discussion because it displays different placements of the caesura in its verse and its music. For simplicity, I disregard the line between the third and final lines of each stanza, which invariably repeats (verbally, rhythmically, and musically) the first hemistich of the next line. I therefore treat the stanzas as quatrains, consistent with how they are usually presented in printed versions of the poem (e.g., Dunaev 1985: 203). The second stanza, regrettably, is omitted in the film version.

The poem employs a far rarer hyperpaeonic meter: hexon IV, defined by a six-syllable foot whose fourth syllable is obligatorily stressed.

I   1 На Тихорéцкую ‖ состáв | отпрáвится.   0¦0 0 **1**   0 0 ‖   0 **1**| 0 **1** 0 0

     2 Вагóнчик трóнется, ‖ перрóн | остáнется.   0 **1** 0|**1**   0 0 ‖   0 **1**| 0 **1** 0 0

     3 Стенá кирпи́чная, ‖ часы́ | вокзáльные,   0 **1**|0 **1**   0 0 ‖   0 **1**| 0 **1** 0 0

       Платочки белые, платочки белые

     4 Платóчки бéлые, ‖ глазá | печáльные.   0 **1** 0|**1**   0 0 ‖   0 **1**| 0 **1** 0 0

II   1 Однà в окóшечко ‖ гляжу́ не грýстно я̀,   0 **1**|0 **1**   0 0 ‖   0 **1**| 0¦**1** 0|*1*

     2 И тóлько кóрочка ‖ в рукé арбýзная.   0¦**1** 0|**1**   0 0 ‖   0 **1**| 0 **1** 0 0

     3 Ну чтó с девчóнкою ‖ такóю стáнется?   0|*1*| 0 **1**   0 0 ‖   0 **1**   0|**1** 0 0

       Вагончик тронется, вагончик тронется,

     4 Вагóнчик трóнется, ‖ перрóн | остáнется.   0 **1** 0|**1**   0 0 ‖   0 **1**| 0 **1** 0 0

III   1 Начнёт выпы́тывать ‖ купé | куря́щее   0 **1** 0 **1**   0 0 ‖   0 **1**| 0 **1** 0 0

     2 Про моѐ прóшлое ‖ и настоя́щее.   0¦0 **1**|**1**   0 0 ‖   0¦0   0 **1** 0 0

₃Навру́ с трѝ ко́роба ‖ – пу́сть удивля́ются.   01| *1*|**1**   0 0 ‖   1|0   0 **1** 0 0

С кем распрощалась я, с кем распрощалась я

₄С ке́м распроща́лась я̀, ‖ ва́с не каса́ется.   *1*|0 0 **1**   0|*1* ‖   1|0¦   0 **1** 0 0

IV ₁Откро́ет ду́шу мнѐ ‖ матро́с в тельня́шечке,   0 1 0|**1**   0|*1* ‖   0 1| 0 **1** 0 0

₂Ка̀к одино́ко жи́ть ‖ ему́ бедня́жечке.   *1*|0 0 **1**   0|*1* ‖   0 1| 0 **1** 0 0

₃Сойде́т на ста́нции, ‖ и не огля́нется,   0 1|0|**1**   0 0 ‖   0¦0¦   0 **1** 0 0

Вагончик тронется, вагончик тронется,

₄Ваго́нчик тро́нется, ‖ а о́н оста́нется.   0 1 0|**1**   0 0 ‖   0¦*1*| 0 **1** 0 0

As with most hyperpaeons, hexon IV has a caesura and tends to disintegrate into a simpler, binary meter – this time, iamb (compare Korchagin 2021: 335). The statistics of stresses on the even-numbered syllables in each hemistich in this song are presented with the indicators for position VI counted twice (with and without monosyllables):

syllables	first hemistich			second hemistich		
	II	**IV**	**VI**	**II**	**IV**	**VI**
stressed	12	16	3 / 0	12	16	1 / 0
%	75	100	18.75 / 0	75	100	6.25 / 0

In this case, as in the previous example (*mutatis mutandis*), odd-numbered positions I, III, and V in each hemistich are filled by unstressed syllables or monosyllabic words, with one exception – the rhythmically ambiguous possessive pronoun *mojò* ['my'] in the first hemistich of line III.2: "Pro m**o**jò pr**ó**shloje" ['about my past'].[16] The same applies to position VI, where stressed syllables occur only in monosyllabic words. The poem's meter is, accordingly, WSWCWW ‖ WSWCWW.

The matching rules for the hyperpaeonic and iambic interpretations of this meter are as follows:

```
W   S   W   C   W   W   ‖   W   S   W   C   W   W
↕   ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕       ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕
W   S   W   S   W   S   ‖   W   S   W   C   W   W
            or: W               or:  S   W   C
```

---

[16]   On disyllabic possessive and personal pronouns of the "01" accentual type in SW positions in Russian verse, see Taranovsky 1953: 18–19; 2020 [1953]: 137; Jakobson 1979b [1955]: 168; 1979c: 582–584; Pilshchikov 2019: 62, 64–65.

The hexonic interpretation can be scanned as:

> Na Tikhor**é**tskuju ‖ sost**á**v | otpr**á**vitsa.
> Vag**ó**nchik | tr**ó**netsa, ‖ perr**ó**n | ost**á**netsa.

> ['For Tikhorétskaja Station ‖ the train | will depart.
> The coach | will start moving, ‖ the platform | will remain behind.]

Yet the regular placement of word boundaries in the first stanza generates the inertia of an iambic pentameter with a (quasi-)caesura after the fourth foot, that is, "WSWSWS | WS ‖ WCWW" instead of the expected "WSWCWW ‖ WS | WCWW":

> Na Tikhorétskuju | sost**á**v ‖ otpr**á**vitsa.
> Vag**ó**nchik | trónetsa, | perr**ó**n ‖ ost**á**netsa.

Following the 4+1-foot iambic inertia, the authors of the film script even altered line 2 in the final quatrain (see Braginsky, Rjazanov 1979: 38). Instead of

> K**à**k odin**ó**ko | zhít' ‖ em**ú** | bednj**á**zhechke   1 | 0 0 1 0 | 1 ‖ 0 1 | 0 1 0 0
> ['How lonely | it is to go on living alone ‖ for him, | the poor guy'],

they proposed a version that violates the hexonic caesura after the sixth syllable but preserves the iambic quasi-caesura after the eighth:

> K**à**k tjazhel**ó** | na s̲v̲é̲t̲e̲ | zhít' ‖ bednj**á**zhechke   1 | 0 0 1 | 0 ¦ 1̲ 0̲ | 1 ‖ 0 1 0 0
> ['How hard | it is to go on living | in this world ‖ for this poor guy'].

This poetic rhythm is aligned with the musical rhythm in lines 1, 2, and 4 of each stanza. By contrast, the song's line 3, explicitly divided into two musical phrases separated by a pause on the downbeat of the third bar, employs the rhythm of acatalectic hexonic dimeter:

> 𝄾 ♪♪♩│♪♪♪♪│♩.   ♩│♪♪♩
> 𝄾 ♪♪♩│♪♪♪♪│♩.   ♩│♪♪♩
> 𝄾 ♪♪♩│♪♪♩ │𝄾♪♪♩│♪♪♩
> 𝄾 ♪♪♩│♪♪♪♪│♩.   ♩│♪♪♩

Or, with grid layers for lines 1, 2, and 4:

```
2       2       2         2
1   1   1   1   1   1   1   1
00  00  00  00 00  00   00 00
♩♪  ♪  ♪♪♪ ♪♪♪  ♩♪♩♩   ♩♪  ♪♪ ♩
```

And for line 3:

```
2       2       2         2
1   1   1   1   1   1   1   1
00  00  00 00  00  00  00  00
♩♪  ♪  ♪♪♩♪♪ ♩ | ♩♪  ♪♩♪ ♪♪ ♩
```

I give here a romanization of the first and the third quatrain (in the movie, the third immediately follows the first), with grid numbers and position codes:

```
I      0  1   0 2   0 1          0  2      0   2 0 1
       Na Tikhorétskuju          sostáv    otprávitsa.
p:     W  S   WC  WW   ||    W  S   |  W  C WW
*i:    W  S   WS  W S  |     W  S   || W  C WW


       0  1   0   2 0 1          0  2      0  2 0 1
       Vagónchik trónetsa,       perrón    ostánetsa.
p:     W S    W   C WW   ||   W  S   |  W C WW
*i:    W S    W   S W S  |    W  S   || W C WW


       0  1 0  2   0 1          0  1      0  2  0 1
       Stená kirpíchnaja,        chasý    vokzál'nyje
p:     W S W  C   WW   ||    WS   (|) W  C  WW
*i:    W S W  S   WS   |     WS   (||) W  C  WW


       0  1   0  2 0 1          0 2      0  2  0 1
       Platóchki bélyje,         glazá    pechál'nyje.
p:     WS   W CWW   ||       W  S   | W  C  WW
*i:    WS   W SWS   |        W  S   || W  C  WW


III    0    1   0 2 0 1          0  2     0  2     0 1
       Nachnjót vypýtyvať         kupé    kurjáshcheje
p:     W    S  W CWW   ||     W S   | W  C   WW
*i:    W    S  W S W S  |     W S   || W  C   WW
```

```
        0  10  2   01              0  2 0 2    0 1
        Pro mojò próshloje         i nastojáshcheje.
  p:      W  SW  C  WW    ||      W S|W C    WW
  ˇi:     W  SW  S  W S    |      W S||WC    WW


        0  1   0 2 0 1             0   1 0 20 1
        Navrú s trì kóroba,        púst' udivljájutsa
  p:      W  S   W CWW    ||       W    S W CW W
  ˇi:     W  S   W S W S   |       W    S W CW W


     0   1  0    20  1            0  2 0 20 1
     S kém rasproshchálas' jà,    vás ne kasáetsa.
  p: W  S   W    CW W    ||       W  S| WCWW
  ˇi: W  S   W    SW S    |       W  S||WCWW
```

In line 3 of each stanza, the absence of a word boundary after the eighth syllable coincides with the absence of a pause at the matching beat:

```
0 1|0 1 0 0 ‖  0 1 0 1 0 0
0.1.0.2.0.1 ‖  0.1.0.2.0.1
```

In all other lines, however, a performer is tempted into linguistically unconventional intraverbal enjambments, as in line III.2: "Pro mojò próshloje | i na|stojáshcheje" ['About my past | and pre|sent']. This can be realized either with a pause after [na-] or with an unnatural semi-stressed longer [a:] that "disguises" the pause. The latter is how Pugachova performs the line, while simultaneously smoothing out the stress on *mojò* ['my'] in the same verse:[17]

```
              2                2     2
        1     1     1         1  1 1      1
      0   00   0    00     0  00  00 0    0 00
      ♩♪  ♪♪|  ♪    ♪♪     ♪♪|  ♩  ♩ | ♪   ♪♩
      Pro mojò  próshloje   i-nâ-sto-jáshcheje.
       W  SW    C  WW  ‖  W S|W C    WW,
```

_____

with

```
    0 10 20 10 2  1   201
```

instead of

```
    0 10 20 10 2   0 2 01
```

A pause after the monosyllabic conjunction *i* ['and'] would also sound unnat-ural ("Pro mojò próshloje ‖ **ì** ‖ nastojáshcheje"). Yet this is precisely where Vysotsky preferred to place the pause and stress, effectively singing a semi-stressed lengthened [i:] designed to disguise both:[18]

```
                    2              2         2
            1    1   1      1    1     1      1
        0   0 0    0 0 0 0     00  0    0 0     0 0 0
```

Pro *mojò* próshloje   î   na-sto-jáshcheje.
W   S W   C WW ‖ W   S W C   WW,

with

```
    010 2   10 2   10 201
```

instead of

```
    0 10 20 10 2   0 2 01
```

Although Vysotsky does not split the last word into two parts, as Pugachova does, his placement of the pause after *i* adds a stress to it, despite its status as a proclitic that forms a single phonetic word with the following noun – *i‿nastojáshchee*. Vysotsky's choice is a lesser departure from Russian prosodic norms than Pugachova's, but a greater deviation from the musical rhythm.

---

[18]   Vysotsky introduces his performance with the remark, "Это не моя песня, но она хорошая очень" ['It's not my song, but a really good one']: https://youtu.be/CaJf-rMZtKk

Characteristically, in the last line of the same quatrain, where both performers use the same rhythmical modification, Pugachova has no difficulty inserting a pause after the non-clitical monosyllabic personal pronoun *vás* ['you'] in that position:

```
                    2            2        2
         1        1    1        1    1    1  1
   0    0   0    00   00        00   0  0  00 00
 ᶄ  ♪    ♪   ♪|  ♪ ♪   ♩   |    ♩    ♪  ♪| ♪♪ ♩
 S kém   rasproshchálas' jà,    vás   ne ka-sáetsa.
   W    S   W    CW  W  ‖     W|   S  W CWW
 ['Who I said farewell to ‖ does not concern you.']
```

In this way, in a dual-metered structure, the stricter meter fits within the freer one. This allows us to treat a bimetrical line as governed by a single verse design with three types of syllables, avoiding duplication of the initial element of the scheme and the simultaneous appearance of two verse designs. At the same time, musical instances do not always align with verse instances. In such cases, the performer must adapt the linguistic material to either the musical or the verse instance. Most often, the rhythm of the language naturally conforms to the verse instance, but some singers choose to bend prosodic norms in order to follow the accompaniment more closely.

3. Segmented Dolnik within Loose Taktovik

M. L. Gasparov (1974: 308) noted that "each stricter meter on the steps of this staircase is inevitably an individual rhythm of a freer meter". In terms of metrical hierarchy, this means that "if a line fits more than one meter, preference is given to the meter with less variation (v) in the length of inter-ictic intervals (i)" (Pilshchikov 2024: 108): Some freer meters may belong to a different metrical type or versification system than their isorhythmical stricter counterpart – for example, paeonic versus binary (see above), tonic (accentual) versus syllabotonic (see Lotman 1986), or accentual meters with longer versus shorter permissible variable intervals (Pilszczikow 2024: 71–73). In such situations, the governing principles of both systems operate simultaneously, and the two meters jointly shape the rhythm (Lotman 2022). This has been described as the "matryoshka" principle: one meter is contained within another, like a smaller doll nested inside a larger one.

In addition, all Russian syllabotonic and tonic meters alike allow for the skipping of schematic stresses, the addition of extra-schematic stresses, and – in logaoedic and accentual verse – the variation of the syllabic length of inter-ictic intervals (Pilshchikov 2022; Liapin, Pilshchikov 2025). These factors contribute to the diversity of poetic rhythm. Unlike traditional syllabotonic meters, whose metrical schemes are fixed and known in advance, many accentual meters are experimental and may not be fully conceptualized even by their authors. In such cases, "meter does not precede the text but constitutes its immanent property" (Lotman 2008: 33; 2024: 95). Identifying the meter of such a text requires analyzing the realized rhythm (verse instances) to establish its verse design – the pattern of constant, strong, and weak positions.

With this framework in place, I turn to a non-syllabotonic poem, crafted in a meter without precedent in earlier Russian verse, whether written or sung: Bulat Okudzhava's "Anton Pavlovich Chekhov once made the observation (that a smart person loves to learn, and a fool loves to teach)" (1982). Sardonic and satirical, it depicts flocks of fools headed by a leader of perhaps even greater foolishness. Although the title is not Okudzhava's, the song is conventionally known as "Pesnja o durakakh" ['Song about Fools'], echoing Okudzhava's earlier 1961 piece "Pesenka o durakakh" / "Pesenka pro durakov" ['Little Song about Fools'].

«АНТОН ПАЛЫЧ ЧЕХОВ ОДНАЖДЫ ЗАМЕТИЛ...»

Из кинофильма **«Из жизни начальника уголовного розыска»**

Свободно

Ан - тон Па _ лыч Че _ хов од _ наж _ ды за-

_ме - тил, что ум_ный лю-бит у _чить_ся, а ду-рак у-

_чить. Скольких ду _ ра _ ков в сво_ей жиз _ ни я

встре _ тил, мне дав_но по_ра у _ же ор _ ден по-лу-

_чить. Ду_ра-ки // все! Ах, дет_ ски-е сны мо_и,

ка_ ка_ я о_ шиб_ ка, в ка_ких об_ла_ ках я по

глу-пос-ти ви_ тал! У при_ро_ды на ус_тах ко-

_вар на я у _ лыб_ ка, ви_ди_ мо, че-

Source: Okudzhava 1989: 202–203

Okudzhava is perhaps the most revered poet among the Russophone "bards". He was the first bard to be honored with a personal volume in the prestigious *Biblioteka poeta* book series, dedicated to publishing poetic classics (see Okudzhava 2001). To appeal once more to Vladimir Nabokov's authority, it is worth recalling that Okudzhava was the sole Soviet author whose poem Nabokov ever translated into English ("A Sentimental Ballad", 1966; see Shvabrin 2019: 323–329).

Let us now turn to the distribution of stresses in the poem. Zero unstressed intervals between two fully stressed syllables are indicated by limmas (∧). Syllables on downbeats are marked in **bold**. The syllables corresponding to the first gridlevel-1 onbeat in every hemistich are underlined. Positions preceding the first and following the last downbeat are enclosed in parentheses;[19] any left unfilled are marked as "(-)". Other empty (skipped) positions, as well as unbracketed positions filled by two syllables, are shown in frames.

---

[19]   Technically, the unaccented syllables at the end of the first hemistich and at the beginning of the second hemistich are instances of post- and pre-caesural accretion and truncation. In non-isosyllabic caesural verse, however, their functions are analogous to those of clausulae and anacruses. The role of the caesura in Okudzhava's variations of syllabotonic meters has been examined by Kirill Korchagin (2021: 288, 335, 346–347, 350–351, 446–447; 2022: 42–46).

I ₁ Антóн ∧ Пáлыч Чéхов ‖ однáжды замéтил,

(-)   **0** 1|1̲0| **1** (0)   ‖   (0)   **1**   ☐   0̲| 0 **1**(0)

₂ что ýмный лю́бит учи́ться, ‖ а дурáк учи́ть.

(0)   ¦**1** 0|1̲0̲0̲| **1** (0)   ‖   (-)   **0**¦   0   1̲| 0 **1**(-)

₃ Скóльких дуракóв в своéй ‖ жи́зни я встрéтил!

(-)   **1** 0|0̲ 0   **1**|(0 1)   ‖   (-)   **1**   ☐   0̲| *1*|**1**(0)

₄ Мнé давнó порá ужè ‖ óрден получи́ть.

(-)   *1*| 0 1̲|0   **1**|(0 1)   ‖   (-)   **1**   0| 0̲ 0 **1**(-)

II ₁ Дураки́ обожáют ‖ собирáться в стáю.

(-)   **0** 0 1̲|0̲0̲| **1** (0)   ‖   (-)   **0**   0   1̲ 0|**1**(0)

₂ Впереди́ ∧ глáвный ‖ во всéй красé.

(-)   **0** 0 1̲|☐ **1** (0)   ‖   (0)   ¦*1*| ☐   0̲   **1**(-)

₃ В дéтстве я вéрил, ‖ что однáжды встáну,

(-)   **1** 0|1̲|☐ **1** (0)   ‖   (-)   **0**¦   0   1̲ 0|**1**(0)

₄ а дуракóв нéту: ‖ улетéли всé!

(0)   ¦**0** **0** 1̲|☐ **1** (0)   ‖   (-)   **0**   0   1̲ 0|*1*(-)

III ₁ Àх, дéтские сны́ мой – ‖ какáя оши́бка,

(1) |**1**   0̲ 0 0| *1*|(0 1)   ‖   (0)   **1**   ☐   0̲ 0 **1**(0)

₂ в каки́х облакáх я ‖ по глýпости витáл!

(0)   **1**| ☐ 0 0   **1**|(*1*)   ‖   (0)   ¦**1**   0   0̲| 0 **1**(-)

₃ У приро́ды на устáх ‖ ковáрная улы́бка...

(-)   **0**¦ 0 1̲ 0| **0**¦(0 1)   ‖   (0)   **1**   0   0̲| 0 **1**(0)

₄ Ви́димо, чегó-то ‖ я́ не рассчитáл.

(-)   **1** 0 0̲|0   **1** (0)   ‖   (-)   *1*| 0| 0̲ 0 **1**(-)

IV ₁ А ýмный в одино́честве ‖ гуля́ет кругáми,

(0)   ¦**1** 0|0̲ 0   **1** (0 0)   ‖   (0)   **1**   ☐   0̲| 0 **1**(0)

₂ òн цéнит одино́чество ‖ превы́ше всегó.

(1) |**1** 0|0̲ 0   **1** (0 0)   ‖   (0)   **1**   ☐   0̲| 0 **1**(-)

₃ И егó тàк прóсто ‖ взя́ть гóлыми рукáми,

(-)   **0**¦ 0 1̲|*1*| **1** (0)   ‖   (1) |**1**   0   0̲| 0 **1**(0)

₄ Скóро ѝх повы́ловят ‖ всéх до однóго.

(-)   **1** 0|1̲|0   **1** (0 0)   ‖   (-)   *1*| 0|̲   0̲ 0 **1**(-)

V ₁ Когдá ѝх всéх повы́ловят, ‖ настýпит эпóха,

(0)   **1**| *1*|1̲|0   **1** (0 0)   ‖   (0)   **1**   ☐   0̲| 0 **1**(0)

₂ котóрую не вы́думать ‖ и не описáть.

(0)   **1** 0 0̲|0̲¦   **1** (0 0)   ‖   (-)   **0**¦   0̲| 0̲ 0 **1**(-)

₃ С у́мным хло́потно, ‖ с ду̀рако́м ∧ пло́хо.

          (-)   **1**   ☐ 0̲|☐   **1** (0 0) ‖ (-)   **0**   0   1̲| ☐**1**(0)

₄ Ну́жно что́-то сре́днее, ‖ да гдѐ ж его̀ взя́ть?

          (-)   **1**   0|1̲ 0| **1** (0 0) ‖ (-)   **0**¦   *1*| 0̲ 1|**1**(-)

vi   ₁ Дурако́м бы̀ть вы́годно, ‖ да о́чень не хо́чется.

          (-)   **0**   0 1̲|*1*| **1** (0 0) ‖ (0) ¦**1**   ☐   0̲|0¦**1**(00)

₂ У́мным о́чень хо́чется, ‖ да ко́нчится битьём…

          (-)   **1**   0|1̲ 0| **1** (0 0) ‖ (0) ¦**1**   0   0̲| 0 **1**(-)

₃ У приро́ды на уста́х ‖ кова́рные проро́чества.

          (-)   **0**¦ 0 1̲ 0| **0**¦(0 1) ‖ (0)   **1**   0   0̲|0 **1**(00)

₄ Но мо́жет бы̀ть, когда́-нибудь ‖ к сре́днему придём.

          (0) |**1** 0¦1̲|0 **1** (0 0) ‖ (-)   **1**   0   0̲| 0 **1**(-)

The poem consists of six quatrains, but in the song it is realized as two main quatrains (A) and a chorus (B). This structure is repeated twice, forming two AAB hyperstrophes:

    Text stanzaics: AAA AAA
    Song stanzaics: AAB AAB

What follows is a rhythmical transcription of the musical instances in the main quatrains. A musical phrase corresponding to a poetic line may begin with an upbeat (*Auftakt*). In such cases, my transcription shows that the preceding line ends with a rest.

I

| ♪♪♪♪♪ |♩ ♪♪ |♩ ♪♪|♩ ♪⁷
♪|♪♪♪𝄢|♩ ♩ |♩♪♪♪♪♪|♩
|♪♪♪♪ |♩ ♪♪ |♩ ♪♪|♩   ♩
|♪♪♪♪ |♩ ♪♪|♪♪♪♪|♩

IV

♪ |♪♪♪♪♪ |♪♪♪♪ |♩ ♪♪ |♩ ♪⁷
♪|♪♪♪♪♪|♪♪♪♪ |♩ ♪♪|♩
|♪♪♪♪♪ |♪♪ ♪♪|♩ | ♩
|♪♪♪♪ |♩ ♪♪|♪♪♪♪ |♩

II

|♪♪♪𝄢|♩ ♩ |♩ ♪♪♪♪♪|♩   ♩
|♪♪♩ |♩ ♪♪ |♩♪|♩
|♩ ♪♪|♩ ♩ |♩♪♪♪♪♪|♩   ♩
|𝄢 ♩ |♩ ♩ |♩ ♪♪♪♪|♩

V

♪ |♪♪♪♪♪ |♩♪♪♪♪ |♩ ♪♪|♩   ♪⁷
♪|♪♪♪♪♪ |♩ ♪♪|♩ ♪♪♪♪|♩
|♩ ♩ |♩ |♩ ♪♪|♩♪♪ |♩   ♩
|♪♪♪♪♪ |♩ ♪♪|♩♪♪♪♪ |♩

A crotchet (quarter note) may be subdivided either into two quavers (eighths notes) or a quaver triplet ♪♪♪. For purposes of tune-to-text congruence, a triplet

can be treated as equivalent to a quaver followed by two semiquavers (♪♪♪), which equally match the poetic text.

The clausulae may be masculine (*m:* ♩), feminine (*F:* |♩ ♩ or |♩ ♪♪), or dactylic (*D:* |♩♪♪♪♪, see below). As the poem is cross-rhymed, the actual variations are limited to *FmFm* and *DmDm* sequences.

While the main quatrains are sung in D major, the chorus is set to a different melody in the relative H minor; nevertheless, the meter and rhythmic patterns remain unchanged:

III   **VI**

♪|♩ ♪♪|♪♪♪♪|♩ ♪♪|♩ ♪ᵧ |♪♪♪♪|♪♪♪♪|♩ ♪♪|♪♪♪ᵧ

♪|♩ ♪♪|♩ ♪♪|♪♪♪♪|♩ |♪♪♪♪|♪♪♪♪ |♪♪♪♪|♩

|♪♪♪♪|♪♪♪♪|♪♪♪♪|♩ ♩ |♪♪♪♪|♪♪♪♪ |♪♪♪♪|♪♪♪ᵧ

|♪♪♪♪|♩   ♩ |♪♪♪♪|♩   ♪|♩♪♪♪♪|♩ᵧ♩ |♪♪♪♪|♩

Alexander Zholkovsky observes that the song about fools pairs a complicated textual pattern with a simpler musical one, often producing "a reaccentuation of words, clearly discernible in the author's performance".[20] The "reaccentuation" in delivery instances referred to here is a consequence of "trans-accentuation" in verse instances: a shift of stress from one syllable of a word to another within the same word, in contradiction to standard Russian prosody. Such shifts are sometimes tolerated in folklore, partly owing to historical accentuation changes, but they are never employed in literary poetry or non-folkloric singing.

Music, verse, and language diverge in Okudzhava's song, forcing the performer into an uneasy choice of which norm to set aside. In his own performance, Okudzhava renders the verse rhythm accurately, adapting it to musical rhythm, but, when necessary, disregards orthoepic norms – just as Zholkovsky has pointed out. I will examine these cases below and show that the author's delivery conveys the verse rhythm and meter, but does not exhaust the range of possible performances.

In the scheme, where position codes are aligned with gridlines, the positions between an anacrusis (*an*) and the pre-caesural positions (*pc*), as well as those between the post-caesural position (*ac*) and the clausula (*cl*), are numbered I to V in both hemistichs. Parentheses designate optional elements; for example, the last constant plus clausula C(W)(W) can produce three types of

---

[20] "...переакцентуация слов, хорошо слышимая в авторском исполнении" (Zholkovsky 2021: 272; 2025: 280).

clausulae: dactylic (…100), feminine (…10), or masculine (…1). Stress statistics are calculated under two conditions:

(I) with monosyllables ($1 = 1$) vs. without monosyllables ($1 = 0$)[21] and

(II) accounting for reaccentuations ($01 = 10$) vs. not accounting for them ($01 = 01$).

In addition, the number of stressed monosyllables, as well as instances of reaccentuation and double accentuation, is tallied for each position (see the next page).

The performed text's meter is, then,

(W)C(W)S(W)(W)CW(W) ‖ (W)C(W)S(W)C(W)(W).[22]

Excluding clausulae, anacruses, and pre- and post-caesural accretions, the actual configurations observed in the poem are as follows:

first hemistich	second hemistich
CWSWWC (2)	–
CWSWC (16)	CWSWC (15)
CWSC (3)	CWSC (1)
CSWC (2)	CSWC (7)
CSC (1)	CSC (1)

If reaccentuations are disregarded, certain I, III, and V positions that are partially filled with 0s must be relabeled as S. In addition, position III of the second hemistich, filled with 0s in $^4/_5$ of cases, may be reassigned as W, provided the surrounding W positions are skipped. Finally, configurations of "**0** 0 <u>1</u>" at the absolute beginning of a line must be reinterpreted as anacruses:

(W) C (W) S (W) (W) C (W) (W)   ‖   (W) C (W) S (W) C (W) (W)

↕   ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕   ↕

(W) S (W) S (W) (W) S   W   W   ‖   W   S   W   S   W   C (W) (W)

or: W   W   S   *or:* S   –   W   –   C

As a result, the "meter of the printed poem" (i.e., the verse-meter formula as recognized independently of music) can be defined in two ways: either as

---

[21] In the last two lines, $1 = 1$ for C and S, and $1 = 0$ for W.

[22] Correcting here what I previously suggested in Pilszczikow 2024: 73.

positions	an	I	II	III	IV	(W)	V	pc	(W)	‖	ac	I	II	III	IV	V	cl	(W)
syllable class	(W)	C	(W)	S	(W)	(W)	C	W	(W)	‖	(W)	C	(W)	S	(W)	C	(W)	(W)
gridlines	1 0 0	3 2 1 0 0	1 0 0	2 1 0 0	1 0	0	3 2 1 0 0	1 0 0	2 1 0 0	‖	1 0 0	3 2 1 0 0	1 0 0	2 1 0 0	1 0 0	3 2 1 0 0	1 0 0	2 1 0 0
filled	9	24	21	24	20	2	24	24	15	‖	12	24	16	24	22	24	12	2
%	37.5	100	87.5	100	83.3	8.3	100	100	62.5	‖	50	100	66.7	100	91.7	100	50	8.3
stressed:										‖								
1 = 1	2	–	2	16	2	–	22	1	–	‖	1	17	1	–	–	24	–	–
%	22.2	–	9.5	66.7	10	–	91.7	4.2	–	‖	8.3	70.8		–	–	100	–	–
str. mono.	2	0	1	4	2	0	1	1	0	‖	1	3	1	0	0	2	0	0
1 = 0	0	16	1	12	0	0	21	0	5	‖	0	14	0	5	1	22	0	0
%	0	66.7	4.8	50	0	0	87.5	0	66.7	‖	0	58.3	0	20.8	4.5	91.7	0	0
01 = 01	–	16	1	–	–	–	22	–	–	‖	–	17	–	5	1	–	–	0
%	–	66.7	4.8	–	–	–	91.7	–	–	‖	–	70.8	–	20.8	4.5	–	–	0
re-/double	0	8	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	‖	0	7	0	1	1	0	0	0
01 = 10	0	24	0	16	0	0	24	0	5	‖	0	24	0	6	0	24	0	0
%	0	100	0	66.7	0	0	100	0	66.7	‖	0	100	0	25	0	100	0	0

loose "segmented" 6/5-ictic dolnik, with variable clausulae and anacruses in both hemistichs and the possibility of replacing one – but not both – 3-ictic hemistich by a 2-ictic hemistich; or as loosened 2+2-ictic taktovik (Pilszczikow 2024: 71–72). Dolnik (Dk) and taktovik (Tk) are accentual meters in which the inter-ictic interval is variable: one to two syllables in dolnik and one to three syllables in taktovik (Gasparov 1974: 220–351). The looseness of both patterns in the song about fools arises from the presence of syllables that violate one or both of the two tentative schemes: more than two unstressed syllables between ictuses is inadmissible in dolnik, more than three in taktovik, and fewer than one in either.

According to Gasparov (1974: 309), the Tk2 rhythmic forms 101, 1001, 10001, and 10101 (all present in Okudzhava's song) can be interpreted as SWS, SWWS, and SW×WS, where "×" denotes an *anceps* – a position that can be filled by either a stressed or an unstressed syllable. In Okudzhava's taktovik, as performed by the author himself, downbeats are consistently stressed, so Gasparov's SW×WS pattern resolves into CWSWC.

As in paeons, which subsume binary meters, taktovik and dolnik combine in a dual-metered structure, with taktovik as the primary meter and dolnik the secondary (or vice versa, depending on how we interpret primacy). This dual structure is reinforced by reaccentuations (stress shifts), which tend to appear precisely on the downbeats – that is, on metrical positions C. I present the most striking cases where the delivery design shapes performance, bringing out the persistence of this composite structure.

3.1. Stanza I

In Okudzhava's 1984 concert performance,[23] the very first word – Chekhov's given name *Antón* – is reaccentuated in the highly unnatural form "Ànton". The rounding of the unstressed [o], which gives the impression of word-stress, is preserved, producing an effect of double accentuation (Zholkovsky 2021: 272–273; 2025: 281–282):

---

[23]   At Aleksandr Ivanov's TV show *Vokrug smekha* (*Around Laughter*): An Evening of Satire and Humor at the Ostankino Concert Studio, episode 23 (1984). https://youtu.be/jfMnddyoXs8, https://youtu.be/ibvRr8azSqk?t=2168

```
3                    3                3        3
2     2              2     2          2     2      2     2
1   1   1 1          1 1   1          1   1 1 1 1 1 1   1 1
0 0 0 0  0000         0000   0 0       00  00 0000 00 0000  0000
♪  ♪   ♪ ♪ |  ♩         ♪         ♪  |♩   ♪  ♪ ♪ |♩      ♪ ♪
```
Ànton Pálych Chékh- -ov ‖ odnázhdy zamé-   -til
C   W   SW   C   W ‖ W C(W)S W C   W
['Anton Pavlovich Chekhov   ‖ once made the observation…']

If begun with an upbeat, line I.1 can also be sung without a stress shift as

```
  3                    3                3        3
  2     2              2          2     2     2      2     2
1   1 1 1 1            1 1        1   1 1 1 1 1 1   1 1
00 00000000           00 00       00  00 0000 00 0000  0000
♪ |♩   ♪ ♪ |  ♩          ♪         ♪  |♩   ♪  ♪ ♪ |♩      ♪ ♪
```
Antón Pálych Chékh- -ov ‖ odnázhdy zamé-   -til
W   C   SW   C   W ‖ W C(W)S W C   W

I will later refer to such delivery in actor Leonid Filatov's performance of this song – in contrast to the author, the actor follows vernacular and literary prosody.

A telling example is line I.3, as it was originally published (Okudzhava 1982: 73; 1989: 202): "Skól'kikh durakóv v svojéj zhízni ja strétil!" ['How many fools I've met in my life!']. This scans as a perfect verse line if the caesura breaks the strong syntactic link:

```
  3                    3                3        3
  2     2     2        2     2     2          2     2
1   1   1 1   1        1 1 1   1 1 1   1       1 1   1 1
0 0 0 0  00000  0      00000  0 0000 00  0 0    00 00 0000
♪  ♪   ♪ ♪|♪         ♪ ♩       |♩     ♪  ♪  ♪ | ♩      ♪ ♪
```
Skól'kikh durakóv v svo-jéj ‖ zhíz- -ni jà vstré-   -til!
  C   W   S W C   W W ‖ C(W) S   W   C   W

Preserving the natural flow of the phrase requires avoiding a break between the possessive determiner and the noun: "…v svojéj ‖ zhízni…" ['in my ‖ life']. This, however, leads to trans-accentuation in the verse instance and either reaccentuation or atonement in performance. Okudzhava opts for the latter, singing the line to match the tune's rhythm:

```
3           3           3           3
2       2   2       2   2   2       2   2
1   1   1 1 1   1   1 1   1 1   1 1   1 1   1 1
 0 0 0 0   00000 0  0  0 000 0 0000   0 00 0    00 00 0000
 ♪   ♪   ♪ ♪|♩      ♪♪  |♩    ♪  ♪  ♪ |♩     ♪ ﹖
Skól'kikh durakóv ‖ v svojéj zhíz-  -ni  jà vstré-    -til!
 C   W   S W C  ‖  WW  C(W)S  W     C      W
```

Apparently, the atonement of the pronoun caused him discomfort. In a recited poem, atoning the possessive pronoun would not pose a problem, but in a sung text this line can be performed only by violating either syntax or prosody. This, I believe, is the sole reason why in a later edition (Okudzhava 1996: 341) he altered the oxyton *svojéj* ("v svojéj zhízni" ['in my life']) to the paroxyton *étoj* ("v étoj zhízni" ['in this life']): to avoid reaccentuation. This revised version is designed to be performed like this:

```
3           3           3           3
2       2   2       2   2   2       2   2
1   1   1 1 1   1   1 1   1 1 1  1   1 1 1 1
 0 0 0 0   000000  0 0  0000   0000 00 0 0   00 00 0000
 ♪   ♪   ♪ ♪ |♩      ♪  ♪  |  ♩   ♪   ♪  ♪ |  ♩    ♪ ﹖
Skól'kikh durakóv ‖ v é-toj zhíz-  -ni  jà vstré-    -til!
 C   W   S W C  ‖  WW  C(W)S  W     C      W
```

The tendency toward isosyllabism in the hemistichs partially compensates for the discrepancy between verse rhythm and musical rhythm: in nearly two-thirds of cases (31 of 48), the span from the first to the last C position comprises five syllables – the number occurring in the predominant and prototypical rhythmic form CWSWC.[24] This proportion, higher than is typical for Tk2 (Gasparov 1974: 322–327), may be attributed to the influence of the musical design. At the same time, the range of rhythmic variants is strikingly broad:

10001 (14 occurrences)
10101 (5)
00101 (4)
00100 (2)

---

[24]   My earlier, incorrect count, reported in Zholkovsky 2021: 280 n. 7 and reprinted in Zholkovsky 2025: 280 n. 2, was 81% (39 of 48) – *mea culpa*. The article Pilszczikow 2024: 74 reports 32 of 48 based on a different interpretation of the anacrusis in line II.4.

00111 (2)
11101 (1)
01011 (1)
01101 (1)
00001 (1)

What is more, the homogeneity of the lines increases in an undulating pattern from stanza to stanza: 5 pentasyllabic inter-C intervals in stanzas I, III, and V; 3 or 4 in stanza II;[25] 6 in stanza IV; and 7 of 8 in stanza VI – forming a wave-like sequence of 5–3–5–6–5–7:

I	(0)**5**(1)‖(1)4(1)	IV	(1)**5**(2)‖(1)4(1)
	(1)6(1)‖(0)**5**(0)		(1)**5**(2)‖(1)4(0)
	(0)**5**(2)‖(0)4(1)		(0)**5**(1)‖(1)**5**(1)
	(0)**5**(2)‖(0)**5**(0)		(0)**5**(2)‖(0)**5**(0)
II	(0)6(1)‖(0)**5**(1)	V	(1)**5**(2)‖(1)4(1)
	(0)4(1)‖(1)3(0)		(1)**5**(2)‖(0)**5**(0)
	(0)4(1)‖(0)**5**(1)		(0)3(2)‖(0)4(1)
	(1)4(1)‖(0)**5**(0)		(0)**5**(2)‖(0)**5**(0)
III	(1)4(2)‖(1)4(1)	VI	(0)**5**(2)‖(1)4(2)
	(1)4(1)‖(1)**5**(0)		(0)**5**(2)‖(1)**5**(0)
	(0)**5**(2)‖(1)**5**(1)		(0)**5**(2)‖(1)**5**(2)
	(0)**5**(1)‖(0)**5**(0)		(1)**5**(2)‖(0)**5**(0)

3.2. Stanza II

In line II.1: "Durakí obozhájut sobirátsa v stáju" ['Fools adore gathering in a flock'], the noun *durakí* ['fools'] can be either reaccentuated or atoned to avoid a disyllabic anacrusis unsupported by the musical rhythm. Okudzhava prefers reaccentuation (*dúraki* instead of *durakí*), which may also be interpreted as double accentuation (*dùrakí*) – a prosodic configuration impossible in a non-compound Russian word. To mitigate the effect of this prosodic adjustment, the singer lengthens the first vowel without actually stressing it (in Russian, vowel length strictly correlates with stress) and weakens the expiratory force of stress on the second vowel:

---

25   See the previous footnote.

```
3              3              3              3
2      2       2      2       2      2       2    2
1   1  1 1     1   1  1 1     1   1    1   1  1 1 1 1
00  00 000 0   00  0 0 0000   000 0    00  0 0  000000 00
♪   ♪  ♪ ♪ ♫   ♩         ♩  |  ♪ ♪    ♪   ♪ | ♩     ♩
Dů- -ra-kì obozhá-      -jut  ‖ sòbi-  -rá-tsa v stá-  -ju.
C   W  S W W  C              W  ‖ C W    S   W    C   W
```

In the second hemistich of line II.1, the verb *sobirá*[t͡s]*a* ['gather together'] is double-accentuated: an extra stress is added to the first syllable of the hemistich. The reduction of [o] to [ə] is preserved, and its rounding is not restored. Since a reduced mid-central vowel cannot be prolonged in Russian, Okudzhava's performance produces an unusual stressed schwa: [sə́birɐ̀t͡sə].

A similar effect occurs in line II.3, where the conjunction *chto* ['that'] acquires a weak stress in the same position, although in standard diction it should be atoned to prevent confusion with its stressed homonym *chtó* ['what']:

```
3              3                3              3
2      2       2      2         2      2       2    2
1   1  1 1     1   1  1 1       1 1  1    1    1 1 1 1
00  00 00 00   0 0  0 0 0000    000 0 0 0  0 0  00000 000
♩   ♪ ♪ | ♩    ♩          ♩  |  ♪ ♪ ♪   ♪ | ♩    ♩
V dét- -stve jà    vé-     -ril ‖ chtò odnázhdy vstá-  -nu,
  C    W S(W) C          W  ‖    C W   S   W     C    W
```
['In my childhood, I believed ‖ that one day I would wake up...']

Yet in the same way, the verb *uletéli* ['(they) have flown away'], which occupies positions CWS (gridlines 3.1.2.1) in the next line (II.4), is double-accentuated, with an illicit additional stress on the prefix *u-* (*ùletéli*):

```
3              3                3              3
2      2       2        2       2      2       2    2
1 1   1 1    1   1     1 1      1  1  1 1     1 1 1 1
00 0 0 0000  0 0 0 0   0000     0 0 0 0 0000  0000 0000
♪  ♪ ♪ ♩   | ♩      ♩       |  ♪   ♪   ♪ ♪ | ♩
a durakóv    né-       -tu    ‖  ù-  -le- -té-li  vsé!
W CW S (W) C          W   ‖       C  W    S W   C
```
['...and no more fools remain – ‖ they've all flown away!']

3.3. Stanzas III–VI

Extra accents also appear on the conjunctions *i* ['and'] and *da* ['but'] in stanza V, lines 2 and 4, where they fall on the first C positions in the second hemistich, aligned with the downbeat:

```
     3            3             3            3
     2     2      2     2       2     2      2     2
  1  1 1 1   1 1 1 1 1     1  1 1 1    1 1 1 1
  00 00 00 00  00 0000 0000    00 00 0000   00000000
  ♪|♪ ♪ ♪  ♪|♩   ♪ ♪ ♪ |  ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ |  ♩
  ko-tó-ru-ju ne vý- -dumat' ‖  í  ne  o-pi- -sát'.
   W C W S W C    W W ‖ C W S W   C
  ['...which no one can imagine ‖ and no one can describe.']
```

```
     3                3                3                 3
     2         2   2   2         2            2          2    2
     1    1    1 1   1 1 1 1      1    1       1 1        1 1 1 1
     0 0   0 0   00 00  0000 0000     0 0 0 0     00 00     00000000
     ♪    ♪    ♪ ♪ |♩    ♪ ♪      |  ♪    ♪      ♪ ♪ |   ♩
     Núzhno chtó-to sréd- -ne-je     ‖ dà gde zh  je-gò    vzját'.
      C   W     S W C    W W     ‖ C  W      S W      C
     ['We need some middle ground, ‖ but where on earth to find it?']
```

The conjunction *da* ['but'] in line V.4 is performed differently from its occurrence in the opening lines of the last stanza (VI.1–2), where it falls twice on W positions in the second hemistich, aligned with the upbeat:

```
     3                3                3                3
     2      2          2    2          2     2          2      2
     1   1  1    1   1 1 1    1     1  1  1 1   1   1    1 1 1
     0 0 00 00    00 0 0 0 0 0 0    00 00 0000 0 0 0 0 000000
     ♪    ♪   ♪    ♪ | ♪  ♪   ♪      ♪ | ♩   ♪   ♪  | ♪   ♪  ♪  ٦
     Dȗ- -ra-kóm bỳt' vý-godno   ‖  da ó- -chen' ne khó-chetsa.
      C   W  S    W   C W W   ‖  W C   S   W   C  W W
     ['It pays to be a fool, ‖ but one truly doesn't want to.']
```

```
3              3              3              3
2      2       2      2       2      2      2      2
1  1  1  1     1  1 1     1 1     1  1  1 1  1 1 1 1
00   0 0 0 0 00    0 0 000 0    00 0 0   00  00  00 00 000000
♪    ♪   ♪   ♪|   ♪   ♪  ♪     ♪|♪   ♪   ♪   ♪|♩
```

Úmnym **ó**-chen' kh**ó**-chetsa ‖ da k**ó**nchi-tsa bit'j**ó**m.
C   W   S   W   C W W ‖ W C   W S W C

['It's tempting to be smart, ‖ but it ends in blows.']

To a non-native ear this may seem a minor difference, yet in Russian the unstressed *da*, meaning 'and' or 'but', is prosodically and semantically distinct from the stressed *dá*, meaning 'yes'. In V.4, therefore, the phrase *da gde* ['but where'] can only be accentuated as *da gdé*, not *dà gde* – the latter, however, is exactly the way Okudzhava performs it.

    A relatively minor issue concerns the form *jego* (pronounced [jivo]) in "da gde zh jego vziat'" ['but where on earth']. The possessive pronoun *jegò* ['his; its'] – phonetically and etymologically identical to the genitive/accusative of the personal pronoun *jegò* ['his; him; its, it'] – is among the few Russian pronouns that can be atoned with relatively little awkwardness. Tellingly, the only indisputable example of trans-accentuation in Pushkin's iambs is "Ja pr**e**dlag**á**ju v**ý**pit' v j**e**gò p**á**mjat'" ['I suggest we should drink to his memory'] (Shengeli 1921: 26; Tomashevsky 1923: 55; Brjusov 1924: 39; Taranovsky 1953: 18; 2020 [1953]: 137; Kolmogorov, Prokhorov 1968: 422; Jakobson 1979c: 584). Pushkin treated *jego* ['his'] as rhythmically ambiguous, or "metrically neutral" (Taranovsky [1953]: 137), as though unstressed.[26] In Pushkin's line, as Jakobson observed,

> [the] phrase-accent of the noun actually absorbs the final stress of the antecedent pronoun: the relative breath-force and voice-loudness gets lost, but the rounding of [o] still signals that the syllable is under word-stress. When connecting this stressed syllable with the upbeat and the preceding, unstressed syllable of the same word with the downbeat, the poet commits a rare deviation from the metrical canon. (Jakobson 1979b [1955]: 168)

Therefore, the atonement of this form or the admissibility of its reaccentuation has never been a norm for either Pushkin's or our contemporaries. In the discussion of this example, Maksim Shapir (2019 [2005]: 125) justly noted that if Pushkin had considered it regularly unstressed or atoned, there would have been many

---

[26] "метрички индиферентне" (Taranovsky 1953: 19).

examples of this kind in his poetry, rather than only one (compare Pilshchikov 2019: 64). Even so, the third-person pronouns *jegó* ['his, its; him, it'] and *jejó* ['her, its, it'] more easily slip into SW positions in verse than other disyllables.

In the entire song, permeated with double accentuation, only two cases of intraverbal reaccentuation (stress inversion) occur: *Anton* (I.1) and *jego* (V.4). Okudzhava's rhythm, therefore, performs a balancing act on the edge between the admissible and the inadmissible, in keeping with the piece's "poetics of understatement" (as Zholkovsky aptly subtitled his article on this song).

A mismatch between the poetic and musical rhythm is clearly audible in the equirhythmic lines III.3 and VI.3, realizations of the same line pattern that diverge only in clausula: feminine in III.3, dactylic in VI.3. This similarity is not unusual for a chorus, though the refrain here is variable:

```
3           3              3         3
2     2     2   2          2    2    2    2
1  1  1   1  1 1 1         1  1 1 1 1  1 1  1 1
00  0000  00 000000        00  00 000000  0000 0000
♪  ♪ ♪   ♪│♪ ♪ ♪          ♪│ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ │♩     ♩
Ů̂ pri-ró- -dyná ustàkh  ‖ ko-várna-ja u- -lýb- -ka.
C  W S    W CWW            ‖ W  C  W S W   C     W
```
['Nature wears upon her lips ‖ a cunning smile.']

```
3  1 2   1 3 1 2           1 3  1 2  1   3    1  2 1
♪  ♪ ♪   ♪│♪ ♪ ♪           ♪│ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪│ ♪    ♪ ♪ ר
Ů̂ pri-ró- -dyná ustàkh  ‖ ko-várny-je pro- -ró- -chestva.
C  W S   W CWW             ‖ W  C  W S  W   C     W W
```
['Nature wears upon her lips ‖ cunning prophecies.']

To adapt the poetic rhythm to musical rhythm, Okudzhava places the proclitical preposition *u* ['at; in one's possession'] on the first downbeat. As a result, both the first and the last downbeats of the first hemistich are occupied by prepositions. The performer sidesteps stress on *u* at the beginning of the line by lengthening its vowel, yet, contrary to Russian speech norms, he cannot help but accentuate the preposition *na* ['on'] in *na ustákh* ['on her lips'] (CWW, gridlines 3.1.2).

The oscillation between two contradictory poles described in the song finds a counterpoint in the oscillation between two contradictory patterns: musical rhythm and language rhythm. The song brings itself to a close with an expression of unfulfillable desire for an unattainable compromise – fittingly, free of any trans-accentuation in the final line:

```
1   3   1   2   1   3    2   1          3    1  2   1   3
♪|  ♪   ♪   ♪   ♪|| ♩    ♪   ♪|  |       ♪    ♪  ♪   ♪  ||♩
```
No mózhet bỳt' kogdá- -ni-bud' ‖ k srédnemu pri-djóm.
 W C W   S   W C   W W ‖   C W S W C
['But, perhaps, one day ‖ we'll reach a middle ground.']

3.4. Okudzhava's vs. Filatov's Performances

The peculiarities described above cannot be dismissed as accidental features of a single performance. Okudzhava's more intimate renderings of the song about fools – for instance, on Eldar Rjazanov's talk show *Kinopanorama*[27] or at the poet's home in Peredelikno[28] (both 1983) – display the same accentuation oddities as his 1984 concert. Yet, Okudzhava's delivery is not the only possible way to sing this song.

Okudzhava composed "Anton Pavlovich Chekhov…" in 1982 for a little-known film, in which Leonid Filatov, another Taganka actor and poet, performed it.[29] Okudzhava himself praised Filatov's version as remarkable,[30] but one can immediately hear that Filatov's rendition avoids any accentual anomalies. In full conformity with Russian orthoepy and everyday speech norms, he consistently places the standard stress on the onbeat by shifting the preceding syllables onto the upbeat. Thus, unlike Okudzhava, he performs the opening line as Zholkovsky notes (2021: 280 n. 9; 2025: 281–282 n. 2):

```
1   3   2 1      3       2       1   3   2 1 3    2
♪  |♩  ♪♪ |    ♩       ♪      ♪| ♩  ♪  ♪|♩   ♪ '
```
Antón Pálych Chékh-   -ov ‖ odnázhdy zamé- -til
W C   SW   C   W ‖ W C(W)S W C   W
['Anton Pavlovich Chekhov ‖   once made the observation…']

In V.4, Filatov moves *da* to the upbeat and vocalizes the particle *zhe* in place of Okudzhava's apocopic *zh* in "*da gde zh jego vziat'*", effectively turning the

27   https://youtu.be/TuRAhT3mVAs

28   https://youtu.be/GH1mBi4tLMc. Okudzhava's former home in Peredelikno near Moscow is now the Okudzhava Memorial Museum.

29   https://youtu.be/mbPWi9n54s0

30   https://youtu.be/ibvRr8azSqk?t=2194

phrase into "*da gdé zhe jego vziát*".[31] Notably, however, he atones *jego* just as Okudzhava does:

> 3   1   2 1 3   1 2   1   3   1 2 1   3
> ♪   ♪   ♪ ♪|♪ ♪ ♪♪   ♪|♪ ♪ ♪♪ ♪| ♩
> **Nú**zhno cht**ó**-to sr**é**dneje ‖   da gd**é** zhe je-gò vzj**á**ť.
>   C   W   S W C WW ‖   W C W S W   C
> ['We need middle ground, ‖ but where on earth to find it?']

Alongside this, the dolnik/taktovik is leveling into a binary rhythm, isometric to trochaic heptameter with a masculine clausula (T7*m*). Okudzhava's original text already contained three such lines – isometric to trochaic heptameter and matching the basic musical rhythm |♪♪♪♪|♪♪♪♪|♪♪♪♪|♩ | (T7*m*) in VI.2, |♪♪♪♪|♪♪♪♪|♪♪♪♪|♩ ♩ | (T7*F*) in III.3, and |♪♪♪♪|♪♪♪♪|♪♪♪♪|♪ (T7*D*) in VI.3. Filatov pushes this tendency further: a fourth line in his performance is leveled out to this binary pattern.

Overall, where the poet-singer (Okudzhava) aligns himself with the music, even at the cost of distorting his own text, the actor-singer (Filatov) upholds linguistic norms, even at the cost of altering the melody. Filatov – a skilled parodist and a poet in his own right, though less significant than Vysotsky – provides another case, alongside Vysotsky's, where the actor ultimately prevails over the poet and the singer. Consequently, the peculiarities in Okudzhava's performance are not unavoidable but stem from his chosen delivery design (performer's manner): a scansion of the musical rhythm that permits words to be double-accentuated, atoned, or reaccentuated.

Conclusion

This study set out to extend Roman Jakobson's concept of "broad metrics" to sung poetry by adding a further dyad – musical design and instance (musical meter and rhythm) – to his model of verse design/instance and delivery design/instance. Drawing also on Mihhail Lotman's concept of secondary meter, I examined how dual-metered verse structures interact with music, showing how delivery strategies condition rhythms that may oscillate between multiple meters.

---

[31] *Zh(e)* is an emphatic particle with a strengthening function. In interrogatives it imparts an intensifying effect, here rendered as "(where) *on earth*...?" to capture its force in idiomatic English.

Both verse instance (verse rhythm) and musical instance (musical rhythm) are structural patterns and should not themselves be identified with delivery instances. Only in the sung line – delivery instance proper – do actual words emerge. Verse instance is an individual arrangement of syllables, stresses, and so on, within which every lexical item can in principle be replaced by another, or even by quasi-words such as *ta-TA-ta TA-ta-ta TA-ta*.

Just as verse instance (poetic rhythm) corresponds to verse design (poetic meter) in accordance with specific correspondence rules, so too does musical instance (musical rhythm): it corresponds to musical design (musical meter) by its own correspondence rules. A delivery instance (the sung text) is subject to the simultaneous governance of both verse and music. When the two instances match, the situation is straightforward. The more revealing cases, however, are those where they diverge, forcing the performer to choose between two non-coinciding scansions: to scan the music or to scan the text. That choice, I argue, is conditioned by what I, following Jakobson, refer to as "delivery design".

Jakobson described a related phenomenon – the tension between poetic rhythm and ordinary speech rhythm – citing Gerard Manley Hopkins, whom he called "an outstanding searcher in the science of poetic language" (Jakobson 1960: 358):

> The tension between the ictus and the usual word stress is inherent in th[e]s[e] line[s] independently of [their] different implementations by various actors and readers. As Hopkins observes, [...] "two rhythms are in some manner running at once". (Ibid.: 366)

An analogous tension arises between poetic and musical rhythm, and it, too, admits different resolutions. In the performances analyzed here, professional musicians – composers and singers – tend to subordinate the language to the musical rhythm. Actors, by contrast, even when songwriters and performers themselves, are trained to prioritize linguistic self-expression, so they depart from the musical rhythm to preserve the prosody of ordinary language.

From this perspective, mismatching is the rule rather than the exception, while matching appears only as a special case in which mismatch is minimized. Complete alignment is rare, if not impossible. Musical verse – whether song lyrics, opera arias, or other genres – should therefore be understood as a class of poetic systems governed by more than one metrical structure. And when

it comes to complex meters, the interaction with music may involve multiple concurrent systems rather than just two.[32]

References

Bezzubov, Anatolij Nikolaevich 1978. Pjatislozhnik. In: Kholshevnikov, Vladislav Evgen'evich (ed.), *Issledovanija po teorii stikha*. Leningrad: Nauka, 104–117.

Bogomolov, Nikolaj Alekseevich (guest ed.) 2015. *Russian Literature* 77(2). Special issue: The Bard Song.

Bogomolov, Nikolaj Alekseevich 2019. *Bardovskaia pesnia glazami literaturoveda*. Moskva: Azbukovnik.

Bradford, Richard 1994. *Roman Jakobson: Life, Language, Art*. London, New York: Routledge.

Braginsky, Emil'; Rjazanov, El'dar 1979. *Smeshnye neveselye istorii: Komedii dlja kino i televidenija*. Moskva: Iskusstvo.

Brjusov, Valerij Jakovlevich 1924. *Osnovy stikhovedenija: Kurs V.U.Z. Chasti pervaja i vtoraja: Obshchee vvedenie. Metrika i ritmika*. 2nd ed. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo.

Dell, François 2015. Text-to-tune alignment and lineation in traditional French songs. In: Proto, Teresa; Canettieri, Paolo; Valenti, Gianluca (eds.), *Text and Tune: On the Association of Music and Lyrics in Sung Verse* (*Varia Musicologica* 21). Bern [etc.]: Peter Lang, 183–234.

Dell, François; Elmedlaoui, Mohamed 2008. *Poetic Meter and Musical Form in Tashlhiyt Berber Songs* (*Berber Studies* 19). Köln: Rüdiger Köppe.

Dell, François; Halle, John 2009. Comparing musical textsetting in French and in English songs. In: Aroui, Jean-Louis; Arleo, Andy (eds.), *Towards a Typology of Poetic Forms: From Language to Metrics and Beyond* (*Language Faculty and Beyond*

2). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 63–78. https://doi.org/10.1075/lfab.2.03del

Dunaev, Mikhail Mikhailovich (ed.) 1985. *Chas na stsene russkogo teatra / An Introduction to the Russian Theatre* (*Russian Readers with Explanatory Notes*). Moskva: Russkij jazyk.

Efimov, Mikhail Vital'evich 2025. O "Russkikh pesnjakh" Dmitrija i Vladimira Nabokovykh: Zametki slushatelja i chitatelja. In: *Nabokov i sovremenniki: Istoriko-literaturnyj al'manah III. 2023/24*. Sankt-Peterburg: Symposium, 85–112.

Fabb, Nigel; Halle, Morris 2008. *Meter in Poetry: A New Theory*. With a chapter on Southern Romance meters by Carlos Piera. Cambridge, New York, [etc.]: Cambridge University Press.

Gasparov, Mikhail Leonovich 1974. *Sovremennyj russkij stikh: Metrika i ritmika*. Moskva: Nauka.

Gasparov, Mikhail Leonovich 1978. Russkij bylinnyj stikh. In: Kholshevnikov, Vladislav Evgen'evich (ed.), *Issledovanija po teorii stikha*. Leningrad: Nauka, 3–47.

Gasparov, Mikhail Leonovich 1999. *Metr i smysl: Ob odnom iz mekhanizmov kul'turnoj pamjati*. Moskva: RGGU.

Gasparov, Mikhail Leonovich 2001 [1993]. *Russkii stikh nachala XX veka v kommentarijakh*. 2nd rev. ed. Moskva: Fortuna Limited.

Gushchin, Venya 2024. "'Pri chem tut Tsvetaeva?': The Soundtrack of *Ironiia sud'by*". *The Slavic and East European Journal* 68(2), 233–253.

Halle, John 2011. A review of Dell, Elmedlaoui 2008. In: *Language* 87(1), 181–189. https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2011.0010

Halle, John; Lerdahl, Fred 1993. A Generative Textsetting Model. *Current Musicology* 55, 3–23.

Halle, Morris; Keyser, Samuel Jay 1971. *English Meter: Its Form, Its Growth and Its Role in Verse*. New York, Evanston, London: Harper & Row.

Hayes, Bruce; Kaun, Abigail 1996. The role of phonological phrasing in sung and chanted verse. In: *The Linguistic Review* 13(3/4), 243–303. https://doi.org/10.1515/tlir.1996.13.3-4.243

Hayes, Bruce; MacEachern, Margaret 1998. Quatrain form in English folk verse. In: *Language* 74(3), 473–507. https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.1998.0152

Hayes, Bruce; Schuh, Russell G. 2019. Metrical structure and sung rhythm of the Hausa rajaz. In: *Language* 95(2), e253–e299. https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2019.0043. Supplemental material: https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2019.0049

Jakobson, Roman 1960. Linguistics and Poetics. In: Sebeok, Thomas Albert (ed.), *Style in Language*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 350–377.

Jakobson, Roman 1979a [1930]. On the Translation of Verse. Steiner, Peter; Steiner, Wendy (trans.). In: Jakobson, Roman. *Selected Writings*, vol. 5: *On Verse, Its Masters and Explorers*. The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 131–134.

Jakobson, Roman 1979b [1955]. Russian Binary Meters: [Review of Taranovsky 1953]. In: Jakobson, Roman. *Selected Writings*, vol. 5: *On Verse, Its Masters and Explorers*. The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 167–169.

Jakobson, Roman 1979c. Retrospect. In: Jakobson, Roman. *Selected Writings*, vol. 5: *On Verse, Its Masters and Explorers*. The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 569–601.

Kholshevnikov, Vladislav Evgen'evich 1972. *Osnovy stikhovedenija: Russkoe stihoslozhenie.* 2nd rev. ed. Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo universiteta.

Kholshevnikov, Vladislav Evgen'evich 1987. *Mysl', vooruzhennaja rifmami: Poeticheskaja antologija po istorii russkogo stikha*. 2nd revised edition. Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo universiteta.

Kiparsky, Paul 2006. A modular metrics for folk verse. In: Dresher, B. Elan; Friedberg, Nila (Eds.), *Formal Approaches to Poetry: Recent Developments in Metrics*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 7–49.

Kiparsky, Paul 2010. Meter and Performance. Paper presented at the 84th Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America. Baltimore, January 8, 2010. https://web.stanford.edu/~kiparsky/Papers/beamer.lsa2010.pdf

Knjazev, Sergej Vladimirovich; Kljuchinskaja, Oksana Gennad'evna; Jakunina, Natalija Viktorovna 2007. Nekotorye problemy struktury sloga v russkoj rechi. In: Vinogradov, Viktor Alekseevich (ed.), *Lingvisticheskaja polifonija: Sbornik statej v chest' jubileja professora R. K. Potapovoj*. Moskva: Jazyki slavjanskikh kul'tur, 376–393.

Kolmogorov, Andrej Nikolaevich; Prokhorov, Aleksandr Vladimirovich 1968. K osnovam russkoj klassicheskoj metriki. In: Mejlakh, Boris Solomonovich (ed.), *Sodruzhestvo nauk i tajny tvorchestva*. Moskva: Iskusstvo, 397–432.

Korchagin, Kirill Mikhajlovich 2021. *Russkij stikh: tsezura*. Sankt-Peterburg: Aleteija.

Korchagin, Kirill Mikhajlovich 2022. "My sviazany odnoj sud'boju": dva etiuda o metrike i poeticheskoj grammatike Bulata Okudzhavy. In: *Trudy Instituta russkogo jazyka im. V. V. Vinogradova* 33, 36–49. https://doi.org/10.31912/pvrli-2022.3.3

Kulagin, Anatolij Valentinovich 2011. *Bardy i filologi: avtorskaja pesnja v zerkale literaturovedenija*. Kolomna: MGOSGI.

Kviatkovsky, Aleksandr Pavlovitch 1966. *Poeticheskij slovar'*. Moskva: Sovetskaja entsiklopedija.

Lebedeva, Oľga Sergeevna; [Lebedev, Sergej Nikolaevich] 2023. "Podmoskvnye vechera". In: *Bol'shaja rossijskaja entsiklopedija: Nauchno-obrazovateľnyj portal.* https://bigenc.ru/c/podmoskovnye-vechera-cfa93e

Lerdahl, Fred; Jackendoff, Ray S. 1983. *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music*. Cambridge, MA; London: MIT Press.

Liapin, Sergei; Pilshchikov, Igor 2025. Neravnoiktnyj aktsentnyj stikh Majakovskogo. In: *Slavic Literatures* 154/156, 121–144. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.slalit.2025.08.005

Liberman, Mark Yoffe 1975. *The Intonational System of English*. Ph.D. Thesis. Massachusetts Institute of Technology. http://hdl.handle.net/1721.1/27376

Lotman, Juri 1976 [1972]. *Analysis of the Poetic Text*. D. Barton Johnson (ed., trans.). Ann Arbor: Ardis.

Lotman, Mihhail 1986. Problema voľnykh dvuslozhnykh metrov v poezii Vladimira Maiakovskogo (prosodija i metrika). In: *Tartu Ülikooli Toimetised* 683, 66–78. http://hdl.handle.net/10062/25153

Lotman, Mihhail 1995. Russkij stikh: osnovnye razmery, vkhodiashchie v evropeiskij metricheskij fond. In: Pszczołowska, Lucylla; Urbańska, Dorota (eds.), *Europejskie wzorce metryczne w literaturach słowiańskich* (*Słowiańska metryka porównawcza* VI). Warszsawa: Instytut Badań Literackich, 259–349.

Lotman, Mihhail 2000. Russkij stikh: metrika, sistemy stikhoslozhenija, prosodija (generativnyj podhod). In: *Sign Systems Studies* 28, 217–241. https://doi.org/10.12697/SSS.2000.28.12

Lotman, Mihhail 2008. Metre: The Unknown. In: *Frontiers in Comparative Metrics: in memoriam Mikhail Gasparov: Conference abstracts, November 21–23, 2008, Tallinn and Tartu, Estonia*. Tallinn: Tallinn University Press, 32–34.

Lotman, Mihhail 2022. Secondary Meter. In: *Frontiers in Comparative Metrics 4. September 16–17, 2022. Tallinn University, Estonia: Conference abstracts*. Tallinn: Tallinn University, 20–21.

Lotman, Mihhail 2024. Ancient Greco-Roman meters and stanzas in Russian poetry: origin and development. In: *Studia Metrica et Poetica* 11(2), 93–121. https://doi.org/10.12697/smp.2024.11.2.04

MacFadyen, David 2003. *The Sad Comedy of Èľdar Riazanov: An Introduction to Russia's Most Popular Filmmaker*. Montreal & Kingston, London, Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Matusovsky, Mikhail Ľvovich 1957. *Vsë, chto mne dorogo: Stikhi i pesni*. Moskva: Sovetskij pisateľ.

Novikov, Vladimir Ivanovich (ed.) 1998. *Avtorskaja pesnja*. Moskva: Olimp, Nazranʼ: AST.

Okudzhava, Bulat 1981/1982. "Novye pesni i stikhi". In: *Chastʼ rechi: Alʼmanakh literatury i iskusstva* 2/3. New York: Serebrianyi vek, 70–75.

Okudzhava, Bulat 1989. *Pesni Bulata Okudzhavy: Melodii i teksty*. Moskva: Muzyka.

Okudzhava, Bulat 1996. *Chaepitie na Arbate: Stikhi raznykh let*. Moskva: ПАN.

Okudzhava, Bulat 2001. *Stikhotvorenija* (*Novaja Biblioteka poeta*). Sankt-Peterburg: Akademicheskij proekt.

Orlitskij, Jurij Borisovich 2018. Spondeika, giperpeony i metrostrofy: Daniil Andreev – poet i teoretik stikha. In: Orlitskij, Jurij Borisovich, *Stikh i proza v kulʼture Serebrjanogo veka*. Moskva: JaSK, 569–586.

Pilshchikov, Igor 2019. Rhythmical Ambiguity: Verbal Forms and Verse Forms. In: *Studia Metrica et Poetica* 6(2), 53–73. https://doi.org/10.12697/smp.2019.6.2.02

Pilshchikov, Igor 2022. "Po tu storonu dolʼnika": Bezudarnye ikty i sverkhskhemnye udarenija v russkom aktsentnom stikhe. In: *Kritika i semiotika* 1, 273–318. https://doi.org/10.25205/2307-1737-2022-1-273-318

Pilshchikov, Igor 2024. The Concepts of "Verse", "Meter" and "Rhythm" in Russian Verse Theory. In: *Studia Metrica et Poetica* 11(1), 91–117. https://doi.org/10.12697/smp.2024.11.1.04

Pilszczikow [Pilshchikov], Igor 2024. Jakobsonowska "metryka rozszerzona": Model wiersza muzycznego. Płotka, Bartosz (Trans.). In: *Studia Poetica* 12 (*Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis* 401), 58–80. https://doi.org/10.24917/23534583.12.4

Plungjan, Vladimir Aleksandrovich 2007. Nekotorye problemy opisanija russkoj metriki (o tak nazyvaemykh neklassicheskikh razmerakh). Self-published manuscript. https://www.academia.edu/11147908

Proto, Teresa; Dell, François 2013. The structure of metrical patterns in tunes and in literary verse. Evidence from discrepancies between musical and linguistic rhythm in Italian songs. In: *Probus* 25, 105–138. https://doi.org/10.1515/probus-2013-0004

Rudnev, Petr Aleksandrovich 1989. *Vvedenie v nauku o russkom stikhe*, vol. 1. Tartu: The University of Tartu.

Shapir, Maksim Ilʼich 1996. Gasparov-stikhoved i Gasparov-stikhotvorets: Kommentarij k stikhovedcheskomu kommentariju. In: Bailey, James; et al. (eds.), *Russkij stikh: Metrika. Ritmika. Rifma. Strofika*. Moskva: RGGU, 271–310.

Shapir, Maksim Il'ich 2019 [2005]. "For Thee There Is No Weight Nor Measure": The Possibilities and Limitations of "Exact" Methods in the Humanities. Saunders, Craig (trans.). In: *Journal of Literary Theory* 13(1), 116–144. https://doi.org/10.1515/jlt-2019-0004

Shengeli, Georgii Arkaď'evich 1921. *Traktat o russkom stikhe. Chast' 1: Organicheskaja metrika*. Odessa: Vseukrainskoe gosudarstvennoe izdateľ'stvo.

Shtokmar, Mikhail Petrovich 1941. Narodno-poeticheskie traditsii v tvorchestve Lermontova. In: *Literaturnoe nasledstvo* 43/44. Moskva: Izdateľ'stvo AN SSSR, 263–352.

Shvabrin, Stanislav 2019. *Between Rhyme and Reason: Vladimir Nabokov, Translation, and Dialogue*. Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press.

Smith, Gerry (Gerald Stanton) 1978. "Underground songs". In: *Index on Censorship* 7(2), 67–72. https://doi.org/10.1177/030642207800700201

Smith, Gerry (Gerald Stanton) 1984. *Songs to Seven Strings: Russian Guitar Poetry and Soviet "Mass Song"*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Taranovsky, Kiril 1953. *Ruski dvodelni ritmovi I–II*. Beograd: Naučna knjiga.

Taranovsky, Kiril 2020 [1953]. Russian Binary Meters. Part One: [Theoretical Bases for the Study of Russian Binary Meters]. Trans. by Walter N. Vickery and Lawrence E. Feinberg. In: *Studia Metrica et Poetica* 7(2), 118–176. https://doi.org/10.12697/smp.2020.7.2.07

Temperley, David 1999. Syncopation in rock: a perceptual perspective. In: *Popular Music* 18(1), 19–40. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261143000008710

Tomashevsky, Boris Viktorovich 1923. Pjatistopnyj jamb Pushkina. In: *Ocherki po poetike Pushkina*. Berlin: Epokha, 7–143.

Zaripov, Rudoľ'f Hafizovich 1971. *Kibernetika i muzyka*. Moskva: Nauka.

Zhirmunsky [Žirmunskij], Viktor Maksimovich 1925. *Vvedenie v metriku: Teorija stikha*. (*Voprosy poetiki* VI). Leningrad: Academia.

Zhirmunsky [Žirmunskij], Viktor Maksimovich 1966 [1925]. *Introduction to Metrics: The Theory of Verse*. Trans. from the Russian by C. F. Brown. Ed. with an introduction by Edward Stankiewicz and Walter N. Vickery. London, The Hague, Paris: Mouton.

Zholkovsky, Alexander 2018. Podmoskovnye pjatislozhniki. In: *Novyj mir* 11, 179–189.

Zholkovsky, Alexander 2021. Um v tsarstve duraka: "Anton Palych Chekhov odnazhdy zametil…", ili Poetika nedogovarivaniia. In: *Zvezda* 1, 270–281.

Zholkovsky, Alexander 2025. *Prostye teksty*. Moskva: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie.