TOWARDS A TAXONOMY FOR BASQUE ORAL POETRY *BERTSOLARITZA*

by Xabier Fidel Paya Ruiz

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of

MPhil (B) Modern European Studies

Department of Modern Languages

College of Arts and Law

University of Birmingham

October 2012

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Abstract

The aim of this dissertation is to make a contribution to the analysis of Basque oral poetry by proposing a taxonomy for the study of contemporary performances. It uses the main approaches and views that have shaped the interdisciplinary field of oral traditions since the beginning of the 20th century. The theoretical framework in which the taxonomy is housed is based on a collection of academic works, some of them created for the analysis of oral poetry in general, some of them specialised in the study of Bertsolaritza. The dissertation defines the communication unit of the taxonomy, it describes its main facets or dimensions, and it also offers a detailed explanation of all the taxa of the classification. A last section remarks on the values and functions of a highly structured taxonomy within the present context of the study of Bertsolaritza, probably one of the oldest and most relevant oral traditions in Western Europe.

1. Introduction

> "Imagine selling 13,025 tickets for oral poetry. Imagine further an entire 6-7 hours of live performances broadcast on regional television as they happen, with excerpts, summaries, and expert commentary on national television. Imagine a one-day event — the final act in a multi-stage, four-year, Olympian drama of qualification and elimination — galvanizing ethnic, national identity to a degree unparalleled virtually anywhere in the world. Imagine the confluence of all of these phenomena and you have the *Bertsolari* Txapelketa, the national championship of *Bertsolaritza*, the improvised contest poetry from Basque oral tradition, which took place in Barakaldo, Spain, on December 18, 2005."

This paragraph opens the chronicle (Foley, 2005) written by Professor John Miles Foley after visiting in situ the national championship of Basque oral poetry in 2005. His words reflect the strength of oral literature within the Basque Country, a cultural region in the Western Pyrenees that spans the border between France and Spain on the Atlantic coast (Trask, 1997). The competitors in the championship he attended are called *bertsolari*, troubadours capable of improvising *bertsos* (not *versos* or verses, as the word refers to a whole stanza, not just to a line) in front of an audience. They practice and participate in *Bertsolaritza*, the word used to designate the art of improvising poems, and the social movement created around that art[1].

Oral traditions like *Bertsolaritza* are almost undiscovered worlds in the academic scope; there are relevant articles and ground-breaking theses written about the subject, but no systematic research is carried out by any university or research centre. Paraphrasing Professor Maximiano Trapero's words in the prologue of Alexis Díaz-Pimienta's *Teoría de la Improvisación Poética*, a book written on oral traditions is a new book, as everything the text says is new, but the phenomena it analyses are not new at all, even if they are unknown on certain cultural levels (Díaz Pimienta, 1998; 5).

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[1] See Appendix 5.1 Short glossary of Basque terminology related to *Bertsolaritza*

The majority of books published on *Bertsolaritza* are mere collections, anthologies that try (just try, as it is impossible to capture every detail of an oral performance only in paper) to encapsulate the essence of a specific period or author. These compilations just focus on the corpora, as such, they compare oral and written literary productions in very similar terms, and do not often incorporate many relevant details of the context in which those bertsos were sung out. Unfortunately, such information is vital to understand the whole meaning and importance of oral literature.

This dissertation endeavours to form a contribution towards the analysis of *Bertsolaritza* and aims to provide a tool to interpret and understand Basque oral sung poetry. *Bertsolaritza* is not an isolated case of oral literature: many other expressions all over the world follow similar patterns which are all part of the study of oral tradition encompassed within the umbrella term *Orality*, understood as "the use of speech, rather than writing, as means of communication, especially in communities where the tools of literacy are unfamiliar to the majority of the population" (Ong, 2002; 12). Orality is not equally present in all cultures. Walter J. Ong distinguished between 'primarily oral cultures', cultures "totally untouched by any knowledge of writing or print" (Ong, 2002; 23); and 'secondarily oral cultures', cultures with "a more deliberate and self-conscious orality, based permanently on the use of writing and print" (Ong, 2002; 136), and he defined 'residual orality' as "the verbal expression in cultures that have been exposed to writing and print, but have not fully 'interiorized' the use of these technologies in their daily lives".

Map of the World Oral Literature Project, University of Cambridge. Source: http://www.oralliterature.org/

According to Ong's view, orality and globalisation are somehow opposed terms: Ong says that "many of the contrasts often made between 'Western' and other views seem reducible to contrasts between deeply interiorized literacy and more or less residually oral states of consciousness" (Ong, 2002; 29). As a result, the study of *Bertsolaritza* could make a sterling contribution to Ong's approach, as the Basque community is part of the Western and *Westernalised* society.

Orality offers an exceptional framework for the study of oral traditions, as it is an interdisciplinary field composed by many different areas. The key scholars in the creation of the study of oral traditions are W. Ong, M. Parry, A. Lord and J. Foley: their studies on oral-formulaic theories during the 20th century highlighted the necessity of a separate but interconnected field that would then include contributions from areas like literature, ethnography or music, among others. All these approaches will be paramount to establish a general background for the study of *Bertsolaritza*.

An interdisciplinary framework is vital for the aim of this dissertation: the creation of a polyhedral taxonomy to analyse Basque oral poetry, a structured classification tool based on the main research projects that have been done in the study of oral traditions, devoted to the study of a cultural expression which is alive. This instrument will enable researchers to save the information related to the performance of an oral poem not just from a literary, folkloric, or oral-formulaic view, but from a collection of different approaches, trying to gather all the relevant data for subsequent studies and analyses.

The proposal of a new taxonomy aims to achieve three main objectives: first, a polyhedral approach will be proposed for the analysis of Orality, a transversal field which has been approached from different angles, but apparently never observed from all them together, so this taxonomy seeks to offer a "first draft" of a multidisciplinary tool, adapted to Basque *Bertsolaritza*; second, the integrated vision of oral poetry will enhance empirical studies based on the current poem production, but it will also allow partial analysis of the corpora, as such, this taxonomy is not only for fully-integrated studies, rather providing the possibility of undertaking combined research without including all the approaches; and last, the potential result of this dissertation wants to

be the first step in developing a powerful tool to widen the horizons of the study and research of oral poetry.

This dissertation will have three main sections. The first part will be based on the description of Basque oral poetry, explaining the context and reality of the Basque Country and the Basque language. The second section will be devoted to the taxonomy, including its theoretical framework, some methodological guidelines and the description of the classification. A third part will account for the hypothetical contributions of the taxonomy to the current study of *Bertsolaritza*, including some final considerations before the customary bibliography and appendixes.

1. The art of *Bertsolaritza*: oral sung improvisation in the Basque Country

The Basque Country or *Euskal Herria* is the land of Basques, a region that comprises the Autonomous Communities of the Basque Country and Navarre in Spain and the Northern Basque Country in France (Trask, 1997). Basques could be considered the least assimilated trace of the Paleolithic inhabitants of Western Europe to the Indo-European migrations. In the 1st century, Greek writer Strabo mentioned in his manuscripts that Navarre and Aragon were inhabited by "The Vascones" (Goyhenetche, 1993; 34). Formulaic statements (de Jauregi "Jautarkol", 1958; (Onaindia, 1972) about the origin of *Bertsolaritza* claim that it is as old as the Basque language itself, so the historical context of Basque oral sung improvisation cannot be properly understood unless enough information about the language and culture are provided.

Different languages and realities will set up different conditions. Foley explains this idea in the following proverb (Foley, 1998; 18): "Oral poetry works like language, only more so." Oral poetry is not a fixed product, but it is part of a living language and is thus constantly changing. Foley states that "the major difference, in comparison to everyday language, is that the specialised registers of oral poetry are characterised by greater structure and more highly coded idiomatic meaning. Idiom is the 'more so' in this proverb." *Bertsolaritza* is then part of the Basque language, but oral poetic characteristics, such as formulae, add some extra value to the art.

Basque or *euskara,* classified as an isolated language, is considered the last remaining vestige of the pre-Indo-European languages of Western Europe (Trask, 1997). The language is spoken by 714,136 inhabitants (27% of the population) in both sides of the territory: 663,035 speakers live in the Spanish part of the Basque Country and the other 51,100 live in the French part (Basque Government, "V. Inkesta Soziolinguistikoa", 2012). Native speakers are mainly concentrated in the historical territories of Biscay, Guipuzcoa and Northern areas of Navarre, whereas the Basque language is almost inexistent in most of Araba, the Southern part of Navarre and Western area of Biscay. In the North, Basque is weakly present in Labourd and certain little towns of Low Navarre and La Soule. Euskera may be the oldest language in Europe, and its origins are still a mystery. However, the greatest mystery of the Basque language resides not in its origins, but in its subsistence over the centuries,

surrounded by completely different languages, as Basque is a postpositional ergative language. Nowadays Basque is composed of a unified version created in 1968 and five dialects, all of them strongly rooted into oral usage.

Focusing on the culture, the Basque Country is a region in which a language has been present for more than 20,000 years, but, surprisingly, the first book written in Basque is less than 500 years old. The clue to understanding such a lack of literary or written production is rooted in the different criteria and values of oral cultures. The Basque culture might be a very significant example of an oral culture (or maybe a former "primarily oral culture", according to Ong's terminology) located next to the centre of Western Europe, i.e. next to the epicentre of Guttenberg's press. The oldest evidence of Basque oral traditions may be found in Arab historian Al-Makari's works, back in the fourteenth century. He cited the utterly beautiful melody of Basque women's voices among the rest of slaves. Since then, if not before, as renowned experts like Manuel Lekuona state that oral traditions have their origin 10,000 years ago, when the homo sapiens was nomad yet (Lekuona, 1936), the Basque culture has always been represented by singing voices rather than by a prolific literature[2]; as John Foley witnessed (Foley J., 2005), the unique Basque cultural discipline capable to gather 14,000 people for 8 hours is *Bertsolaritza*.

There is a deep relationship between oral traditions and identity in the Basque Country. In order to analyse this connection, it is important to define what 'tradition' and 'identity' mean; a definition for 'culture' will be also necessary, as these three words are often used interchangeably. According to Lauri Honko (Honko, 1996), several Danish, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish ethnologists and folklorists offered three definitions for the term tradition at the beginning of the 1980s: the first defined tradition as "something that is handed down in a continuous process of transmission"; the second meaning resulted confusing, as it mixed culture and tradition, defining the latter as "the stuff out of which cultures are made and which we have deposited in our folklore archives"; according to the third definition, "tradition is something representative of a social group", traditions are related to some kind of "group identities", and in that sense, they constitute a "group's typicality, its

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[2]   However, contemporary Basque literature offers an excellent literary production with well-known authors such as Bernardo Atxaga, Unai Elorriaga or Kirmen Uribe, among others.

character and possible uniqueness" (Honko, 1996; 18). Honko apparently prefers the first definition, as she uses the following illustrative comparison to explain what tradition is: "tradition would thus look like a store, only some parts of which are in use at any given time. The other parts are simply waiting to be activated, stored in the library of the human mind, always in danger of passing into oblivion because of the lack of use, lack of function" (Honko, 1996; 19). If such a statement is to be accepted, the definition of culture as "the organisation of elements into an integrated and functional whole, that is, a system" is not objectionable. In that sense, culture does not form part of tradition, but is rather a way of seeing, using, and thinking about tradition (and other things, of course). In brief, culture is thus a way to view some parts of the tradition and activate them.

And what is identity? The concept of identity, following on from the previous ideas, could be simply defined as the use of culture as a criteria and system to single out a part of the collective tradition to make it represent the group in cultural communication. Honko states that "these traditions may refer to language, geographical location, music, dance, costume, architecture, history, myth, ritual, and so on" (Honko, 1996; 20). In the case of the Basque culture, it makes sense that a 'primarily oral culture' chooses an oral tradition to express and reinforce the identity of its community; applying Ong's view to Honko's, a primarily oral culture could be defined as the selection system that prioritises orality over other transmission or reception ways[3]. A clear example of this connection is the fact that *Bertsolaritza* gained momentum under Franco's dictatorship, as it was an identity symbol so difficult to prosecute.

Bertsolaritza, as a cultural movement, is one of the expressions of Basque traditions that is still very much alive –other traditions are briefly described by Joxerra Garzia in his article "Basque Oral Ecology" (Garzia, 2007). According to a survey conducted in 2006 about the position held by *Bertsolaritza* in the Basque community (Aierdi & Retortillo, 2007), 14% of Basque speakers are great devotees of *Bertsolaritza*; 26% have a moderate interest and 28% have an occasional interest, mainly during championships. Since 1987, the cultural movement of *bertsolaris* is led by the

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[3]   See Appendix 5.4 Oral Traditions' Cycle.

Association of the Friends of *Bertsolaritza*, *Euskal Herriko Bertsozale Elkartea* in Basque, available in English at www.bertsozale.com; it is an institution created by *bertsolari*s and interested collaborators for the promotion, investigation and transmission of Basque oral sung improvisation. The Association founded two new entities in the 1990s: the Xenpelar Documentation Centre in 1991, an organisation intended to collect and classify every datum related to *Bertsolaritza*; and Lanku in 1998, an enterprise for the management of *bertsolari* events. Thanks to the Association and many local groups that work in favour of the art, more than 1,500 *bertsolari* events are organised every year; *Bertsolaritza* is taught in compulsory education with well-prepared syllabi and materials; there is a program on Basque television ETB devoted to the dissemination of bertsos; the National Contest of *Bertsolaris* takes place every 4 years since 1989 (the first was organised in 1935, but the initiative collapsed with the Spanish Civil War in 1936 and was not restored until 1960) and nowadays gathers more than 14,000 spectators who listen to 8 *bertsolari*s singing *a capella* for 8 hours.

1.1. The study of *Bertsolaritza*

Albeit *Bertsolaritza* is not an academic discipline, nor a field covered by universities in the Basque Country, the study of popular oral literature found a mine of information in the most representative expression of Basque oral traditions. Many scholars have attributed ancient origins to *Bertsolaritza*, whilst others have branded it an "invention" of nationalism, but the little evidence that can be found dates the oldest *Bertsolaritza* to the fifteen century. Luis Michelena (Michelena, 1960) recalls Garibay's texts talking about improvising verse ladies during this period, and Joxe Azurmendi (Azurmendi, 1980) underlines the Old Law (*Fuero Viejo* in Spanish) of Biscay, written down on paper in 1452, in which women's satirical singing and mourning were forbidden. Many highs and lows form the history of *Bertsolaritza* since then, and, although the history itself proves to be a very interesting context for this dissertation, it is necessary to explain that this section will just summarise the historiography of *Bertsolaritza* as a research field; excellent articles about the general

history of *Bertsolaritza* are available on the Internet[4], but the real goal is to account for the academic effort that has been done to study *Bertsolaritza* as an oral tradition.

Manuel Lekuona (1894-1987) could be considered the first real scholar of *Bertsolaritza* along within other expressions of Basque folklore. This young priest attended the Fifth Conference on Basque Studies, held in Bergara in 1930, where he talked about *Bertsolaritza*, systematised its mechanics and classified its genres. He established the bases for the recovery of *Bertsolaritza*, a task undertaken by his nephew, also a priest, Juan Mari Lekuona (1927-2005). According to his works (Lekuona, M., 1930 & Lekuona, M., 1936), Basque verbal arts have remote origins, in the "Neolithic" period, although, obviously, there is no clear evidence to prove such information, but at the time it was proposed, it turned to be a commonly accepted hypothesis; this statement empowered the myth of the immemorial origin of *Bertsolaritza*. Until 1936, when Lekuona published his first book about the study of *Bertsolaritza*, *Literatura oral euskérica,*[5] Basque popular oral literature had been disregarded by the academy: *bertsolaris* were defined as drunken peasants who sang nonsense, and their improvised poems, analysed from a literary view, could hardly have any value. Fortunately, Manuel Lekuona proposed the correction of these principles in order to understand the 'literarity' that *bertsos* could have: the relevance of extemporaneity and folklore compensated for the lack of powerful stylistic resources in some oral poems (Lekuona M., 1930). However, appreciating the real value of oral sung improvisation was insufficient, and no scholar in the Basque Country was able to establish the academic study of *Bertsolaritza*, as, unfortunately, Spanish Civil War put a stop to the increasing popularity *Bertsolaritza* was experiencing with the advent of national championships.

In fact, the negative perception of *Bertsolaritza* was first removed by part of the nationalist movement started at the end of the nineteenth century (Mouillot, 2009). The romantic-nationalist enterprise to recover hidden folklore focused on the power of spoken word. Many cultural events were organised to reinforce Basque customs,

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[4]   "History of Improvised *Bertsolaritza*: A Proposal", by Joxerra Garzia at
http://journal.oraltradition.org/files/articles/22ii/8_garzia3.pdf ;
        and "The History of *Bertsolaritza*" by the Association of Friends of *Bertsolaritza* at
http://bdb.bertsozale.com/en/orriak/get/2-*Bertsolari*tzari-buruz--historia.
[5]   However, his first attempt to classify Basque prosody was published in 1918, *La métrica vasca*.

such as the first Floral Games organised by Antoine d'Abbadie in 1853 (Aulestia, 1995), but as stated above, every effort ceased in 1936, and Basque cultural expressions were forbidden, as was the use of the language, at the end of the Civil War. Fortunately, even if scholarly initiative was severely diminished, *bertso* production remained one of the subterfuges for Basque identity: on account of the fact that oral poetry is so attached to language and needs no special device or instrument to be performed, Franco's censorship was useless against a cultural expression that left no traces behind.[6]

National Championships, termed simply "*Bertsolari* Championships", were re-established in 1960, under the auspice of the Royal Academy of the Basque language. The Royal identity of the Academy was the best protection to promote the recovery of some Basque cultural expressions, closely supervised by Spanish Provincial Government.[7] Four national contests were organised during the decade of the 1960s, all of which were recorded and transcribed.[8] Joxerra Garzia states (Garzia, 2007) that serious research on improvised *Bertsolaritza* could only be carried out on *bertsos* since the beginning of these recordings and transcriptions in the 1960s; research on previous *Bertsolaritza* should be focused on "ballad" sheets of *bertsos*, i.e. written *bertsos*, as they became the most significant expression of Basque poetry in the 19th century. According to Basque historiography, improvised *Bertsolaritza* has been present in Basque society at least since 1800 (Garzia, 2007), but no documented evidence can be found until 1935.

Joxerra Garzia (Garzia, 2007) proposes a chronology for the history of *Bertsolaritza* that strictly concerns improvised production, based on documented corpora, and

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[6]   The Day of *Bertsolari*s was organised in the Carmelitian Abby of Markina every October, near the 12th, as Spanish Police and Guardia Civil might be celebrating the Patron of Hispanic race, the Inmaculada: http://bdb.bertsozale.com/en/web/saioa/view/1964-10-18-markina-xemein-jaialdia

[7]   The Provincial Government required beforehand the script of the Championships in order to obtain censorship's approval. However, scripts did not always match with *bertsolari*s' performances, as improvisation could not be previewed. *Bertsolaritza*, consequently, became the most representative expression of Basque suppressed identity, with direct claims when no "stool pigeon" or secret informer was in the audience; and with rich allegories and metaphorical vindications when performances were being recorded or controlled.

[8]   Championships in 1935 and 1936 were transcribed and published too. Pio Caro Baroja filmed an episode of *Fiesta*, a cultural program of the Spanish National Television, in which he showed the National Championship of *Bertsolari*s of 1967: http://www.sarean.com/sarean/1027

establishes different periods according to the changes of improvised *Bertsolaritza*'s nature:

1) Pre-history: this era goes from the origins of *Bertsolaritza* until 1900. The activity during this period is mostly based on non-improvised *bertsos*; it is certain that *bertsolaris* might perform improvised *bertsos* too, but the number of improvised *bertsos* before 1900 is really limited; the oldest *bertsolari* event attested by oral transmission happened in 1800.

2) From marginal *Bertsolaritza* to the first championships: this second period dates from 1900 to 1935, and reflects the inflection point which *Bertsolaritza* experienced at the beginning of the twentieth century. Two factors contributed to the resurgence of a scorned art: on one hand, Manuel Lekuona created the bases for the academic study of *Bertsolaritza*, and on the other hand, some cultural associations and the emerging Basque nationalist movement chose *Bertsolaritza* to promote the cultural values of a rural society that was drastically changing due to industrialisation.

3) Time of silence: The first era of Francoism (1936-1945) was a total repression for *Bertsolaritza*; no relevant *bertsolari* activity can be evidenced until 1945.

4) Survival *Bertsolaritza*: From 1945 to 1960, *Bertsolaritza* re-flourished in little events of the Southern Basque Country and gained momentum in the French side. *Bertsolaris* like Uztapide, Basarri or Urretxindorra witnessed the few *bertsolari* events that the regime tolerated, and even if these events were of outstanding quality, their merit lies in the survival of *Bertsolaritza*, avoiding a tragic interruption that might have ended the whole art. In contrast, the Northern Basque Country presented a very adequate context for the development of *Bertsolaritza*. Exiled doctor Teodoro Hernandorena activated a cultural movement to promote oral traditions, with *bertsolaris* Mattin and Xalbador being the most representative performers of the region during this period.

5) Resistance *Bertsolaritza*: The end of the Protectionism era of Francoism instigated a period of resistance against the regime (1960-1979). *Bertsolaritza* had secured its survival and, as such, *bertsolaris* became the voice of an upcoming movement against the dictatorial government. Many events in which *bertsolaris* Lopategi and Azpillaga performed were prohibited by the censorship, as these two performers led the vindicatory resistance movement.

6) "From singing to the people to singing to the public": The last two decades of the 20th century formed a renaissance period for *Bertsolaritza*, in which the

homogeneous audience of previous eras became heterogeneous. The sophistication process of *Bertsolaritza* was prepared and led by *bertsolari* Amuriza, a former priest who wrote the first self-taught handbooks and methodological tools to learn improvising *bertsos*.

7) Multi-polar *Bertsolaritza*: new generations have offered a wide variety of proposals to a very heterogeneous audience since the beginning of the 21st century. Even if some historical characteristics of *Bertsolaritza* are still latent, current *bertsolaris* respond to a wide variety of aims and claims.

The foundation of the Association of Friends of *Bertsolaritza* in 1987 to preserve and promote the art resulted crucial for the study and development of *Bertsolaritza*. The association is devoted to the transmission, diffusion and research of *Bertsolaritza*; as far as the latter is concerned, three publications reflect the major efforts of the association for the promotion of research: *The Art of Bertsolaritza: improvised verse singing* in 2001 (Garzia, Sarasua, & Egaña, 2001), the minutes of The Congress *Oral Improvisation in the World* in 2006 (Bertsozale Elkartea, 2006) in which scholars and improvisers from eleven different countries participated together, and the "Special Issue on *Bertsolaritza*" by the *Oral Tradition journal* in 2007 (Various, 2007)[9] comprised of 10 articles of more than 300 pages offering a general overview on Basque verbal arts, all coordinated by the Association. It is true that some *bertsolaris* have written valuable essays on *Bertsolaritza*, but not one of these has promoted the verbal art form as much as the aforementioned publications. The more recent effort of the association has been the creation of *Mintzola* (2009), a research centre for Basque orality; it is also pertinent to remember that the association had previously founded the Documentation Centre *Xenpelar* (1991), intended to systematise the collection of every information related to *Bertsolaritza*. Unfortunately, no significant research focusing on *Bertsolaritza* has been published by Mintzola since its inauguration.

Manuel Lekuona, Juan Mari Lekuona and Joxerra Garzia are the most relevant scholars that have contributed to the systematisation of the study of *Bertsolaritza*. Their approaches and contributions are part of the theoretical framework of this taxonomy. These studies, along with other important research for scholarship on

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[9]   Available online in its entirety: http://journal.oraltradition.org/issues/22ii

Bertsolaritza, will be discussed later, in the section examining the theoretical framework of this taxonomy.

2. The taxonomy: structure, framework and classification

The ultimate aim of this dissertation is to design a taxonomy to classify oral sung poetry in the Basque Country, by using a multidimensional analysis. This means that oral traditions will be approached from different points of view, based on function, content, context and structure, in order to achieve a complete idea and comprehension thereof. Furthermore, the analysis of the internal dynamics used by the improvisers affords a greater understanding about communicative strategies, which presumably could be connected to oratory and rhetoric, as well as to dialectics.

The second part of this dissertation will be composed of two points: first, the methodological guidelines will be described, as it is crucial to explain the principles on which the taxonomy is based, the text will account for two perspectives; the multifaceted perspective and the procedural one; and second, the taxonomy itself will be introduced and the taxa will be explained one by one.

2.1. The structure of the taxonomy

There are few connections between the study of oral traditions and the use of taxonomical approaches, leading to highly structured databases. Taxonomies have traditionally been used in Biology or Zoology to classify animals or plants, but usage decreases when humanities or social sciences are concerned. Nevertheless, taxonomies are now commonly used to approach the study of media.[10]. The dilemma deals then with the connection between oral communication, as analysed in media studies, and oral traditions: do they share similar characteristics? Can they be analysed using a taxonomy with similar facets or dimensions? If we consider the essence of oral poetry, as every oral poem is supposed to be performed to communicate a message, scarcely any of the features applied to journalistic documents have their own equivalences in oral literature. Oral poetry may not be only communication, but the concepts used to describe and record an act of communication must be easily transferable to the description and analysis of oral sung poetry.

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[10]   See: Reppen, R., al., (2002). *Using corpora to explore linguistic variation.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins; Bhatia, V.K. (2002). *Applied genre analysis: a multi-perspective model.* Asociacion Europea de Lenguas para Fines Especificos 3-19; and Biber, D., & Kurjian, J. (2006). *Towards a taxonomy of web registers and text types: a multidimensional analysis*.

Taxonomy is the practice and science of classification or the result of it. Taxonomy uses taxonomic units, known as taxa. A resulting taxonomic scheme is a particular classification, arranged in a hierarchical structure. This feature could be an obstacle to analyse a constantly evolved field, such as oral poetry. Strict categorisation will ease objective and quantitative studies, but supertype-subtype relationships, also called generalisation-specialisation relationships are not flexible enough for an art that could change so quickly. As a result of this potential incompatibility, this classification will be based on a mapping-integrated taxonomy that also accepts written data.

2.1.1. A polyhedral approach: the faceted analysis

The impossibility of reflecting audio-visual examples in written devices makes the use of bibliography to analyse oral poetry insufficient and rather paradoxical: even if the authors could make a nuanced description of their fieldwork, it is impossible to explain all the peculiarities of an oral performance just by written means. In this sense, the *Oral Tradition Center* directed by John Foley has developed a ground-breaking system to read oral poems: the original text is complemented with an English translation and a video, so the reader can feel much closer to that unrepeatable moment.

Thanks to new technologies, the corpus of oral poetry is now rich with videos and records that permit a better analysis of oral traditions. However, improvement is still needed as far as the study of orality is concerned: the multifaceted view of a performance combining all the approaches to oral traditions is not yet reflected in any fieldwork or practical study, as there are many areas to cover. The combination of different research and papers, fortunately, could build up a suitable set of characteristics, i.e. a useful taxonomy to classify all the aspects of oral poets' work. Such a taxonomy could offer a multifaceted, or multi-perspective, description of the reality that composes an oral performance. Between the perspectives or facets (fields or approaches) of this type of analysis, there would be a kind of correlativity that would justify the interdisciplinarity of the analysed concept. Then, the analysed performances would be interdisciplinary units integrated by different aspects (ethnography, anthropology, linguistics and folklore, among others) and each of the latter would belong to a certain level of the main analysis.

The faceted analysis is a polyhedral approach: each facet or perspective represents a determined aspect of the communication product (concept, context, function and structure; a fifth dimension called document will be used for operative purposes). The polyhedricity of the proposed taxonomy is not strict, but permits a partial analysis with not all the included facets, multiplying the potential research and study that could be carried out by using a single but multidimensional tool.

2.2. The theoretical framework and the taxonomy

This is the main section of the whole dissertation: a detailed description of the taxonomy will take place. Two principal subsections will compose it: the theoretical framework of the content will be described, i.e. a summary of the theories and approaches from which the taxa have been extracted; and a nuanced description of each taxon or classification parameter.

2.2.1. Theoretical framework

One of the most important objectives of orality has been addressing the lack of academic study using the shortcomings that other disciplines have revealed to approach such an interdisciplinary field. The same concept is referred to when using indistinctly the terms oral traditions, oral poetry, oral literature or orality. The following definition of oral tradition is provided by the Encyclopaedia Britannica:[11] "also called orality, the first and still most widespread mode of human communication. […] oral tradition refers to a dynamic and highly diverse oral-aural medium for evolving, storing, and transmitting knowledge, art, and ideas. It is typically contrasted with literacy, with which it can and does interact in myriad ways, and also with literature, which it dwarfs in size, diversity, and social function". Such a broad definition is not useful for academic scholarship. It is true that orality encompasses a wide area fed by diverse disciplines, but a solid basis is necessary to determine its foundations. Orality is mainly defined by those two communities that study it the most: oralists and folklorists. The former define oral traditions as those cultural or ethnical customs passed down orally from one generation to another with no written instruction. Whilst according to folklorists, the "lore",[12] the set of traditional knowledge and beliefs of a culture, is spread by word of mouth and

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[11]   http://www.britannica.com/ Date: 28-04-2012
[12]   The etymology of the term 'folklore' is folk "people" and lore "knowledge".

consists of poems, tales, myths, proverbs, songs, dramas, riddles. Both approaches are fundamental in the study of oral traditions, but many other disciplines have made revolutionary contributions to throw light to this complex area.

Since the advent of orality, the new field has devoted itself to the collection of all those contributions from linguistics, folklore, literature, anthropology and ethnography, among others. This section will describe the main contribution of the following disciplines: a) the oral-formulaic, b) the ethnographic-folkloristic, c) the performative, d) the literary, e) the rhetorical, and f) the theatrical and musical.

a) Oral-Formulaic Theory:

Oral-Formulaic Theories were developed with a certain antagonism to the written language, especially against those valuable works, such as *the Iliad*, *the Odyssey* or *the Chanson de Roland*, that seemed oral texts captured in paper; if oralists like Ong, Parry, Lord and Foley had not highlighted the essential difference between oral and written production, and thus demanded a new discipline, these "voices from the past" (Foley, 2006) would have remained as written ballads.

The genesis of oral traditions is closely related to a strong scholarly initiative of nationalist studies in folklore (Foley, 1988). The Serb Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864) at the beginning of the 19th century was the first scholar to determine the origins of oral tradition as a field through his studies about cognate traditions of the Southern Slavic regions (Radloff, 1990). Milman Parry (1902–1935) based his research on Karadzic and Radloff and focused on what was then called the "Homeric Question", a series of related inquiries about Homer's origin and his poetry. Parry reconsidered the initial conventions and the theoretical framework. He introduced a new variable: the "formula", which he initially defined as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea" (Parry, 1971). The appearance of formulae and oral characteristics met with immediate resistance, as it could ostensibly become the source of Western literary expressiveness. Parry, junior professor at Harvard, and his young assistant Albert Lord (1912–1991) recorded thousands of songs during two field expeditions to the Balkan region. When Parry died in 1935, Lord published their work in the book *The*

Singer of Tales (1960), in which he detailed their response to the Homeric Question, and their fieldwork done in the Balkans.

Parry and Lord were mostly concerned with the production of content, but other scholars like Walter Ong (1912–2003) underlined the importance of reception. Walter Ong was far more interested in psychology, cultural history and rhetoric. His work *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the World* (Ong, 2002 [1ˢᵗ ed. 1988]) defines the contrast between primarily and secondarily oral cultures. Ong proposed a series of descriptors intended to index the relative literacy or orality of a certain text or society; he identified ten factors that were present in primarily oral cultures and societies with a very high "oral residue" (Ong, 2002; 37): "formulaic styling, additive rather than subordinative, aggregative rather than analytic, redundant, conservative, close to human lifeworld, agonistically toned, homeostatic, and situational".

Nevertheless, the study of oral traditions has had to wait until John Miles Foley's (1947-2012) arrival to be effectively consolidated as an academic field. His compilation *Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research* in 1985 was a summary of the academic study of oral tradition to date, including information about all significant articles concerning the theory of Oral-Formulaic Composition. He founded the journal *Oral Tradition* and the *Center for Studies in Oral Tradition* (1986) at the University of Missouri. Foley also connected Oral Theory to Ong's interest in cultural characteristics of oral societies.

b) Ethnographic-folkloristic approach:

This approach provides a wide perspective regarding the context, origin and background in which oral traditions are housed. Many folklorists and ethnographers have analysed specific representations of oral performances, but Barre Toelken (1935) is the most significant scholar in this area. His prolific publications "Folklore, Worldview, and Communication" in *Folklore: Performance and Communication* (1975) and a series of papers in German for European journals, among others, revealed the relevance of the performative nature of folklore, which should be understood in the context of the temporary flow of cultures. He offered an innovative interpretation of folklore in his work *The Dynamics of Folklore* (1979, revised and expanded ed., 1996): rather than using the time-honoured genre-centred approach to

folklore, Toelken underlined the relevance of performance as a core element to describe the items of folklore within their social and community contexts. According to his view, performance is the content, means and context in which culture and folklore are manifested and comprised.

c) Perfomative approach:

Context and performance were relevant in oral traditions, but they required theorising. Although Ong, Toelken or Foley bore in mind the performative factor, it was Ruth Finnegan (1933) who first applied some implicit and explicit performative concepts, from areas like romanticism or sociology, to oral poetry. She studied Classics and Social Anthropology at Oxford. Her book, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context*, revolves around the nature of orality. The boundaries between oral and written are not so clear for her, and the outcomes of her fieldwork in Africa present oral poetry as a performance: the poet is as important as the audience, the context and their function. However, Finnegan did not connect the Oral-Formulaic theory to her conclusions, which was seen as revealing her opposition to the upcoming discipline.[13]

d) The literary approach:

Oral literature, an oxymoron,[14] refers to any form of verbal art which is transmitted by word of mouth. In *African Oral Literature for Schools* (Nandwa & Bukenya, 1983: 1) the following much more specific definition is given: "those utterances, whether spoken, recited or sung, whose composition and performance exhibit to an appreciable degree the artistic character of accurate observation, vivid imagination and ingenious expression". As those utterances operate in many ways as one might expect literature to do, oral traditions in literate societies are regarded as secondary or popular literatures, despite the fact that pre-literate societies (those that had no written

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[13]   The Midland Edition of her book published in 1992 does not reflect substantial modifications, but the extra preface adds relevant details about the work that was developed since *Oral Poetry*'s first edition was published in 1977. In a part of the preface, (p. xiv) the author regrets the impact her book had on some readers, as they considered to be "a sustained attack on a particular scholarly school (that associated with oral-formulaic studies)" [a school defended by Foley], instead of considering it as "a critique and qualification of specific points in the context of trying to bring together arguments from what then seemed a series of separated intellectual traditions that should be talking to each other" (Finnegan, 1992 / 1977; p. xiv).

[14]   Pio Zirimu introduced the term "orature" to avoid it (Thiong'o, 2007), but had no success.

literature) possessed diverse verbal arts that effectively constituted their one and only "oral" literature.

As an academic concept, oral literature was first mentioned by Hector Munro Chadwick and Nora Kershaw Chadwick in their comparative work on the *The growth of literature* (Chadwick & Chadwick, 1932-1940). From that moment on, both anthropologists and literary scholars included it in their works, including Albert B. Lord in his book *The Singer of Tales*, Finnegan (Finnegan, 1992 / 1977), Bauman (Bauman, 1986) and in the journal *Cahiers de Littérature Orale.*[15]

Basque scholars like Juan Mari Lekuona (1927-2005) or Manuel Lekuona (1894-1987) referred to *Bertsolaritza* as a sub-genre of Basque popular literature (Lekuona, M., 1930 & Lekuona, J., 1982). That title was a "form of pigeon-holing of anything that has not fitted into the classification of written literature" (Garzia, Sarasua, & Egaña, 2001). Such a classification was not beneficial for *Bertsolaritza*, as improvised *bertsos*, judged from the perspective of traditional written poetry, are often of a low poetic level.[16] Nevertheless, the literary approach offered a very precise analysis of tropes and schemes, some of them easily identifiable in *bertsos*, although, as figures of speech, they do not just belong to written literature.

e) The rhetorical approach:

As oral literature was deemed an invalid discipline for the analysis of *Bertsolaritza*, scholars have tried to find an effective framework for Basque oral improvisation. Juan Mari Lekuona was the first to approach rhetorics in his research (Lekuona, 1982; p. 121):

> "The improvising *bertsolari*, as well as poet and singer, is also orator. This rhetoric technique is fundamental for the improvised song. The most extraordinary fact is that the improvising *bertsolari* executes all the rhetoric exercises –inventing the arguments, arranging them in an appropriate order and

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[15] The *Cahiers de Littérature Orale* belongs to the "Centre de Recherche sur l'Oralité", is a specialised French journal intended to publish text about oral transmission. It was first released in 1980. Each edition is a monograph about a certain subject on orality.

[16] The real quality of a bertso depends also on the dialectic and rhetorical values of the constructed stanza, not just on the poetic ones.

formulating them in an attractive way- simultaneously in the few seconds at his disposal."[17]

In fact, rhetorics and oratory offer a much better context for the study of *Bertsolaritza*. Lekuona's first steps were elaborated in-depth by Joxerra Garzia (1953), the foremost academic authority on the subject of *Bertsolaritza*. His doctoral thesis *Gaur egungo bertsolarien baliabide poetiko-erretorikoak (Marko teorikoa eta aplikazio didaktikoa)*[18] (Garzia, 1999) re-established the foundations of Basque oral sung improvisation: rhetorics, dialectics and oratory proved to be a suitable framework for the study of the iterative process of *bertsolaris*.

The true quality of the *bertso* depends on the dialectic, rhetorical, and *poetic* values of the constructed verse.

f) Theatrical and musical perspective:

Despite the fact that the relationship between theatre, music and oral traditions is more than evident, little research has been done on the development and concretion of this connection. The most significant contributions come from ethnographers and folklorists, especially from those whose fieldwork highlights the importance of performance and context (Schipper, 1986). As Rosemary Lévy Zumwalt reveals (Lévy Zumwalt, 1998; p. 75-94) in her section "A Historical Glossary of Critical Approaches", we cannot even talk about a theatical or musical perspective for oral traditions. However, some preliminary considerations may be used in what follows.

2.2.2. The communication unit

The taxonomy for Basque improvised poetry aims to provide the main aspects that should be taken into account within the academic description of any kind of composition that could appear in the area of *Bertsolaritza*. For that purpose, it is first necessary to establish the communication unit that will feed any database formed according to the following taxonomy.

The work to select a communication unit that suits the wide and flexible framework in which all taxonomic proposals are based appears to be very complicated; the multi-

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[17]   Unless an English source is mentioned, all the translations have been done by the author of the dissertation.

[18]   "Poetic-rhetorical resources in current *Bertsolaritza*. Theoretical framework and didactic application" in English.

levelled analysis does not provide a clear concept of smallest but complete unit of sense in the case of *Bertsolaritza*. Each *bertso* presents a unique set of individual characteristics and is therefore an object always unique. Assuming that *bertsolaris* sing various *bertsos* to the same topic, instead of proposing the *bertso* as the communication unit for this taxonomy, we could consider the performance itself to be the proposed unit.

Unfortunately, the variety of features that must be analysed to collect all the information related to a single performance is far too unapproachable and any database developed with such a complex taxonomy would not be as effective as a *bertso-based* one. As a result, the chosen unit must be a specific unit of verbal production, composed of several types of discourse; it also has to preserve traces of the choices made by the individual producer based on the particular communication situation where the *bertso* has been created. Thus, the communication unit applied to this taxonomy is the *bertso*, the improvised, measured, rhyming and sung poem itself, as it is a structured text provided with functional autonomy in its context and conceptual uniformity; it harmonizes various communication elements using different codes, resources and tools to create a measured, rhyming and sung product in a very short time, and it seeks to inform, express opinion, persuade or (and especially) interact with the audience.

However, it is true that the choice of the communication unit is strictly connected to the use of the taxonomy: if it is used as a system to classify *bertsos* in a database, as the Xenpelar Documentation Centre could do, for ulterior analysis, it may be better to consider the performance to be the communication unit; if a researcher wants to analyse a certain collection of *bertsos*, connected by the author, period, style, etc., the *bertso* itself will probably be the most accurate unit.

> Ahots bat besterik ez naiz
> eta hunkitzeko bihotz mintzak   *I'm simply a voice*
> doinuak eta ideiak   *that, to touch your hearts,*
> besterik ez darabiltzat.   *exclusively enjoys*
> Euskaraz besterik ez naiz,   *musical and verbal arts.*
> gure izen eta aditzak   *I am not I but in Basque;*
> mundu global hontan dute   *my verbs and nouns' homeland*
> ondar ale bat herritzat.   *in this global world*
> Erretzen dira aroak,   *is just a grain of sand.*

aurrera egiten bizitzak,	*Seasons die, life goes by,*
zahartzen berritasunak	*innovations and new formats*
eta formatu anitzak;	*say hello and goodbye.*
ta mendeetan barrena,	*As centuries come about*
isiltasunak ta hitzak,	*through silence, sound and noise*
ahoz aho egiten du	*improvisation carves out*
geroa *Bertsolaritza*k.	*its future in every voice.*

A bertso sung by young improviser Miren Amuriza at the film *Bertsolari* (Altuna, 2011).

In summary, instead of proposing a rather static and canonical classification with mandatory use, all the schemes set in this taxonomy serve to present all the elements that should be taken into account in order to establish the idiosyncrasy of a *bertso*, thereby demonstrating what elements appear together and how. This is deemed to be the only way to establish some universal tendencies to approach a useful taxonomy, a flexible tool open to any additions, changes and adjustments.

2.2.3 The main axes of the taxonomy[19]

Bertsolaritza, or, especially the act of improvising verses for an audience, needs to be understood as communication act; a specialised one conditioned by metre, rhyme, melody and extemporaneity, that takes place in the specialised context of a certain cultural environment settled in an ethnical/folkloric system. According to the previous definition of the *bertso* as "a structured text provided with functional autonomy in its context and conceptual uniformity", it could be considered and analysed like any other specialized text.

This statement brings us to Guiomar E. Ciapuscio's approach (E. Ciapuscio, 2003), which, according to her multi-levelled typology, states that every text can be analysed in four levels: a) situation (context), b) function, c) semantics (content), and d) form (structure). These four axes allow a very detailed classification, a specific collection of data from a communicative perspective.

This taxonomy is composed of three types of operations in order to save the information related to a *bertso*: classification, indexing and abstract. Classification, strictly referred to as an operation, is the gathering of information in different groups,

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[19]   See: Appendix 5.2 Visual taxonomy.

but it can also be explained as a protocol to analyse a segment of reality. Indexation connects the ideas or features in a *bertso* to a pre-established set of taxa. Finally, the Spanish regulation *UNE 50-103:1990* about summary preparation states that "the summary is the short, concise and objective representation of the content of a document", and in this case, it will be used to collect complex information.

There is yet a fifth axis that is fundamental for the taxonomy, even if it does not directly contribute to the analysis of the corpora: it is an operational axis, a whole dimension used for organisational purposes, termed "identification". In brief, three operations and five axes articulate the main system of this taxonomy. These axes of identification, content, context, function and structure summarise the five dimensions to approach the *bertso*.

1) Identification: This level comprises the essential information to identify a certain *bertso* in the database. As said before, this dimension does not contribute to a substantial exploration of the corpus, but it is indispensable to arrange the information in a logical and attainable order. Considering the *bertso* as a testimony of a particular individual, and as a literary production registered in different media, as it may be accepted in any format, although audio-visual media will be prioritised, the document has the following guidelines: to assign the document a name that functions as a basic identification; to load the entire file; to acknowledge the authorship of the document; to indicate the basic definition of medium (written, audio or audio-visual); and finally, this dimension has a last section in which general comments can be added.

2) Content: This aspect concentrates on the conceptual study of the *bertso*, revising all those factors that can influence its message. The meaning of the discourse is built by the conceptual components or logical units that are in relation to the structure, the sum of which forms the content of the *bertso*. "The message" seems to be too simple a metaphor to describe the content itself, as many non-verbal features also transmit ideas to the audience, or alter/complete the significance of the verbal message. As a consequence, this dimension is subdivided into four fields: theme, melody, non-verbal communication and poetical-rhetorical resources. The thematic field refers to the subject chosen by the improviser; the melodic subsection gathers the musical data of the performance; the paralinguistic field records all the information related to

kinesics, vocalics and other non-verbal disciplines, however, proxemics, the interrelated theories and studies of people's use of space, will not be included in this field, as it is clear that they belong to the contextual analysis of a performance; and finally, a noteworthy list shows more than one hundred literary figures that may be used by the improviser to enhance the strength or the aesthetics of their message.

3) Context: Despite the fact that it appears to be highly complicated to describe the amount of relatively external elements that interact in the creation of a *bertso*, we must try to outline all the features related to the context. Ruth Finnegan's (Finnegan, 1992 / 1977) and Paul Zumthor's (Zumthor, 1983) contributions highlighted the importance of the performing act as a crucial process in oral sung improvisation. At the beginning of the 80s, oral formulaic theories, originated in the scholarly study of epic poetry and developed by Milman Parry and Albert Lord, focused on the mechanism (or formulae) whereby some oral poets are able to improvise poetry and on the characteristics that improvised oral poetry does have, as an art somehow opposed to written poetry. The inclusion of the performance as the intrinsic scenario that is strictly necessary to understand the whole meaning of the improvised poetry widens the horizon of the study of oral poetry and, regretfully, underlines the incompleteness of the oral poems registered until that moment, as not many researchers carried out a detailed study of the context of the oral poems they gathered in their fieldwork.

Consequently, a whole dimension is devoted to the study of the widest context in which the improvisers perform; other scholars such as Barre Toelken (Toelken, 1996) approached oral poetry from a folkloristic perspective and concluded that the performance is part of an ethnical cycle, and then, they proposed that the context of the performance has to be analysed within the wider context provided by the cultural background shared by a community. The immediate context that feeds the imagination of the performers is rooted in the memoirs and expectancies of the general audience.

In summary, the dimension intended to explore the effect of the context in Basque oral poetry will be arranged in four groups: background, participants, proxemics and cultural phases. The first subsection will gather all the information related to time and

space; the second field will try to describe all the participants in the performance, including those who are not present at the performative moment, but have previously collaborated in the case of special performances; the third field will study the proxemics; and the last one will focus on the whole process to produce, transmit, receive, store and (if need be) repeat the analysed oral poem, drawing particular attention to the influence of mediated cultures in any of the aforementioned steps.

Therefore, the context is a crucial part of the meaning of a message, as well as containing the relationship to other parts of the message, the environment in which the communication potentially occurs, and any perception that may be associated with communication.

4) Structure: The more we know about these dimensions, the less rigid the boundaries separating them become. Their features are all interconnected parts of a whole, which cannot be easily separated to a single dimension. The structure of a poem demonstrates a good example of such vagueness on account of the inextricable nature of content and structure.

In the end, the structure is nothing but the arrangement and order of content, the so-called *dispositio* in rhetorics. As Basque improvised sung poetry is always measured and rhyming, these two characteristics will become the two main fields of this dimension. The metrical field will save any information referred to the verse and syllabic structure of the poems, as well as any other metrical feature. The field devoted to the study of the rhyme will analyse its structure, the quality of its homophony, the relationship between rhyme and melody and other rhyme features.

5) Function: This dimension refers to the group of connections set between two or more elements within the *bertso*. Improvising means thinking and making decisions under the pressure of the audience, but there must be a previous determining factor that makes the improviser make a certain decision, and that decision is not understandable outside of the existence of the first premise. This area will then contribute to the study of the *bertso* in relation to its performative task, its theatrical characteristics and in relation to its communicative genre; moreover, there will be a

field intended to analyse the primary and secondary functions of the *bertso*, i.e. the intention and purpose of the *bertsolari*.

2.2.4. Description of the taxa

This subsection will explain one by one all the taxa included in the main five facets, identification, content, context, function and structure, in order to become the guide to use the taxonomy itself.

2.2.4.1 Identification

As we have already explained, the purpose of this dimension is to arrange the data into the corpus, this section will just present the taxa assigned to the first level, and it will also explain the way in which they have to be filled in.

NAME

This taxon provides a term used to identify a single *bertso* in a database. All the names will be composed of a label, BOP (Basque Oral Poetry), and will be numbered with a five digit system preceded by a letter disposed in alphabetical order. Finally, the name will have a crucial function: it will show a last label that will let the researcher know in what position was sung the analysed bertso. B01 will be the code for the first bertso of a performance, B02 for the second one, and so on.

FILE

If the name is assigned with a basic operational purpose, this taxon will let the researcher identify the file in which the bertso is been uploaded to the database. If the file is already named, the researcher will not change its name; if it is unnamed, the name and the file taxa will have the same designation, but the latter will show the code or the format of the file, audio, video or text, be that as it may. Due to the probability of attaining the same *bertso* in more than one format, the database in which this taxonomy is installed will have to offer the possibility to upload more than a file.

AUTHOR

The authorship of a *bertso* could be presented as a very controversial topic: to what extent is the *bertsolari*, the improviser, the unique author of their composition, if he/she is singing a melody composed by somebody else, answering to a topic

prompted by a conductor, contested by another *bertsolari*, and conditioned by an unrepeatable context? Such polemical decision could only be made and agreed by the collective of *bertsolaris*, and to date no resolution has been published. As a result, this taxonomy proposes to save the name(s) and surname(s) of the person(s) to whom the authorship of the poem is attributed. The surname will be entered first and followed by a comma and the name of the author(s).

FORMAT

This is the first indexical taxon in the whole proposal. It presents three subtaxa in which the researcher may have to indicate the formats of the uploaded file(s): audio, video or/and text. The "video" choice implicitly refers to audio-visual media. The researcher will have just to tick on the corresponding format.

GENERAL COMMENTS

As stated before, each *bertso* could be a challenge for this taxonomy, as unique features may create unrepeatable poems with unloadable characteristics. If the sense of a *bertso* is connected to another one, and the former is necessary to understand the whole meaning of the latter, the researcher may need a section to indicate this information. As a result, the taxon for general comments is an open option in which any relevant information related to the *bertso* can be recorded.

2.2.4.2 Content

We are now approaching the most common dimension in the study of oral traditions. The supremacy of oral formulaic theories during the second half of the twentieth century has contributed to an in-depth analysis of oral literature; however, as little fieldwork had been carried out properly, recording had been done, but not all the relevant data had been systematically collected, until Parry's and Lord's ground-breaking contributions' arrival, the scholars of the imminent discipline focused on the written oral literature's production (Foley, 1999), i.e. the so-called "voices from the past" (Foley, Euskal Herriko Bertsozale Ellkartea, 2012). Parry, Lord and other academics extracted the oral features of these "numerous ancient and medieval works that certainly originate in oral traditions but now survive only in manuscript form" (Foley, Euskal Herriko Bertsozale Ellkartea, 2012).

On the other hand, a parallel contribution comes from the classic literary approach to poetry. Despite the fact that the literarity, i.e. the literary and aesthetic value, of *Bertsolaritza* and other oral traditions has been largely questioned, the potential perspective provided by a literary analysis of improvised oral poetry cannot be disregarded. This dimension will include a wide range of taxa based on a literary view of *Bertsolaritza*. Four main fields will complete this dimension: theme, melody, non-verbal communication and poetical-rhetorical resources.

2.2.4.2.1. Theme

Bertsolaritza is a discipline that does not exclude any topic; the boundaries of the thematic possibilities of *bertsolari*s are yet unknown. Moreover, true *bertsolari*s, those who still believe in *Bertsolaritza* as a judicial, deliberative and epideictic genre, are supposed to sing about any topic, as far as their previous knowledge and the level of specificity assigned to that topic are not too far from each other. According to this, it is almost impossible to establish the limits of the performative topics, and there is no other choice but the Universal Decimal Classification summary.

TOPIC

The first section is intended to record the topic of the performance. Consequently, it will have two taxa, in order to indicate if there is a "topic" –introduced by a conductor– or if there is "no topic". In the first case, the researcher will have to type in the text read by the conductor.

DISCIPLINE

As exposed before, the UDC Summary offers an excellent system to classify the topics that could appear in a bertso performance. It is true that the DDC, the Dewey Decimal Classification is another interesting choice, but as the UDC is the standard classification used in the Basque Country, it will facilitate the potential applications of the taxonomy. The UDC Summary presents the following objective system:

1. Table: Universal Decimal Classification, Main Classes

0) Science and Knowledge
1) Philosophy and Psychology
2) Religion and Theology
3) Social Sciences
4) Vacant
5) Mathematics and Natural Sciences
6) Applied Sciences
7) The Arts
8) Language and Literature
9) Geography and History

Source: http://www.udcc.org/

As the UDC Summary offers the possibility to be very precise in the definition of the topic, the researcher shall use as many digits needed in order to specify the topic. Let us analyse an example. Let us see what we should enter in the database if the conductor prompted the following topic:

> "Your father is about to die. On his deathbed, he has just revealed that there are two corpses buried under the beech in front of your house since the Civil War."
> *Bertsolari Championship, Final Contest; Barakaldo, 2009*

Despite the fact that we cannot objectively know the intention of the topic prompter, it is permissible to guess that this topic is an invitation to sing about the Spanish Civil War and the Law about Historical Memory, the law passed by the Congress in 2007 to promote the identification and subsequent exhumation of victims of Francoist repression whose corpses are still missing, unfortunately hidden in mass graves, always from a personal and emotional point of view, as they represent two members of a family deeply involved in the Spanish Civil War. As a result, the code assigned for the Spanish Civil War in the UDC summary is 94(460).092 and that is the data that will appear in this taxon.

SUBDISCIPLINE

It's possible that the proposed topic does not cover a single area in the UDC summary; in that case, a second taxon called "subdiscipline" will allow the researcher to mark another area in the classification.

TREATMENT

This section deals with the perspective used by the *bertsolaris*, or suggested by the conductor, to approach the proposed topic. The treatment is the method or manner of handling or dealing with the topic, drawing especial attention to all the determining factors introduced by the context. The treatment is strongly related to the function and genre of the communication, and the purpose of the performance will be a decisive feature to choose whether the improvisers should criticise or ennoble their topic.

This section offers seven taxa to the researcher: three of them are based on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (Jebb, 1909): *epideictic*, *judicial* and *deliberative*, the three branches, or "species" (eidē), of rhetoric. Oratory and rhetoric proved to be excellent disciplines to feed an interdisciplinary approach to oral traditions, but contemporary *Bertsolaritza* does not just seek to discuss the justice of history (*judicial*), persuade the audience (*deliberative*), and give praise or place blame (*epideictic*). As a result, other treatments have been added in order to cover the classic procedure of *bertsolaris*:

1. **General:** there is no exact treatment, so the *bertsolari* performs the topic without expressing their opinion or trying to change the audience's view. It is related to the referential function of language.

2. **Epideictic:** this branch of rhetoric refers to the performance in ceremonies, declamation and demonstration, in which the performer's main objective is to entertain the audience.

3. **Deliberative:** speech that tries to convince an audience to take (or not take) some action. In ancient Greece, a deliberative discourse was an overstated declaration of facts oriented towards policy; it evaluated if given laws would benefit or harm society in a magnified manner, in order to persuade the audience to initiate a particular mode of action for the future.

4. **Judicial:** if a deliberative speech looks forward to the future, the judicial or forensic oratory considers the justice or injustice of a certain charge or accusation about an event happened in the past. The judicial orator makes arguments about past events with respect to the right and the wrong.

5. **Didactic:** Apart from the extraordinary case of Latin poetry (Volk, 2002), didacticism is mainly related to written works and theatre plays. However, if a *bertso* is meant both to entertain and to instruct, we could consider that a "didactic *bertso*". As didactic plays are intended to convey a moral theme to

the audience, a *bertsolari* could decide to use their performance for pedagogic purposes.

6. **Aesthetic**: Although it is not a very common trend in *Bertsolaritza*, when favourable circumstances have given major freedom of choice to the performers, some *bertsolaris* have attempted to emphasise the aesthetic values of their production, rather than pledging their commitment to the content or to the message (Fargis, 1998). When the form prevails to the content and the *bertsolari* seek to surprise the audience with embellishments and frills, the *bertsolari* will be guided by aesthetic purposes.

7. **Poetic / Critical:** When the *bertsolari* judges the merits and faults of a topic or subject, proposed or not, in a coherent way, and they express their opinion and/or personal feelings about it, we shall consider that to be a poetic or critical treatment. It may rather be poetic in the case in which they account for their personal experience in relation to the topic, and, on the other hand, it may be considered critical when the performers pass severe judgement, usually unfavourably. However, both cases reflect a similar treatment or approach to the topic, and that similarity makes them be included in the same taxon.

8. **Other:** According to the wide variety of possibilities and challenges (some yet unknown) that oral traditions may encounter during the 21st century, presuming that new treatments may come up in new contexts, an open taxon may allow the researchers record unexpected characteristics.

SUMMARY

Considering that our unit of study is the *bertso* instead of the performance, i.e. *"bertso-aldi"* or act in which at least a *bertsolari* extemporises about a same topic, but that more than a *bertso* is needed to understand a whole act, this taxon will offer a brief synopsis of the performance. As the "name" taxon will recall the position of the analysed *bertso* within the performance, the summary will be a useful tool to understand the coherence of the *bertso* in its context.

2.2.4.2.2 Melody

As a *bertso* is a sung, measured and rhyming speech, each of these three main elements needs to be reflected in the taxonomy. Meter and homophony may be tackled as inherent parts of the structure, but the musical contribution is directly

connected to the content. The air chosen by the *bertsolari* could be defined as the soundtrack of the *bertso*: a minor tune will reinforce a sad message, and a major one will let the audience foresee a joyful creation. Music is then one of the key factors in Basque oral improvisation.

Nevertheless, the current relevance of music in *Bertsolaritza* turns to be rather paradoxical: in spite of the fact that *Bertsolaritza* cannot be defined in the absence of music, in the 21st century, the majority of *bertsolaris* do not have formal musical training; more than 60% of the *bertsolaris* who took part in the last championship in 2009 were "uneducated musicians".[20] Up until the mid-twentieth century, *bertsolaris* needed both a powerful and elegant voice, so that their performance could be heard in any open-air space (Egaña, 2007). However, with the arrival of the microphone, this requirement lost relevance, as did the musical skills of the *bertsolari*. Nowadays, more than having a powerful voice or a great musical knowledge, *bertsolaris* must be able to harmonise voice, performance and topic. But it is a very low requisite, as the real quality of the *bertso* depends on the dialectic, rhetorical and poetic values of the improvised text.

More or less valuated depending on the culture, the tune is an inseparable element of the bertso (Egaña, 2007); unlike Cubans, Majorcans or other oral poets (Díaz Pimienta, 1998), *bertsolaris* cannot perform without singing, and traditionally they have never sung with musical accompaniment, although nowadays tradition is giving way to new hybrids. Consequently, the taxonomy needs to provide the opportunity to record the musical data of the improvisation. Three fields and four sections will cover it.

TEMPERAMENT

A temperament is a system of tuning which establishes the intervals of just intonation; historically, the use of just intonation, so-called "pythagorean tuning" or "meantone temperament", i.e. the common temperament in Western Europe, guaranteed that such instruments would sound "in tune" in one or some keys, but would then have more dissonance in other keys (Denton, 1996).

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[20]   The biographies of all the participants are available at http://ttiki.com/42509

Little is known about the presence of the meantone temperament in Basque traditional music, but some old instruments reveal that it may not be the predominant modulation in the Basque Country. Nevertheless, the advent of the famous "Well-Tempered Clavier" and the dissemination of the "well-tempered" organ all over Europe influenced the Basque repertoire, and nowadays it is rare to find a *bertsolari* performing non-tempered *bertsos*. However, new musical tendencies could create new hybrids, and due to the considerable amount of non-tempered music around the world, the researcher may have to indicate first whether the melody chosen by the *bertsolari* is tempered or not. If it is not tempered, that will be all the information to be entered, but if it is tempered, the researcher will have to mark the mode of the melody: major, using a major scale, as "C-D-E-F-G-A-B-C" for C major; minor with a minor scale, as "C-D-E♭-F-G-A♭-B-C" for C minor; or other, in case it is tempered but has any relevant difference.

COMPOSITION

Basque musical repertoire could be as rich as Basque oral literature. The oldest evidence of Basque oral literary production goes back to the 14th century, since the *Song of Beotibar* narrates a battle (1321) in which Guipuzcoans defeated the Navarrese. It is difficult to date many Basque melodies, but, surprisingly, regarding the case of *Bertsolaritza*, a great database could let us know very precisely about every single air used by *bertsolaris* in the past 100 years. Basque researcher Joanito Dorronsoro published in 1994 a four volume collection called "Bertso Doinutegia", the first compilation of all the melodies used by *bertsolaris*. He explained his fieldwork in the foreword of the first volume, later translated and put online (Dorronsoro, 2011):

> "The world of *bertsolari*sm and popular music have come a lot closer one from
> the other, and have been much more linked than what it's been believed so far; to
> analyse this fact has been the main aim of this fifteen years investigation work.
> After analysing song-books and song compilations, bertso-books and records and
> cassettes published in the area of *bertsolari*sm, and also most of our songwriter's
> records and cassettes brought to light since 1960 to our days, and thus, after

choosing among the so many changing but similar sounds and after naming each one of them, we have classified them by size."

The repertoire is now available on the Internet:[21] a wide variety of descriptors gives us the possibility to select from many dropdown menus about the name of the melody, the *bertsolari* who first sang it, the date or place in which it was recorded, and more. The database is composed of almost three thousand melodies (Dorronsoro, 2011); all the melodies are downloadable in MIDI or scores. Unfortunately, there is no way to consult the database by musical notes; a user that wants to find the title of a certain melody has no option but listening one by one to the recordings. However, as the potential of the database is so interesting, in a medium-long term, the researcher shall be able to indicate what the melody used by the improviser is. The title of the melody may be searched in the database and they will have to type it in. Thus, the composition section finishes with a last taxon: the researcher is asked to enter in letters the first line of the musical stanza. This is a measure to ensure that future users may be able to use the melodies' factor for their research, as Joanito Dorronsoro´s database cannot be consulted just by melody by now. All the major melodies will be based on C, and all the minor ones on A.

TEMPO

Tempo could be an interest unit of study in the case of *Bertsolaritza*: to what extent are rhythm, topic and performative task connected? If we want tempo to be considered in further investigation, it needs to be recorded as relevant datum. The pattern of regular pulses of the melody or the occurrence of strong and weak melodic and harmonic beats will be measured in binary or ternary rhythms. As usual, a third taxon will give the possibility to cover unforeseen rhythms.

2.2.4.2.3 Non-verbal communication

Since *bertsolaris* could perform about any staple of everyday life, their performance could be considered a speech act. As Joxerra Garzia states (Garzia, 2002), "those who know nothing of Basque improvised verse cannot claim to know our own reality properly, because Basque verse is not just a subgenre of oral literature but also a

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[21]   The database can be consulted in English here:
http://bdb.bertsozale.com/en/web/doinutegia/bilaketa

means of communication –or, if you prefer, a means of communication with each other".

Bertsolaritza means communication, and since *bertsolaris* perform in front of an audience, their non-verbal communication could be an interesting unit of study: their paralanguage, including voice quality, rate, pitch, volume, and speaking style, as well prosodic features such as rhythm, intonation, and stress. But, at the same time, it is important to analyse the environmental conditions where communication takes place, or physical characteristics of the communicators, and behaviours of communicators during interaction. Nonverbal communication deals with all these fields (Burgoon, 2011): proxemics, haptics, vocalics, chronemics.

However, we should not forget that we are analysing the content of the *bertso*, and not all the elements of non-verbal communication fit in this dimension. For instance, proxemics may not be included, as the use of space is clearly connected to the context: the performance may be affected by the way in which microphones, chairs, tables or other elements, such as projection screens, musical accompaniment or other artistic collaborators, among others are displayed. As a result, "conceptual" non-verbal communication will have two main sections: kinesics and paralinguistic communication.

Nevertheless, before examining the taxa assigned to the analysis of non-verbal communication, it is essential to account for the Basque cultural perspective on *bertsolari*'s active non-verbal communication: *bertsolaris* conventionally have never moved their body while performing. Improvisation is seen as a trance in which *bertsolari's* need for abstraction justifies the so-called "static's aesthetics". According to the traditional view, *bertsolari's* power relies on their ability of speech, on their capacity to choose the most meaningful and expressive words for each moment; movement is associated to a lack of fluency, to a technical, lexical or even conceptual deficiency. However, the arrival of new technologies and audio-visual media has made *Bertsolaritza* evolve and open up to new styles: the eruption of *Bertsolaritza* on Basque television, the use of video cameras to record performances, and, especially, the addition of screens and projections in provincial and national championships forced *bertsolaris* to become "visual" troubadours. Consequently, even if the

traditional view still prevails over the upcoming new trend, gestures and gesticulations are becoming more and more common in *bertsolari* events.

Due to the fact that little research has been done about *bertsolari's* kinesics and paralinguistic communication (Arozamena, 2010), the non-verbal communication field is based on SOCOP (*Sistema de Observación de la Comunicación Oral Paraverbal –Observational System of Paraverbal Communication*), an observational system that provides a clear analysis of how essential elements related to kinesics and proxemic behaviours can be classified. SOCOP (Castañer, 2009) primarily seeks to study the paraverbal communicative fluency of the teaching style used by professional and novice teachers, but it proves to be an excellent tool to approach *bertsolari's* non-verbal behaviour, as both of them act in front of an audience using mainly oral skills. Based on SOCOP, this taxonomy, in the "concept" dimension, will explore *bertsolari's* kinesics and paralinguistic communication.

KINESICS

Since Ray Birdwhistell wanted to study how people communicate through posture, gesture, stance, and movement (Birdwhistell, 1970), the interpretation of body language or non-verbal behaviour related to movement has evolved into a very precise observational discipline. SOCIN (Castañer, 2009), *System of Observation for Kinesic Communication*, is a branch of SOCOP and tries to record every single movement carried out by the speaker. According to the adaptation of SOCIN's proposal, kinesics could be studied from a functional, morphological or situational approach; in our case, as functional and situational taxa will be established in the "function" and "context" dimensions, the kinetic analysis of *bertsolaris* will utilise the morphological view. *Bertsolari's* gestures are divided into six groups:

1) **Emblem:** "Gesture with its own pre-established iconic meaning" (Castañer, 2009). Although this is not very common as *bertsolaris* tend to stand still when they do not take part actively in communication, some *bertsolaris* may use an emblem before or after their performance.

2) **Deictic:** "Gesture that indicates or points at people, places or objects". Deictic gests and signs are very likely to be used in informal events such as meals or dinners accompanied by *bertsolaris*. Moreover, deictic gestures allow *bertsolaris* to widen their vocabulary in more than one occasion. The richer a

bertsolaris lexicon is, the more they will be able to say; demonstrative pronouns are monosyllabic or disyllabic in Basque (*hau, hori, hura*), and could easily substitute longer words –such as *sudurra* (nose) – with the help of a deictic movement, i.e. a finger pointing at the nasal extremity.

3) **Pictographic:** "Gesture that draws figures or forms in space". This gesture may be the most common one, alongside with kinetographic gests, for the *bertsolaris* who dare to move while they sing. *Bertsolaritza* is becoming more and more visual, and the meanings of inexact words can be completed by simple signs.

4) **Kinetographic:** "Gesture that draws actions or movements in space". Similar to pictographic ones, it is scientifically interesting to make a difference between figures and actions, as kinetographic gestures may be especially kept for young audiences or multilingual contexts, due to the fact that kinetographic communication breaks the considerably stronger traditional static's aesthetics.

5) **Beat:** "Iconically undefined gesture used exclusively by the sender and which usually only accompanies the logic of spoken discourse". Beats are as common as previous gestures among "modern" *bertsolaris*, but are not well-regarded: a *bertsolari* who needs to move hands or arms while singing is apparently showing a considerable lack of confidence and fluency. Despite this, it is included in the taxa, as the use of beats may condition the literary value or conceptual quality of a *bertso*.

6) **Affect display:** Emotionally-charged gesture used by the *bertsolari*. These expressions may not be intentional, but it is clear that they reinforce the strength of a *bertsolari's* message. *Bertso* fans will still remember how Andoni Egaña almost cried in 2001, in his solo performance at the National Final, when he was asked to perform about a letter he had received from a friend who had just died mountaineering; his friend Felix Inurrategi, a famous Basque mountaineer, died in such conditions 18 months before.

PARALINGUISTIC COMMUNICATION

Language is a set of codes created due to the necessity for communication (Castañer M., 2008). Verbal communication does not merely consist of saying grammatically correct sentences: the correct or appropriate use of voice is as important as the verbal message. Paralinguistics study every vocal emission not included in verbal

communication: all those sounds produced by the vocal apparatus, and all those conscious or unconscious silences accompanying the verbal message. SOPAR (Castañer M., 2008) *System of Observation for Paralinguistic Communication*, is the branch of SOCOP that systematises the study of the use of voice. *Bertsolari's* vocal emission will then be analysed in six aspects:

1) **Intonation:** The variation of tone or pitch while singing is not used to differentiate words. The use of pitch needs to follow the flow of the melody, and the researcher may only mark it if the intonation is monotonous, standard or varied. Monotonous intonation will be the one that shows a mainly lineal and flat emission; varied intonation will mean a richer emission which will emphasise with the voice the most important words and phrases; and standard will refer to a normal use of voice with nothing remarkable.

2) **Volume:** Loudness refers to the strength of the ear's perception of a sound. This parameter is often regulated by audio technicians, as *bertsolaris* predominantly use microphones in their performances. However, if the *bertsolaris* sing too loud or too softly, both conditions will affect the performance. Consequently, "high", "standard" and "low" taxa will record the information related to loudness.

3) **Rhythm:** Regardless to the study of musical rhythm or tempo, *bertsolaris* can choose whether they want to follow a regular or irregular pattern when singing; if they sing uniformly, their rhythm will be considered "conventional" or "strictly established", depending on the righteousness; if they speed up, slow down or do not follow a rhythmic pattern, it will be "agreed" or "ad libitum".

4) **Silence:** Silent beats are not permitted once *bertsolaris* start to sing. Shutting up could be one of the worst mistakes along with repeating the same rhyme twice. Nonetheless, new styles have abandoned the traditional silence-less continuation of *bertsolaris* and opened up a wider variety of declamations. Since then, silences have become another valuable resource in the *bertsolari's* rhetoric tools. Taxa will record whether silence is "appropriate", "bearable", "inappropriate" or "unbearable" (Barea, 2008).

5) **Pronunciation:** Depending on the situation, established by the context or the co-text, the diction of the *bertsolaris* can be flexible, standard, sharp or very sharp. The higher a register is, the sharper the diction will be (Barea, 2008).

6) **Vocal sound:** Basic resonances, vocal formants, breaths or guttural noises are permitted in intimate situations but should not be accepted in formal ones. Four descriptors will record their presence: "very often", "often", "very few" and "none" (Barea, 2008).

2.2.4.2.4 Figures of speech

The Greeks called them 'schemes' and 'tropes', a more accurate word than 'figures', because they serve as persuasive artifices (Heinrichs, 2007). However, figures of speech, as they are nowadays known, refer to the use of a word or phrase diverging from its usual sense. They use a special repetition, arrangement or omission of words to provide emphasis, freshness of expression, or clarity, which might also be dampened by their use, as figures of speech create ambiguity between denotative and connotative interpretation. In our particular case, 'schemes' are rhetorical elements that *bertsolaris* systematically use to empower their performances: they are not mere ornaments which render a discourse more pleasing, or inventions of art; rather they are the natural and common rhetorical "formulae" in which motivated passion and imagination manifest themselves. Young and old *bertsolaris*, consciously or unconsciously, use them equally, even if they do not use exactly the same figures.

In rhetorical language, words are used in a special way so that they diverge somewhat from conventional every-day discourse and acquire more impressive and effective meanings. Figures make speech more successful, they emphasize and embellish it. Iñaki Arranz in his book *Hitza azti* (Arranz, 2006) offers one of the most precise figure compilations ever carried out in Basque. He bases his work on three main sources: rhetorics, although he does not make specific reference to a single Greek or Roman author, he approaches rhetorics from a general perspective; the French literary movement OULIPO (*Ouvroir de Littérature Potentielle – Potential literature workshop*) supported by Raymond Queneau, Marcel Bénabou et Pierre Guiraud; and, finally, the contribution by ludo-linguist Màrius Serra, who applies mathematical or scientific elements to the analysis of rhetorics.

Hitza azti presents a list of figures that have been used by Basque authors, every figure is illustrated with examples taken from Basque literature; those strictly linked to written strategies cannot be transferred to a taxonomy focused on oral poetry, but

the majority of 'schemes' turn to be valid for both oral and written communication. This proposal organises figures depending on the strategy chosen to express something in an 'unusual' way. The list of figures is based on two works: *Hitza Azti* (Arranz, 2006) and *Introducción al análisis retórico: tropos, figuras y sintaxis del estilo* (Azaustre & Casas, 1994) The selected strategies and their figures proposed as taxa are as follows:

a) Repetition

The simplest strategy consists of taken a sound, a syllable, a part of a word or a whole word and saying it again. Depending on what, when and how, these are the figures that use repetition:

a.1) In-word repetition

CYCLEGRAM

Cyclegrams are words containing repetition. Initially the use of the same letter would be enough, but it is hard to appreciate such use in oral transmission. The taxonomy will only consider those words that use the same syllable twice. Words like *lolo* (sleep) are pure cyclegrams, as opposed to words like *banana*, which the author (Arranz, 2006) calls *totelgrama* (stutter-gram). As figures of speech, cyclegrams are often used to express lack of confidence or childishness, even coldness, as syllabic gemination is a natural consequence, let alone tipsiness or stuttering. Metagrams, uncompleted repetitions of sound or syllables, will be also included in this taxon.

DOUBLE / TREBLE SOUND

Cyclegrams can also contain double sounds, but a different taxon is necessary to designate those figures that seek a special meaning by doubling or trebling a sound. This taxon will record three cases, other in-word repetitions are proposed in Arranz's work, but they do not represent interesting figures for the taxonomy:

1) Onomatopoeia that doubles or trebles, less common: *trakatan-trakatan* (trot), for instance, a sound: *kili-kili* (tickling), *diz-diz* (glowing), *bor-bor* (boiling).

2) Intensifying repetitions, Basque repeats words to intensify their meaning.

3) Words that treble sounds. As for onomatopoeias, it is not very likely to find identical three-syllabled words; they normally are increased double sounds.

a.2) Word repetition

Sound repetition between words is likely to happen in everyday life, as we need to link them to create sentences.

STUTTER-PHRASE

'Stutter-phrase' is the peculiar translation for 'esaldi totelak' in Basque, a new concept proposed by the author. According to his view, stutter-phrases are those which connect the ending of a word with the beginning of the next one: *Portugalgo galgoak* (greyhounds from Portugal), *patata ta tatamia* (potato and tatami)…

ALLITERATION

This figure uses the repetition of consonant sounds in a group of neighbouring words to suggest a conceptual meaning or aesthetical effort. Sound repetition is a compulsory strategy in verse-singing, as rhyme is based on it, but the more the ending words look similar, the more the quality of the *bertso* improves. However, such rhyme similarity is not the alliteration to which this taxon refers: only when *bertsolaris* use sound resemblance to remark an idea are they using alliteration.

ANAPHORA

Anaphora –or epanaphora– consist of the recurrence of a word or phrase at the beginning of two or more consecutive verses. This figure is used to emphasize a certain concept and is often accompanied by parallelisms. It is worth to remember that figures are intentional strategies to embellish a *bertso*: when the beginning of some verse is repeated but such repetition makes no sense or countervails the aim of the message, it may not be an anaphora, but a mistake.

ECHO

The origin of this figure is clear: if natural echo is a series of sounds produced by the reflection of sound waves from a surface back to the listener, rhetorical echo tries to recreate sound reverberation. Echo is then a type of alliteration conditioned by its position, as it always goes at the end; such requisite makes its introduction in *bertsos* rather impossible, as rhyme is already a type of echo. However, new melodies and structures have widened the horizons of sound repetition in *Bertsolaritza*. Depending on the perfection of the reverberation, there are five types of echo:

1) **Epenthesis**: addition of sounds at the middle of the words (*etzun, entzun* – lay, listen).

2) **Paragoge**: addition of sounds at the end of a word in order to add emphasis (*zer, zerria* – what, pig).

3) Apheresis: omission of one or more letters or sounds at the beginning of a word (*lizarra, izarra* – ash tree, star).

4) **Apocope:** loss of one or more sounds from the end of a word (*kosmiko, komiko* – cosmic, comic).

WORD SCALE

This consists of a graduated series of words in which sounds are repeated more than in echo. It is a very common figure in rhyme; several *bertsolaris* try to rhyme combining very similar words that may only differ in the first syllable.

Sinismentsu dago ama,	*The mother persists in her faith,*
haurra lurpean **etzana**;	*the child lies buried below;*
nola arraio kendu digute	*why on Earth have we lost*
hain haurtxo **otsana**?	*our blameless child?*
Hossana eta **hossana**,	*"Hosanna, hosanna!"*
hainbat alditan **esana**!	*so many times intoned!*
Damu bat daukat, garai batean	*I now regret having*
Fededun **izana**!	*once been a believer!*

Bertso sung by Andoni Egaña at the National Championship in 1997.

ACCUMULATION

This figure uses the constant repetition of one word to underline its relevance in the *bertso*. *Bertsolari* Amets Arzallus created a good example of accumulation with his *bertsos* entitled *Jolastea da…* (Playing means…), in which accumulation appears along with anaphora and parallelism.[22]

ANTANACLASIS

This figure consists of the repetition of a word or words with a different meaning in the second case. When *bertsolaris* attempt to use the same rhyme word twice with

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[22]   Amets Arzallus's bertsos are available at http://www.argia.com/argia-astekaria/2207/jolastea-da.

different meanings, they are trying to make an aesthetical effort to embellish their performance; there are *bertsos* rhyming the same word four times.[23] Antanaclasis in *Bertsolaritza* is often composed by one of these three elements, with the exception of homography:

1) Homonymy: two words with different meanings share writing and pronunciation (*hagin* – tooth, yew).

2) Homophony: two words with different meanings share only pronunciation (*ura, hura* – water, that).

3) Paronymy: two words with different meanings have similar writing or pronunciation (*ate, ahate* – door, duck).

b) Organisation

Depending on the order in which words are placed, a sentence could considerably vary its meaning. The following figures alter the typical order of the sentence in order to improve the poetical quality of a bertso.

b.1) Relevance

SERIALISATION

Words are presented in a series: this figure provides a structure for complicated ideas, as some series, such as the days of the week, for instance, are known by both the improviser and the audience.

PARALYSIS

This figure could be seen as a negated serialisation: instead of progressing, words do not evolve or present the same characteristics as normal, instead they have been paralysed. Paralysis could refer to the use of a certain number of syllables in each word, or to the use a concrete letter or sound: *bertsolari* Pedro Maria Otaño wrote a famous *bertso* in 1892 in which every word starts with b.[24]

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[23]   Some examples of bertsos with homonym rhymes are available at http://www.eizie.org/Argitalpenak/Senez/20061220/paya/inprimatzeko

[24]   (Arranz, 2006; p. 99)

b.2) Disorder

ANAGRAM

Anagram refers to the word that is made of the combination of the letters of another word. These word pairs are often connected to phonetic figures, but their difference is that they seek an extra 'punch' in meaning, not just in sound.

SPOONERISM

Spoonerism, or *contrepeterie* in French, stands for the error in speech or deliberate play on words in which corresponding letters or sounds are switched. They often look like Freudian slips (Mc Arthur, 1998), but they are intentional misspellings with some euphemistic meaning.

c) Transformation

Another way used by language to create new concepts and meaning is changing the already-existent reality, i.e. altering or transfiguring present words. The following figures approach words from this perspective.

MINGLED WORDS

This figure combines two or more words to create a momentary neologism. Due to the restricted syllabic space in *bertsos*, this is a very useful strategy, even if it also requires good and quick imaginative skills.

MIXED PROVERBS

This figure consists of combining two proverbs, or changing the ending of a traditional one. *Bertsolaris* often finish *bertsos* with proverbs, as they are strong mottos; new trends could make them change the last verse and improve or adapt the proverb to the context.

LUDO-ACRONYMS

This strategy allows the *bertsolaris* to create a funny acronym or reassigning the meaning of an already-existent one. It is a common joke among *bertsolaris* to say that they work for the BBC, but they are not working for British television; rather they mean that they often sing at "Bodas, Bautizos y Comuniones" (weddings, baptisms and communions).

UNINTELLIGIBLE WORDS

If the *bertsolari* does not share the same language with the audience or partners, or invents a set of incomprehensible words, they may be trying to create confusion by means of this strategy. Meaningless words may also be included in this taxon, whether they are used to create confusion or embellishment.

MISUNDERSTANDINGS

If the *bertsolari* feigns a failure to understand or interpret correctly something and uses this misunderstanding to create a powerful answer, they may be using this strategy.

LAPSUS

A lapsus, *lapsus linguae* in our case, i.e. a slip of the tongue, is an unintentional error made while singing, which happens due to the connection between two thoughts: according to Freud's early psychoanalytic theory, the 'second' thought hides an unconscious desire. In the case of *Bertsolaritza*, it is likely to happen in rhyme, as a *bertsolari* may be singing a rhyme while 'preparing' the next.

d) Disfiguration

The intention of the following figures is to spoil the appearance of a concept; diverse approaches are used to hide an intrinsic part of a concept.

EUPHEMISM

A euphemism is the substitution of a word that may cause offense or suggest something disagreeable for one that is harmless or inoffensive. In spite of the fact that traditionally euphemisms intend to give positive appearances to negative concepts, in *Bertsolaritza* they intend to seek amusement. In this example by Unai Iturriaga, sung at the National Championship in 2005, the sound "ejem" (aha) is a euphemism of "love".

Hain emankorrak izan gu eta	We resulted very fructiferous
hiru haur etorri ziren.	as we had three children.
Presarik gabe behingoagatik	As today we don´t need to hurry
elkartu garenez hemen	and we are together,

igual aukera dugu gaurkoa	this may be the chance
zera egiteko **ejem...**	to make… aha…
Ia ahaztuta daukat maitea	I have almost forgotten
gu lehen nondik hasten ginen.	how did we used to start?

MIS-SPELLING

This strategy slightly changes a word's pronunciation to suggest a new concept by making reference to a similar word: the famous *bertsolari* Balendin Enbeita transformed the word *sozialista* (socialist) into *zozolista* (*zozo* [dumb] + list).

SEMANTIC DISFIGURATION

This figure intends to create a new term by altering or spoiling the meaning of a word. It proceeds by changing a word in each context, in order to let the audience recall the original word by inference.

MORPHOLOGICAL CHANGES

If phonetics and semantics give way to new figures, morphology can be similarly used: Basque's creative grammar allows the creation of new forms by changing postpositions, declensions, suffixes.

CHARADE

This figure was internationally spread by French and Basque author Sabino Arana, who adapted it into Basque and invented the word *izpanaldija* to depict it. A charade is a game in which a word is represented in riddling verse, sometimes syllable by syllable, until it is guessed by the audience.

e) Meaning invention

Inventing new words may be one of the simplest ways of enriching a language. The following strategies seek new concepts too, but they use creative methods for that purpose.

INVENTED WORDS

In this particular case, *bertsolaris* do not just use language to perform, but they create language in order to get a powerful punch line. This strategy allows the *bertsolari* to make up a word that will fit in the context and will embellish the performance.

NEW PROVERBS

This figure uses the characteristics of Basque paremiology, scholar Gotzon Garate collected more than 15.000 Basque proverbs and arranged them in an on-line database,[25] to create up-to-date and modern proverbs.

f) Linguistic boundaries

The following strategies use other languages or dialectal varieties to create rhetoric especial effects:

CODE SWITCHING

Code switching is not new in Basque traditional singing: Basques have always had commercial and maritime relationships with many other countries. Those connections created hybrid songs, such as well-known *bertsos* sung by Basque-American communities. In code switching, languages stand next to each other but do not mingle.

LANGUAGE FUSION

This strategy takes advantage of the multilingual reality in the Basque Country to allow *bertsolaris* combine two or more languages to perform a *bertso*, mixing languages with no limits. This can also be done with Basque dialects.

h) Selection

The following strategy forces the improviser to make a choice; it makes the performance conditional on a determined factor.

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[25]   http://www.ametza.com/bbk/htdocs/hasiera.htm

LIPOGRAM

Lipograms are a kind of constrained word game consisting of performing bertsos in which a particular letter or group of letters is avoided, usually a common vowel; in Basque 'a' is the most common one.

i) Ambiguous meaning

The following strategies use the relationship between words and meanings in order to spoil the clear intention of the *bertso.*

AMPHIBOLOGY

This figure of speech creates ambiguous meaning through grammar: mispunctuation, plural nouns in subject and object, or simply double meaning based on polysemy. Figures consisting of polysemy and double meanings may be included in this taxon.

HIDDEN MESSAGE

This figure uses an apparently careless wording to hide a second meaning in a sentence; it consists of emphasising a syllable or syllables, or combining two words to create a second meaning.

LITERAL MEANING

There are several metaphorical or connotative meanings in language that have nothing to do with their denotative sense. If the *bertsolari* decides to make reference to an expression by using its literal meaning, the researcher will use this taxon to record this strategy.

ANTROPOHOMONYMY / TOPOHOMONYMY

This strategy consists of inventing names for human beings or places that may embellish the story that is created in the performance. Fictitious topics may give way to use new names or adapt real ones that will seek amusement.

j) Metapoetry

When a *bertsolari* sings about *Bertsolaritza* our about their own creation –when they do poetry about poetry, especially self-conscious poems–, they make the means become the message.

The subsections k), l) and m) correspond to classic figures and tropes (Azaustre & Casas, 1994). Due to the limited word length of the dissertation, they have been briefly described in Appendix 5.3.

n) Mistake

Oral improvisation cannot be understood without assuming that a performance cannot always be perfect; mistakes are an intrinsic part of oral traditions. Every unexpected error by the *bertsolari*, such as unintentional mistakes, solecisms, can be recorded in this taxon.

o) Other

As usual, a last taxon will be opened to register unexpected characteristics.

2.2.4.3. Context

One of Ruth Finnegan's and John Foley's most interesting contributions to the study of oral traditions consists of the inclusion of a new variable in the equation: the performance. Foley underlined the importance of analysing oral traditional performances in the field, based on his fieldwork with Serbian epic, and transformed the way to record oral poetry. On the other hand, Finnegan's book, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context*, as the title clearly indicates, was also a claim to analyse the interrelated conditions in which oral traditions exists and take place.

This taxonomy will divide the context into three fields: the temporal and spatial background in which the performance happens; the group of individuals that collaborate in the whole process of creation; and the use of physical space in interpersonal interaction and the position towards the audience.

2.2.4.3.1. Background

The moment and place chosen to perform oral poems are not randomly established: important dates or events, periodical festivities or annual contests, there is no coincidence set by hazard. This field will have three sections:

DATE

This taxon will register the day-month-year (dd/mm/yyyy) and hour (hh:mm) in which the performance has taken place.

PLACE

The most precise address of the place in which the performance is carried out may be registered. Geolocalisation will be optional.

PERFORMATIVE SITUATION

This variable is introduced by Swiss-born medievalist Paul Zumthor. In his book *Oral Poetry: An Introduction* (*Introduction à la poésie orale*; Zumthor, 1983), comparing oral performance to a circumstantial discourse, he proposes four performative situations in which oral poets may act, they will work as taxa, and a short explanation will be added to specify each case:

1) Conventional: this events correspond to the "cyclical time" (Zumthor, 1990; p. 120) of a culture, to the normalised social time of a community.

2) Natural: the reason to organise an event relies on natural changes: seasons, special days, end of cycles, and solstices.

3) Historical: Past events, heroic deeds, exploit or defeats, every important feat can be recalled by means of oral poetry.

4) Free: No pre-established reason is strictly necessary to organise this type of performance.

2.2.4.3.2 Participants:

Oral poetry does not exclude a single individual; every person attending a performance has a clear role. Moreover, some non-attendants may also be crucial for the success of some particular events. According to the main tasks carried out in a performance, this field will be divided into five areas:

PERFORMER

In brief, this taxon will register how many *bertsolaris* take part in the performance and who they are. Names and surnames of the *bertsolaris* shall be written down.

ACCOMPANIMENT

*Bertsolari*s traditionally sing *a capella*, but hybridization has given way to new fusions in which *bertsolaris* sing with musical accompaniment. Names, surnames and instruments might be registered.

RECIPIENT

The typical recipient in *bertso* performances is the audience, so this taxon will be used to mark whether there is an audience or *bertsolaris* sing alone. The possibility of an audience-less performance is proposed by Zumthor (Zumthor, 1990; p. 183), and it should not be disregarded in present time, as new technologies may give way to new styles.

TOPIC-PRESENTER

This taxon collects the information related to the presence of a conductor. It offers three options: no topic-presenter takes part in the event; a single conductor proposes a topic; two or more presenters, rather unusual, prompt a topic.

COMPOSER

Bertsolaris often say that oral improvisation requires a lot of preparation. If there is any special contribution in choreography, scenography, music or text, this taxon will record the authority of the composers.

2.2.4.3.3 Proxemics

As explained in the previous dimension, non-verbal communication is also present in the context, as the relationship with the physical space conditions the whole performance. The proxemic approach will be based on two works: SOPROX, *System of Observation for Proxemic Communication* (Castañer M., 2009) and *Teatro de los sonidos, sonidos del teatro* (Barea, 2008). The first source establishes the main structure of this field, but details related to social distances and their relevance are taken from Barea's book. Five sections are proposed:

GROUP

This taxon intends to indicate the group of individuals that is taking part, actively or passively, in the performance. Three choices are foreseen:

1) **Macrogroup:** every individual is interacting in the performance.

2) **Microgroup:** the performers are drawing their attention to a certain group in the audience.

3) **Dialogue:** Only active participants are involved in the performance.

TOPOLOGY

The researcher is asked to specify the position from which *bertsolaris* address their *bertsos* to the audience. Two options are proposed:

1) **Central:** the *bertsolaris* are located in the centre or most approachable place of the venue.

2) **Peripheral:** the performers sing from a side-line or secondary position.

ORIENTATION

This taxon simply registers some specific data about the position of the *bertsolaris* in relation to the audience. Five possibilities are established: **1) In front 2) Behind 3) Between 4) To the right 5) To the left**.

POSTURE

It is important also to register the stance, the posture of the *bertsolari* while performing. Four postures are proposed:

1) **Fixed bipedal posture:** the *bertsolari* remains standing without moving.

2) **Fixed seated posture:** the *bertsolari* remains in a seated position.

3) **Locomotion:** the *bertsolari* moves around the scene.

4) **Support:** The *bertsolari* maintains a support posture by leaning against or on a structure, material or person.

SOCIAL DISTANCE

The distance from a person to another can reveal the social relationship between them. This taxon is then established to analyse social distance between *bertsolaris* and their audience. Four distances are registered:

1) **Intimacy:** 15 – 46 centimetres between them.

2) **Friendship:** 46cm – 1.2 metres between them.

3) **Sociable:** 1.2 – 3.6 metres between them.

4) **Public:** More than 3.6 metres between them.

2.2.4.4. Structure

Structure is the most studied dimension in *Bertsolaritza*, as Basque prosody has laid the foundations of *bertsolari's* poetry. *Bertsolaritza* gained momentum in 1930s due to the advent of National *Bertsolari* Championships in 1935 and 1936, the tendency was immediately cut down by Spanish Civil War; several nationalists highlighted *Bertsolaritza*'s values and corrected the negative image of *bertsolaris* until then. For instance, Eusko Ikaskuntza organised a congress in 1930 in which Basque writer Manuel Lekuona gave a ground-breaking conference about *bertsolari's* magnificence as literary authors (Lekuona, 1930). He underlined their powerful allegories, meaningful ellipses and links beyond logic. But, according to Lekuona's view, the most impressive characteristics of *bertsolaris* dealt with rhythm, long stanzas and epiphoneme-based structure. On the other hand, the arrival of championships contributed to the study of metre and rhyme, as these two aspects were easy to evaluate by the members of the jury. Nowadays, *bertsolaris* meet before the beginning of the contest and agree the rules that will be applied to their performances in competition.[26] As precise description is given about good metre and rhyme, these two features will be considered the two fields that articulate structure.

2.2.4.4.1. Prosody

Basque prosody in *Bertsolaritza* revolves around two axes: syllable and verse. The syllabic length delimits verses and the verse amount delimits the stanza. Rules clearly define the good and bad usage of metre in *Bertsolaritza*; the adaptation of these rules to the taxonomy shows three sections for analysis.

SYLLABIC STRUCTURE

According to the number of syllables that a verse can have, bertsos can be easily divided into three main groups:

1) **Txikia:** 7 syllables or less by verse.
2) **Handia:** 8 syllables or more by verse.
3) **Zaharra:** first verse has 8 syllables, second verse has 7, and subsequently**.**

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[26]   Criteria is available on the Internet –only in Basque–: http://ttiki.com/37677

VERSE STRUCTURE

Verse structure is fairly more complicated than the syllabic one, as innovation has altered the number of verses in several occasions; the championships of the 1980s and 1990s became a perfect platform to premiere new melodies which needed new verse structures. Consequently, verse structure offers the following taxa:

1) **Copla:** 4 verse stanza.

2) **Classic stanza:** these stanzas have been commonly used in championships since their beginning; verses have the following syllabic structure combinations: 7/6, 10/8 or 8/7.

3) **Special symmetrical stanza:** these structures are not so commonly used in performances, but they follow a regular pattern. Verses or verse pairs do always have the same syllabic structure.

4) **Special asymmetrical stanza:** this option records uncommon structures, newly created, many of them adapted from foreign melodies or poems.

5) **Other:** for unexpected or unlimited stanzas e.g. the seguidilla, an "endless" rap-poem only finished by cutting its structure.

All the previous options will open a dropdown menu in which the researcher will have to indicate the number of feet that compose the stanza: two-to-nine options will be set plus an "other" taxon for longer poems.

METRE FEATURES

The judging criteria (Bertsozale Elkartea, 2005) states that three main mistakes can be made related to prosody:

1) Hankaluzea: The *bertsolari* uses more syllables than permitted in a verse.

2) Hankamotza: The *bertsolari* uses fewer syllables than necessary in a verse.

3) Caesura: Some melodies have caesurae, i.e. a compulsory pause in a verse. *Bertsolari*s are not allowed to break words due to caesurae.

2.2.4.4.2. Rhyme

Rhyme implies a structure, as it is a repetition of similar sounds in two or more words, most often at the end of verses in *bertsos*, poems and songs in general. Rhyme could be considered the most common characteristic of formal verse in many cultures;

metre, syllabic symmetry and regular structures are not always core elements of formal verses, whereas rhyme is by far the most universal element in poetry. However, Basque rhyming has its own peculiarities: *bertsos* do not normally change the ending sound appearing in their rhyme scheme, i.e. their regular pattern of rhyme consists of using, throughout the whole stanza, the same ending. Nevertheless, external influences and new trends promoted irregular patterns since 19th century, and according to corpora, rhyme systems differed slightly from province to province, let alone from the Northern Basque Country to the Southern Basque Country. Based on the supremacy of unvarying rhyme schemes, these are the sections proposed for the analysis of rhyme:

RHYME SCHEME

As stated before, rhyme is traditionally homogeneous in Basque. The *bertsolari* thinks the epiphoneme, last foot, first, so he/she needs maintain this ending rhyme throughout. In spite of the fact that new schemes have been introduced, the majority of the new heterogeneous proposals still maintain some rhyming coherence from tip to toe. Two main periods can be mentioned referring to rhyme scheme evolution: On one hand, Bilintx and Xenpelar, famous *bertsolaris* of the 19th century, introduced different homophonies in a same *bertso*; both were influenced by Spanish Romantic innovation. On the other hand, the aperture of *Bertsolaritza* to new backgrounds during the last 30 years has promoted the appearance of new schemes. Bearing in mind all these factors, the researcher may have to indicate first whether the rhyme scheme is homogeneous or heterogeneous, and then a dropdown menu will offer the following options:

1) Regular scheme: Traditional stanzas and rhyme schemes.

2) Double copla: Rhymes are used in pairs.

3) Iparragirre abila dela: This melody introduced by Xenpelar has a two-rhyme fixed scheme (a, a, b, b, a, a) that can only be sung with this particular air (See Appendix 5.5).

4) Ia guriak egin du: This melody introduced by Xenpelar has a two-rhyme fixed scheme (a, a, a, a, b, b) that can only be sung with this particular air (See Appendix 5.5).

5) Juana Bixenta Olabe: This melody introduced by Bilintx has a three-rhyme fixed scheme (a, a, a, b, b, c, c, c) that can only be sung with this particular air (See Appendix 5.5).

6) External influence: Recent melodies with new rhyme schemes.

7) Free experimentation: This taxon will record all those cases in which rhyme scheme is absolute irregular, not even identifiable.

8) Other: for unexpected rhyme schemes.

RHYME FAMILY

Basque rhyme system does not accept assonant rhyme, although it has also been used on very few occasions; however, it does allow some special consonant connections which are called "families".[27] Taking into account those traditional families, these are the proposed taxa:

1) Same consonant: Perfect homophony due to the use of equal consonants.

2) Lingua-alveolar fricative consonants: the sound in which the flow of air out of the body is constricted by touching the tongue to just behind the upper front teeth, creating a narrow opening through which the air passes. In Basque, there are three: "s", "x" and "z".

3) Palatal-velar fricative consonants: It is a very similar sound to the previous group, but the consonants are preceded by a "t" that makes them palatal. Again, in Basque there are three: "ts", "tx" and "tz".

4) Voiceless explosive consonants: Only three consonants fulfil both conditions of voiceless and plosive in Basque: "k", "p" and "t".

5) B+D+G+R: This family can only be explained by tradition. The first three consonants are voiced plosive consonants, but the "r" does not follow that pattern. However, they have been traditionally used as rhyming consonants.

6) Nasal consonants: In Basque there are two consonants where the airflow is directed through the nose: "m" and "n".

7) Hybrid rhymes: Xabier Amuriza was the first *bertsolari* to theorise about the narrow lines between consonants (Amuriza, 1981): according to his view, a *bertsolari* could use similar sounds in rhymes, even if they do not belong to the same family.

8) Other: for unexpected rhymes.

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[27]   These rhyme families are studied and deeply explained in Xabier Amuriza's *Hiztegi Errimatua* (Amuriza, 1981).

RHYME FEATURES

According to tradition, one of the worst mistakes that a *bertsolari* can make is related to rhyme, but the greatest embellishments are also related to homophony at the end of feet. This section provides taxa for both cases:

1) Poto: This error consists of using the same rhyming word twice with the same meaning. The use of different rhyming words with the same meaning may be included in this taxon.

2) Polysemy: if a *bertsolari* uses the same rhyming word twice or more with different meanings, it is considered a plausible effort.

3) Other: for unexpected rhymes.

RHYME TYPES

This section is very new in *Bertsolaritza*, as *bertsolaris* do not consider the place in which the accent affects the rhyme. Surprisingly, scholar Joxerra Garzia has recently pointed out (Garzia, 2012) that melodies have an impact in Basque rhyming. Three taxa resume the impact:

1) Male: The accent is on the last syllable, and rhyme then is monosyllabic.

2) Polysemy: The accent is on the penultimate syllable, and rhyme is disyllabic with an accented syllable followed by an unaccented one.

3) Other: for unexpected rhymes.

2.2.4.5. Function

This dimension refers to the set of relations established between two or more elements within the *bertso*. The factors represented in this aspect show important characteristics that totally condition a communication act (Ciapuscio, 2003). Three fields are proposed to analyse these features: the performative task, imposed or not by the conductor; the theatrical genre in which the performance can be set; and, finally, the main and secondary functions of the performance.

2.2.4.5.1 Performative task

The *bertsolari's* performance may vary depending on the number of improvisers and the type of task proposed to them. The connections between members and exercises are registered in three sections:

SOLO

The *bertsolari* sings alone. Five options are suggested:

1) Greeting *bertso*: Initial or final salutations.

2) Imposed paradigm: A paradigm in *Bertsolaritza* shall be defined as any theme, topic or context provided to the improvisers.

3) Imposed syntagm: A syntagm shall be defined as any rhyme scheme, epiphoneme or part of a *bertso* provided to the improvisers by the conductor.

4) No imposition: *Bertsolaris* can sing in free style.

5) Other: For unexpected topics.

DUAL CONTROVERSY

This is the classic procedure in *bertso* events. Four options are suggested, as explained in the previous section: "imposed paradigm", "imposed syntagm", "no imposition" or "other".

GROUP CONTROVERSY

Three or more *bertsolari*s perform together. Four options are again suggested, as outlined above: "imposed paradigm", "imposed syntagm", "no imposition" or "other".

2.2.4.5.2 Theatrical genre

The theatrical culture emerged in ancient Greece between c. 540 and c. 220 BC (Brockett & Hildy, 2003; 17). Three dramatic genres flourished in Greek culture: tragedy, comedy and the satyr play. It is undeniable that Western cultures have been notably influenced by these three genres. As a result, this section will simply record whether *bertsolari's* performance is tragic, comic or satirical. In case of tragicomedy, both taxa, tragedy and comedy, may be indicated. The "other" taxon is also included for unexpected hybrids or genres.

2.2.4.5.3 Function

This last field is intended to analyse the relationship between the improviser and the audience in terms of performative intention. What is the purpose of the improviser? Two sections are foreseen to answer that question:

MAIN FUNCTION

Based on the idea of *bertso* performances as communication acts, five main functions are proposed:

1) Informative: The *bertsolari* intends to give information, rather objective, to the audience.

2) Subjective: The improviser interprets, analyses or voices opinions about a topic.

3) Advisory: The *bertsolari* tries to convince or persuade the audience to do something.

4 Aesthetical: There is no clear communicative purpose; the *bertsolari* tries to create an embellished and elaborated poem.

5 Other: for unexpected cases.

SECONDARY FUNCTION

This taxon will try to specify the exact purpose of the improviser. Several choices may be proposed in the taxa: narrate, interpret, analyse, argue, convince, critique, help, inform, describe, instruct, record / state, incite, interact, or other. More than one taxon can be marked.

3. Conclusions

3. 1. Values and limitations of the taxonomy

When Linda White presented her paper *"Formulas in the mind: a preliminary examination to determine if oral formulaic theory may be applied to the Basque case"* (White, 2004) at the *Oral Improvisation in the World* Congress, she exposed the results of the research she had previously done analysing the latest editions of *Bapatean*, an annual anthology published by the Association of Friends of *Bertsolaritza* including a selection of the most significant *bertsos* of the year, to conclude that *bertsolaris* do use formulae when improvising. Such a conclusion was not a revealing one, but her work represented the first written connection between oral formulaic theory and *Bertsolaritza*.

Since then, many scholars from different places in the world have visited the Basque Country to investigate what White called "the Basque case". The director for the Oral Tradition Center in the United States, John Miles Foley, attended the last two editions of the National Championship, and arranged the publication of a special issue on *Bertsolaritza* by the *Oral Tradition Journal* (Foley & Jarvis, 2007). Unfortunately, since 2007 no relevant work has been published about the academic study of *Bertsolaritza*; so this dissertation, first of all, is intended to reactivate the study of Basque oral sung improvisation. Despite the strength of *Bertsolaritza* as a social movement and oral tradition located in an oral culture next to the centre of Western Europe, no systematic research is carried out in the Basque Country.

In that sense, this taxonomy endeavours to provide a double tool for potential researchers:

- This classification may be a useful tool for those researchers that want to do some fieldwork on *Bertsolaritza*. An adequate video recording will be helpful to fill in many of the taxa, but there are some data that have to be collected in situ, such as the names of the participants. This taxonomy can be interpreted as a protocol or methodology to do academic research-based fieldwork.
- As the taxonomy is based on a multidisciplinary framework, theoretical researchers could analyse the taxa to see which fields require improvements and further investigation; literary and oral formulaic approaches might be the

most developed, in contrast to other like approaches from the fields of music and theatre studies, which, despite very clearly being highly structured fields, have not been used in research on *Bertsolaritza*. In this manner, the analysis of the taxonomy will allow the identification of some initial studies that certain disciplines will need to carry out separately.

As a methodological tool and a map, this taxonomy is a valuable piece of research. Inopportunely, not all are positive values and this classification presents some preliminary limitations:

- The best way to test a taxonomy is applying its classification to a corpus; fortunately, the BDB database of *Bertsolaritza* is available via Internet. The main objective of this technological database is to open the content of the Xenpelar Documentation Centre[28] to the public in order to promote all kinds of research. In fact, in the near future, this database will offer information about the corpus of the Documentation Centre, making many of them accessible via the Internet. In the meantime, this is the most developed tool to do research on Basque oral poetry. However, even if a considerable amount of video recordings are stored and catalogued at the Documentation Centre, the database only works with audio and text files. Consequently, some parts of the taxonomy may not now be applicable, as the lack of visual support makes some parts of the conceptual and contextual analysis impossible.

- Interdisciplinarity is here presented as an attractive connection between different areas, but it does also imply the necessity to train multidisciplinary researchers or research teams; taxonomy users must have a wide knowledge about all the approaches involved.

Ideally, this taxonomy should be subsequently shared with Mintzola, the Basque Research Centre on Orality created in 2009 as mentioned above, but the institution has not still published any studies or reports on Basque oral poetry. On the other hand, the Oral Tradition Centre at the United States might be an interesting scenario to present this classification.

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[28] The objectives, activity and structure of the Documentation Centre are explained in its website: http://bdb.bertsozale.com/en/orriak/get/7-xenpelar-dokumentazio-zentroa

3.2. Final considerations

Orality is as old as the first utterance of Homo sapiens; oral traditions are as old as the first songs and tales. The advent of writing weakened the important task that oral traditions had in the construction and generational transmission of primarily oral cultures. However, oral traditions are still alive in many countries of the world, a fact that could already be an interesting concept for study. *Bertsolaritza* or Basque oral sung improvisation remains an excellent example of a strong oral tradition that is deeply rooted in a contemporary society. Unfortunately, little research has been done about Basque oral traditions; the taxonomy proposed in this dissertation will thus be a first step to situate *Bertsolaritza* in the theoretical framework of oral traditions.

This dissertation provides a first draft in which the most significant academic views merge in a polyhedral taxonomy, in order to enable the interdisciplinary study of *Bertsolaritza*. However, this attempt to establish a general classification to analyse contemporary oral poetry in the Basque Country has encountered some obstacles, such as the lack of systematic video recording in fieldwork, or the lack of deeper research in some areas like music and theatre. The use of the taxonomy will allow the detection of new areas and taxa, and its flexibility will permit any required modification; it will also offer some methodological support to potential fieldwork researchers, and if so, it may achieve its main goal making a contribution to widen the horizons of the study of Basque oral traditions.

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5. Appendices

5.1. Short glossary of Basque terminology related to *bertsolaritza*

It is important to state the definitions that nowadays are taken into account in this semantic field. Even if oral traditions follow similar patterns that are easily identified in different countries, it is absolutely necessary to understand the terminology related to *bertsolaritza*. Thus, words like *bertsolari* (oral poet), *bertso-saio* (bertso-event) and other terms will be fixed, in order to avoid potential misunderstandings. A definition of *bertsolaritza* is also offered, next to the definition of Basque oral poetry: the lack of a suitable equivalence for *bertsolaritza* makes borrowing unavoidable. Nonetheless, a clarification is needed, as the term "Basque oral poetry" seeks to encapsulate the essence of old traditions and the potential of future hybridisations that could emerge due to the constant combination and no-so-recent tendency to mingle and fuse verbal arts with other expressions.

Short glossary of Basque terminology related to *bertsolaritza*

Basque	English	Definition
Agurra (bukaerako agurra)	**Bertsos of farewell**	The last stanza sung by an improviser in a session.
Agurra (hasierako agurra)	**Bertsos of greeting**	The first stanza sung by an improviser in a session
Ariketa	**Exercise**	Any of the tasks that an improviser can undertake in a session.
Bakarka(ko gaia)	**Solo performance on an imposed theme**	Type of performance in which a single improviser is asked to perform alone about a certain topic.
Bertso jarriak	**Bertsos for a special occasion**	Written bertsos prepared for a special occasion or festivity.
Bertso molde(a)	**Type of stanza, type of bertso**	Type of stanza used to improvise.
Bertso(a)	**Bertso**	A stanza.
Bertso-aldi	**Performance**	Each intervention in which *bertsolari*s take part in a session.
Bertso-idatziak	**Written bertsos**	Bertsos which are not created by means of improvisation.
Bertso-jaialdia	**Festival (with *bertsolari*s)**	A special event in which four or more *bertsolari*s take part.
Bertso-paperak	**"Ballad" sheets of bertsos**	Written bertsos prepared for a special occasion or festivity and sold in markets.
Bertso-saio(a)	**(*Bertsolari*s) session**	An event in which *bertsolari*s perform.

Bertso-txapelketa	***Bertsolaris* championship**	An event in which *bertsolaris* compete against each other.
*Bertsolari*tza	**The *bertsolari*stic movement as a whole**	The cultural movement that promotes *bertsolari*tza.
Doinu(a)	**Melody**	The air or tune used by the *bertsolari* to improvise.
Errima	**Rhyme**	Repetition of a sound in two or more words.
Etena	**Caesura**	A complete pause in a verse.
Gai(a)	**Theme or topic**	The topic imposed to a *bertsolari*.
Gai-jartzailea	**Theme-presenter**	The conductor who prompts the topic.
Hamarreko handia	**Hamarreko handia**	A stanza composed of ten lines with more than 8 syllables in each verse.
Hamarreko txikia	**Hamarreko txikia**	A stanza composed of ten lines with less than 7 syllables in each verse.
Inguru-egoera	**(lit. environmental situation)**	The extern context in which the performer improvises.
Inguru-testua	**Co-text**	The internal context provided by the topic.
Mahai inguruko saio(a)	**(lit. round-the-table session) post-prandial session**	A bertso session carried out after a meal.
Oin(a)	**Foot**	A rhyming word.
Oinak emanda	**Imposed feet**	A set of rhyming words imposed to the *bertsolari* to complete a stanza.
Poto	**Poto**	A mistake consisting of the repetition of the same rhyming word twice.
Zortziko handia	**Zortziko handia**	A stanza composed of eight lines with more than 8 syllables in each verse.
Zortziko txikia	**Zortziko txikia**	A stanza composed of eight lines with less than 7 syllables in each verse.

5.2 Visual taxonomy

5.2.1. Document/Identification

FIELD	SECTION	TAXA	DATA
NAME			BOP + LETTER + 001 + B01
FILE			NAME OF THE FILE + CODE OF THE FILE (doc, odt, pdf)
AUTHOR			SURNAME, NAME (The person(s) to whom the authorship of the poems is attributed)
FORMAT		**VIDEO**	0
		AUDIO	0

		TEXT		0
GENERAL COMMENTS			Any information that the researcher considers to be generally relevant	

5.2.2. Content

FIELD	SECTION	TAXA	SUBTAXA	DATA
THEME	**TOPIC**	**1 No topic** **2 Topic**	0	Text of the topic.
	DISCIPLINE	*UDC (Universal Decimal Classification)*	0 Generalities 1 Philosophy. Psychology 2 Religion. Theology 3 Social Sciences 4 Vacant 5 Mathematics and natural sciences 6 Applied sciences. Medicine. Technology 7 The arts. Recreation. Entertainment. Sport 8 Language. Linguistics. Literature 9 Geography. Biography. History	Subcategories of the subtaxa.
	SUBDISCIPLINE	*UDC (Universal Decimal Classification)*	0 Generalities 1 Philosophy. Psychology 2 Religion. Theology 3 Social Sciences 4 Vacant 5 Mathematics and natural sciences 6 Applied sciences. Medicine. Technology 7 The arts. Recreation. Entertainment. Sport 8 Language. Linguistics. Literature 9 Geography. Biography. History	Subcategories of the subtaxa.

	TREATMENT	**0 General** **1 Epideictical** **2 Deliberative** **3 Judicial** **4 Didactical** **5 Aesthetical** **6 Poetic / Critical** **7 Other**	0	0
	SUMMARY		0	0	Short text about the content of the poems.
MELODY	**TEMPERAMENT**	**0 Not tempered** **1 Tempered**	0 1 Mode	0 1 Mayor 2 Minor 3 Other
	COMPOSITION	**0 Title**		Name of the air.
		0 Introduction		First line of the score, always based on C or A.
	TEMPO	**0 Binary** **1 Ternary** **2 Other**	0	0
NON VERBAL COM.				
	KINESICS			
		Gesture	1 Beat	DATA
			2 Deictic	DATA
			3 Pictographic	DATA
			4 Kinetographic	DATA
			5 Emblem	DATA
			6 Affect Display	DATA
	PARALING. COM.			
		Intonation	1 Monotonous	0
			2 Standard	0
			3 Varied	0
		Volume	1 High	0
			2 Standard	0
			3 Low	0
		Rhythm	1 Ad libitum 2 Agreed 3 Conventional 4 Strictly established	0
		Silence	1 Appropriate 2 Bearable 3 Unappropriate 4 Unbearable	0 0 0 0

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			1 Flexible	0
			2 Standard	0
			3 Sharp	0
		Pronunciation	4 Very sharp	0
			1 Ad libitum	0
			2 Agreed	0
			3 Conventional	0
		Rhythm	4 Strictly established	0
			1 Very often	0
			2 Often	0
			3 Very few	0
		Vocal sound	4 None	0
FIGURES OF SPEECH	**REPETITION**			
		in-word repetition	Cyclegram	0
			Double / Treble sound	0
		word repetition	Sttuter-phrase	0
			Alliteration	0
			Anaphora	0
			Echo	0
			Extended echo	Epenthesis
				Paragoge
			Shortened echo	Apheresis
				Apocope
				Syncope
			Word scale	0
			Accumulation	0
			Antanaclasis	0
				Homonymy
				Homophony
				Paronymy
	ORGANISATION			
		Relevance		
			Serialisation	
			Paralysis	0
		Disorder		
			Anagram	0
			Spoonerism	0
	TRANSFORM.			
		Mingled words		0
		Mixed proverbs (sentons)		0
		Ludo-acronyms		0
		Unintelligible words		0
		Misunderstandings		0

		Lapsus		0
	DISFIGURATION			
		Euphemism		0
		Mis-spelling		0
		Semantic disfiguration		0
		Morphological changes		0
		Charade		0
	MEANING INVENTION			
		Invented words		0
		New proverbs		0
	LINGUISTIC BOUNDARIES			
		Code switching		0
		Language fusion		0
	SELECTION			
		Lipogram		0
	AMBIGUOUS MEANING			
		Amphibology		0
		Hidden message		0
		Literal meaning		0
		Antropohomonymy / Topohomonimy		0
	METAPOETRY			0
	DICTION			
		Onomatopoeia		0
		Asyndeton		0
		Aposiopesis		0
		Ellipsis		0
		Enumeration		0
		Epanadiplosis		0
		Epiphora		0
		Hyperbaton		0
		Chiasmus		0
		Climax		0
		Poliptoton		0
		Polysyndeton		0
	THOUGHT			
		Antithesis		0
		Apostrophe		0
		Rhetorical question		0
		Hyperbole		0
		Irony		0
		Simile		0

		Litotes		0
		Oxymoron		0
		Paradox		0
		Pleonasm		0
	TROPES			
		Metaphor		0
		Synesthesia		0
		Symbol		0
		Metonymy		0
		Synecdoche		0
		Antonomasia		0
	MISTAKE			DATA
	OTHER			DATA

5.2.3. Context

FIELD	SECTION	TAXA	SUBTAXA	DATA
BACKGROUND	DATE	0	0	DD/MM/YYYY HH:MM
	PLACE	0	0	Name + (geolocalisation)
	PERFORMATIVE SITUATION	1 Conventional 2 Natural 3 Historical 4 Free	0	TAXA + SHORT EXPLANATION
PARTICIPANTS	PERFORMER	1 One 2 Two 3 Three or more	0	SURNAME, NAME.
	ACCOMPANIMENT	1 No accompaniment 2 Auto accompaniment 3 Singer + accompaniment 4 Other	0	SURNAME, NAME. INSTRUMENT.
	RECEIVER / RECIPIENT	1 No audience 2 Audience	0	0
	TOPIC-PRESENTER	1 No given topic 2 A topic-presenter 3 More than one	0	SURNAME, NAME.
	COMPOSER	1 Choreography 2 Scenography 3 Music 4 Text	0	SURNAME, NAME.
NON VERBAL COM.				
	PROXEMICS			

		Group		
			Macrogroup	**0**
			Microgroup	**0**
			Dialogue	**0**
		Topology		
			Peripheral	DATA
			Central	**0**
		Orientation		
			In front	**0**
			Behind	**0**
			Between	**0**
			To the right	**0**
			To the left	**0**
		Posture		
			Fixed bipedal posture	**0**
			Fixed seated posture	**0**
			Locomotion	**0**
			Support	**0**
			Intimate (15-46cm) Friendship (46cm-1,2m) Social (1,2m-3,6m) Public (>3,6m)	0 0 0 0
		Social Distance		

5.2.4. Structure

FIELD	SECTION	TAXA	SUBTAXA	DATA
PROSODY	**Syllabic structure**	**1 Handia 2 Txikia 3 Zaharra**	0	0
	Verse structure	**1 Coplas 2 Classic stanzas 3 Special symmetrical stanzas 4 Special asymmetrical stanzas 5 Other**	1 Two feet 2 Three feet 3 Four feet 4 Five feet 5 Six feet 6 Seven feet 7 Eight feet 8 Nine feet 9 Other	
	Meter features	**1 Hankaluzea 2 Hankamotza 3 Caesura**	0	0

FIELD	SECTION	TAXA	SUBTAXA	DATA
RHYME	**Rhyme scheme**	**1 Homogeneous** **2 Heterogeneous**	1 Classic homogeneity 2 Classic heterogeneity 3 Hybrid heterogeneity 4 Other	1 Regular scheme 2 Double copla 3 Iparragirre abila dela 4 Juana Bixenta Olabe 5 Ia guriak egin du 6 External influence 7 Free experimentation 8 Other
	Rhyme family	**1 Asonantic** **2 Consonantic** **3 Other**	1 Same consonant 2 Lingua-alveolar fricative consonants 3 Palatal-velar fricative consonants 4 Voiceless explosive consonants 5 B+D+G+R 6 Nasal consonants 7 Hybrid rhymes 8 Other	0
	Rime features	**1 Poto** **2 Polysemy** **3 Other**	0	0
	Rime type	**1 Male** **2 Female** **3 Other**	0	0

5.2.5. Function

FIELD	SECTION	TAXA	SUBTAXA	DATA
PERFORMATIVE TASK	**Solo**	1 Greeting bertso 2 Imposed paradigm 3 Imposed syntagm 4 No imposition 5 Other		0
	Dual controversy	1 Imposed paradigm 2 Imposed syntagm 3 Other		0
	Group performance	1 Imposed paradigm 2 Imposed syntagm 3 Other		0
THEATRICAL GENRE	**1 Comedy** **2 Tragedy** **3 Satyr play** **4 Other**	0		

MAIN FUNCTION	**1 Subjective / Persuasive** **2 Advisory** **3 Informative** **4 Aesthetical** **5 Other**	0		
SECONDARY FUNCTION	**1 Narrate** **2 Interpret** **3 Analyse** **4 Argue** **5 Convince** **6 Critique** **7 Help** **8 Inform** **9 Describe** **10 Instruct** **11 Record / state** **12 Incite** **13 Interact** **14 Other**	0		

5.3. Classic figures and tropes

These are the classic figures and tropes included in the taxonomy that have been removed from the dissertation due to word length issues.

k) Diction

The following figures of speech use diction, understood as the choice of words made by the improviser especially with regard to communication effectiveness. They have been taken from scholar Joxerra Garzia's *Ahofitxa (*Oral file*)* methodology, an inedited set of didactic units to improve oral skills.

ONOMATOPOEIA

This figure invites the *bertsolari* to use determinate words that imitate the sounds associated with the objects or actions they refer to, instead of explaining those objects or actions. Basque is a very onomatopoeic language, as such it is not be surprising to find a fructiferous usage of sounds and noises in *bertsos.*

ASYNDETON

This figure uses the omission of the conjunctions that ordinarily join coordinate words or clauses in order to create a special effect in the *bertso*. It will only be considered asyndeton when it seems to be deliberately used, as the omission by lack of syllables will be regarded as a mistake.

POLYSYNDETON

As opposed to asyndeton, this figure invites to repeat conjunctions more than necessary.

APOSIOPESIS

If the *bertsolari* leaves a phrase intentionally broken off and unfinished, the conclusion to be provided by the audience, aposiopesis is the name of the figure of speech they will be using.

ELLIPSIS

This figure consists of the omission of one word or phrase that is clearly assumed by the audience. Basque tends to be a very elliptic language, so it will only be considered an ellipsis the case in which the main communicational strategy of a verse is based on ellipsis.

ENUMERATION

This figure tries to elaborate a list of the parts or qualities of a whole that has not necessarily been mentioned, but is somehow implied in the topic or the *bertso*.

EPANADIPLOSIS

The *bertsolari* ends a verse or a *bertso* with the same word with which it was begun.

EPIPHORA

The *bertsolari* ends some sentences or verses with the same word.

HYPERBATON

Hyperbata use deviation or inversion of normal or logical word order to produce an effect; they are very common in *bertsolaritza*, as improvisers often have to use disruption or inversion of customary word order to place the rhyme in the correct place.

CHIASMUS

John F. Kennedy's may be one of the most famous chiasmi: "Ask not what your country can do for you - ask what you can do for your country". This figure of speech

reverses the order of the words in the first of two parallel sentences or verses when using them in the second.

CLIMAX

A climax, as figure of speech, arranges words, phrases, or clauses in order of increasing importance.

POLIPTOTON

This figure invites the *bertsolari* to repeat a word in different forms, cases, numbers, genders, etc.

l) Thought

These varied figures are related to techniques of argument and emotional appeals. In this case, a non-ordinary use of language is employed to make a rhetorical point: draw a comparison or contrast, emphasise an idea, amplify a meaning, etc.

ANTITHESIS

This figure exposes an apparent opposition of concepts or ideas by means of a parallelism that is used to underline contradictory ideas.

APOSTROPHE

This figure addresses a person or a personified object which is not present in the context.

RHETORICAL QUESTION

The improviser asks a question to underline the information the question asks, in order to make a point and without the expectancy of a response.

HYPERBOLE

This figure is based on exaggeration to suggest strong states of mood or to cause surprise; the figure must not be taken literally, but real and believable overstatements may cause stronger impression.

IRONY

This figure causes a sharp incongruity between what is said and what is meant to be said; words are used to convey the opposite of their literal meaning. It is often accompanied by some significant intonation, which makes the use of irony difficult in sung poetry.

SIMILE

This figure is a basic comparison, a declaration that one thing is like another in which both comparative terms are expressed.

LITOTES

This figure understates the values of something to enhance the quality of what was sung; the negation of the opposite of a concept may be seen as making a statement in favour of the latter.

OXYMORON

This figure puts together two words that appear to be self-contradictory.

PARADOX

This figure states an illogical contradiction or a situation that contradicts common perception; this proposition seems self-contradictory but in reality reveals a possible truth.

PLEONASM

The *bertsolari* is invited to use more words or word-parts than necessary for clear communication.

m) Tropes

Tropes are special figures of speech, as they use words in nonliteral ways, with a figurative sense, to create an effect.

METAPHOR

This figure compares two things by putting one in the other's place; an implicit comparison is made between two unlike things that are somehow connected by the *bertsolari.*

SYNAESTHESIA

This figure describes one kind of sense impression by using terms that usually describe another; it is an intentional confusion of different senses.

METONYMY

This figure uses a part or a single characteristic of a whole entity to make reference to it. Synecdoche, specific use of a part to refer to a whole, will be included in this taxon.

ANTONOMASIA

This figure invites the *bertsolari* to change the name of a common thing for a proper one or vice versa.

5.4. Oral Traditions' cycle

1) **PRODUCTION**	**1 Memorial** **2 Written** **3 Other**
2) **TRANSMISSION**	**1 Oral** **2 Oral + acting** **3 Written** **4 Other**
3) **RECEPTION**	**1 Aural** **2 Audiovisual** **3 Read** **4 Other**
4) **STORAGE**	**1 Memorial** **2 Written** **3 Recorded (audio)** **4 Filmed** **5 Other**
5) **REPETITION**	**1 Oral** **2 Written** **3 Recorded (audio)** **4 Filmed** **5 Other**

5.5. Scores

a) "Iparragirre abila dela" Basque melody with a special verse structure.
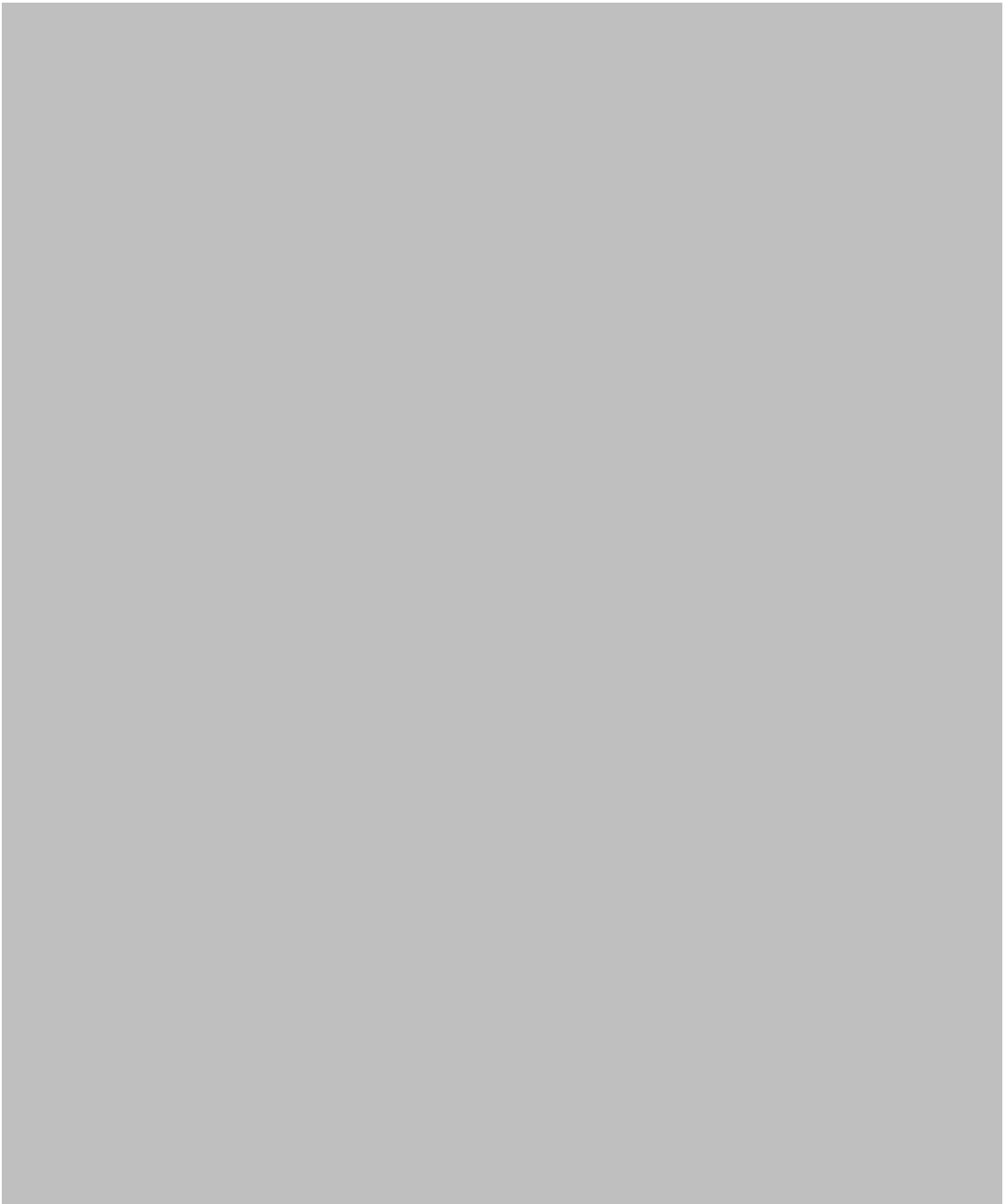
Source: http://bdb.bertsozale.com/web/doinutegia/view/iparragirre-abila-dela-gure-etxeko-neskatua

5.5. Scores

a) "Iparragirre abila dela" Basque melody with a special verse structure.

b) "Ia gureak egin du", special stanza composed by Francisco Petrirena.

c) "Juana Bixente Olabe", special stanza composed by Indalezio Bizkarrondo.

Source: http://bdb.bertsozale.com/web/doinutegia/view/nagusi-jauna-hauxe-da-lana-i-joana-bixenta-olabe-i-hurra-papito-i