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Reconstructing an Oral Tradition: Problems in the Comparative Metrical Analysis of Old

English, Old Saxon and Old Norse Alliterative Verse.

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Reconstructing an Oral Tradition: Problems in the Comparative Metrical

Analysis of Old English, Old Saxon and Old Norse Alliterative Verse

by

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To Amelia,
whose support and sacrifice every hour of every day has made every difference.

Reconstructing an Oral Tradition: Problems in the Comparative Metrical

Analysis of Old English, Old Saxon and Old Norse Alliterative Verse

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The focus of this dissertation is the refinement of comparative metrical analysis, i.e. the comparison of related poetic forms with the goal to reconstruct the form of their common origin. By attempting the reconstruction of early medieval poetry, we can hope to gain a sense of the form of the oral poetic tradition prior to the introduction of writing into these literary cultures. However, the application of the Comparative Method of historical linguistics must be refined before it can be applied to poetic forms. This study uses three case studies to highlight the deficiencies in the Comparative Method as applied to poetry. These case studies, the first on the hypothesized Proto-Indo-European verse form, the second a comparison of metrical anomalies in Old English and Old Saxon verse, and the third a comparison of an Old Norse verse form, known as the *dróttkvætt*, with certain metrical constructions in Old English and Old Saxon.

The first case study, which refutes the reconstruction of a hypothesized Proto-Indo-European verse, reveals that one must seek arbitrary points of comparison, since many structural similarities in verses are the result of non-arbitrary factors. The third

chapter compares the anomalous heavy hypermetric verse form in Old Saxon and Old English and concludes that, despite the similarity, one cannot guarantee that it existed also in the Common Germanic poetic tradition. The third chapter argues that the Old Norse *dróttkvætt* verse of the Vikings is most likely historically related to the Old English and Old Saxon hypermetric verse, despite the dissimilarity between the two.

The final chapter of the dissertation puts forth a reconstruction of the Common Germanic hypermetric poetic line and, on the basis of the reconstruction, argues for a revision of the metrical models describing the structure of Old English hypermetric verses. Key points for refinement of the Comparative Method for verse include the need to find arbitrary points of comparison and the need to analyze contextualized marginal forms of verse. Despite the limitations of the Comparative Method in metrical analysis, we can nonetheless gain a sense of the form of the lost oral poetic traditions of the early Germanic languages.

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Chapter One

Reconstructing an Oral Tradition

> The oral poetry of the German Middle Ages is gone forever. We cannot recover it
> intact from any of the surviving materials. It is, however, possible to suggest
> some of its forms and functions through a comparison of the historical and poetic
> material surviving from medieval Germany with the form of oral poetry observed
> elsewhere and with some general observations that can be made about partially
> literate societies.
>
> (Haymes 1986:23)

1.1 Introduction

The key focus of this dissertation is to highlight some of the deficiencies of and to

suggest improvements to the comparative and historical study of metrical structures.[1]

Whereas comparative linguistic analysis rests on a relatively solid methodological

foundation, comparative metrical analysis suffers from a lack of guaranteed points of

departure, against which future problems can be checked. The common structures

possessed by all early Germanic alliterative verse traditions offer us a testing ground

where we can build starting points for testing claims made about relatedness of other, less

certain metrical structures.[2] That the various Germanic alliterative verse traditions are

related and from a common source is undeniable, yet there are obvious differences in

each of the traditions which give us indications of how verse systems change and get

changed through time. Furthermore the time-spans separating the individual members of

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[1] In the interests of clarity, a glossary of often-used metrical terms, including the Icelandic terminology for skaldic verse forms and features, is included at the end of this dissertation.

[2] Works such as Suzuki (1991) which compares Old English hypermetric structures to lengthier verse forms in other Indo-European languages, without first dealing with the question of a common-Germanic hypermetric, demonstrate that a study of metrical forms temporally less divergent should make a better testing ground before proceeding to reconstructions that span greater lengths of time and are for that reason more tenuous.

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the tradition are sufficiently small so as to provide a greater chance of attaining a close semblance of the proto-form, in comparison to claims made for Proto-Indo-European verse structures, which span thousands of years. This dissertation will present three case-studies, the first of the hypothesized Proto-Indo-European verse as proposed separately by Meillet (1935, 1923), Jakobson (1952) and Watkins (1963). The second study will focus on the so-called heavy hypermetric verses in Old Saxon and Old English alliterative traditions in order to evaluate the chances of their being reflexes of a common source. The third study concerns itself with the potential relatedness of the Old Saxon and Old English hypermetric verses with the skaldic *dróttkvætt*.

Throughout the dissertation, though, certain other significant issues will become apparent. Perhaps the most over-arching issue is the need for a multi-perspective approach to the problem of the study of verse. Linguistics, to be sure, has a tremendous history of formal analysis which supercedes anything available to a traditional literary approach to verse. Linguists, though, might fail to appreciate the gains it might make in studying verse, if some modes of literary analysis could also be brought to bear, which will become apparent in Chapter Three. Within linguistic approaches themselves, we cannot afford to separate the synchronic from the diachronic, nor is it proper to do so, for the one necessitates the other. There is much to be gained from combining purely synchronic studies of verse, which establish to a certain extent the structure of a given verse tradition in its own terms, with a comparative approach, which would provide a sense of historical development and enable the cross-pollination of ideas from one tradition to another. As we shall see later on, particularly in Chapters Four and Five, the

study of one branch of Germanic alliterative verse can solve certain problems in other traditions.

The majority of works on comparative metrics and on metrics in general are most closely aligned with the historical study of prosody and phonology, e.g. Getty (2002), Suzuki (2001, 1996), Russom (1998, 1987), Hanson and Kiparsky (1996), and rightly so. However, as this work will show, there are many other factors to be considered in addition to phonological change within a language. Among the topics to be discussed here, perhaps the most important will be that some characteristics and structures of verse systems are not necessarily the result of their being inherited from a previous tradition, as words are passed from one generation to the next. Rather I will argue that in many cases the characteristic features of a verse or verse system are functions[3] of other factors, in most cases a function of the demarcation and maintenance[4] of the metrical units, in addition to functions of poetic and aesthetic concerns. In pursuing these goals, however, there will also be gains made in the understanding of the history and structure of the Old English, Old Saxon, and skaldic tradition of Old Norse alliterative verse, in particular of hypermetric verses which have been left out of most comparative analyses of Germanic alliterative verse.

1.1.1 The Essentials of Germanic Alliterative Verse

Before we procede any further, it would be of general benefit to outline the essential characteristics of Germanic alliterative verse, since many aspects of its structure

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[3] We will begin Chapter Two with a short discussion of the problematic notion of 'function.'
[4] I.e. the prevention of metrical units' being split into sub-constituents.

will be referenced in each chapter. Germanic alliterative verse, attested in earliest literary records of the Old English, Old Saxon, Old High German and Old Norse languages, is characterized, as one might assume, by alliteration. The alliteration found in this poetry is constrained by certain rules, the most important of which is that only stressed syllables may satisfy the requirements of alliteration. Alliteration on unstressed syllables is not required by the verse. The only consonants constrained in the alliterative scheme are the consonant clusters /sp-/, /st-/, and /sk-/; any vowel may alliterate with any other vowel. It is the alliteration that binds the two verses of a line together, e.g. *Bwlf*. 4:

> *Oft Scyld Scefing   sceaþena þreatum*

> 'Often Scyld Scefing   with host of harm-doers'

One can note that the on-verse may contain two alliterating syllables, in this case *Scyld* and *Scefing*, though only one need to participate. The off-verse, however, is more limited, permitting only the first stressed syllable to participate in alliteration and prohibiting any subsequent stressed syllables from alliterating.

Each verse, in addition to being required to alliterate properly, has also certain metrical needs, most importantly that there are at least four syllables per normal verse. Two of the four syllables, moreover, must be stressed syllables. The rhythm of each verse is produced by the varying arrangements of stressed and unstressed syllables, which are also governed by rules of syllable weight. Stressed syllables are preferably long (containing a long vowel with or without subsequent consonants or a short vowel followed by two or more consonants), whereas unstressed syllables may be either long or short.

Beginning with Eduard Sievers' analyses of alliterative verse in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the rhythmic patterns evidenced by Germanic alliterative verse have been grouped into one of five 'types.' Although these types do not necessarily reflect the organizing principles of alliterative verse, they have remained a common and useful shorthand in discussing the meter. The types are designated according to their relative frequency and assigned a letter. Type-A is the most common and Type-E is the least common. Examples of each type taken from *Beowulf* are shown below:[5]

Type-A   /   x / x
              þrym gefrunon, *Bwlf*. 2b[6]

Type-B   x (x) / x   /
              syððan ærest wearð, *Bwlf*. 6b[7]

Type-C   x   / \ x
              in geardagum, *Bwlf*. 1b[8]

Type-D   /   / \ x   or   / / x \
              þeodcyninga, *Bwlf*. 2a[9]   *eal inneweard*, *Bwlf*. 998a[10]

Type-E   /   \ x   /
              weorðmyndum þah, *Bwlf*. 8b[11]

Throughout this dissertation reference will be made to these rhythmic types. We will skirt over the problems of the essential and organizing principles of Germanic alliterative

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[5] Stressed syllables will be represented with a slash, and unstressed syllables with an x. A back-slash represents a syllable with secondary stress.
[6] '(we) heard tell of the glory'
[7] 'after (he) was first'
[8] 'in days of yore'
[9] 'of people-kings'
[10] 'entirely on the inside'
[11] 'prospered in glories'

verse,[12] since such problems are here secondary to the comparative and historical issues of the study of verse.

The normal verse in the West Germanic poetic traditions was not the only metrical form available. In addition to the normal verse, which had at least 4 syllables and two stresses, there were hypermetrical verses, which were significantly larger than the normal verses. Hypermetrical verses, which will be the focus of attention in this dissertation, differed from the normal verses in being larger by approximately one stress and by two syllables, though there is no consensus on their underlying structure as of yet,[13] e.g. *Bwlf*. 1163a:

> / x (x) / x / x
> *gan under gyldnum beage*

'walking under a golden ring'

The hypermetric verses have been given less attention than the normal verses. However, a further treatment of their structure and usage could make way for advances in the interpretation of the poems within which they occur, in addition to furthering our understanding of Germanic alliterative verse as a whole.

1.2 Previous Approaches to the Comparative/Historical Analysis of Verse

As stated above, and as we shall see in greater detail in Chapter 2, the means by which scholars have pursued questions of relatedness among metrical structures in different, though historically-related, languages fall tremendously short in meeting the

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[12] There are many works to be consulted on the subject. For some of the more influential works on Old English and Germanic alliterative verse see Russom (1987, 1998), Árnason (1992), Fulk (1992), Hofmann (1992), Cable (1993), Gade (1995), Hutcheson (1995), Suzuki (1996).

[13] In section 5.4.3.1 I will argue for viewing the hypermetric verse as having a minimum of six syllables. For models of the structure of hypermetric verses see Bliss (1958), Pope (1964) and Russom (1987).

requirements put forth by the Comparative Method of linguistic analysis to successfully argue for connecting them. Furthermore, beyond connecting relevant and purported phonological changes to changes in metrical structure, there are few adequate motivations provided for alleged changes in poetic forms, and, perhaps far worse, there are few ways of testing motivations. Two immediate solutions, of course, are that one guarantee the logic of the arguments and that one seek out the best empirical evidence available.

The purpose of this endeavor is not merely to engage in comparative metrical analysis for its own sake, but, rather, to gain a better idea of those oral traditions thought lost in their entirety, which despite the best efforts of time have left traces, and to gain a better understanding of poetry and the poetic in its relationship to language. As the quote above from Haymes indicates, we are interested in the "form and function" of these lost traditions (1986:23).[14]

1.2.1 Comparative Analyses of Narrative

For this study we will be concerning ourselves principally with form, from which there are several types to choose. What interests this investigation are studies of metrical form, the skeleton around which the body of literature is placed in many traditions. We will not be concerned with comparative analyses whose goals are to reconstruct or show the common origin of narratives. Examples of studies that focus on the narrative are simply too numerous to name. Some such as Haymes (1986) and Damico (1984) have as their main goal an analysis of stories, motifs, and literary characters possessed by literary

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[14] Not with the lost oral traditions of Germany alone, but, *mutatis mutandis*, with the common Germanic as well as the Indo-European oral traditions. The functional aspects of an oral literature within its society are also a topic found in more anthropological treatments of oral literature, e.g. Lord (1960), Finnegan (1977).

traditions of separate, though related, languages, in the former between the MHG *Nibelungenlied* and its Scandinavian analogues in the *Edda*, *Þíðreks saga af Bern*, and *Völsunga saga*, and in the latter between the queen Wealhþeow of the OE heroic epic *Beowulf* and the narrative tradition of the Scandinavian *valkyrjor*. Similarly, the more recent comparison of Old Icelandic and Old English wisdom poetry by Larrington (1993) seeks to demonstrate the common inherited gnomic and proverbial tradition of the two languages' cultures. These works are quite similar to comparative mythological studies, e.g. Puhvel (1986), in that they both seek to regain narrative elements and characters of a lost tradition that are quite clearly and demonstrably from a historically common source.

That the *Nibelungenlied*, an epic-length poem written in couplet-rhymed four-line stanzas, possesses an external form greatly different from that of *Þíðreks saga af Bern*, an epic-length prose narrative, in no way affects the arguments made by Haymes (1986). This work, however, looks to the other side of literary form, the outer form by means which narratives are told. We are not pursuing the *Ur*-form of what was told, but rather in which structure it was told, the *Ur*-form of the poetic structure which was used to relay these tales.

1.2.2 Comparative Phraseological-Formulaic Analyses

Between those studies whose primary focus is the substance of the narrative and studies such as this one where the principal target is the metrical form of the text stands Watkins' *How to Kill a Dragon* (1995) which looks at both form and content by focusing on the comparison of formulas and their multimorphic representations in the literary works of early Indo-European languages. This work is similar to that of Schmitt's

Dichtung und Dichtersprache in indogermanischer Zeit, except that instead of just

collecting formulaic analogues (Schmitt 1967), Watkins posits reconstructions of these

formulaic parallels. Although the study of formulaic language and formulaic poetry is an

important component in understanding simultaneously the "form and function" of early

poetic traditions, it cannot account for everything we wish to know. The main reason for

this is that a focus on formulas is dependent on those formulas and is unable to capture

the forces guiding and forcing change in the abstracted metrical structures which exist in

formulaic and non-formulaic poetic compositions alike.

Troublesome, however, is that Watkins treats formulaic comparisons as equal that

might be best grouped into two different categories. There are word-to-word

correspondences such as the 'imperishable fame' formula Skt. *sravas aksitam* and its

Greek cognate, ????? ?f??λ?? (Watkins 1995:12-13 et passim) and comparisons of the

same with OE *dom unlytel* 'no little fame' (1995:414). The comparison of the theme of

'imperishable fame' without the strength of cognate constructions is limited. Moreover,

one must take care to note that even if one is successful in demonstrating the existence of

an identical formulaic expression in the literatures of several Indo-European languages,

one cannot guarantee that what one 'reconstructs' is exclusively Indo-European. On the

one hand such claims face questions regarding the pragmatics of the formulaic

construction. 'Imperishable fame' as a formulaic theme owes a debt to pragmatic

considerations, in addition to the adherence to a literary tradition. In praise, whether it be

a panegyric for a worldly lord, or a hymn for a deity, some possible constructions are

immediately ruled out, e.g. *'perishable fame,' *'little fame,' *'some fame,'

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etc…However, as Janda (1997) has demonstrated, some formulas which could be claimed as Indo-European formulas, appear also in Japanese and ancient Middle-Eastern literatures. The study of such formulas, without tying them into specific cognate constructions, can only provide us with information regarding formulaic themes in a general, universal sense.

There are two works which have concerned themselves with comparative analysis of formulas of more than one early Germanic alliterative poetic tradition. The first of these, Capek (1970), a study Old Saxon formulas in relation to their Old English counterparts, follows such works as Magoun (1953) and Cassidy (1965), and establishes some facts about the differences in the employment of formulas. The most interesting example, and one which has consequences for metrical differences between the Old English and Old Saxon literary traditions is the differences between *Heliand* 5a *mid uuordun endi mid uuercon* and *Beowulf* 1833a *wordum ond worcum*, both reflexes of a 'with words and with deeds' formula. Capek notes that the Old English counterparts of such formulas never exhibit the use of the prepositions, neither singly nor doubly (Capek 1970:359). Russom comes to the same conclusion, though independently of Capek and with a different method (Russom 1998:138-39, 147-48).[15] Zanni (1980) also focuses on the differences between Old English and Old Saxon alliterative verse. However, Zanni's main point of interest is the Old English *Genesis B* and its relationship to its source, as represented by the Old Saxon *Genesis Fragment*. Zanni concludes that :

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[15] Such constructions do, in fact, occur in the Old English corpus. Perhaps the greatest concentration of these parallel prepositional phrases is to be found in *Widsith*, e.g. *Widsith* 79 *Mid Scottum ic wæs ond mid Peohtum ond mid Scridefinnum* 'Among the Irish I was, and among the Picts, and among the Skiing-Saami.'

die uns überlieferten Formeltypen auf archetypische Dichtungsformeln einer südgermanischen Oral-Tradition zurückgehen, die im Laufe der Zeit einen sprachlichen Veränderungsprozess durchlaufen haben. Wenn es uns gelingt, dies zu zeigen, gelangen wir endlich zu der Gewissheit, dass vor der klösterlichen Überlieferung eine orale Dichtungstradition existierte, die ursprünglich durch identische Formeln im Ae. und As. repräsentiert wurde.[16]

<div align="right">(Zanni 1980:140)</div>

Unfortunately, though, there is an asymmetry in looking at formulas as a source for reconstruction. Whereas all formulaic verses are metrically satisfactory verses, not all metrically satisfactory verses are formulas. Formulaic reconstructions, though helpful, fail to reconstruct the essential nature of the meter. Furthermore, just as the variation possible within the lexical representation of a formulaic theme makes equation of one formula with another doubtful, with respect to a historically common source, so too does the variation of formulaic themes in Germanic alliterative verse make such comparisons of limited value. In the Old English tradition one finds variations of the *wordum ond worcum* formula, e.g. *Genesis A* 2251b *dædum and wordum* 'in deeds and words' and 2352a *wordum ond dædum* 'in words and deeds.' The three variants of the theme of "in words and in deeds/works" indicate three lexical variants of the same underlying meaning, in order to accommodate three distributional requirements: *wordum ond worcum* for on-verses only, *wordum ond dædum* for on-verses or off-verses alliterating on /w/, and *dædum ond wordum* for on-verses and off-verses alliterating on /d/. Moreover, variants of a formula do not always have the same metrical shape as one

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[16] Rough trans. "…the type of formulas transmitted go back to archetypical poetic formulas of the South-Germanic oral tradition, which, in the course of time, have gone through a linguistic process of change. If we are able to demonstrate this, we will finally be able to reach the certainty, that prior to monastic transmission there existed an oral poetic tradition, which was represented originally via identical formulas in Old English and Old Saxon."

another, e.g. *Beowulf* 11b *þæt wæs god cyning* 'that was a good king,' a Type-C verse, contrasts with a variant of the same formula in *Widsith* 67b *næs þæt sæne cyning* 'that was not a dull king,' a Type-B verse. A further problem is that formulas can be rearranged in other ways, yet still recognizable as derivatives of a formula, cf. the Scandinavian analogue to the *wordum ond worcum* in *Hávamál* 141:4-7, where the cognates *orð* and *verk* are still combined, though here in separate lines of verse because of the loss of /w/ prior to round vowels (PGmc. word- > ON *orð*) and ensuing loss of alliteration:

> *orð mér af orði   orðz leitaði,*
> *verc mér af verki   vercs leitaði.*
>
> "A word sought a word from a word for me,
> a deed sought a deed from a deed for me."

Although a thorough understanding of the formulaic system in which an oral tradition finds itself is essential to understanding the workings of the poetry as an organic system, it is unfortunately unsuitable for application beyond formulaic constructions.[17]   As we shall see in Chapter Four, where I will argue the possible relatedness of the West Germanic hypermetric verse with the skaldic *dróttkvætt*, which does not make use of the same formulaic constructions found in the traditional poetry (Frank 1978:27-28), we would be unable to connect the two if we were dependent on formulaic comparanda.

1.2.3 The Comparative Method

Eduard Sievers wrote his still relevant work, *Altgermanische Metrik*, with the stated intention of reconstructing, either fully or partially, the poetic forms of the early

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[17] Hutcheson (1995), however, presents a good example of the fusion of metrical and formulaic studies.

and common Germanic literary traditions. Before engaging in a reconstruction of the

prehistoric forms, however, he argued, one must first establish with relative certainty, and

with a unified system of description, the structure of those early poetic texts which have

survived up into the modern era:

> Zum ausgangspunkt für die untersuchung können und dürfen also nur die
> poetischen denkmäler der germanischen einzelliteraturen selbst gemacht
> werden, die sich einer auf gemeinsamergrundlage ruhenden metrischen form
> bedienen. Erst wenn diese grundlage festgestellt ist, darf man es unternehmen,
> anknüpfungen derselben an historische jüngere oder etwaige vorhistorische ältere
> formen zu suchen. [18]

(Sievers 1893:1)

The Germanic alliterative verse traditions, for Sievers, represented a middle-point

between the prehistoric and the more modern, yet belonging properly to neither. Since

then, however, we cannot say that the task of this reconstruction has been fully

completed. As Haymes points out, we shall never in all likelihood achieve a full

reconstruction of all that has been lost (1986:23). This is not to say, though, that

endeavors toward this goal are a quixotic or foolish activity.   A great deal is to be gained

in whatever more information can be gleaned to shed light on the oral poetic forms and

practices of the early Germanic-speaking groups of Europe, something which by its

nature is ephemeral, and as such will escape entirely any full and complete

reconstruction.

The method best suited to this end is the one which is one of the longest-lived

methods in the field of linguistics, the Comparative Method. However, one must take

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[18] Rough translation: "Only those poetic records of the individual Germanic literatures that adhere
themselves to a metrical form touching upon a common foundation can and may be made into a point of
departure for the investigation. Only as soon as this foundation is established may one attempt to seek out
connections of those literatures to historically more recent or even prehistoric older forms."

care in applying the Comparative Method to poetic structures, because, as we shall see in

Chapter One, the phonological sequences of cognate words cannot necessarily be

replaced with structural characteristics of a line of verse with the same results.

Throughout this dissertation we will come across points where we must acknowledge and

accept the limitations of the Comparative Method; to do so is the first step in building a

better methodological framework for comparative studies of verse. Fortunately, there are

few modifications to keep in mind. Watkins paraphrases our task succinctly:

> The Comparative Method is not very complicated, yet it is one of the most
> powerful theories of human language put forth so far and the theory that has stood
> the test of time the longest. Put simply, the comparatist has one fact and one
> hypothesis. The one fact is that certain languages show similarities which are so
> numerous and so precise that they cannot be attributed to chance, and which are
> such that they cannot be explained as borrowings from one language into another
> or as universal or quasi-universal features of many or all human languages. The
> comparatist's one hypothesis, then, is that these resemblances among certain
> languages must be the result of their development from a common original
> language.
>
> <div align="right">(Watkins 1995:4)</div>

Mutatis mutandis, the same constraints apply to the comparison of metrical structures.

Should we find alternate explanations for similar structures in separate metrical

traditions, however closely or remotely related, they should be preferred over the positing

of a historically common source. Although this may seem like a means counter to the

goal of this dissertation, the rejection of claims of common origin in favor of others

provides two things. Most importantly, the establishment of standards increases the

validity of our claims, when there is sufficient evidence to make them. In those situations

where we choose to give preference to explanations based on the "universal or quasi-

<div align="center">14</div>

universal features," we still advance our knowledge of the factors motivating the structure of verse.

The application of the Comparative Method to verse structures is the topic of Chapter Two, and as such, will only be cursorily discussed here. The first major application of the method to verse was made by Antoine Meillet between Greek and Vedic Sanskrit meters in 1923, and revised in 1935. Roman Jakobson completed the *tertium comparandum* in the early 1950s with the posited connections with Slavic epic verse forms. These studies were later bolstered by Watkins, who in 1963 added Celtic verse to the comparison. These three works have generally established the foundation of other comparative metrical works, especially in the field of comparative Indo-European linguistics and metrics.

These three ground-laying studies, however, all share a common flaw in that they failed to consider the "universal or quasi-universal features" as one might for lexical comparanda. The key features for comparison were isosyllabism, a free initial paired with a fixed cadence, a caesura prior to the middle of the verse, and the ability of the final metrical position to contain either long or short syllables. However, if one views these features with an eye to their function within the verse, one is able to predict the location of these structures within the verse with sufficient precision to question whether their characteristics are dependent solely on tradition, or if functional principles are the guiding factors. Isosyllabism is the only feature not capable of being explained in these terms, though the possession of one commonality is not sufficiently strong evidence to support a common origin hypothesis. Most prominent among the above-listed features is

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the free initial paired with a fixed cadence, perhaps one of the quasi-universals of poetic

structure (Fabb 1997:46). The working hypothesis of this work will be that cadences

within verses serve as demarcative signals, indicating metrically and/or aurally the end of

a verse. Understanding that the position of the cadence within the verse requires that we

view it as a function of its demarcative effect.

As the basis for other works on comparative metrics in Indo-European, such as

West (1976), the works of Meillet, Jakobson and Watkins also serve as the starting point

for Suzuki's attempts to derive the forms of Germanic alliterative verse (Suzuki 1991,

1988). These two works, the earlier concerned with the normal Germanic alliterative line

and the latter with the hypermetric line, suffer from a simple methodological flaw. By

taking the metrical structures posited by Meillet (1935, 1923), Jakobson (1952) and

Watkins (1963) as the starting point and the forms of Germanic alliterative verse as the

end-point, Suzuki already has made the assumption that the two are related:

> Suzuki (1988) has shown that Germanic alliterative verse also retains Indo-
> European metrical features in its formal fundamentals. More specifically,
> concentrating on the normal verse of Germanic alliterative poetry, Suzuki has
> proposed that the verse in question may be identified as a reflex of the Indo-
> European shorter verse.
>   In this paper, in the light of Indo-European metrics I will be concerned
> with the Germanic hypermetric line as opposed to the normal line. Specifically, I
> would like to show that the hypermetric line retains a crucial formal property of
> the Indo-European longer verse in opposition to the shorter counterpart, and
> thereby to advance a further case for the Indo-European basis of Germanic
> alliterative verse.
>
> (Suzuki 1991:480)

The transformations to turn the hypothesized Proto-Indo-European octosyllabic into the

Germanic alliterative long-line are unconstrained. Since there are no ways to disprove

the changes posited by Suzuki, we cannot be assured that these hypothesized changes are valid. Furthermore, as I will argue in Chapter Two, the Meillet-Jakobson-Watkins hypotheses are not a tenable starting point. A comparative analysis should always raise the question of whether the comparanda are related or not. For those cases where no proof can be offered to confirm or refute a hypothesis, we are forced to weigh arguments against one another, preferring the most plausible and cogent explanation available (Keller 1994:72).

The one work which seeks to establish a method for a field similar to comparative metrics is that of Ranko Matasovic, *A Theory of Textual Reconstruction in Indo-European Linguistics*. This 1996 monograph is due some detailed mention, in part on account of its unique status, primarily because its principal arguments and assumptions do not rest on a firm basis. This is apparent in its opening statements where Matasovic defends the study of textual reconstruction on the grounds that there is a chance of success in the endeavor, despite the possibility that the object of this endeavor could be unknowable. By excluding the possibility that this endeavor might be unable ever to succeed, Matasovic makes the decision *a priori* that it does exist and that we are in the position to discover the method by engaging in its practice (Matasovic 1996:11).

With few, minor distinctions Matasovic's goals and my own of establishing a method for what he would call comparative textual, though I prefer to limit myself to comparative metrical, reconstruction are the same. The differences between his method and my own, however, are quite significant. The most significant difference has to do with the chance of successful reconstruction in regard to the length of time since the

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common origin. One of the few certainties in historical linguistics is the inevitability of change. Furthermore, as time goes on, all else being equal, two languages would diverge to a point where reconstruction would be impossible (Lass 1997:160). In taking a truly agnostic stance on whether Indo-European textual reconstruction is possible or not, i.e. that one does not make any *a priori* assumption one way or the other, one ought to look for those situations where success is most likely to be found. At its basis, this is an issue of scale. Just as a reconstruction of Proto-Germanic would be a lot less accurate if conducted from the modern, extant languages, or just as Latin is considerably different from Proto-Romance (Harris 1998:4), so too should we assume that reconstruction favors shorter time-spans of divergence. As such, setting our sights on Proto-Indo-European reconstruction is a riskier endeavor than a reconstruction which stands a greater chance of success.

A preferable method would focus on the texts that are separated the least from the point of common origin. As a group of literary traditions in related languages, Germanic alliterative verse presents a prime testing ground for establishing limits of a method. Standing at a point relatively closer to the point of origin, and containing texts the least influenced by the introduction of non-runic literacy, the Germanic alliterative poetic traditions present a fine middle point between faithfulness to a literary style and closely related enough to one another to provide a reasonable amount of success in a reconstruction. If there are limitations on the reconstruction of poetic form evident in the relatively easier problem of comparative Germanic metrics, the limitations for Indo-European reconstruction are that much greater. Furthermore, by choosing starting points

closer to the point of common origin, we reduce the number of sub-groupings within the comparanda that might be skipped over.[19]

1.3 Goals of this Dissertation

This dissertation does not intend to take on the daunting task of attempting a reconstruction of a common Germanic oral-poetic tradition, for that is far beyond the scope of this work, but rather seeks to do two things. The primary objective of this dissertation is to begin the process of establishing constraints in the methodology of comparative metrics, such that claims of relatedness between poetic forms may be either upheld or considered implausible, for at the moment there are, to my knowledge at least, no studies, with perhaps the exception of Matasovic (1996) discussed above, which establish a set of norms for change in poetic form as do exist for the comparative study of language.[20] A second though not necessarily less important goal is the attempt to shed a little more light on some of what has been lost of the Germanic oral-poetic tradition. The ultimate goal of the first task of this dissertation is to make the application of the Comparative Method to metrical structures an analytical method which will enlighten literary analysis as well as the histories of these cultures and literatures.

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[19] For example, attempting to connect Old English verse to another Indo-European verse skirts the issue of Proto-West-Germanic and Proto-Germanic forms, as well as any intermediate stages for the other half of the comparison. By not jumping over intermediary stages, we reduce the amount of over-generalization as well.

[20] Matasovic (1996) is a step in the right direction; however, in so far as he fails to view structural elements of the verse of Indo-European languages in terms of function (though he does consider function in terms of genre and the social functions of literature), a point essential in seeing the correspondences between Indo-European verses as typological (which we will highlight as the topic of Chapter Two of this dissertation), he presents an important advance in undertaking to establish a theory of textual reconstruction, though does not succeed entirely.

1.3.1 Methodological Concerns

As argued above, the Comparative Method of linguistic analysis requires some calibration before it can become an effective tool for metrical study as well. To give a complete account of the ways in which the Comparative Method might need to be modified to fit all the peculiarities of metrical analysis is beyond the ability of any single person and unnecessary given that we need only to demonstrate some of the fundamental problems at stake. The six points to be made are that:

1.) The lack of predictable rules and of arbitrariness in form make the application of the Comparative Method to metrical forms more difficult than the reconstruction of proto-forms according to sound laws.

2.) Similarity in structures is no guarantee of historical connection.

3.) Dissimilarity in structure does not rule out historical connection.

4). Marginal forms as well as proto-typical forms are necessary in the historical analysis of verse.

5.) The usage of a structure and its role in the verse must be taken account of in order to adequately approach historical and comparative analyses of verse.

6.) Change in verse structures is not always dependent on phonological or other linguistic changes.

1.3.1.1 Arbitrariness and the Comparative Method

We will probably never be able to approach the certainty available in the reconstruction of the phonological and lexical aspects of a proto-language. This rests predominantly in the arbitrariness of the form of word as a sign (Saussure 1996:67-69).

Reconstructing a proto-form from OE *fæder*, Lat. *pater*, Gk. *patêr*, and Skt. *pitá*(*r*)-

'father' as *ph₂tér- 'father,' in addition to all the regularities in the correspondences of

the phonemes, is possible due the fact that *p does not require *h₂, which it turn is

independent of the *t as the third element to be compared, etc. Also important is the fact

that the correspondence sets of *f~p~p~p*, *æ~a~a~i*, and *d~t~t~t*, etc. hold true in other

lexical items, which may serve to validate or counterindicate proposed correspondences,

in addition to refining and identifying the triggering environments. These same

correspondence sets are more problematic in metrical structures. As we shall see in

Chapter Two, the structural elements touted to be points of similarity and evidence of

common origin owe their nature and placement within the verse to the purpose they

serve. The fixed cadence, for example, serves as a demarcative signal, indicating a

boundary of the verse. Such a signal is placed logically only at the beginning or end of

the verse, and most often at the end. The chances that any two unrelated verse traditions

should be characterized by a fixed cadence are much greater than the chance that the

word for 'father' in several languages should have regular sound correspondences for

each segment, whereby we may assume that the word for 'father' indicates a common

origin, whereas the possession of a fixed cadence does not. Even if we were to add more

features beyond the fixed cadence for comparison, the claim will not be strengthened, if

each additional feature can, in turn, be shown to be a function of its purpose. This lack of

predictable rules suggests that one should proceed in a comparative metrical analysis with

the same attention given to morphological reconstruction, since there is a lack of

regularity enjoyed in phonological reconstruction. Provided we take account of this factor, we can make adjustments in the Comparative Method for metrical purposes.

1.3.1.2 Similar Verse Structures need not have Common Origin

Related to the first methodological concern is the more general principle, and a key point of this dissertation, that similarities in verse structures need not be the result of a common origin. Arguments that two given verses share a common origin, based on commonly shared structural features belie a flaw in argumentation if they fail to consider and rule out the possibility of independent genesis. In some instances structural similarities are the result of the relationship between the structural characteristic and the role or purpose it plays within the verse. A demarcative signal, for example, is required to be either at the beginning or end of a verse for the simple fact that the middle of a structure is a poor place to show a boundary. It is essential to point out these possibilities and not to confuse them for valid points of comparison. Paradoxically, the demonstration that these features cannot be proven to exist in the traditions' common origin, but rather that these features represent something more like a typological universal, strengthens somewhat the possibility that the chance that they did, in fact, exist in any proto-verse, provided that this proto-verse could equally accommodate such a structure. The point to be made here is that we should pursue the right answer for the right reason, and that these "quasi-universal" features should not be confused for unique and arbitrary structural properties.

1.3.1.3 Dissimilarities do not discount Possibility of Relatedness

In contrast to the previous point, we must acknowledge the possibility that two dissimilar poetic structures could share a common origin. Just as it would be unadvisable to claim that, for example, English and any other Indo-European language were unrelated on the basis of their dissimilarities, no matter how great they might be, so too would it be an untenable argument to claim that two metrical forms were unrelated on the basis of dissimilarities, if there were a way to demonstrate how both could have derived from a common source. Since the topic of this work, in a wide perspective, is change within metrical structures we must accept that there must be some difference between comparanda. In Chapter Four we will see how, despite the seemingly large differences in form between Old English and Old Saxon hypermetric verses and the skaldic *dróttkvætt*, treating the two as related provides a more plausible explanation for the history of the *dróttkvætt*. Observing dissimilar yet related metrical forms provides insight into how verse forms change.

1.3.1.4 Taking Prototypical Forms and Marginal Forms into Account

To engage in a comparative study referencing only the most typical form of a verse is problematic. Variation within a system is one means by which one can get a sense of change. An analogy can be drawn with morphological analysis. If one were to carry out a synchronic analysis of English plural formation, one would see that the most productive plural formation is the addition of the suffix *–s*. One may categorize the vast majority of English plurals; however, this regularity is coupled with some exceptions, e.g. the zero-plural in *sheep* and the practically obsolete *–en* in *oxen*, *children* and *brethren*.

We would face great difficulties in a historical analysis of English morphology, were we to focus primarily on the regular forms and ignore exceptions or rarities.

Chapter Three has as its focus some metrically aberrant forms found in the Old English and Old Saxon alliterative traditions which have escaped treatment in metrical models of alliterative verse, partially due to their rarity, and partially due to their exceptional status. However, the lack of random usage of these verses indicates that they are either an archaism or an innovation, most likely the latter. It is certain to say, though, that much can be learned from marginal sources, despite the problem they pose to capturing essential generalizations in a synchronic study. One of the most fruitful sources of information regarding verse change in the skaldic *dróttkvætt* tradition is to be found in the variations extant between the earliest ninth- and tenth-century verse and the more regular classical *dróttkvætt* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. An example of the problem of over-generalization is found in Árnason's claim that "the B and C types, being initially weak, are of course in principle excluded from the second line of the couplet, according to Sievers, because of the constraint on the alliterating *höfuðstafr* to occur on the first syllable of the second line" (Árnason 1991:94). This has led Árnason, first, to the assumption that no even line of the *dróttkvætt* may start on an unstressed syllable, despite Kuhn's claim that there are some 90 examples of this very phenomenon in the corpus (Kuhn 1983:168). Variants within a system are as essential for a comparative metrical analysis as they are for a comparative linguistic analysis.

1.3.1.5 Taking the Usage of a Verse Structure into Account

Comparing verse structures in the absence of their usage is also problematic. Although it is understandable that one cannot view each verse extant within a tradition, deviations from the expected norm, as well as aberrations and marginal forms, should not be excluded and should, furthermore, be analyzed in terms of their disparity in usage with regard to the prototypical forms. Failing to observe at least the potential difference in usage automatically precludes the possibility of explaining the formal dissimilarities on the basis of functional differences. However, it should be noted that these functional differences must be observed in a close-reading of the text within which they appear.

Conversely, generalized statements such as those made in Jakobson (1952) and repeated by others later that the shorter Indo-European line of verse was used for less serious topics, and that the lengthier verse for more serious material, such as for epic, could be interpreted as a claim that the properties of the shorter versus longer lines derive from a property of a common source. Here the potential to view functional dimorphism in verse as an issue of relativity has been excluded, not to mention the host of implications made that might be problematic from a genre-theoretical standpoint.[21] Short lines and long lines gain their value, in part, from their opposition to one another. Furthermore, claims such as in Suzuki's statement regarding heavy hypermetric verses that "functionally the verse at issue is of gnomic type, which may be expected to retain

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[21] Fabb's criticism that "Functionalists focus on possible connections between form and function, such that a formal analysis should be able to reveal functions for a text" is essentially valid. We should not necessarily assume that a given form, verse or genre, should correspond to a particular function in any absolute sense. However, as we shall see in Chapter Two, a functionalist approach, as it will be employed here, considers the form of a text as a function, i.e. a result of other, formally external factors, see also Keller (1997).

certain archaisms" (Suzuki 1991:497) glosses over several issues, e.g. that *Maxims I* is a

poem with Christian overtones and that there are several heavy hypermetrics which are

employed outside of a gnomic context and, conversely, that there are many gnomic

statements which are not conveyed with heavy hypermetric verses. Wherever possible, a

formally divergent metrical structure should be viewed by means of a close-reading of

the surrounding text, in order to first decide whether this deviation may be seen in terms

of poetic interplay on the part of the composer of that verse.

1.3.1.6 Change in a Verse System is not Always Dependent on Language Change

The final point to be made is that change in verse systems need not always be

motivated by linguistic change. Much has been done on the interaction between the two.

For example, studies such as Meid (1990), Kurylowicz (1975), and Lehmann (1956) have

argued for the importance of language change in the determination of the form of a

language's verse. Fulk (1992) has, for example, given detailed accounts of sound

changes within Old English and has gleaned invaluable information regarding the dating

of poetic works relative to those sound changes, as reflected in the meter. Finally models

of verse such as Getty (2002), Suzuki (2001, 1996), Russom (1998, 1987), Fabb (1997),

Hanson and Kiparsky (1996), and Kiparsky (1977) to name a few, represent work on

meter in which linguistic theories, specifically theories from the Generative-

Transformational school of linguistic theory, as well as more recent theories such as the

Optimality Theory of Prince and Smolensky (1993). This final group of works has in

common a dependence on linguistic structure and theory, most significantly a focus on

the interrelationships of the prosodic and phonological aspects of language and how they are represented in verse.

This approach, unfortunately, has left other aspects of change that cannot be captured or explained by phonological changes untouched. The fact that verse has regularity, Jakobson's 'equivalence' (Jakobson 1960[1987]:71) as a key characteristic, should cause us to recall Sturtevant's Paradox: sound-change, i.e. phonologically-motivated change, occurs regularly but produces irregularity, whereas analogical change occurs irregularly but produces regularity (McMahon 1994:70). For verse systems to be impacted by phonological change, and still be able to maintain regularity, we must also look for analogical processes at work to either preserve consistency, or to level out inconsistency. In Chapter Four we will see that devices such as proportional analogy must be invoked in order to make sense of the structure of the *dróttkvætt*. Although sound changes, such as shifts in the prosodic typology of a language, e.g. from variable to fixed accent, loss of syllable-weight distinctions, etc., can have wide-reaching effects, not all changes in a verse system, particularly when they occur in short spans of time, e.g. the differences between ninth- and eleventh-century *dróttkvætt*, can be accounted for by reference to language change.

1.3.2 Goals Related to Germanic Alliterative Verse Specifically

Whereas the previous set of goals were more broad-based and designed to make the comparative study of verse more accurate, regardless of what language or tradition might be the focus of study, the fact that we will be observing and demonstrating these necessities in case studies found in the corpus of early Germanic alliterative verse

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provides us with an opportunity to also make advances in the study of the structure and

(pre)history of these poetic traditions. The application of comparative study is the reason

behind refining the method. Chapter Three has as its focus the heavy hypermetric verses

in Old English and Old Saxon and their relation to one another, and Chapter Four

concerns itself with the possibility of treating the skaldic *dróttkvætt* as a reflex of a

common Germanic hypermetric verse.

1.3.2.1 The Necessity to Include Hypermetric Verses in Comparative Analysis of Germanic Alliterative Verse.

Much of the most recent truly comparative approaches to Germanic alliterative

verse can be found in the works of Russom's *Beowulf and the Germanic Alliterative

Tradition*, which deals primarily with the closest Scandinavian and Saxon equivalents to

Old English verse, and the interrelationships between linguistic and metrical structure, on

the one hand, and language change and poetic form, on the other (1998).

Russom's approach to early Germanic alliterative verse lends itself to this study

for two reasons, first of which is the fact that his approach makes very specific claims

regarding acceptable metrical structures which permit them to be confirmed or called into

question, which in Sievers' purely descriptive approach is impossible, nor is it possible in

other works on comparative metrics, e.g. Suzuki (2001, 1992, 1988), Gasparov (1996), or

Lehmann (1956). Some of these claims, specifically about the structural principles

guiding hypermetric verses, will be called into question, though not necessarily refuted,

with specific contradicting empirical evidence in Chapter 3. Furthermore, the fact that

Russom bases his theories of the structure of Germanic alliterative verse on the word-

stress patterns evident within the poetry's language means that the form of the poetry and any changes occurring therein are bound to phonological and morpho-phonological aspects of changes occurring in those languages. As will be argued in Chapter 4, though, there is good reason to believe that the phonological aspects of language change and its effect in the language's verse ought to be augmented by the necessity to invoke analogical processes. Certain variations evident between branches of the poetic traditions, namely the Old English-Old Saxon hypermetric verses and the skaldic *dróttkvætt* of Scandinavia, require that analogical, i.e. non-phonologically motivated, changes have taken place. Finally, Russom's comparative analyses of the three principal branches of Germanic alliterative poetry (Old English, Old Norse, and Continental Germanic, i.e. Old Saxon and Old High German) have been restricted, though for good reason, mainly to the 'normal' verses, i.e. those which contain two stresses.[22] And although I have chosen also not to deal with the thorny problems of the *ljóðaháttr* and *málaháttr*, it is a test both of the accuracy of Russom's claims about the structure and basis of Germanic alliterative verse as well as of the methodological concerns in the comparative study of poetry to observe some of the more marginal verse forms extant. A close reading of the passages in which the heavy hypermetrics occur in the Old Saxon corpus reflect a conscientious usage of these deviant forms at critical passages within the poems they occur, so as to foreground the content of these passages against the

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[22] Russom (1987) does include hypermetric verses in the analysis and offers a perspective of the same differing significantly from those of Bliss (1958), and by extension of Hofmann (1992) as well, and Pope (1946[1963]). It is also for this reason that Russom's approach is more applicable than the recently published approaches to the meter of *Beowulf* by Suzuki (1996) and Getty (2002) which have as their goals the application of a constraint-based approach to alliterative verse and do not concern themselves to any great extent with hypermetric verses.

surrounding verses, a fact which supports the need to employ hermeneutic methods in comparative analysis.

1.3.2.2 Looking Outside Scandinavia to Find the History of the *Dróttkvætt*

The two main theories regarding the history of the skaldic *dróttkvætt* verse have been that the *dróttkvætt* emerged as an independent innovation in Scandinavia, or that it reflects Old Irish influence on native verse-craft, a theory long since discounted (Gade 1995:7-12). Gade's theories concerning the origin of the *dróttkvætt* see it as emergent from a more rigidly governed form of the eddic *fornyrðislag* meter. As we shall see in Chapter Four, Gade's claims are better replaced by viewing the *dróttkvætt* as a reflex of the same metrical form which gave rise to the hypermetric verses in Old English and Old Saxon verse. Such a theory has been discounted, first by Sievers (1893:240) and later by Gade (1995:226-38), due to the large number of structural correspondences between the *dróttkvætt* and the *fornyrðislag* verse types. However, the second principle given above is that one cannot count on similarities to be evidence of historical relationships. In this case, we will be favoring a view that sees the similarities between the two meters as a result of a proportional analogy based on the *fornyrðislag* and subsequently overlaid upon the *dróttkvætt*. Furthermore, most of the structures which come to characterize the classical *dróttkvætt* only solidify as integral components of the verse a century after the earliest extant *dróttkvætt* verses, indicating that we cannot count on those characteristics as reflecting a form closer to the predecessor of the *dróttkvætt*.

Here I do not only try to shed some light on the origin of the most popular verse form in the skaldic tradition, but I also provide more symmetry in the relationship

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between West and North Germanic metrical practices. Whereas Russom (1998) has gone

to great lengths describing the differences between the normal lines of Old Norse, Old

Saxon and Old English verse, and the fact that there are *ljóðaháttr*- and *galdralag*-like

verse forms in Old English verse, it seems out of place that the Scandinavian tradition

should have no reflex of a hypermetric-type verse, when so many other correspondences

abound. The introduction to Chapter Five will present a quick sketch of what the

common Germanic hypermetric verse most likely looked like.

1.4 The Structure of the Dissertation

As stated above, this dissertation is organized around three case studies. Each

case-study exists independently of one another. Chapter Two, which focuses on the

Meillet-Jakobson-Watkins hypotheses of a Proto-Indo-European verse, establishes some

of the key principles to be used in the two subsequent case studies, in particular that

similar structures need not be related, and that structural characteristics of a verse can be,

to a certain extent, governed by their usage and the role they play in maintaining the

structural integrity of the verse. The most important structural feature and use will be the

demarcative signal, a formal requirement in a verse that indicates either the beginning or

the end of the verse. However, other features claimed as comparanda, e.g. the

asymmetrical placement of the caesura to prevent dissection of the line and the juncture

to bind the cola together, share the same problem. What is left as a comparandum is

merely the number of syllables in each line, certainly not enough evidence to maintain

that there is a historical connection.

Chapter Three, which seeks to determine whether aberrant metrical types extant in both Old English and Old Saxon alliterative traditions can be tied to a common source with sufficient certainty. It will be my contention that there is not sufficient evidence to demonstrate a historical relationship, primarily because the way in which these verses are employed can be seen as a sufficiently-motivated factor for their independent genesis. As in Chapter Two, Chapter Three demonstrates that similarities need not be interpreted as evidence of historical relatedness, but rather that one must take into consideration the ways in which unusual metrical variants are employed. That we must engage in a reading of the verses as they appear in their passages, in order to fully determine their role within the text as a whole, argues for a need to view metrical structures, particularly aberrant ones, in context, and not as abstracted metrical sequences.

Chapter Four has as its focus the problem of the history and origin of the skaldic *dróttkvætt* verse. Whereas current theories view the *dróttkvætt* as a reflex of the eddic *fornyrðislag*, with an added cadence, I will suggest that there is a more plausible solution. By assuming that the *dróttkvætt* is a reflex of a structure similar to that of the Old English and Old Saxon hypermetric verse, we avoid having to posit methodologically difficult changes to a metrical form that is poorly attested, the so-called tetrasyllabic *fornyrðislag*. Here, however, one must state clearly that the connection between the two metrical forms is not proven to any extent, but rather that this theory, in being more plausible to the current theory, is methodologically preferable. Many of the principles listed in section 3.1 are demonstrated. That the *dróttkvætt* and West Germanic hypermetric are quite different in appearance should pose no difficulty in comparative analysis. Likewise,

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Chapter One has already informed us that comparisons based on similarities are suspect in a historical view, which should give us pause when faced with Sievers' and Gade's connections between the *dróttkvætt* and *fornyrðislag*. The demarcative signal described in Chapter One will also figure prominently in the cadence of the *dróttkvætt*, which marks the end of the verse and facilitates a proportional analogy between a four-positioned *fornyrðislag* and the first four positions of the *dróttkvætt*. Finally, the important information gained in the comparison of the position of internal rhymes and the metrical shapes permissible in the even-lines of *dróttkvætt* between the ninth and eleventh centuries indicates the necessity to use marginal forms in addition to prototypical ones in an analysis.

Chapter Five begins with a sketch of the most likely characteristics of a common-Germanic hypermetric verse. Given the paucity of evidence, however, this sketch will have to remain somewhat broad in its portrayal. Of additional importance in this sketch will be problems related to more specific aspects of the Comparative Method, e.g. whether a portmanteau reconstruction is preferable or even acceptable. Beyond the conclusions reached, that the above-listed principles be adhered to, there are a set of questions remaining to be answered. Most of these are tradition specific, e.g. whether the hypermetric and *dróttkvætt* verses share a common purpose, in terms of their relationship to normal verses, and the need to explore further the structure of the skaldic *kviðuháttr*, the second most popular skaldic verse form. Other big-picture questions must also be raised, e.g. whether one can hope to engage in metrical reconstructions of sufficient specificity to be anything beyond a listing of the "quasi-universal" features of verse.

What we hope to gain, however, in broad terms is a better understanding of the application of the Comparative Method of linguistic analysis to verse structures. Furthermore, we must also ask ourselves to what purpose the Comparative Method may serve literary goals. Bloom's somewhat diachronic view of poets and poetry revolves primarily around what he terms "strong" poets (Bloom 1976:1-27), a method perhaps too subjective for a linguistic approach to literature. Rather, I would like to argue that the "quasi-universal features" exposed here demonstrate that a poetic text needs to be read not only in the terms of Wimsatt and Beardsley's notion of "interplay" (Wimsatt and Beardsley 1959), in the sense of tensions within the grammar of a poem's meter, but in a three dimensional view, wherein the grammar of the meter, the instanciation of the poet's composition, and the pragmatic and functional aspects of a verse's structure must all be taken into account. Our narrower goal, though, is to shed light on the poetic form of the now-lost oral tradition of Germanic alliterative verse. Despite the existence of only a fraction of what might have been, and the reliance on sources written and possibly composed by clerical figures not part of the oral tradition (Haymes 1986:27-32), we are able to gain a fair sense of the structure and form of the early poetry.

Chapter Two

The Problems of Comparative Metrical Analysis in Indo-European Metrics

> There are two different ways of practicing comparison: one can compare in order to draw from comparison either universal laws or historical information. These two types of comparison, equally valid, differ absolutely.
>
> (Meillet 1970:13)

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter within the dissertation as a whole is to establish some

fundamentals for the application of the Comparative Method to verse structures. What

we will highlight are the problematic aspects of comparative metrical analysis presented

in hypothesized reconstructions of a Proto-Indo-European verse as put forth, separately

though sequentially, by Meillet (1935, 1923), Jakobson (1952) and Watkins (1963).

Since these three works are seen as having established a basis for comparative metrical

analysis and are still currently referenced by further works, e.g. Freeman (1998),

Matasovic (1996:*passim*), Beekes (1995), Suzuki (1991, 1988), West (1976), it is

important that we demonstrate problems in the Meillet-Jakobson-Watkins hypotheses

heretofore unchallenged.[23] The key point to be made in this chapter is that the form and

position of a verse's structural features are determined by the role they play within the

verse-line. That there is a identifiable cause to these structures, and that these factors

enable us to identify the positioning within the verse removes their potential value as

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[23] This is not to say that the hypotheses were universally accepted. As we shall see below, criticisms have been leveled against these hypotheses by Campanile (1977) and Meid (1978). These two works, however, have not criticized the method with which the hypotheses were generated, an important aspect if one is to expect comparative analysis to gain any sort of applicability.

comparanda on par with the establishment of sets of phonological correspondences between lexical comparanda.

Prior to viewing the specifics of the problems in the Proto-Indo-European verse hypotheses, we will first give a cursory view of the Comparative Method and the difficulties faced when applying it to verse structure, and we will follow that with a short discussion of the notion of 'function' in linguistic analysis, in order to remove any ambiguity from its usage within this work. From there we will proced to each of the three parties of the Meillet-Jakobson-Watkins hypotheses, evaluating each in terms of the comparanda offered as evidence of relatedness. Our conclusion will be, however, that despite the similarities and commonalities of structure, we cannot guarantee a reconstruction of a proto-verse, since what stand out as commonalities might better be viewed as universal aspects of the structure of verse. By doing so we simultaneously limit the power of the Comparative Method for metrical analysis, yet at the same time establish some fundamental aspects of metrical structure.

2.2 The Essentials of the Comparative Method

The Comparative Method of linguistic analysis, that is, the comparison of more than one language with one or more related languages in order to produce a reconstruction of the language from which both arose, is not applicable to linguistics alone, with parallels to be drawn from biology (Anttila 1989:394), as well as from literary analysis (Watkins 1995, Meillet 1970:13-14).[24] As it stands in the field of linguistics,

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[24] The Comparative Method, furthermore, is not the only means of analysis in historical linguistics. The reconstruction of a single language by means of variation in the phonology and morphology is the method

however, the Comparative Method is a long-tested method, having been refined since its

first application by scholars in the early nineteenth century, e.g. Rask, Grimm, and Bopp

(McMahon 1994:18). Perhaps the most significant step in the refinement of the

Comparative Method came through Verner's accounting for some 'exceptions' to

Grimm's Law. If we turn to the example cited in Chapter One, the comparison of Old

English *fæeder*, Latin *pater*, Greek *patêr* and Sanskrit *pitá(r)-*, all 'father,' we can see

regular correspondences between the initial segment *f-p-p-p*, which may be tested with

other cognates, e.g. OE *fot*, Lat. *pes*, Gk. *poús*, and Skt. *pad-*, all 'foot.' Verner pointed

out, however, that the correspondence set of *d~t~t~t* did not jibe with other

correspondence sets, e.g. in words for 'brother' and the like: OE *broþer*, Lat. *frater*, Gk.

phrater, Skt. *bhrata(r)-*, which has the correspondence set of *þ~t~t~t*. The exception to

Grimm's Law in OE *fæder* was accounted for by noting the difference in accentuation

between the two cognates. The solution to the 'exception,' which since then has come to

be known Verner's Law, accounts for the difference by noting that intervocalic fricatives

not preceded by an accented syllable (as in PIE *phₐtér-*) became voiced. The far-

reaching consequence of Verner's Law, however, is the notion of exceptionlessness in

sound laws (Lass 1997:132-135, McMahon 1994:23-24, Anttila 1989:65-67, Hock

1986:37-42).

Unfortunately metrical structures do not enjoy the same regularity of change that

is found in phonological change. Even changes in the meter brought about by

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of Internal Reconstruction (applied in historical linguistics prior to the Comparative Method), a technique
we will be applying in Chapter Four to the skaldic *dróttkvætt*, prior to comparison with WGmc.
hypermetric verses.

phonological changes cannot be counted on. The effects of vowel epenthesis in Old

English verse, for example, fail to apply to the meter regularly, e.g. *Beowulf* 685a:

>   S   x x / S x
> *wig ofer wæpen*
> 'battle without a weapon'

which must have *wæpen* as a disyllable, which contrasts with the option of ignoring the

epenthetic vowel in favor of the earlier monosyllabic form, [25] e.g. *Beowulf* 2687a:

>   S   / S   x   s
> *wæpen wundrum heard*
> 'a marvelously hard weapon'

In a more general perspective, whereas one may see the plausibility in the change from

PIE */p/ > OE /f/ as a movement from stop to fricative, through the laxing of the stop, we

might not necessarily enjoy the same regularity and naturalness in change in metrical

structures. Anttila points out that the "operation of the comparative method rests on two

factors: the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign and regular phonetic change" (Anttila

1989:255). Although we do not have the opportunity here of demonstrating whether or

not there are processes in metrical change analogous to the "regular phonetic change," we

can cast doubt on the applicability of the Comparative Method to verse structures *qua*

phonological segments in lexical items, if we are able to successfully demonstrate the

lack of arbitrariness in the form of the comparanda.

What we will find is that the comparison of metrical structures does not lend itself

to the processes found in the comparative analysis of phonology. What stands in the way

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[25] Naturally, since this type of verse, the type D4, permits the sequence S/Sxs as well as Sx/Sxs, *Beowulf* 2687a does not offer a conclusive example of the monosyllabicity of *wæpen*. Verse 2687a is cited as evidence of the potentially dual status of *wæpen*. However, for a thorough treatment of parasitic vowels in Old English and their dual status in verse see Fulk (1992:66-91).

of the arbitrariness of these metrical signs is not that the purported cognate features are

non-arbitrary, but rather that the constellations formed by their placement and their

relationship to the roles they play within the verse are not arbitrary. This is most similar

to the point made by Kuno (1974) in explaining the tendencies observed in word-order

consistency in syntactic typologies. SOV languages tend to have prenominal relative

clauses, and VSO languages postnominal relative clauses, primarily because the reversal

of the relative placement of head and relative clause would bring about more center-

embedded relative clauses, a taxing exercise to perceive and parse.[26] To claim that two

languages were related based solely on the fact that they both had, for example, SOV

word-order as well as prenominal relative clause placement would be inadvisable.

Similarly, we will see below that if several verse structures were to share a collection of

seemingly arbitrary features, such as the possession of a cadence, the metrical ambiguity

of the final syllable with regard to syllabic length, the placement of a caesura prior to the

middle of the verse, etc., it could very well be the result of factors independent of poetic

tradition handed down from one generation to the next since times prior to the split of the

independent Indo-European languages in which these verse structures find themselves.

     In so far as analogy with word-order typological implications is accurate, the

abstract metrical patterns of a verse tradition act more like grammatical rules (cf., for

example, Wimsatt and Beardsley 1959) than lexical items, and as such are not necessarily

in a position to be reconstructable. In Section Four of this chapter we will be

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[26] One can note the difficulty with center-embedded relative clauses in the example offered by McMahon:
**The cheese [the rat [the cat chased] ate] was rotten (McMahon 1994:155).

demonstrating Lass's point that "A (perceptible) resemblance counts for something *per se*…though it may be a useful heuristic because it leads to falsifiable results" (Lass 1997:130). It should also be noted that Matasovic, e.g. (Matasovic 1996:113), does seek to account for typological factors, though in a fashion quite different from the one presented here, in which the typology exhibited by the Greek, Vedic, Slavic and Celtic verses here are accounted for in terms of viewing the structure as a function of factors governing verse in general.

2.3 The Problematic Notion of 'Function'

Since the approach we will take toward demonstrating the lack of arbitrariness in the comparative analysis of the structure of verse is by claiming its form to be a function of the roles that these structures play in the verse, and since the notion of 'function' can be problematic in linguistic discourse, it would be fitting to make some clarifications as to how the term 'function' is meant in this dissertation.

The causative, or motivational, factor for the phenomenon of a metrical structure such as a fixed cadence is essentially a functional one, in that the structure of the cadence is determied by the role it plays within the poetic line of which it is a part. It is a function of this role, in the sense below defined by Keller. This sense of functionalism differs from those encountered elsewhere in linguistic literature. Labov, for example, describes those theories as functionalist which have focused on the proposition that "the function of language is for the speaker (or writer) to communicate meaning to the listener (or reader)" (Labov 1994:547-48). This has the implication that all language change proceeds in order to facilitate communication. Since, however, we concern ourselves

here with poetic speech, rather than non-poetic speech, communication *per se* is obviously not the function of these speech-acts (Jakobson 1960[1987]:68-70). Skaldic poetry, as we shall see in Chapter Four, is nothing if not an excellent example of language used to draw attention to its message (the poetic form as the message) as well as to its context (the reference or the "content" of the speech-act), to put this into Jakobsonian terms. The term *functional*, along the lines defined by Keller, is particularly applicable here, especially in the second of his four senses of the word:

> A multitude of choices with unidirected aspects generates confirmation or modification of rules. This generative process, the so-called invisible-hand process, is causal. It is usually neither intended nor noticed by the speakers. The result of such a process, confirmation or change is a function of speakers' choices, a function in the logico-mathematical sense of the word.
> (Keller 1997:19)

In this sense, to use an example from biological evolution, the length of the giraffe's neck can be said to be a function of eating the leaves of trees. It is wrong, however, to claim that the giraffe's neck lengthened through evolution in order to reach the leaves of trees. Rather, those giraffes with longer necks managed to eat the leaves of trees and were more successful and reproduced more than shorter-necked giraffes, leading to a lengthening of the neck in the species as a whole (Keller 1997:13-14). The situation for the cadence of a verse is similar. As we shall see, the structure of the cadence is tied closely to its ability to act as a cadence. Cadences do not have to be by necessity a structure predicated or motivated fundamentally by linguistic structures or by poets, though they can. Forks and spoons, for example, do not owe the essential characteristics of their shapes to clever human ingenuity, though the subtle variations observable between various forks or

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various spoons might. Universal laws, such as gravity and friction, rather, have the greatest hand in determining the forms of these utensils. A fork is not suitable for eating a thin liquid, just as a spoon is not adept at stabbing and holding onto solid food with its point.

Although many have remarked on the existence of the phenomenon of the fixed cadence and the freer initial, only a few have looked to find a motivation or explanation for it. One of the first, though, is Allen (1973), working on the prosody of Greek and Latin, described the fixed cadence pheonomenon as a "demarcative signal" which provided "a division of the poem into lines" (Allen 1973:110). Allen, though, was concerned with notions of "tension" in verse, i.e. the contrast between the actual metrical pattern of a line as marked against the ideal metrical pattern of the line, what Wimsatt and Beardsley also call "interplay" (Wimsatt and Beardsley 1959). Although a metrical pattern might have a particular form, an ideal, this is not always fulfilled in actual composition, e.g. an iambic pentameter with five iambs. There will always be variations of the pattern in order to provide variation, such that one avoids monotony. This is balanced by the need for structure. Variation on a formless ideal is, of course, no variation at all. Allen argues that the fixity of the cadence, "the tendency to harmonize the ideal and the actual at the end of the line," provides the structure to maintain the tension in contrast to the freer portions of the verse.

In addition to providing tension within the line, these "demarcative signals" also serve to divide one line from the next (1973:110). Independently from Allen, Kurylowicz argued that the requisite *höfuðstafr* and a prohibition against alliteration on

the fourth stress of a Germanic alliterative long-line formed what he also termed a *Grenzsignal* (1975:151).[27] This makes sense in an oral tradition where such features act as aids to the audience. Inclusion of a demarcative signal decreases the demands on the listener to parse the language into metrical units (whether this occurs consciously or not). Rather than having to count every syllable, or every stressed syllable as it is spoken, the listener is able to note every cadence.

We should, however, also entertain the possibility that a demarcative signal, which has the effect of indicating line breaks, also has an effect more central to the nature of poetry. If linguistic features are used in poetry so as to draw attention to themselves, the essence of Jakobson's poetic function (Jakobson 1960[1987]:69-70), then delineating verse serves to foreground the line as an entity *per se*. Alternation of syllable stress and length, the rhythm and/or meter, highlights only those aspects of the language. It is the cadence that indicates that these rhythms, having been sequenced so as to contrast with the patterns of 'normal' speech, are organized into lines of verse. Whereas it is true that a demarcative signal divides the rhythm into linear or stichic segments and aids the listener in doing so as well, the ultimate purpose behind this is not to serve only as a metrical mile-marker. Rather, the division of metrical sequences into lines reinforces an essential drive of the poetic endeavor.

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[27] However, as we shall argue in Chapter 3, Kurylowicz's depiction of the lack of a fourth alliterator as a *Grenzsignal* will be called into question, since it is really a non-marker, rather than an overt indicator of the end of the line.

2.4 Comparative Indo-European Metrics and its Problems.

In order to demonstrate more clearly the difficulties faced in comparative metrics (for Germanic verse as well as in general), it would be beneficial to observe problems extant in other comparative metrical undertakings. As with comparative linguistics, often the most work done on the subject of comparative metrics is to be found in the study and reconstruction of the Indo-European languages. This will help draw attention to the fact that features such as the positioning of cadences and enjambment cannot serve as reliable features in a comparison. Although they fail in this respect, it will be apparent that we are still capable of using this information to aid our problem of the *dróttkvætt* in Chapter Four and, to a certain extent, our study of the Old English and Old Saxon heavy hypermetric verse in Chapter Three. This is particularly relevant in light of Roberta Frank's comment (1978:34) that the *dróttkvætt* shares many features with these other Indo-European verses. The explanation for these similarities will be presented below.

2.4.1 Meillet and Greek and Sanskrit Verse

The work that spawned most of the comparative Indo-European metrics of the 20th century was that of Antoine Meillet, who in 1923 published a monograph entitled *Les Origines Indo-Européennes des Mètres Grecs.* A more condensed form of the same material can be found also in his *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque* of 1935. The thrust of this treatise was aimed more toward the antiquity of the epic hexameter relative to the Saphhic Aeolic and the Alcaic verses, rather than a reconstruction of a proto-verse. Based on similarities with the Vedic, composed sometime between the 16th and 12th centuries B.C.E. (Mallory 1989:37), *triṭubh* and *jagati* verses, Meillet argued

that the Aeolic verses of Sappho and Alcaeus (approximately 7th and 6th centuries B.C.E., respectively) were meters of Indo-European inheritance, whereas the hexasyllabic with its innovation of responsion was of foreign origin and borrowed into Hellenic culture at a later date (Meillet 1935:144). Meillet supported these claims based on several traits shared by the Aeolic and Vedic verses:

> 1.) In both traditions the verse is comprised of an alternation of long and short syllables.
>
> 2.) A long syllable is defined in both Aeolic and Vedic poetry as a syllable containing a long vowel, or a syllable with a short vowel followed by two or more consonants.
>
> 3.) A fixed word-boundary toward the beginning of the line before or after the fifth syllable.
>
> 4.) The end of the line is more rigidly structured than the beginning "la partie sensible est la fin" (1935:139), whereas the beginning is freer.
>
> 5.) The length of the final syllable in the line is irrelevant.
>
> 6.) Each line has a constant number of syllables, either twelve (acatalectic) or eleven (catalectic) (Meillet 1935:139).

Although Meillet made the claim that the Greek Aeolic and Vedic meters were of Indo-European origin, he stopped short of a reconstruction, preferring only to enumerate the shared traits of Aeolic and Vedic meter. This was done partly due to his desire to reconstruct on the basis of three comparanda, eschewing reconstructions based on only two as arbitrary (Jakobson 1952:66).

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2.4.2 Jakobson and Slavic Verse

In a paper delivered in 1950, though based on work from the twenties and thirties, Roman Jakobson argued that there was reason to add a common Slavic meter into the comparison. The prime representative Slavic meter used for his comparison was the Serbo-Croatian *êpski desetérac* (or epic decasyllabic) as found in the epic poetry of the *guslari*, or singers, in the early 20th century. This epic decasyllabic was not a Slavic reflex of an Indo-European hendecasyllabic or dodecasyllabic line, but rather it represented, as Jakobson saw it, the reflex of a meter from a different genre. Whereas the Aeolic and Vedic verses were attested in hymns, the Slavic decasyllabic found its closest cousin in the Greek paroemiac, a verse used in association with proverbs and early epic material (Jakobson 1952:64-65). Despite the variation in number of syllables, the Slavic decasyllabic shares four traits identified by Meillet:

1.) Isosyllabism (ten syllables).

2.) Indifferent quantity in the final (tenth) syllable.

3.) Initial portion of the verse freer than the final.

4.) Compulsory word-boundary before the fifth syllable.

Based on the evidence from Greek and Slavic Jakobson posited the existence of an Indo-European "Gnomic-Epic Decasyllable."

2.4.3 Watkins and Irish Verse

Irish verse was the next verse tradition to be compared with the meters studied by Meillet and Jakobson. Though Watkins sees the history of early Irish verse slightly differently now (Watkins 1995:20), this article published in 1963 remains one of the

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more often cited works on comparative Indo-European metrics, and still remains a thorough overview of Old Irish metrical terminology and examples.

In this work Watkins sees a connection between Irish heptasyllabics, found in the earliest Irish texts, and various shorter verses found in Greek, Indic, and Slavic poetry. After arguing for the existence of a mixed meter of alternating longer and short verses (Watkins 1963:195-199), Watkins suggests that the predecessor of the Irish heptasyllabic line could have been an octosyllabic verse, its cognate meters being the Vedic *gayatri*, the Slavic epic octosyllabic, and the Greek catalectic *enoplion*. This mixed meter of long and short lines correlates, he argues, with a functional and generic difference: the longer line is the more formal of the two (1963:241).[28] The shorter, octosyllabic line is understood as a version of the hendecasyllabic line, with its central colon of three syllables removed. Equating the length requirements of the Greek and Vedic verses to the stress requirements in Irish, Watkins lists the four primary similarities among the verses:

1) It has a fixed line of seven syllables.

2) The first four syllables are entirely free as to stress, the fifth must be stressed and the sixth unstressed.

3) There is a compulsory word-boundary after the fourth syllable.

4) The seventh syllable, may be either stressed or unstressed.

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[28] A notion taken up and argued for the relationship between normal and hypermetric lines in Suzuki (1991).

Watkins cites catalexis, the dropping of a syllable in the cadence, as the cause for change from an octosyllabic verse to a heptasyllabic verse. Receptions of Watkins paper were mixed. On the one hand one finds articles seeking to connect other verse traditions, mainly Italic and Germanic, to the hypothesized Indo-European verse, exemplary are West (1976) and Suzuki (1991, 1988).

On the other hand, though, one finds some works critical of comparative metrics. Enrico Campanile questioned in 1977 the validity of not only Watkins' work, but by extension, Jakobson's and Meillet's as well, when he approached the question of how accurate the data on Vedic meter were. Based on a careful study of Vedic meter, using statistical evidence from Arnold's *Vedic Meter in its Historical Development*, Campanile comes to the conclusion that:

> the quantitative cadence is not a structural element in the Vedic octosyllabic. We do not deny however, that a certain type of cadences (the iambic, and to a certain extent, the trochaic) are preferred and from a statistical standpoint are pronounced; this belongs, though, to the realm of good stylistics, of taste, of the literary tradition, not to the structure of verse.
>
> (Campanile 1977:186)

Although Campanile points out that not every cadence conforms to previous characterizations, a statistically "pronounced" tendency is still a good indication of a structural feature that requires some explanation. However, it is also an indication that overgeneralization should be checked at every stage of a comparative analysis and that preference should be given to studies with a textually solid basis.

Kurylowicz in his 1975 monograph, *Metrik und Sprachgeschichte*, argues also that since there are great difficulties even in trying to reconcile the meters of closely

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related languages, namely Vedic and Avestan, that it seems quite unlikely that a reconstruction based primarily on Vedic and Greek would be more accurate. He writes:

> Obwohl es kaum zweifelhaft ist, daß im Indoir. metrisch geformte Texte bestanden haben, können wir doch auf Grund der Zusammenstrellung des Vedischen und des Gathischen keine indoiranische, geschweige eine indogermanische Metrik rekonstruieren.[29]
>
>   (Kurylowicz 1975:238)

Wolfgang Meid does not see much potential in comparative metrics either, citing a meter's dependence upon the particular type of accent evident in a given language. If accentuation changes, so too then must the meter change (Meid 1978:14). Meid, however, later goes on to suggest that there are apparently metrical universals, for which he cites "the tendency to create 'long' and 'short' lines" and "exceptionally pronounced line-closures (cadences with the character of border-markers)"(Meid 1990:39).

2.4.4 The Demarcative Signal

Despite these criticisms, however, even up until recently (Freeman 1998, Fabb 1997:67 and Beekes 1995:42-44) we encounter elements of Meillet's proposed hypotheses. Two characteristics have been particularly hardy, isosyllabism (that the line contains a constant number of syllables) and the idea of a fixed cadence with a free initial. I would like to argue, though, that these two properties are precisely the reason why we cannot adequately apply the comparative method to these verses.

In an analysis of the structure of Greek and Latin meter, Mikhail Gasparov in 1996 offered some explanations for the hypothetical Indo-European verse. Chief among

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[29] Rough trans. "Although it is hardly doubtful that metrically formed texts existed in Indo-Iranian, we are, however, unable to reconstruct on the basis of the comparison of Vedic and Gathic an Indo-Iranian, to say nothing of an Indo-European meter."

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these is the notion that the fixed cadence serves as a delimiter of the verse line, especially

the last two syllables. Gasparov suggests that when poets placed a marker at the end of

the line, listeners would have been better able to perceive the line as such, rather than

having to "keep track" of a long sequence of longs and shorts. This cadence would be

most pronounced with a long syllable preceding a short syllable, though the final syllable

could occur with either value (Gasparov 1996:8-9). Moreover, this preferred cadence of

a long followed by any a syllable of any length would have been further set off by

preceding the long syllable with another short syllable. A variant, though, could occur if

the penultimate syllable were short, in which case it would be preceded by an iamb

(Gasparov 1996:49). This feature, then, is a demarcative signal (*Grenzsignal*).

     If cadences function as demarcative signals, then we are faced with a considerable

problem in regards to the comparative method. Dealing with these border markers we

must address whether or not the role of such a device determines its form and placement,

i.e. whether form and location are a function of the usage. A metrical demarcative signal

would be poorly suited in the middle of the line, the position located furthest from any

border. Only the beginnings and ends of lines are capable of carrying a working

Grenzsignal.

     Although a demarcative signal can be placed at either limit, it seems best suited at

the end of the line. Initial *Grenzsignale*, I would like to argue, always leave a remainder,

something that would not occur if it were line-final. The asymmetrical arrangement of

alliteration in Germanic alliterative verse, where only on-verses are permitted to contain

double alliteration or alliteration only on the second lift, is an example of a left-headed

demarcative signal. After the final signal, there is always a bit more left over which is unbounded on the "right." A right-headed demarcative signal, though, does not have the same problem. The left-most boundary is marked by the beginning of the utterance or by the previous demarcative signal, and the right-most by the final demarcative signal. This is not intended to be an absolute rule, rather just a reason for a strong preference for one option over the other. In either case we are left with the following equation for the upper limit on the location of a *Grenzsignal*:

$$C < n/2$$

Where *n* equals the number of significant units; in our case it equals the number of syllables per line, and *C* stands for the location of the cadence. By marking the location of the demarcative signal as less than half of the number of significant units in a line, we indicate that it must occur somewhere other than the middle of the line (the least effective position for a demarcative signal). Given that this *Grenzsignal* must also indicate something, we are also forced to conclude that it must include at least two significant units, either a repetition or a contrast of sorts. Therefore the lower limit on the location of a demarcative signal must be:

$$C = 2$$

We also find here a possible explanation for the existence of the final *anceps*, the final syllable whose quantity is irrelevant, as found in several Indo-European meters. As long as the penultimate syllable's quantity is more or less fixed, the final syllable will be either contrastive or repetitive. With this in mind, we should not be surprised to find a *Grenzsignal* located between the sixth and ninth syllables in a line of eleven and twelve

syllables. This range drops accordingly in deca- and octosyllabic lines. This holds true

for the *dróttkvætt*. The *dróttkvætt* contains six significant units (the metrical positions),

which disfavors the third and fourth positions as the site of a demarcative signal.

Moreover, since more than one unit is required to show a contrast or repetition, we find

the cadence of the *dróttkvætt* confined to the fifth and sixth positions of the line.

If we look back to Meillet's third comparandum, a required word boundary before

or after the fifth syllable, we will also notice that a similar predictability presents itself

here as well. Let us entertain the possibility that this juncture, or bridge, serves to

prevent the misanalysis of the line into two equal halves. Gasparov has suggested similar

causes for requisite word-boundaries before the cadence (Gasparov 1996:9). We would

perhaps do better to say that these word-boundaries are not so much required in the

places they appear, but rather that there is a strong prohibition on word-boundaries in

adjacent positions. The maximum placement of such a device, limited as it is from the

latter half of the line by the cadence, will have to be:

$$J = (n/2)-1$$

$$J\ ?\ n/2\ ^{30}$$

Here J stands for the placement of the juncture. These compulsory word-boundaries are,

in a sense, similar to setting a controlling fire to prevent an even more dangerous fire

from spreading. The line is cut in order to save it. By forcing a word-boundary at an

asymmetrical position within the line and within close proximity to the center point, the

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[30] We might also speculate that there is a limit preventing the juncture from appearing as a left-headed
demarcative signal, such that J is more than two syllables after the beginning of the line.

continuity of the line is maintained by preventing a division in the middle of the line. Consider as an example the Serbo-Croatian epic decasyllabic, which has a compulsory word-boundary before the fourth syllable; the third syllable, in fact, receives its own little *Grenzsignal*, in that it is usually stressed (Jakobson 1952:24). We find a similar feature within the last three positions in the *dróttkvætt*. Occasionally one finds a syntactic unit formed by the last three syllables, often a preposition followed by a nominal, or an infinitive verb preceded by the infinitive marker *at* or an auxiliary verb, e.g.:

> *Flaut of set,* **við sveita**, (*Ragnarsdrápa* 4:1)[31]

> "Floated on the floor, **to the retinue**,"

We see here how the prepositional phrase *við sveita* spans the word-boundary between the forth and fifth positions. As mentioned earlier, this interplay between the syntax and meter argues against the suggestion that the *dróttkvætt* is just a *fornyrðislag* line with an appended trochee, since a verse such as *Flaut of set, við* would be ungrammatical and unmetrical in the eddic verse.

As we have seen, elements 3, 4, 5 of Meillet's comparison are quite predictable, as far as their location is concerned. It is also likely that, as Meid suggests, the first two of Meillet's comparanda, which are related to the determination of syllable length, depend more on the structure of the language than on an inherited characteristic. What remains, though, is Meillet's sixth characteristic: isosyllabism, though it alone is hardly enough to base a comparative reconstruction. As Matasovic points out, both the Old Irish heptasyllabic verse viewed by Watkins and the second line of a Japanese haiku stanza

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[31] Text from Jónsson (1908), my bold and trans.

contain seven and only seven syllables, a fact which does not necessarily indicate relatedness (Matasovic 1996:113). However, Matasovic's rejection of the relationship between the Old Irish heptasyllabic and haiku, as well as the relationship between the Vedic *jagati* and the classical Arabic *rajaz* verse (both dodecasyllabic) (Matasovic 1996:113), can also be seen as the product of an analogy: language A and language B are from a common source, therefore a verse structure of language A and a similar verse structure from language B are related as well.[32] Unfortunately this masks the need for the verse structures themselves to be shown to be related to one another and to be put up to the test of the Comparative Method. As Lass pointed out, shared similarities do not demonstrate relatedness *per se* (Lass 1997:130).

This is not to say that Meillet, Jakobson, or Watkins were necessarily wrong, merely that we must say "If there were a verse that was isosyllabic, it would tend to have a freer initial and a fixed cadence, the final syllable of which may be either long or short, and a word boundary located prior to the middle of the verse." And though these equations do not predict the location of these devices absolutely, they do establish probabilities that do not allow for accurate comparative reconstruction. If we take an eleven-syllable verse, for example's sake, and apply the above ranges for the location of the cadence (which must lie between the fifth and second syllables) and juncture (which must lie between the third and fifth) provides a one-in-nine chance that two

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[32] Matasovic also makes an unwarranted assumption in his treatment of the occurrence of alliteration in Germanic, Celtic and Italic poetry as an indication that "frequent use of alliterations [sic] is a dialectal feature of Western IE poetic traditions" (Matasovic 1996:112). Given the geographic and cultural contiguity evidenced here, it should not be forgotten that one must exclude the possibility of borrowing or influence from one party of the comparison to another, before one can safely assume a historical relationship (Lass 1997:172).

hendecasyllabic verses chosen at random would have these features in identical locations.

Even if we account for the possibility of left-headed demarcative signals as an option, our

chances are only raised to one in eighteen. In comparison, Hock's rough calculation of

the possibility that two languages each with a phonemic inventory of twenty consonants

and five vowels would share a sequence *basta* run to about one in 400,000 (Hock

1986:558).[33] These first attempts at the application of the comparative method to meter

have made the analogy (albeit falsely) that a sequence of elements in a verse would

behave like a sequence of segments within words. Unlike the segments of a word,

though, each segment within a verse affects and is affected by adjacent segments, to such

an extent that the patterns evident, though complex, are no longer arbitrary.

2.5 Summary of Chapter Two

What we gain from this analysis is an understanding of the nature and behavior of

certain structural features, such as cadences, caesurae and juncture. The problem exists

for the Indo-European verses that although there are four verse-traditions with meters

containing identical or very similar features, it would be unwarranted to reconstruct a

proto-verse with those same elements. We find ourselves in a position where the

hypothesized proto-verse might or might not contain those features, since each of the

hypothesized daughter-verses could have reasonably developed the very same

independently. Since these features are functions of their roles in the preservation and

delineation of the cohesion of the verse-line we cannot guarantee their historical

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[33] This is, of course, a rough generalization, which Hock points out; however, for comparative purposes, the magnitude of difference between one in eighteen and one in 400,000 is large enough to account for almost any margin of error. One should also note that there is no way to account for the chances that both sequences also share sufficient semantic similarity to warrant their being considered cognate.

relationship to one another. It is more likely that these similarities are typological in nature, rather than genetic. However, we would be able to say, without needing to reference any daughter-verses or engage in any comparative analysis, that it is likely that the proto-verse had them as well. Although this might seem to be a strike against the possibility of comparative metrical reconstruction, we do gain something in return. This helps also to explain Frank's observation that:

> this cadenced and syllabic poetry, different from anything else in Germanic, resembles in its basic structure the earliest verse pattern known from other Indo-European traditions – Celtic, Greek, Slavic, and Vedic Sanskrit – a type characterized by isosyllabism, relatively free stress in the first half of the line, a caesura, and a cadence with fixed stress at the end of the line.
> (Frank 1978:34)

We will see in Chapter Four, however, that although the *dróttkvætt* keeps strict limitations on the number of permitted syllables in a verse, it is not isosyllabic as these other Indo-European verses are. Furthermore, since it is the *communis opinio* that the *dróttkvætt* has most likely a Scandinavian origin (Gade 1995:7-12, Árnason 1992:81-89), i.e. a time of genesis that certainly follows any period of Indo-European unity, the possession of similar structures by separate verse traditions is best accounted for in terms of typological similarity, rather than historical relatedness. In reference to a similar problem, that of the role of typology in morpho-syntactic reconstruction, Anttila comes to the conclusion that "[t]ypology and comparative reconstruction have inherently different goals and they should not be allowed to override each other. When there is a clash between history and typology, typology loses" (Anttila 1989:259). Furthermore, since we are not faced with a situation in which typology is being employed as a means to add

support to a reconstruction carried out by the Comparative Method, a technique which historical linguists can use to judge a reconstruction (Hock 1986:617-618), the Meillet-Jakobson-Watkins hypotheses concerning the Proto-Indo-European verse stands on uncertain ground.

In the remaining chapters we will make further use of the notion of the demarcative signal, since it is the most important of the structural features of verse discussed here. As was done in this chapter, the following chapter will examine possibly cognate metrical structures and evaluate them for their chances of a demonstrable historical relationship, by examining a small set of metrically aberrant verses in the Old English and Old Saxon alliterative poetic traditions. Despite the general rule of thumb that similar irregularities tend to be shared by related languages (Hock 1986:563-64), we will see how the metrical aberrations, in the form of the heavy hypermetric verse, cannot be viewed as being historically contected, since their form is governed by their employment within the poems they occur. Although the similarities between Old English and Old Saxon heavy hypermetric verses are accountable by factors other than historical relatedness and whose form is a function of their usage, they are not necessarily typological as are the similarities evident in the verse-structures of several Indo-European languages. Whereas we have discussed the right-headed demarcative signal, Chapter Three will argue for the possibility that the alliterative scheme of Germaic alliterative verse serves as a left-headed demarcative signal, a factor which in part enables the innovation of heavy hypermetric on-verses.

The right-headed demarcative signal will be taken up again in Chapter Four, where I will argue that the generation of a strong cadence within the *dróttkvætt* verse represents a natural progression from less structured to more structured in the formation of a fixed, contrastive cadence. I will argue further that the prominence of this cadence in the *dróttkvætt* was sufficient to separate itself metrically from the initial portion of the line, again an example of the free initial combined with the fixed cadence, such that the first four positions of the line were reanalyzed in terms of the structure of a four-positioned *fornyrðislag* verse.

Chapter Three

A Comparative Analysis of Old English and Old Saxon Heavy Hypermetric Verses

…dipursus peturpursus…[34]
-Iguvine Tables VIb 10-11

3.1 Introduction

The topic that faces us in this chapter is whether one can logically posit a heavy hypermetrical verse structure in the oral poetic tradition which gave birth to both Old English and Old Saxon alliterative poetry. The quick answer is to say that we cannot. However, as we saw in the previous chapter, understanding the limitations of the comparative method when applied to poetic structures is elucidating nonetheless. The comparative analysis of these seemingly aberrant metrical constructions in both traditions brings to light a rational explanation for the existence of these heavy hypermetric verses as a functionally-motivated phenomenon. Similar to the way in which the function of a demarcative signal, juncture or caesura determines its position within a line of verse, we shall see that the function of the heavy hypermetrical verse, which is to cause the verse to stand out or be foregrounded against the surrounding verse, determines its shape. Saxon and Anglo-Saxon poets employed heavy hypermetric verses so as to highlight significant passages of poems. It is not insignificant to note that these heavy hypermetric verses occur in poems with a high percentage of regular hypermetrical verses. The only way for the poets to one-up the regular hypermetrics was to add an additional stress to the verse.

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[34] Trans. "…for the two-footed, for the four-footed…" A variation of the PEOPLE and LIVESTOCK formula found in various Indo-European poetic traditions (Watkins 1995:42-43), which expresses a totality. Likewise, in this chapter we will attempt to approach getting a sense of the totality of metrical structures in Old English and Old Saxon verse by looking not only at two-footed verses, but four-footed ones as well.

The functional motivation for these constructions, however, is precisely that which prevents our being able to posit this form in the system of a hypothetical proto-verse. Given the same set of rules to work with along with the same motivating factors, we cannot rule out the possibility that these structures, as arbitrary as they may seem in form, were not independently developed in each of the two traditions at a point in time subsequent to their splitting from the common origin.

The structure of this chapter will be simple. After an introduction and definition of the relevant metrical types to be discussed, I will briefly discuss Russom's Word-Foot model of Germanic alliterative verse and the problems these verses pose for that model, in particular the *Universal Overlap Constraint*, hereafter abbreviated UOC.[35] (Following immediately thereupon) I will then present all verses that, to my knowledge, have been claimed to represent the heavy hypermetrical verse type. Each verse will be analyzed independently for its textual validity, i.e. free from scribal errors, emendations, and other possible scansions. At that point it will be clear that the actual number of heavy hypermetric verses within the relevant corpora is smaller than claimed at first, but that these metrical types do, in fact, exist, and are not mistakes in the general sense of corrupt passages which need restoration to a more original form. Nor will I claim that Russom's UOC need be amended, despite the 23 violations of the UOC in the Old English, Old Saxon, as well as the early ninth-century Old High German *Hildebrandslied*, since this study is not primarily concerned with issues of the validity of the various metrical models available for Old English and other early alliterative verse traditions. Rather, I see the

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[35] "Avoid feet that resemble verses and verses that resemble feet" (Russom 1998:219).

UOC as a generally valid principle, the violation of which provides a sense of why these verses stand out within a poem and why and how the poets made excellent use of these departures from the norm.

Furthermore, as an additional red-thread unifying the preceding chapter with this one and the next, we shall be interested with the notion of the demarcative signal in verse structure. As argued in the previous chapter, there is no absolute reason why a verse tradition should place a demarcative signal at the right versus the left edge of a metrical structure. The asymmetrical distribution of alliteration in Germanic alliterative verse, i.e. either lift of the on-verse is permitted to alliterate, whereas only the first lift of the off-verse may, represents in actuality a left-headed demarcative signal. Just as the stressed or accentuated syllable of a word may function as a demarcative signal for the boundaries of a word in a language (van der Hulst 1999:4-7), so too may metrical and para-metrical features of verses serve as demarcative signals. Although Kurylowicz has argued that the constraint against an alliterating syllable in the fourth lift of a line acts as a *Grenzsignal* (1975:151), we shall see that it is not, in fact, an overt demarcative signal. On the contrary it serves as a demarcative non-signal. The correlative use of double alliteration and metrical complexity in the on-verse is better seen as the locus of alliteration's employment as a demarcative signal (cf. Russom 1987:83-84), which would turn the alliterative pattern of off-verses into something which is not permitted to be misinterpreted as an on-verse. With one exception (*Maxims I* 100a), the heavy hypermetric verses below have alliterative patterns which equal those of whole long-lines, i.e. the fourth lift of each verse does not contain an alliterating syllable. In this case

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they conform to Kurylowicz's description of a demarcative signal. Unfortunately each of these heavy hypermetric on-verses is accompanied by either a hypermetrical (typical) or normal (exceptional) off-verse. The long-lines formed with heavy hypermetrical on-verses would then have two demarcative signals, which would be the equivalent of a word's having two primary stresses. This certainly cannot be the case. In very general terms, what enables the poet to make use of heavy hypermetrical verses, without extensive disruption to the flow of the verse, is the left-headedness of alliteration's demarcative function, which allows one to continue until hitting the next signal.

3.1.1 A Brief Sketch of Normal versus Hypermetrical Verse Forms

Regardless of which model of Old English or Germanic alliterative verse one subscribes to, one thing is apparent. The majority of verses in all three major traditions of Germanic alliterative verse, i.e. Old English, Old Saxon, and Old Norse, contain four metrical positions with one or two syllables with primary stress, these we will refer to as normal verses. There are, however, a number of verses that contain more than two primary stresses. These verses are too numerous to be discounted as scribal errors or the result of faulty transmission. The Old English poetic corpus, of some 60,000 verses, contains fewer than 1000 of these hypermetric verses (Fulk 2001:150). The *Heliand* and the *Genesis Fragment* contribute a total of 361 hypermetric verses to the Old Saxon corpus of some 12,640 verses (Hofmann 1991:181). Hypermetric verses as such do not occur in the early Scandinavian poetic traditions; however, as I argue in the following chapter, the skaldic *dróttkvætt* stands a good chance of being the Old Norse reflex of the common Germanic hypermetric verse.

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The hypermetric lines are employed in several ways. Timmer points out that these verses are used to mark the beginnings and ends of passages and of poems, and to mark a general 'elevated' style (Timmer 1952:229 *et passim*), this elevated style sometimes being paired with a gradual, bell-shaped increase in verse length, or in clusters (Bennet 1935:63-64).[36] Whether this elevated style is a property, inherited from Indo-European times, as claimed in Suzuki (1992), will perhaps never be known for absolute surety. However, it will be the position in this paper that the stylistic use of hypermetric lines is less dependent on traditional uses than it is on their usage, gaining a sense of elevated style simply because the elevation is marked through a disruption of the normal meter with an alternate or variant. The normal and hypermetric verse types can only gain such meaning because of their relationship to one another, just as Saussure's signs gain their meaning only through their difference from other signs (Saussure 1996:118-120).

The greatest difficulty inhibiting a thorough study of hypermetric verses in general is the paucity of evidence. Although we can say a considerable amount in relatively broad terms about these meters, there is as of yet no metrical framework agreed upon which completely accounts for all verses in the corpus (Fulk 2001:151). Sievers saw the hypermetrics as an overlap of lifts between two normal verses. The last foot of one verse served also as the first foot of another (Sievers 1893:139-44). Bliss, however, demonstrated that there are verses that Sievers' formulation is unable to account for, the often-cited example of the exception is *Guthlac* 5a, *greteð gæst oþerne*, which when

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[36] See also Hieatt (1980) for a brief, but informative analysis of the envelope-patterning function of hypermetric lines in *Judith*.

divided accrding to Sievers' theory would produce a verse of unacceptable structure (Bliss 1958:88).

John C. Pope's analysis of hypermetrical verses is naturally in keeping with his musical theory of the rhythm of *Beowulf*. Whereas normal verses are mapped onto a 4/4 measure of rhythm, hypermetrical verses are spread across two measures of 8/4 (Pope 1942[1966]:126). Although no one approaches Old English meter with Pope's rhythmic view, Pope coined a good portion of the terminology we use to speak of hypermetrical lines. The first distinction we should make in describing the different types of hypermetrical verses is one which Pope terms weak and strong. Weak hypermetric verses, the most common type encountered for hypermetric off-verses, are those which have a series of unstressed syllables prior to the first lift, and only two main stresses (Pope 1942[1966]:126-27). The second type, the strong hypermetric, is most common in the on-verse, and is characterized by having three stressed syllables, the first of which carries the alliteration when in the off-verse. These strong-hypermetrical off-verses are relatively rare and tend to correlate with an antithetical-pair construction in the line (Pope 1942[1966]:134-35).[37] I will be referring to these types of hypermetrical verses as regular hypermetrical verses to distinguish them from the heavy hypermetrical ones.

Bliss opts for a different method of description, though there are some similarities. Rather than viewing a hypermetric line as a pair of overlapped verses as does Sievers, Bliss sees it as a verse, whose second foot is "expanded" into a larger foot.

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[37] *Maxims II* l.42 cited below is a prime example of a strong hypermetrical off-verse construction.

In verses ending with – x (verse types[38] a, 1A, 2A, and 2C) may be replaced with any verse beginning with a lift (verse types 1A, 1D, 2A, 2E, and 3E). Verses ending with a single lift (verse types 2B, 2E, 3B, and 3E) may have that final lift replaced with a sequence equal to verses of types 2B, 2C or 3B (1958:89-90). Although Bliss' system of description is far more accurate than that of Sievers, its shortcoming is the same as the shortcoming present in his theories concerning normal verses, namely that the descriptive adequacy conceals explanatory inadequacy. Moreover, the complexity of rules as well as the multiplicity of sub-types makes for a rather unwieldy system to use. Whereas the regular hypermetrics have one foot expanded, the heavy hypermetric, also termed the "double" hypermetric, was argued by Bliss to have two expansions (Bliss 1958:90-91). These heavy hypermetric verses, however, remain a bit of mystery. There will be no attempt here to explain in full the underlying structure of heavy hypermetrics, primarily because the paucity of evidence does not allow one to observe with sufficient breadth the variety of permissible heavy hypermetric patterns and to draw adequate generalizations. We will, however, make general assumptions about the heavy hypermetric verses, namely that they contain four stresses and roughly approximate the metrical patterns of two normal verses, though not always, e.g. *Maxims I* 58a, 100a.

3.1.2 Russom's Word-Foot Model of Hypermetric Verses

Although we will be employing Russom's word-foot model of alliterative verse, it is not necessarily because that is held as the most accurate representation of the structure

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[38] These are Bliss's designations.

of alliterative verse, but rather for two other reasons.[39] First, Russom's word-foot model, as put forth in his 1987 *Old English Metre and Linguistic Theory* and updated for Old Norse and Old Saxon in the 1998 *Beowulf and Old Germanic Metre*, makes specific claims about what may and may not constitute an acceptable verse. Secondly, the latter work is the latest large treatment of Germanic alliterative verse in a comparative manner, which, given the nature of the topic at hand, provides a common point of reference for further treatments of the subject.

In general, Russom's approach to Old English verse involves treating the feet of verses in terms of the typical shapes of words found in Old English. Each normal verse is composed of a pair of feet, and the complexity of the pair is regulated by pairing light feet with heavy feet or equally weighted feet with each other. The alliteration, moreover, is regulated by a system analogous to the rules of Old English stress-placement, whereby a long line is composed of binary branches, with weak and strong values. Each line contains four feet, and the last foot is restricted from participating in the alliteration because it represents the weakest branch (Russom 1987:1-24). Whereas a normal verse consists of two feet, each foot with no more than one primary stress, hypermetric verses are composed of one normal sized foot and a larger foot, the shape of which corresponds to that of a large compounded word. Russom is careful to note, though, that he does not

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[39] Likewise, I will be referring occasionally to metrical constructions according to their relation to Sievers' Five-types, not as an endorsement of the Sievers system, but because they are a convenient and easily understood short-hand.

seek to explain all evidenced hypermetrics, merely the most common types (Russom 1987:59-61).[40]

What is of greatest interest to us in this study is the fact that, on the one hand, Russom's word-foot model accounts for the "most widespread patterns" which demands that we prove it with more marginal hypermetrical types, and, on the other hand, the fact that each heavy hypermetrical verse is a violation of the *Universal Overlap Constraint* as formulated by Russom that the poet should "[a]void feet that resemble verses and verses that resemble feet." Originally formulated so as to exclude verses of the shape Sxx/S, it would also extend to the heavy hypermetric verses, since each heavy hypermetric is roughly the equivalent of two normal verses (Russom 1998:31). The feet of the heavy hypermetric verses resemble verses. That the heavy hypermetrics do not conform to the UOC is no reason to discard it, though. That it is a constraint, and not a rule or law indicates that it is, within reason, violable. More importantly, it is of greater use to us and to our understanding of heavy hypermetric verses that the UOC exists, since I will be arguing that the heavy hypermetrics are employed as departures from the norm so as to arouse attention and to foreground certain passages within the poetry. An exception without a rule is not an exception.

3.2 The Old English Heavy Hypermetrics

There are a number verses in the Old English poetic corpus, scanned as heavy hypermetric verses by Bliss, whose exact metrical composition at first appears to be an

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[40] Scansions of Old English and Old Norse will follow Russom's notation, whereby a /S/ indicates a heavy primary stress or a resolved sequence, /s/ indicates a heavy or resolved sequence with secondary stress, /x/ indicates an unstressed syllable. Feet are divided by slashes, with double slashes indicating caesurae. I have chosen to mark the two halves of a heavy hypermetric verse with double slash marks as well.

open question. The verses purported to be heavy hypermetrics by Bliss are to be found in *Beowulf*, *Genesis A*, *Maxims I*, *Maxims II*, and *Daniel*.[41] Another two verses are located in *Genesis B* which, as a translation from an Old Saxon original, will be discussed with the verses from the *Heliand* and the Old Saxon *Genesis Fragment*. The total number of verses purported to be heavy hypermetrics in the Old English poetic corpus is 10. We shall see, though, that only eight may be accurately described as heavy hypermetrics. Each verse will be examined not only for its metrical structure and textual stability, but also as to whether or not it occurs within a cluster of hypermetric verses. Provided that a verse is intelligible within its context, i.e. there are no syntactic or morphological errors that might indicate a line-skip error in scribal transmission, and the verse occurs preferably in a cluster of hypermetric verses, though not necessarily, and giving preference to the manuscript form rather than editorial emendations, we will accept the verse as a heavy hypermetric if its metrical form is either the equivalent of two normal verses, or if the metrical form clearly indicates four stresses within the verse.

To explain these verses as a line-skip error, whereby the scribe copied two verses and overlooked the subsequent on-verse and continued with a hypermetric off-verse is not the best option. Although it is a logical possibility, the fact that these passages are seemingly intact, i.e. lacking syntactic and morphological errors, and that the alliteration carries over, one may see that these passages are sufficiently legible. Furthermore there are some verses whose metrical composition would not be equivalent to a pair of

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[41] *Daniel* l.207a is not considered a heavy hypermetric by Bliss because as it stands edited in the *ASPR* it appears as a corrupt verse.

acceptable verses, e.g. *Maxims I* l.100a. Hutcheson has argued that the reliability of scribal transmission of poetic texts is sufficiently accurate as to not be an influential aspect of the metrical interpretation of Anglo-Saxon meter (1995:16-21). We will, however, examine each suspect verse within its surrounding context so as to add another safeguard against this.

3.2.1 *Beowulf* l.1166a

Before we can begin to deal with those verses that are truly heavy hypermetrics, we must first determine the exact metrical status of two problematic verses. We shall see, though, that there is sufficient evidence to exclude these verses from our discussion. Among these, *Beowulf* 1166a, couched within the hypermetric cluster depicting Wealhþeow and the marvelously ironic courage of Unferþ in ll. 1162-68,[42] presents a prime example:

> *Þa cwom Wealhþeo forð*
> *gan under gyldnum beage   þær þa godan twegen*
> *sæton suhtergefæderan;   þa gyt wæs hiera sib ætgædere,*
> *æghwylc oðrum trywe.   Swylce þær Unferþ þyle*
> *æt fotum sæt frean Scyldinga;   gehwylc hiora his ferhþe treowde*
> *þæt he hæfde mod micel,   þeah þe he his magum nære*
> *arfæst æt ecga gelacum.   Spræc ða ides Scyldinga:[43]*

> "Wealhþeow then came forth
> walking under a golden ring   to there where the two good men,

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[42] Ll. 1162b-1168b is the first hypermetric cluster in *Beowulf*. This passage is also Wealhþeow's second appearance in the poem. It appears as though the poet makes multiple use of this metrical variation to highlight her entrance as well as to contrast Beowulf's relationship with Hroþgar as set against that of Unferþ's. This is all the more likely, given that *swylce* introduces a comparison, as well as the fact that there is prominent usage of quasi-parallel constructions, e.g. *æghwylc oðrum trywe* which contrasts with *gehwylc hiora his ferhþe treowde*. Moreover, the employment of *æghwylc oðrum* sets up the *gehwylc hiora* to be understood as a sort of third-person exclusive "each of them," i.e. Beowulf and Hroþgar, with *his ferhþe*, i.e. Unferþ's, as outside of the scope of *hiora*.

[43] Citations from *Beowulf* are from Klaeber's third edition, *sans* macrons. All other citations of Old English verse are from the *ASPR* unless otherwise indicated.

uncle and nephew, were sitting;   their kinship was still intact,
each faithful to the other.   Likewise, the spokesman Unferþ
sat at the feet of the lord of the Scyldings;   each of them trusted his spirit,
that he had great courage,   even though he might not have been
kind to his kinsmen in the playing of swords.   The lady of the Scyldings then
spoke:"

Bliss (1958:90-91) scans 1166a, *æt fotum sæt frean Scyldinga*, as a heavy hypermetric of the type 2C1a (3B1, 1D1). Russom, on the other hand, scans the same, not as a heavy hypermetric, but rather as a normal hypermetric of the shape:

(x) S x //(x)   S /   S x x
æt fotum sæt frean Scyldinga

The verb *sæt* is the crux. Taken as a stressed verb, one ought to follow Bliss' scansion. Doing so, however, would cause a problem in Russom's framework, since if we take *æt* as a syllable in anacrusis and the first foot to be Sxs (*fotum sæt*), there is a violation of the constraint prohibiting Sxs constructions in the first foot. Hence Russom opts for reading *sæt* as unstressed. Without the knowledge of stressing of *sæt*, such a line appears to be metrically ambiguous, though as we shall see, it is not so. Rather, there exist reasons external to Russom's metrical framework to support his scansion of *Bwlf*. 1166a.

    In what must be one of the most fortunate preservations in this poem for our purposes here, line 500 of *Beowulf* provides us with a felicitous source of comparison, ll. 499-501a:

Unferð maþelode,   Ecglafes bearn,
þe æt fotum sæt   frean Scyldinga,
onband beadurune –

"Unferþ spoke,   Ecglaf's son,
who sat at the feet   of the lord of the Scyldings,
unleashed contentious secrets –"

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500a, *þe æt fotum sæt*, has only one metrical interpretation, that of a simple Type-B with the structure (x)x/Sxs. However, the stressed nature of *sæt* in this verse translates by no means to a stressed reading of *sæt* in 1166a. In fact it points to the exact opposite. Line 500 and 1166a are identical with the exception of a single syllable, the relative particle *þe* in 500a. This lone syllable, however, carries with it considerable significance. The great disparity between the two verses comes from the fact that not all finite verbs are metrically equal. It is a remarkable, though as of yet not entirely explained, phenomenon among several Indo-European languages, at least, that finite verbs of independent clauses are unaccented, whereas those of dependent clauses are permitted to receive accent (cf. Árnason 2002:228, Anderson 1993:69-72, Whitney 1993:90, 223-26, Wackernagel 1892:427). Since the *sæt* of l. 500a, introduced by the relative particle *þe*, is subordinate to the main clause, it may be stressed, whereas our other passage has *sæt* can be read as appearing in a main clause, *Swylce þær Unferþ þyle æt fotum sæt frean Scyldinga*, and as such would not be permitted to serve as an arsis. We thus can thus support Russom's reading of 1166a as an acceptable three-stressed hypermetric on-verse, rather than as a four-stressed heavy hypermetric as seen by Bliss. Accordingly, we need not include *Beowulf* 1166a among the consideration of the heavy-hypermetric aberrations of Old English verse.

3.2.2 *Genesis A* l.1601a

Line 1601 of *Genesis A* poses an interesting problem for the study of Old English alliterative verse, in that it is by no means a regular line, i.e. its structure cannot be integrated into a current metrical framework. Yet this line does not appear to be defective in the sense of being altered and misshapen in the manuscript's transmission. The line is composed in such a manner that it is neither a pair of normal verses nor a hypermetric verse of recognizable construction. Rather, this line is perhaps best characterized as a series of three normal verses, all of which are connected by alliteration. We shall take its form as it was edited by Doane (1978), ll. 1598-1601:

> *Þa nyttade   Noe siððan*
> *mid sunum sinum   sidan rices*
> *ðreohund wintra   þisses lifes,*
> *freomen æfter flode,   and fiftig eac,   þa he forð gewat.*

> 'Noah then enjoyed   thereafter
> with his sons   an extensive reign
> for three hundred years   in this world,
> free-men after the flood,   and fifty more,   when he departed.'

Wells prefers to correct this passage by positing a scribal error:

> The defective line is due to a homoiteleuton: *ond fiftig eac* was first used in
> telling how many years Noah lived after the flood and again in telling his age
> when he died (Gen. 9:28-29); a scribe omitted one *ond fiftig eac* and everything
> between the two. The formula *ond* + number + *eac* always stands in a first half
> line in Genesis A.
>
> (Wells 1969:200)

Although such a scribal error is not implausible, it is unnecessary to tinker with the passage if other explanations are available which leave the text intact. The syntactic, semantic and morphological consistency within the text, in particular the coordinate *þa-*

þa construction, demonstrates the unity of the passage. The discrepancy between *Genesis A* 1600-1 and the biblical passage, which enumerates the number of years Noah lived after the flood as well as the sum total of his life (950 years), is understandable, given that the poet has already stated Noah's age in ll.1367b-1371a:

> *Noe hæfde,*
> *sunu Lameches,   syxhund wintra*
> *þa he mid bearnum   under bord gestah,*
> *gleaw mid geoguðe,   be godes hæse,*
> *dugeðum dyrum.*

> "Noah had,
> Lamech's son,   six hundred years
> when he climbed aboard   with his children,
> the wise man among the youth,   according to God's command,
> with precious honors."

An explanation for this anomaly is evident, however, within Wells' observation of the distribution of the formulaic *ond fiftig eac*. One should entertain the possibility here that the poet, while in the midst of composition, had chosen to pair the on-verse *freomen æfter flode* with *ond fiftig eac* as the off-verse. Given the poet's predilection for using this numerical formula in the on-verse, it is not unlikely that he 'lost his place,' i.e. he assumed that the employment of *ond fiftig eac* indicated an on-verse that should then be paired with an off-verse. The lack of double-alliteration within this verse, though enabling it to be placed in either the on- or off-verse, prevents it also from being a definitive on-verse.

The asymmetry of alliterative patterns, namely that any off-verse is permissible as an on-verse, raises some questions to Kurylowicz's characterization of the non-alliterating fourth foot as a *Grenzsignal* (1975:151). The lack of alliteration on the fourth

foot is not a *Grenzsignal* in any positive sense, as is the cadence discussed in Chapter 2 and again in Chapter 4, since no clear indicator exists demarcating the on-coming verse-boundary. Rather, the alliterative pattern of the off-verse communicates a lack of certainty of being an on-verse, the guarantors of which are double alliteration and alliteration on the second foot of the verse.

3.2.3 *Daniel* l.207a

Another line I would like to view as a heavy hypermetric is to be found in the metrically problematic Old English rendition of *Daniel*, part of the *Junius* codex of poetry, known formerly and erroneously as the *Cædmonian* poems (Farrell 1974:1-2). *Daniel*, which shares a portion of text with *Azarias*,[44] suffers from multiple difficulties in its meter. Abounding in this poem are hypermetric lines, 'orphan' verses, i.e. verses without corresponding on- or off-verses, aberrant alliteration, and even verses which fail to satisfy the minimum of four metrical positions[45] (Farrell 1974:18-22). Fulk dates *Daniel* to no "later than the first half of the ninth century" due to its lack of adherence to Kaluza's law and the lack of contraction following loss of medial /h/ (1992:391-92). *Daniel* ll. 206-208 appear thus in Krapp's edition:

> *hæftas hearan,   in þisse hean byrig,*
> *þa þis hegan ne willað,   ne þysne wig wurðigean,*
> *þe ðu þe to [wuldre]   wundrum teodest.*
>
> "…the loftier captives,   into this high city,
> for they wish not to exalt this,   nor to worship this idol,
> which you, for your own glory,   fashioned with miracles."

---

[44] A true rarity in Old English poetry. The same can be said for *Cædmon's Hymn* and few other texts in the entire corpus. Unfortunately the shared passage does not contain the lines that interest us here.
[45] *Dan*. 159a *swefen reccan* which scans as S/Sx, and is therefore quite suspect.

Two things are to be noted at the onset. First, *wuldre* in l. 208 is an editorial emendation

to the original *þe ðu þe to wundrum teodest*. The second difficulty in this passage is the

double alliteration in the off-verse of l. 207: *ne þysne wig wurðigean.*[46] A slightly better

reading, primarily because there are no editorial additions to the text, can be found in

Farrell's edition of the passage, which does, however, betray the influence of Bliss'

(1971) arguing for *ljóðahátttr*-like constructions in Old English verse, hence the

treatment of l. 207 as an independent half-line, cf. ll. 205-208:

> *Þegnas þeodne sægdon   þæt hie þære geþeahte wæron,*
> *hæftas hearan   in þisse hean byrig,*
> *þa þis hegan ne willað,*
> *ne þysne wig wurðigean,   þe ðu þe to wundrum teodest.*[47]

> "The thanes said to the king   that they were resolved,
> the loftier captives   in this high city,
> for they wish not to exalt this,
> nor to worship this idol, which you fashioned as miracles for yourself."

Although the sense here is fully restored, in comparison to Krapp's reading, the

meter is not adequately represented. As mentioned above, Farrell follows Bliss (1971) in

reading l. 207 as equivalent to the third, longer verse of a *ljóðaháttr* half-stanza. Bliss

and Farrell failed, however, to appreciate the tendency of the *ljóðaháttr* to end normally

with one of two main types of cadences, either a disyllabic word with two short syllables

or its resolved counterpart, a long monosyllable, a characteristic noted first by Bugge in

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[46] See also Fulk (1992:129-30, including n.5) on the problematic aspects of Krapp's and others' suggested emendations to this passage.

[47] Farrell (1974:59), my translation. Farrell translates the passage as "Retainers said to the lord that the more noble captives were of this resolution, they who did not wish to do this, nor to honour the idol which you established wondrously for yourself" (1974:59fn.). I take *to wundrum* to mean literally 'as miracles,' not as 'wondrously' as does Farrell, which would have to have been simply *wundrum*; furthermore, Farrell fails to translate *in þisse hean byrig*.

1876 (Árnason 1992:53). *Willað* satisfies neither of these. This in itself does not present

a watertight argument against Farrells scansion, though the lack of alliteration in his l.

207 should be a warning sign against the *ljóðaháttr* interpretation. When one observes

the preceding metrical context, it becomes apparent how out of place a *ljóðaháttr* type

verse is within the hypermetric cluster which begins at l. 203b and ends with l. 208.[48]

There is a better solution, provided we allow ourselves to bring in an aberrant metrical

shape. If we view l. 206 as a heavy hypermetric on-verse, further demonstrating the

ambiguous nature of these rare lines, the problems in l. 207b are in a somewhat better

state:

> *hæftas hearan, in þisse hean byrig,   þa þis hegan ne willað,*
> *ne þysne wig wurðigean,   þe ðu þe to wundrum teodest.*

Such a scansion removes the emendation, and takes what appears in Krapp's edition to be

a weak hypermetric D-Type line with double alliteration from the off-verse and makes it

the hypermetric on-verse (1D1a) paired with a weak hypermetric off-verse (2A1a). The

first three verses, then, are the three cola of the heavy hypermetric line. Furthermore, the

tendency for hypermetric verses to occur in groups supports this, since ll.203b-205b are

already scanned as hypermetric. Under Krapp's scansion the passage is hypermetric

from ll.203b-205b, normal in l.206, and hypermetric again (though with defective

---

[48] Insertions of *ljóðaháttr* and *galdralag* verses within hypermetric clusters are not unknown to English
verse, and there is an example of just such a phenomenon in *Maxims I* ll.53-56:

> *Weallas him wiþre healdað,   him biþ wind gemæne.*
> **Swa biþ sæ smilte,**
> **þonne hy wind ne weceð;**
> *swa beoþ þeoda geþwære,   þonne hy geþinged habbað.*
> "The cliffs hold them back, they both feel the wind. As the sea is calm when the wind does not
> stir it, so peoples are peaceful when they have come to terms" (trans. Shippey 1976:67).

What is important to note is the discrepancy in alliterative patterning within the short-lines.

alliteration!) in l.207. In Farrell we find a hypermetric passage interrupted by an extra, non-alliterating 'orphan' verse. Perhaps if l.207a had not ended in *willað*, there would have been less chance of editorial misinterpretation.

Furthermore, it should be noted that this line differs greatly from the three-verse line found in *Gen.A* 1601. One needs to recall, first, that *Gen.A* 1601 does not occur in a hypermetric cluster, nor even in the vicinity of one. Secondly, whereas *Daniel* 207b, as I scan it:

> x   x // S x /(x) S x
> *þa þis hegan ne willað*

is an ideal weak-hypermetric off-verse, the final verse in *Gen.A* 1601, *þa he forð gewat*, is clearly a normal Type-B verse (x)x/Sxs which, though not excluded from being paired with a hypermetric on-verse, does argue somewhat against the hypermetricality of the preceding verses, given the lack of a hypermetrical context.

Depending on whether one scans *hean* of l. 207a as a mono- or disyllable, though most likely the latter (Farrell 1974:20), one arrives at a heavy hypermetric scansion of:

> S   x / S   x //(x)   x x / Sx   s
> *hæftas hearan, in þisse hean byrig,*

I will also treat *byrig* as a resolved sequence, such that the heavy hypermetric on-verse is the equivalent of a Type A and Type B verse combined, given also that there are three unstressed syllables preceding *hean*, though Fulk chooses to treat the metrical value of *byrig* as ambiguous in this context (1992:97n.5).

3.2.4 *Maxims I* and *II*

The greatest collection of heavy hypermetric verses is to be found in *Maxims I*, which has six clear examples of a heavy hypermetric verse and one ambiguous case, depending on whether or not one accepts Dobbie's emendation.[49] We will also examine the one clearly heavy hypermetric verse in *Maxims II*. That we should find the greatest concentration of these metrically strange verses in a piece of wisdom literature should come as no surprise. Although he is referring more to the content-related aspects of the structure and style of *Maxims I*, Hill writes:

> Even allowing for possible instances of figurative language…there remain a number of gnomic assertions such as "fisc sceal on wætere" which do not seem to bear any figurative or symbolic significance. Obviously any explanation of these lines must be very tentative, but I suspect that the scholars who have written on the problem have taken these lines too seriously. That is, maxims are closely related to riddles and in certain respects maxims can be understood in terms of verbal play and wit.
>
> (Hill 1970:446)

Criticism of the *Maxims*, in general, has tended to focus around its structural organization, not in metrical terms, but in its thematic composition and purpose.[50] Traditionally divided into three portions (A, B, and C), each portion contains at least one verse which, as we shall see, is clearly a heavy hypermetric. That there is one in each portion relieves the need for us to wonder about multiple-authorship. The *Maxims*, in particular *Maxims I*, demonstrate a wide range of textual and metrical difficulties. There are a greater number of lines that correspond to neither normal nor hypermetric metrical

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[49] It will be my contention that this verse remain unemended, which will discount it as a heavy hypermetric verse.

[50] Larrington (1993:120-134, and passim) and (Shippey 1976:12-19) provide thorough discussions of unity, composition, and style in *Maxims I* and *II*.

patterns, but rather are best seen as Old English analogues of the Old Norse *ljóðaháttr*

and *galdralag* verse forms (Shippey 1976:131n.5, Bliss 1971:passim). Some portions of

Maxims I are unintelligible, despite the apparent clarity of the text (Berkhout

1981:247ff.). Shippey has suggested that the cultural context is essential to the

understanding of these poems and that "the irretrievably lost context makes speculation

more than usually risky" (1976:19).

The lines of *Maxims I* which concern us here are, following the *Anglo-Saxon*

Poetic Records[51] edition, 46a, 58a, 64a, 66a, 100a, 164a, and 185, scanned by Bliss as

heavy hypermetrics (1958:162). We shall examine each in its relevant context and then

conclude with a summary of their metrical shapes. First of these is l.46a, ll.45b-48:

> *Læran sceal mon geongne monnan,*
> *trymman ond tyhtan, þæt he teala cunne,   oþþæt hine mon atemedne hæbbe,*
> *sylle him wist ond wædo,   oþþæt hine mon on gewitte alæde.*

> "A young man is to be taught,
> to be encouraged and prompted to know things well, until you have made him
> manageable; give him food and clothes, until he is led to be sensible."[52]

Whether we approach the scansion using either Bliss' versification (with the unwieldy

designation as type 2E1b-1A*1a,2C1) or a word-foot scansion:

> S   x / (x) S x // (x) x / S s x
> *trymman ond tyhtan, þæt he teala cunne*

---

there are no other ways to read this verse other than as it stands. There are no

emendations to the manuscript, and this verse stands within a long hypermetric cluster

beginning at l.35a and running to 59b.

  Maxims I 58a is situated within a metrically interesting portion. Sill within the

hypermetric cluster, l.58a follows two lines after one of the few *galdralag*-like verses in

Old English:

> *Weallas him wiþre healdað, him biþ wind gemæne.*
> *Swa biþ sæ smilte,*
> *þonne hy wind ne weceð;*
> *swa beoþ þeoda geþwære, þonne hy geþingad habbað,*
> *gesittað him on gesundum þingum, ond þonne mid gesiþum healdaþ*
> *cene men gecynde rice. Cyning biþ anwealdes georn;*

>   "The cliffs hold them back, they both feel the wind. As the sea is calm
> when the wind does not stir it, so peoples are peaceful when they have come to
> terms. They settle down in safety and then brave men with their comrades can
> hold the kingdom that is properly theirs.
>   A king is eager for sovereignty;"

L.58a is problematic and interesting, not just in the sense that it is a heavy hypermetric

verse, but also that its syntax does not permit itself to be divided into two normal verse-

like components, as seen in previous examples:

> S x / S // (x) S x/ S x
> *cene men gecynde rice.*

This is significant, in that such a syntactic break would be impossible between to half-

lines in normal verse, i.e. *cene men* with only three syllables is insufficient for an

independent, normal on-verse, demonstrating the metrical unity of this on-verse. The

third and forth heavy hypermetric verses in *Maxims I A*, l.64a and 66a, which though less

metrically challenging than l.58a, present some challenges for translation (Shippey

1976:131n.8), ll.63b-65b:

> *Fæmne æt hyre bordan geriseð;*
> *widgongel wif word gespringeð,   oft hy mon wommum bilihð,*
> *hæleð hy hospe mænað,   oft hyre hleor abreoþeð.*
> *Sceomiande man sceal in sceade hweorfan,   scir in leohte geriseð.*

> "It is proper for a woman to be at her embroidery;
> a wayward woman causes words to spring up, often she is accused of shameful
>   deeds.
> men admonish her with a reproach,   often her cheek is marred.
> An ashamed man must go about in shadow,   something bright should be in the
>   light."[53]

Here the metrical structure of l.64a is rather clear, though a departure from that which we

have heretofore seen:

>   S   s   x / S // S / (x) S   x
> *widgongel wif word gespringeð*

With the first colon a Type-E and the second a Type-A-like verse, we see considerable

departure from the typical and metrically simpler Type-A and Type-B constructions. We

find the identical metrical shape in l.66a, the parallelism of which demonstrates that men

are not above shameful deeds either:

>   S   s   x / S // (x   x)   S x   / S   x
> *Sceomiande man sceal in sceade hweorfan*

The next suspected heavy-hypermetric verse is also found in a passage relating to

gender-relationships, though in *Maxims I B.* Here, after a depiction of a relationship

between a Frisian woman and her husband which, with the exception of l.98, is composed

of normal verses, a reminder to women to take heed is foregrounded with a change in

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[53] My trans.

metrical form, introduced by the heavy-hypermetric verse in 100a and continuing the

sense until l.103b, ll.93-103:

> *Scip sceal genægled,   scyld gebunden,*
> *leoht linden bord,   leof wilcuma*
> *Frysan wife,   þonne flota stondeð;*
> *biþ his ceol cumen   and hyre ceorl to ham,*
> *agen ætgeofa,   ond heo hine in laðaþ,*
> *wæsceð his warig hrægl   ond him syleþ wæde niwe,*
> *liþ him on londe   þæs his lufu bædeð.*
> *Wif sceal wiþ wer wære gehealdan,   oft hi mon wommum belihð;*
> *fela bið fæsthydigra,   fela bið fyrwetgeornra,*
> *freoð hy fremde monnan,   þonne se oþer feor gewiteþ.*

> "A ship shall be nailed,   a shield bound,
> a light linden-wood board,   dear (shall be) the welcome one
> to a Frisian woman,   when the ship stands sill;
> his keel has arrived   and her man is at home,
> her own food-provider,   and she invites him in,
> washes his worn-out garments   and gives him new clothes,
> gives him on land   that which his love commands.
> A woman shall maintain fidelity with her man, often she is accused of shameful
> deeds
> there are many faithful women,   there are many curious ones,
> they love strange men,   when the other man travels far away."[54]

As with the previous passage, with which this heavy hypermetric shares a formulaic off-

verse, this line is unfortunately metrically troublesome, as it cannot be divided into two

clear normal-verse-like halves. Rather, we are faced with a verse which contains a

normally prohibited verse shape Sx/xS,[55] followed by an untroublesome Sx/(x)Sx:

>   S / (x   x) S // S x /(x) S   x
>   *Wif sceal wiþ wer wære gehealdan*

---

[54] My trans.
[55] See Russom (1987:117) for a discussion of the Sxx/S pattern in *Beowulf* and *Guthlac*.

L.164 is not troublesome as these preceding examples have been. Rather we find a heavy hypermetric verse which holds the shape of a Type-A and a Type-B verse put together. This verse is also the last true heavy hypermetric in *Maxims I*:

Fela sceop meotud þæs þe fyrn gewearð,   het siþþan swa forð wesan.[56]

"The Ruler created many things that happened long ago, ordered them to be like that from then on."

Provided we allow for resolution on *fela* and suspension of resolution in *meotud*, the metrical shape of this verse is:

```
 S    x  /  S   x //(x)  x / S    x  s.
Fela sceop meotud þæs þe fyrn gewearð
```

As mentioned above, the final verse considered by Bliss to be a heavy hypermetric is, in fact, not, rather Bliss' scansion was based on an unnecessary textual emendation which altered the shape of the verse. Dobbie's emendation to the verse created a verse which contains a noun rather than an unstressed verb as the manuscript has it. In the *ASPR*, ll.184-186 are as follows:

Seldan in sidum ceole,   nefne he under segle yrne,
werig scealc wiþ winde roweþ;   ful oft mon wearnum tihð
eargne, þæt he elne forleose,   drugað his ar on borde.

"Seldom in a broad ship,   unless he travel under sail,
a weary servant rows against the wind;   very often he is accused,
the coward, that he is loosing his strength,   his oar dries on board."[57]

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[56] Shippey (1976) arranges these lines as though they were a *ljóðaháttr*-like construction, which is understandable, given that this line is preceded by one such construction. However, the alliterative pattern of this verse does not permit the same arrangement for l.164.

[57] My trans.

Shippey, quite correctly I believe, does not emend the text to *werig scealc* 'weary

servant,' but rather maintains the wording as it appears in the manuscript, *werig sceal*

se,[58] and prefers to read l. 184 as an incomplete sentence:

> *Seldan in sidum ceole,*   *nefne he under segle yrne,*
> ………………………………………………………
> *Werig sceal se wiþ winde roweþ.*   *Ful oft mon wearnum tihð*
> *eargne, þæt he elne forleose;*   *drugað his ar on borde.*

> "Rarely in a broad ship, unless it be running under sail………………….
> A man who rows against the wind will be exhausted. Very often the man who has
> no spirit is accused on all sides of losing his strength; his oar dries on the ship's
> side."

Whereas Dobbie's emendation produces the verse, *werig scealc wiþ winde roweþ*, with

the heavy hypermetric structure S x / S// (x) S x / S x,[59] the text as seen by Shippey,

which is closer to that which appears in the manuscript, results in a verse of a regular

hypermetric verse:

> S x   x   x //(x) S   x / S x
> *werig sceal se   wiþ winde roweþ*

For these reasons we can exclude l.184a from our evaluation of heavy hypermetric

verses.

Although the two poems are similar in content, *Maxims II*, or the *Cotton Maxims*,

lacks many of the difficulties encountered in *Maxims I* (Shippey 1976:13ff.). The first

half of the poem is taken up with simple gnomic statements. After an opening of eight

hypermetric verses, ll.5-41 of the poem explicate the structure of the natural world in

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[58] A relative clause without the usual relative particle *þe* is not unknown in this poem, where *se* 'he who'
occurs also relative clauses in verses 34b, 37b, 38a, 69a, and 135a of *Maxims I* without the relative particle.
[59] A structure which, similar to that of l.58a, is not unknown.

gnomic terms. Noted exceptions are the ethical gnomes in ll.14-15, *Geongne æþeling sceolon gode gesiðas byldan to beaduwe and to beahgife* 'Good companions ought to prepare a young nobleman for battle and ring-giving' and ll.28b-29a, *Cyning sceal on healle beagas dælan* 'A king ought to distribute rings in the hall.' The end-portion of this text, however, is concerned with headier material, such as the themes of good against evil, light against dark, righteous against the criminal, and the fate of the soul in the next world. The beginning of the passage follows a full syntactic stop and coincides with a shift from normal to hypermetric verses at line 42, the heavy hypermetric which interests us here, ll. 40b-43a:

> *Scur sceal on heofonum,*
> *winde geblanden,   in þas woruld cuman.*
> *Þeof sceal gangan þystrum wederum.   Þyrs sceal on fenne gewunian*[60]
> *ana innan lande.*

>   "Stirred by the wind the shower shall come down to this world from the sky.
>   A thief walks in gloomy weather, a monster must live in the fen, alone in his land."

As with other heavy hypermetric verses we have encountered in *Maxims*, this is a relatively simple verse with the following metrical structure, equivalent to two Type-A verses:

> S   x / S x // S x / S x
> *Þeof sceal gangan þystrum wederum*

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[60] Shippey (1976:78) prefers to arrange this line as a *ljóðaháttr*-like verse which, however, is not supported by the alliterative pattern of the off-verse.

3.2.5 Summary of Old English Heavy Hypermetric Verses

Presented below in tabular form are the verses examined here. In the far-left column stands the source, then moving left to right are the columns for the text, the scansion and a listing of equivalent normal-verse metrical types, using Sievers' Five-type classification for simplicity's sake.

Source	Text	Scansion	Equivalent Normal-Verse Types
Beowulf 1166a	*æt fotum sæt frean Scyldinga*	(x) Sx // (x) S / Ssx	hypermetric
Genesis 1601a	*freomen æfter flode, ond fiftig eac, þa he forð gewat*	Sx / (x) Sx // x / Sxs // (x) x / Sxs	A2a, B1, B1, corrupt
Daniel 207a	*hæftas hearan in þisse hean byrig*	Sx / Sx // (x) xx / Sxs	A1, B2
Maxims I 46a	*trymman and tyhtan þæt he teala cunne*	Sx / (x) Sx // (x) x / Ssx	A1, C2
Maxims I 58a	*cene men gecynde rice*	Sx / S // (x) Sx / Sx	A1, A1
Maxims I 64a	*widgongel wif word gespringeð*	Ssx / S // S / (x) Sx	E, A1
Maxims I 66a	*sceomiande mon sceal in sceade hweorfan*	Ssx / S // (xx) Sx / Sx	E, A1
Maxims I 100a	*wif sceal wiþ wer wære gehealdan*	Sx / xS // Sx /(x) Sx	none, A1
Maxims I 164a	*Fela sceop meotud þæs þe fyrn gewearð*	Sx / Sx // (x) x / Sxs	A1, B1
Maxims I 185a	*Werig sceal se wiþ winde roweþ*	Sxxx // (x) Sx / Sx	hypermetric
Maxims II 42a	*Þeof sceal gangan þystrum wederum*	Sx / Sx // Sx / Sx	A1, A1

Table 1: Old English Heavy Hypermetric Verses

One can note that of the eight confirmed heavy hypermetrics, two, *Maxims I* 66a and 100a, exhibit metrical patterns which would not normally be acceptable. There is apparently no correlation between double alliteration and metrical type in the first half of

the verse; Type-E openings may have double alliteration, e.g. *Maxims I* 64a, or not, e.g. *Maxims I* 66a, as may Type-A openings, e.g. *Dan*. 207a and *Maxims I* 164a; however, both metrically unusual lines with the SxxS pattern do contain double alliteration. It is also interesting to note that none of the syllables corresponding to the fourth stressed syllable of a normal long-line participates in alliteration. It is also worth mention that all but one of these verses are located within poems, *Daniel*, *Maxims I*, which are not known for metrical and compositional excellence. The textual integrity of these passages is nonetheless clear. These metrical patterns cannot be explained away in terms of errors of transmission, such as haplography or line-skip on the part of the scribe,[61] but may be seen as genuine examples of metrical aberrations in the act of composition. With this in mind, we will turn our attention to the exact same metrical phenomenon as it appears in the Old Saxon texts of the *Heliand*, the *Genesis Fragment*, and the Old English translation of an Old Saxon predecessor *Genesis B*, and in the Old High German *Hildebrandslied*.

3.3 Heavy Hypermetrics in Old Saxon and Old High German Verse

In comparison to the relatively wealthy poetic remains of Old English, the continental Germanic alliterative traditions have left us few examples. Most significant among these is the Old Saxon *Heliand*, at 5,983 lines the longest single poem in an early Germanic alliterative verse, which dates to approximately the year 830 (Cathey 2002:20-22). Beyond that, however, we are faced with the Old Saxon *Genesis Fragment*, at approximately 334 lines, the approximately 68-line long *Hildebrandslied*, the 103 lines of

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[61] Even if there were errors, which then were reinterpreted by the scribes to more recognizable forms, i.e. *lectio difficilior*, the recasting of whatever preceded these passages is a snapshot of the metrical awareness and competence of the scribes, which is, nonetheless, interesting and valuable as an indication of the state of the poetry's metrics at that time.

the *Muspilli*, along with some 20-30 lines of alliterative charms. Oddly enough, though, there are more purported examples of heavy hypermetric verses in the Continental Germanic alliterative verse than there are in the Old English.

In the main pieces of this corpus, i.e. the *Heliand*, the *Genesis Fragment*, *Hildebrandslied*, *Muspilli*, the *Wessobrunner Prayer*, the *Merseburg Charm*, and the *Lorsch Bee-blessing*, we find 17 (and possibly 18) heavy hypermetric verses. This number also exceeds the OE corpus proportionally, in that they comprise .26% of the corpus (17 of 6501 total lines). If these heavy hypermetric verses were to appear in the OE corpus in the same proportion, we would expect at least 75 verses (nearly nine times the actual amount). We will be treating the Continental Germanic material the same as we treated the Old English data. Each verse will be viewed in its context and examined for textual stability. As a point of transition we will first examine the Old English *Genesis B.* Thereafter we will move on to the Old Saxon *Genesis Fragment*, thence to the *Heliand*, and we will close with an examination of the relevant passages of *Hildebrandslied*.

3.3.1 *Genesis B*

Genesis B, that part of the *Junius* codex identified by Eduard Sievers solely by the meter as a translation of an Old Saxon original (Doane 1991:ix), contains three passages that can be read as heavy hypermetric verses. These three lines, 356, 403, and 507 have on-verses purported to be the metrical equivalent of two normal verses paired with hypermetrical off-verses. I have chosen to begin the discussion of heavy hypermetrics in Old Saxon with these, technically-speaking, Old English verses, because they belong on

the border between the two. They are clearly written in English, and at the same time we know that they are a translation. It is not a matter, however, of merely translating these words back into Old Saxon, because we know for certain that the translator/scribe was not shy about making alterations as seen fit, and in some cases made mistakes in reading the Old Saxon original. As Doane concludes:

> The Old English gives the impression that the revisers of the *Genesis* were in general anxious to make the new version conform to a more familiar metrical scheme (shorter lines, avoidance of isolated hypermetrical lines) and style (more hypotaxis), but carried this aim out in a rather mechanical line-by-line fashion, rather than by global rewriting of whole sentences or passages.
>
> (Doane 1991:56)

Thus it is difficult to assume that the metrical patterns depicted here are truly representative of their Old Saxon originals, since these two verses unfortunately do not correspond to the surviving text of the Old Saxon *Genesis Fragment*. These two verses rightly belong to both poetic traditions, to the Old English because of its acceptance through translation, and to the Old Saxon because of the extant original *Genesis Fragment*. *Genesis B* l.356 was emended in the *ASPR* to, cited in the context of ll. 353b-358:

> *Weoll him on innan*
> *hyge ymb his heortan,   hat wæs him utan*
> *wraðlic wite.   He þa worde cwæð:*
> *Is þæs ænga styde   ungelic swiðe*
> *þam oðrum* [*ham*]   *þe we ær cuðon,*
> *hean on heofonrice,   þe me min hearra onlag,*

> "His mind welled up within
> all about his heart,   there the loathsome punishment
> was hot to him on the outside. He spoke then with a word:
> 'This troublesome place   is incomparably strong
> with respect to that other [home] which we knew before,

the high one in the heavenly kingdom,   which my Lord granted me,"

Two things are to be pointed out here. The first is that the word *ham* is an emendation by

Krapp to make sense out of a metrically difficult passage. Secondly, if we treat ll.356-57

as one single heavy hypermetric line, we also avoid the unpleasant switch from normal to

hypermetric in line 358, in that we would correlate the change in meter with the

beginning of Satan's speech:

> *Is þæs ænge styde ungelic swiðe   þam oðrum þe we ær cuðon.*[62]

> "This troublesome place is incomparably strong with respect to the other one
> which we previously knew."

Correspondingly we shall scan the verse as follows:

> x   x / S x   s // S   x x / S x
> *Is þæs ænge styde ungelic swiðe*

Unlike every other example of heavy hypermetric verses we have yet encountered, this

verse can, for brevity's sake, be described as a Type-B combined with a Type-A verse.

The same characterizes the other heavy hypermetric verse in *Genesis B*, l.403a, located in

a lengthy hypermetric cluster beginning at l.388b and continuing to l.408b. Below are

lines 402b-405.

> *Ne magon we þæt on aldre gewinnan,*
> *þæt we mihtiges godes mod onwæcen.   Uton oðwendan hit nu monnum*
> *bearnum,*
> *þæt heofonrice, nu we hit habban ne moton,   gedon þæt hie his hyldo forlæten,*
> *þæt hie þæt onwendon þæt he mid his worde bebead. Þonne weorð he him wrað*
> *on mode.*
> "We are unable to fight in life

---

[62] As with other editions influenced by Bliss (1971), Doane seeks to treat this passage as an example of a 'triplet,' i.e. a *ljóðaháttr*-like verse as seen, for example, in Shippey's arrangement of *Maxims I* pointed out above.

such that we weaken the mind of mighty God. Let us turn it away from the sons
<div align="right">of men</div>
that heavenly kingdom, we cannot have it now, work it such that they might
<div align="right">abandon his protection.</div>
that they overturn that which he commanded with his word. He will then become
<div align="right">wroth in his mood."</div>

Left unemended by Krapp, l.403a is best scanned as a heavy hypermetric on-verse with a

Type-B and Type-A structure:

   x   x /S x x   s // S/ (x) S x
þæt we mihtiges godes mod onwæcen

The final passage in *Genesis B* we will consider is that around 507a; however, as

this verse begins with a finite verb in an independent clause, we may dismiss it as a heavy

hypermetric and treat it as a normal hypermetric with an extended anacrusis, ll.504b-508:

>   *Nu þu willan hæfst,*
> *hyldo geworhte   heofoncyninges,*
> *to þance geþenod   þinum hearran,*
> *hæfst þe wið drihten dyrne geworhtne. Ic gehyrde hine þine dæd and word*[63]
> *lofian on his leohte   and ymb þin lif sprecan.*

>   You have now a will,
>   obtained the grace of the King of heaven,
>   served your Lord   in thanks,
> you have made yourself dear to the Lord.   I heard him praising your deeds and
> <div align="right">words</div>
>   in his light   and speaking of your life.

507a is readable as a regular hypermetric preceded by three syllables in anacrusis:

  (x   x   x) S x // S x/(x) S   x
hæfst þe wið drihten dyrne geworhtne

---

[63] Doane prefers to represent this passage as a triplet:
    hæfst þe wið drihten   dyrne geworhtne.
       Ic gehyrde hine þine dæd and word

3.3.2 The Old Saxon *Genesis Fragment*'s Heavy Hypermetric Verses

Turning now to *Genesis B*'s forerunner, the *Genesis Fragment* or *Vatican Genesis*, we find two verses whose metrical composition marks them as heavy hypermetrics, ll. 228 and 235. As stated above, Doane treats these two aberrations as 'triplets' similar to a *ljóðaháttr* verse sans double alliteration in the third portion. The first of these is a true oddity, in that it is the only heavy hypermetric verse that has what would be the equivalent of the *höfuðstafr* in fourth position. Line 228 is found two lines into Abraham's conversation with God about finding sufficient numbers of righteous people so as to spare the city of Sodom, ll.226-230:

> *'Nu scal ik is thi biddean,' quað he,   'that thu thi ne belges ti mi,*
> *fro min thie guoda,   hu ik sus filu mahlea,*
> *uueslea uuider thi mid minum uuordum.   ik uuet that ik thas uuirðig ni bium*[64]
> *ni si that thu it uuilleas bi thinaro guodo,   god hebanriki,*
> *thiadan, githoloian...'*

> "'Now I shall ask you,' he said, 'that you do not become angry with me,
> my good Lord,   with how much I thus talk,
> converse with you with my words.   I know that I am not worthy of this,
> unless you wish to suffer it,   heaven-powerful God,
> King, in your mercy…"

Metrically speaking, l.228a is an odd duck. The first portion is identical to a Type-E construction, followed by a light Type-A (Doane 1991:463). That metrical feature alone accounts for the placement of alliteration on *uuordum* rather than the preceding *minum*. A simple reversal of the two could have solved the problem (cf. *Hildebrandslied* l.46):

> S   x   s x / S//(x)   x x /   S   x

---

[64] Doane's arrangement of *Genesis Fragment* 228:
> *uuslea uuider thi   mid minum uuordum.*
> *ik uuet that ik thas uuirðig ni bium*

uueslea uuider thi mid minum uuordum

It seems to me preferable, though, to keep these two sections together as one heavy on-verse than to permit a *höfuðstafr* in the last position in a line. This alliterative pattern, combined with the treatment of *mid minum uuordum* according to its metrical pattern if it were an independent normal half-line, indicates that these cola do not adequately fit into what we consider verses to be. The second half possesses a metrical and alliterative pattern permitted in on-verses exclusively, yet both halves contain sufficient metrical material for an entire normal long-line.

Abraham closes this same speech with yet another heavy hypermetric, this time two lines prior to the end of the quote, ll.233b-38:

> '...*huuat uuilis thu is thana, fro min, duoan*
> *Ef thu thar tehani   treuhafte maht*
> *fiðan under themo folca ferahtera manno,   uuilthu im thanna hiro ferh fargeban*[65]
> *that sia umbi sodomaland   sittian muotin,*
> *buan an them burugium   so thu im abolgan ni sis?'*

> "…'what will you do, my Lord, then,
> if ten faithful ones   you might
> find among that people, pious men,   will you restore their lives to them then,
> such that they could dwell   around the land of Sodom
> inhabit the cities   such that you might not be angry with them?'"

Unlike 228a, verse 235a is metrically simple and possesses proper alliteration, having the equivalent shape of two Type-A verses, and as such is unproblematic to identify as a heavy hypermetric:

S x x x   x x / S x // S   x x / S x

---

[65] Doane's arrangement of *Genesis Fragment* 235:
> *fiðan under themo folca   ferahtera manno,*
> *uuilthu im thanna hiro ferh fargeban*

fiðan under themo folca ferahtera manno

3.3 The *Heliand*'s Heavy Hypermetric Verses

The *Heliand* is home to thirteen of the seventeen heavy hypermetric verses,[66] and

one additional line that is problematic. The *Heliand*'s textual background is worth a brief

mention. Evidenced in two main manuscripts, that of the Cottonian Library (the most

complete copy and metrically most precise, though linguistically somewhat divergent

from the original) and the manuscript of the Munich library (a partial preservation which

is linguistically more similar to the composer's dialect, though which possesses some

metrical imprecision), as well as three other surviving fragments named after their place

of discovery, Prague, Straubing, and the Vatican. There is also a fragment known to have

existed in Leipzig, though now missing and never transcribed (Cathey 2002:22-24).

The first works on the verse of the *Heliand* viewed the meter in terms of the

structure of Old English alliterative verse, a position which makes the *Heliand* seem

imprecise and formless in comparison to its insular counterparts. Lehmann (1956)

argued that most of these differences, i.e. the tendency for Old Saxon verse to permit

more unstressed vowels than Old English verse, could be removed if one undid certain

changes in the language, e.g. OS *beraht* is disyllabic, whereas its Old English cognate is

the monosyllabic *beorht* (1956:104).[67] This, however, does not account for all disparities

between Old English and Old Saxon alliterative verse. As Russom points out, there are

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[66] We will be examining *Heliand* 604a, 621a, 1144a, 1687a, 1730a, 3062a, 3344a, 3990a, 4374a, 4517a, 5690, 5916, 5920, and 5975. All Old Saxon passages are cited from the Behaghel-Taeger (1984) edition of the *Heliand* and *Genesis* unless otherwise noted.

[67] Though as we shall see in Chapter 4, there are some claims made by Lehmann (1956) that do not hold true.

also some morpho-syntactic features of the language which affect the metrical structure (1996:138-39), although despite the differences brought about by independent linguistic developments in the language, some aspects of the metrical tradition are simply different and cannot be accounted for by reference to linguistic changes, e.g. trisyllabic anacrusis (1996:169-70). Both Lehmann and Russom are in accord in the view that the meter of the *Heliand* represents a "tradition in decline" (Russom 1998:170). On the other side of the fence stands Hofmann (1991) who refutes Lehmann's analyses:

> Manches, was Lehmann sonst noch anführt, läßt sich einfach daraus erklären, daß der Heliand-Dichter in einer anderen Dichtungstradition stand als seine angelsächsische Kollegen und daß er seine Verse formal und stilistisch eben etwas anders gestalten wollte und konnte, ohne daß eine angebliche Veränderung der sprachlichen Betonung ihn dazu hätte nötigen oder veranlassen müssen.[68]
> (Hofmann 1991:35)

Suzuki (2001) also defends the *Heliand*-poet as working with rules of the language which were different but equally refined as those evidenced in Old English verse, arguing that the *Heliand*-poet has a more-refined sense of syllable weight, rather than syllable stress. Relying solely on the poet's metrical sensitivity in order to determine whether or not the *Heliand*-poet was a good poet is problematic, though, since it takes attention away from some of the defter aspects of the poem, such as the arrangement of poem's fitts into envelope-patterns, as well as other relevant non-metrical features.[69]

    Given that there are more suspected heavy hypermetric verses in the *Heliand* than

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[68] Rough trans. "Much of what Lehmann also alleges, can be simply explained in that the Heliand-poet was in a different poetic tradition from his Anglo-Saxon colleagues and that he wanted to and was able to form his verses formally and stylistically a bit differently, without a purported change in the linguistic accentuation having to have necessitated or caused him to."
[69] See, for example the appendix to the translation in Murphy (1992).

in any other poem, we face a few more difficulties and, at the same time, a few benefits

from having a bigger sample from a bigger context. Although I discussed the Old

English verses one at a time, in the order that they appeared within their respective texts,

the relevant verses from the *Heliand* will be dealt with in three groups, depending on the

certain difficulties they pose. The first group of these is composed of verses 604a, 621a,

1730a, 3344a, and 5690a, which share the common problem of having the non-

alliterating particles preceding the first alliterating stress. The second group is formed by

verses 1687a, 3990a and 5975a which differ from the others, in that they begin with finite

verbs, which as we saw with *Beowulf* 1166a could be unstressed, depending, among other

things, on the syntax of the clause in which they appear and their participation in the

alliterative scheme. The third and final grouping comprises the remaining verses, which

pose no significant problems in their scansion.

3.3.3.1 Particle-Initial Heavy Hypermetrics

The problem we face here is of how to scan the initial conjunction *that* in the

opening portion of these lines. There are five verses that fall into this category, four with

initial *that* 604a, 621a, 1730a, and 5690a, and one preposition-initial verse, 3344.

Elsewhere in the *Heliand*'s group of hypermetric verses, we find six examples of verses

with three cola and an introductory *that*. Of these six, however, five have *that* as a

definite article and as such are clearly unstressed.[70] The remaining verse, 1429a, *that ic*

feldi thero forasagono uuord 'that I cast down the words of the prophets,' demonstrates

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[70] *Heliand* 2213a, 3677a, 4393a, 5918a, 5930a. Russom points out that anacrusis with a definite article or demonstrative is by no means rare in the *Heliand* (1998:156).

that it is not impossible to have an unstressed conjunction in the *Vorfeld* of a strong

hypermetric verse. That 1429a should be considered a regular hypermetric verse whereas

the following will be considered heavy hypermetric verses, although they too begin with

syntactically, morphologically, and lexically similar or identical material, has its answer

in the different treatment given by Old Saxon to anacrusis in contrast to light feet. As

Russom (1998) explains, "[u]nlike a xx sequence in anacrusis, a hypermetrical foot

usually contains one or more major function words and is often rendered more

conspicuous by extrametrical syllables…" (1998:151-52). Conjunctions count as "major

particles" (Russom 1998:52); however, in 1429a the two syllables prior to the first

alliterating lift are dealt with as anacrusis, whereas all but one of the examples below

contain three or more syllables prior to the first stress. Given the difficulties involved in

defining anacrusis from light feet in the *Heliand*, since the poet has no problem in

constructing extended anacruces in normal verses, e.g. in 3939a *an them is uuârun*

uuordun, (xxx)Sx/Sx, and since hypermetric verses may have their first foot preceded by

extrametrical syllables (Russom 1998:151-2 and fn.8), e.g. 1429a, it would be best to

discount any verse below where there are syllables preceding the first alliterating

syllable, so as to eliminate any ambiguous constructions from this study. Fortunately,

though, in those purportedly heavy-hypermetric verses whose first half is equivalent to

either a Type-B or Type-C verse, i.e. verses whose first foot normally consists of a light

foot, we need only eliminate those verses whose initial, non-alliterating syllables precede

an Sx foot, or its equivalent. The first such verse encountered in the *Heliand* is 604a, e.g.

603b-605a:

[*That uuâri ûs*] *allero uuilliono mêsta*
that uui ina [*sel*b*an gesehan môstin*], *uuissin huar uui* [*ina*] *sôkean scoldin*
thana cuning [*an*] *thesumu kêsurdôma.*[71]

"That would be for us the greatest of all desires
That we would be able to see him himself, that we might know where we should
seek him,

the king in this empire."

Here we should, despite Hofmann's scansion as a heavy hypermetric, assume that the

that uui ina represents extrametrical syllables and not necessarily the beginning of a light

foot:

(x   x x x) S   x // (x) S   s   x
that uui   ina [*sel*b*an gesehan*] *môstin*

The situation is similar for 621a, ll.619b-620:

Thô sprak im eft [*that folc*] *angegin*
that uuerod uuârlîco,   quâðun that sie uuissin garo
that he scoldi an Bethleem giboran uuerðan: 'Sô is an [*ûsun*] *bôkun giscri*b*an,*

"The people then spoke back to him,
that host truly,   said that they knew already
that he was supposed to be born in Bethlehem: 'Thus is written in our books…"

Since *Bethleem* is treated as a Ss foot (cf. *Heliand* 359a and 370a), it would be best to

treat the introductory syllables as extrametrical. This ambiguous verse may also be

removed from consideration:

 (x   x x x x x) S   s // (x) S   s x
that he scoldi an Bethleem giboran uuerðan

Yet another example is to be found in l. 1730:

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[71] All text citations from the *Heliand* are from the Behaghel-Taeger edition (1984). Translations are my
own. Emendations to the text will be indicated by square brackets and the crossed letter /b/ will be
indicated by an underlined /b/.

> *Ne sind sie uuirðige than*
> *that sia gihôrean iuuua hêlag uuord,   ef sia is ni uuelliat an iro hugie thenkean,*
> *ne lînon ne lêstean.*

> "They are not worthy of this,
> that they might hear your holy word,   if they do wish to consider it in their
>   minds.
> neither to learn it nor to fulfill it."

1730a, however, should also be removed from consideration, in that it presents a case of

extrametrical syllables preceding an Sx foot. It would perhaps be best to treat this verse

as a regular hypermetric:

> (x   x   x) S   x //x   x / S x   s
> *that sia gihôrean iuua hêlag uuord*

Unlike the other verses examined in this sub-section, l.3344a is introduced, not by

a conjunction, but rather a preposition, still a "major function word." The passage in

which it occurs is the introduction of Lazarus and the depiction of the squalor in which he

lives. The heavy hypermetric is in the middle of a short hypermetric cluster beginning

3343b[72] and continuing to 3344b, and serves to draw attention to the disparity between

them hêroston 'the noblest one' and *is hundos* 'his dogs,' ll. 3343b-3346a:

> *ni mahte imu thar ênig fruma uuerðen*
> *fan them hêroston,* [*the*] *thes hûses giuueld,* [*biûtan*] *that thar gengun* [*is hundos*
>   *tô*],
> *likkodun is lîkuundon,   thar he liggiandi*
> *hungar tholode;*

> "no advantage could come to him there
> from the noblest one, who ruled this house,   but that his dogs came forth,
> licked his bodily wounds,   where he, lying,

---

[72] Hofmann scans 3343b as a Cx́1.2, though its adjacency to a following hypermetrical verse, in addition to the eight unstressed syllables prior to the first lift, seems to indicate, rather, that it is a weak hypermetric off-verse (Hofmann 1991:164).

suffered hunger;"

This verse is perhaps the most problematic, in that it cannot distinguish itself from 1429a. However, one could argue that this verse is a heavy hypermetric regardless of how one scans *fan*, since whether one scans *fan them hêroston* as a Type-C or a Type-D with light initial foot, we find ourselves with a four-footed half-verse with a light initial foot:

> x   x / S s x // (x) x / S x x S
> *fan them hêroston, the thes hûses giuueld*

The final verse falling into the category of uncertain verses with a light opening containing the conjunction *that* is 5690a, ll. 5689-5692a:

>   *Than uuas sido Iudeono*
> *that sia thia* [*haftun man thuru thena hêlagan dag*]   *hangon ni* [*lietin*]
> *lengerun huîla*   *than im that lîf scrîði*
> *thiu seola besunki:*

>   "The custom of the Jews was then
> that they did not permit captive men to be hanged during the holy day
> for a longer time   than that life might pass from them,
> the soul might have sunk away:"

Unlike in the previous three example verses, we have encountered with 5690a a hypermetric verse alone among normal verses which, though troublesome, is not unknown, and more common in the *Heliand* than in Old English poetry (Hofmann 1991:153). The effect served here could be to highlight the contrast between the sinful *haftun man* and the *hêlagan dag*. Fortunately, there is little metrical problem here, since we are dealing with a pair of Type-B verses stuck together, thereby eliminating the need to wonder whether *that* takes any stress, since *haftun man* carries both:

x   x   x / S x   s // x x   x x / S x x   s
that sia thia haftun man thuru thena hêlagan dag

What is clearest of all, perhaps, is how these verses foreground the benefits alliteration

brings to the ear of the perceiver in making quick work with complex metrical forms.

Out of these five potentially heavy hypermetrical verses, we have eliminated 604a, 621a,

and 1730a from consideration due to their ambiguous introduction of non-alliterating

syllables.

3.3.3.2 Verb-Initial Heavy Hypermetric Verses

The particle-initial verses, troublesome because of the lack of clear indicators for

the stress-value of *that*, differ from the three verb-initial heavy hypermetric verses in the

Heliand, particularly since finite verbs in initial position are some of the most disruptive

in terms of metrical ambiguity (Blockley 2001:109, Russom 1998:158). We can,

however, resolve the situation, if we take account of whether or not the finite verb

participates in the alliteration, since alliteration plays a key role in determining the stress

of stress-optional words (Hutcheson 1992:139). Furthermore, if Old Saxon syntax is

similar to Old English syntax, verb-initial clauses are almost always independent clauses

(Blockley 2001:169).[73]

Fortunately the first instance, 1687a, provides us with alliteration as a guide for the

placement of stresses, ll. 1686-1688a:

> *…helpan fan hebenes uuange,   ef gi uuilliad aftar is* [*huldi*] *theonon.*
> *Gerot gi simbla êrist thes godes rîkeas,   endi than duat aftar them is gôdun*
>   *uuercun,*

---

[73] The following verse *Heliand* 1687a is verb-initial, but since the verb is imperative it does not function as
other finite verbs in independent clauses.

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rômod gi rehtoro thingo:

"…help from the expanse of heaven, if ye wish to serve according to his grace.
Ever prepare ye first the kingdoms of God, and then do according to those good
deeds of his,
make ye renown the righteous things:"

The most telling feature indicating the heavy-hypermetric status of this verse is, as noted

above, the fact that *gerot* participates in the alliterative scheme of the line, which should

not surprise us as an ictus-bearing word, since it is an imperative verb. Without counting

gerot as the first alliterating stress, this verse would be quite an anomaly:

    S   x x   x /S x // x / S   s x
    Gerot gi simbla êrist thes godes rîkeas

3990a also provides us with alliteration as a guide for the placement of stresses, ll. 3988-

3992:

                        '…Ni that nu furn ni uuas
    that sia thik thinero uuordo   uuîtnon hogdun,
    uueldun thi mid [stênon starcan auuerpan?:   nu thu eft undar thia strîdigun
                                        thioda]
    fundos te faranne,   thar ist fîondo ginuog,
    erlos o<u>b</u>armuoda?'

                        "Now, was it not long ago
    that they intended to kill you   on account of your words
    they wanted to throw you down strongly with stones?: now you set out under that
                                        contentions people
    to travel back, there are enough enemies,
    arrogant earls?"

The hypermetric status of this verse, rather than treating it as two independent verses of a

triplet construction as in *Genesis A* 1601a, is strengthened by the clearly hypermetric off-

verse. Furthermore, the cross-alliterative pattern, which binds the verbal elements and

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nominal elements together, and the simple Type-A + Type-A construction of the on-verse give indication of the *Hebungen*:

> S   x   x/ (x)   S x // S   x /(x) S   x
> *uueldun thi mid stênon starcan auuerpan*

Along with *Genesis Fragment* 228a, we have in 3990a our second example of a verse alliterating on what would be the fourth stress of a long-line, were it not a single on-verse.

The final instance, verse 5975a, presents a similar challenge as do the particle-initial verses due to the lack of alliteration on *sôhte*, ll.5974b-5976:

> *Giuuêt imo up thanan*
> *sôhta imo that hôha himilo rîki   endi thena is helagon stol:*
> *sitit imo [thar]   an thea suidron half godes,*

> "He departed thence,
> sought for himself that high heavenly kingdom, and that holy throne of his:
> It sits for him there   at the right hand of god,"

Provided that this verb-initial verse stressed the verb *sôhta*, we are to read the on verse as consisting of two parts: *sohta imo that hoha* and *himilo riki*:

> *x   x x x   x / S x // S x /Sx
> *sôhta imo that hôha himilo rîki*

The most obvious alternate possibility is that *sôhta imo that* could be read as anacrusis to an otherwise regular hypermetric, cf. 3504a *hêlag himilo rîki.* This would place five syllables in anacrusis, whereas the maximum seen in clearly three-stress hypermetrics is four: l.2822a *mid huilicu.* The most likely possibility, is that we read *sôhta imo that hôha* as a light verse. Since this finite verb is in an independent clause and does not alliterate, it is less likely to have been stressed:

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  (x  x x x   x)  S x  // S  x /Sx
sôhta imo that hôha himilo rîki
```

 This verse is metrically ambiguous. In the interests of maintaining a clear collection of

heavy hypermetrics, it too should be left out of consideration.

3.3.3.3 Less Problematic Heavy Hypermetric Verses

      After having observed the most difficult passages from the *Heliand*, let us now

turn to the remaining heavy hypermetric verses. The first of these appears in verse

1144a, cited within its context of ll.1141-45:

>   *nu is it all* [*gefullot*] *sô,*
> *sô hîr alde man   êr huuanna sprâcun,*
> *gehêtun eu te helpu   *[*hebenrîki*]:
> *nu is it* [*giu*] *ginâhid thurh thes neriandan craft: thes môtun gi neotan forð*
> *sô huue sô gerno uuili   gode theonogean,*

>   "It is now entirely fulfilled,
> just as old men   long ago at one time spoke,
> they promised you the heavenly kingdom as a help:
> Now it has drawn nigh through the strength of the Savior: this ye can enjoy
>   henceforth,
> whosoever wants eagerly   to serve God,"

This exhortation to begin proselytizing, introduced first with normal verses, is punctuated

quite abruptly with the heavy hypermetric construction and its stress on the initial *nu*

'now,' connecting alliteratively with *genâhid* 'drawn near' and *neriandan* 'of the Savior:'

```
 S  x /(x  x  x)S x  // (x      x)  S  s    x /  S⁷⁴
 nu is   it giu ginâhid thurh thes neriandan craft
```

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[74] Hofmann does not place any stress on *nu*; however, given the emphasis, the alliteration, and the
availability of a long, stressed variant *nû*, it seems likelier to me that it would be stressed, provided that it
behaves like alliterating particles in Old English (Cable 1991:22). See also Hutcheson (1992:136).

Similarly, next passage, sited by Sievers as an example of a heavy hypermetric verse in his *AGM*, is verse 3062a, which introduces one of Christ's replies to Simon Peter, ll. 3061b-3064:

> *Thô sprac imu eft is hero angegin:*
> *'sâlig bist thu Sîmon', quað he, 'sunu [Ionases]; ni mahtes thu that sel<u>bo</u>*
>   *gehuggean,*
> *gimarcon an thînun môdgithâhtiun, ne it ni mahte thi mannes tunge*
> *uuorden geuuîsien,   ac dede it thi uualdand sel<u>bo</u>,*

>   "His Lord then spoke back to him in return:
> 'Blessed art thou Simon,' he said, 'son of Jonas; you are unable to think that
>   yourself,
> mark it in your innermost thoughts, nor can the tongue of man
> guide with words,   rather the Ruler did it to you Himself,…"

3062a presents a clear example of a heavy hypermetric verse, since the three alliterating syllables are also all substantivals. This verse, though, is the first example of a heavy hypermetric with a Type-D closing:

> S x   x   x / S x // S / S s x
> *sâlig bist thu Sîmon sunu Ionases*[75]

The next verse is similar to 3344a, in that the initial foot of the verse is a light foot which makes this verse the equivalent of two Type-C verses. 4374a is the first verse of a hypermetric cluster which closes off fitt 52, which recounts the Old Testament disasters and tells of the final days to come, ll:4372b-76a:

>   *that [ôðar al] brinnandi fiur,*
> *ia land ia liudi   logna farteride:*
> *sô fârungo uuarð that fiur kumen,   sô uuarð êr [the] flôd sô samo:*
> *sô uuirðid the lazto dag.   For thiu scal allaro liudio gehuilic*
> *[thenkean] fora themu thinge;*

---

[75] The quotative *quað he* is extrametrical (Russom 1998:138-39).

> "that other all-burning fire,
> the flame destroyed   both land and people:
> as suddenly as that fire came about,   so came the flood long ago as well:
> so shall the last day come about.   On account of that ought every person
> think about that thing;"

The verse is a pair of Type-C constructions, thus posing no problem for the initial

unstressed syllable:

>   x / S s   x // (x)   x / S   s x
> *sô fârungo uuarð that fiur kumen*

The two remaining lines to be discussed share the feature of having been edited

back to regular hypermetric verses by Behaghel-Taeger, and as such the citation will be

from Sievers' 1878 edition. Furthermore, both verses, 5916a and 5920a, are to be found

in a relatively lengthy hypermetric cluster describing Mary Magdalene's vigil at the

empty tomb and her encounter with the risen Christ, ll. 5915-17a:

> *Maria uuas that Magdalena: uuas iro muodgithaht,*
> *sebo mid sorogon (sero) giblandan: ne uuissa huarod siu sokian scolda*
> *thena herron thar iro uuarun at thia helpa gilanga.*

> "That was Mary Magdalene: her innermost thoughts,
> her mind, were sorely mixed with sorrows: she knew not whence she should
>   search for
> the Lord, where they were ready to help her."

Although Sievers marks his disapproval with the structure of the line by placing

parentheses around *sero* 'sorely,' we can scan the manuscript reading as a heavy

hypermetric:

>   S / (x)   S x // S x /(x) S x
> *sebo mid sorogon sero giblandan*

Just four lines after the first heavy hypermetric of this passage, the reintroduction of

Christ to Mary Magdalene after the resurrection is highlighted by depicting it within a

heavy hypermetric, ll.5919b-5921a:

> *Thuo gisah siu thena mahtigan thar standan,*
> *Christe, thuoh siu ina (cuthlico) ankennian ni mohti,   er than hie ina cuthian*
>   *uuelda,*
> *seggian that hie it selbo uuari.*

> "She then saw the mighty one standing there,
> Christ, though she could not clearly recognize him, before he wanted to announce
>   himself,
> say that it was he himself."

The metrical foregrounding is aided by a threefold etymological figure, **cuth**lico ~

an**kenn**ian ~ **cuth**ian, as well. The metrical shape of the verse is similar to that of two

Type-D and a Type-A:

>   S x   x   x x x / S   s x //(x) S   x / (x) S x
> *Christe, thuoh siu ina cuthlico   ankennian ni mohti*

3.3.3.4 An Exception among the *Heliand*'s Heavy Hypermetric Verses

One additional difficult line of the *Heliand* is 4517, part of the scene of Christ's

washing of the Apostles' feet, which is, at first sight, apparently a heavy hypermetric,

though it might be a situation similar to that of the Old English *Genesis A* 1601, whereby

three normal verses exist where there ought to be two. The fact that this line exists in

both *Heliand* C and M indicates that this line is most likely part of their exemplar and not

a fault of their copying. Furthermore the metrical environment immediately preceding

and following this line is clearly not hypermetrical, ll. 4516b-4519 (from *Heliand* M):

> *'Thu haba thi selbo giuuald' quad he,*
> '[*fro min the godo*]   *foto endi hando   endi mines hofdes so sama,*

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> *thiaden, te thuahanne,   te thiu that ik moti thini ford*
> *huldi hebbian   endi hebenrikies*

> "'You yourself have the power for yourself,' he said
> 'my good Lord, of my feet[76] and my hands   and of my head as well,
> King, to wash,   such that I can ever forth have
> your grace   and heavenly kingdom'"

This line appears as if the off-verse of one long-line has overlapped the on-verse of another. To be sure, though, the alliterative pattern AAB|BX is only aberrant, rather than defective, since Hofmann points out that OS hypermetrical lines alliterate, with perhaps only one exception, on the first and second stresses of the on-verse (1991:166). Yet, Sievers points out the similarity to an Old Frisian legal formula: *fêt and hond and hâud* 'feet and hands and head' (1878:420). Perhaps the formulaic nature of the phrase caused the poet not to question the alliterative pattern of this line. Just as I have argued for the treatment of *Genesis A* 1601 as three normal verses, this phenomenon is best explained as an ambiguity in composition, introduced by a formula that may serve in on- and off-verses alike. Behaghel-Taeger see this passage as corrupted through scribal error, which they correct thus:

> *'thu haba thi selbo giuuald', quað he,*
> *'fro mîn the gôdo,   [fôto] endi hando*
> *endi mînes hôbdes sô sama,   [handun thînun],*
> *thiadan, te thuahanne,   te thiu thak[77] ik môti thîna*

> "'You yourself have the power for yourself,' he said,
> 'my good Lord,   of my feet and hands
> and of my head as well,   to wash, King,
> with your hands,   such that I might ever forth your…'"

---

[76]*Heliand* C has *fuoti* (dat. sg.) which is probably a mistake for *fuoto* (gen.pl.).
[77] Sic (Behaghel-Taeger 1984:161), read for *that*.

The text might be best served by not emending it, though an understanding of the

possible causes, i.e. the strength of formulaic constructions, on the one hand, and the off-

verse's alliterative scheme, on the other. The off-verse, which does not possess an overt

demarcation signal in the alliterative pattern, but rather has a non-demarcative signal, is

constrained so as not to be clearly distinguishable as an on-verse. This arrangement of a

left-headed demarcative signal, marking beginnings rather than endings, unfortunately

cannot indicate the right-handed boundary. This is not to say that there are no right-

headed *Grenzsignale* in the Germanic alliterative verse; simply said, alliteration does not

adequately fill this role alone, as Kurylowicz might suggest (1975:151).

3.3.3.5 Summary of Old Saxon Heavy Hypermetric Verses

Of the potentially 19 heavy hypermetric verses in the corpus of Old Saxon poetry (and its

Old English translation), we have chosen to discard five due to metrical ambiguities,[78]

and one, 4517a, we have chosen to explain away as a compositional error induced by the

use of a formula. As presented in the summary of the Old English heavy hypermetric

verses, the table below presents a more-easily viewed form of our findings.

Source	Text	Scansion	Equivalent Normal-Verse Types
Genesis B 356a	*is þæs ænga styde ungelic swiðe*	(x) x / Sxs // Sxx / Sx	B2, A1
Genesis B 403a	*þæt we mightiges godes mod onwæcen*	(x) x / Sxxs // S/ (x) Sx	B2, A1
Genesis B 507a	*hæfst þe wið drihten dyrne geworhtne*	(xxx) Sx // Sx / (x) Sx	hypermetric
Genesis Fragment 228a	*uueslea uuider thi mid minum uuordum*	Sx sx / S // (x) xx / Sx	E, A1

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[78] *Genesis B* 507a, *Heliand* 604a, 621a, 1730a and 5975a.

Genesis Fragment 235a	*fiðan under themo folca ferahtera manno*	Sxxxxx / Sx // Sxx / Sx	A1, A1
Heliand 604a	*that uui ina sel<u>b</u>an gesehan môstin*	(xxxx) Sx // (x) Ssx	hypermetric
Heliand 621a	*that he scoldi an Bethleem giboran uuerðan*	(xxxxxx) Ss // (x) Ssx	hypermetric
Heliand 1144a	*nu is it giu ginâhid thurh thes neriandan craft*	Sx /(xxx) Sx // (xx) Ssx / S	A1, E
Heliand 1687a	*Gerot gi simbla êrist thes godes rîkeas*	Sxxx / Sx // x / Ssx	A1, C2
Heliand 1730a	*that sia gihôrean iuua hêlag uuord*	(xxx) Sx // xx / Sxs	hypermetric
Heliand 3062a	*sâlig bist thu Sîmon sunu Ionases*	Sxxx / Sx // S/ Ssx	A1, D2
Heliand 3344a	*fan them hêroston, the thes hûses giuueld*	(x) x / Ssx // (x)x / Sxxs	C1, B1
Heliand 3990a	*uueldun thi mid stênon starcan auuerpan*	Sxx / (x) Sx // Sx / (x) Sx	A1, A1
Heliand 4374a	*sô fârungo uuarð that fiur kumen*	x / Ssx // (x) x / Ssx	C1, C1
Heliand 4517a	*fro min the godo foto endi hando endi mines hofdes so sama*	Sxx / Sx // Sxxx / Sx // (xx) xx / Sxxs	A2a, A1, B2 corrupt
Heliand 5690a	*that sia thia haftun man thuru thena hêlagan dag*	(xx) x / Sxs // (xx) xx / Sxxs	B1, B1
Heliand 5916a	*se<u>b</u>o mid sorogon sero giblandan*	S / (x) Sx // Sx /(x) Sx	A1, A1
Heliand 5920a	*Christe, thuoh siu ina cuthlico ankennian ni mohti*	Sxxxxx / Ssx //(x) Sx / (x) Sx	D1, A1
Heliand 5975a	*sôhta imo that hôha himilo rîki*	(xxxxx) Sx // Sx / Sx	hypermetric

Table 2: Old Saxon Heavy Hypermetric Verses

What is not shown in the chart, however, is in what manner the poet employs

these verses. It is quite significant to note, that a majority of the true heavy hypermetric

lines, i.e. those we have not discounted as ambiguous, are used in situations where they

indicate prominence in the poem at critical and non-random points. *Genesis B* 356a,

Heliand 1144a, 3062, are used as the first line of speeches. *Genesis Fragment* 228a and 235a frame Abraham's words to God, in that they occur two lines after the beginning and two lines prior to the end of his speech. Similarly the end of fitt 52 is indicated by a four-line hypermetrical cluster, the first of which is the heavy hypermetric 4374a. Thus, of the thirteen guaranteed heavy hypermetrical verses, six are used certainly in a fashion one could hardly call random. Rather one might say that these heavy hypermetrical verses are acting so as to call attention to the specific passages within the poems they occur.

With the knowledge that the remaining verses might have a good reason to be reviewed, it is apparent that the heavy hypermetric meter act similarly, though not as markers at beginning and end-points of passages, but rather as emphasis markers. Clearest among these is 5920a, where the resurrected Christ returns for the first time in the flesh and reveals himself to Mary Magdalene, certainly a fact that a poet whose intent is the conversion of the audience to Christianity would like to highlight. The same might be said for 1687a, which is an exhortation toward proselytizing. Contrasts are emphasized in 3344a, the contrast of the master of the household and his dogs showing how wretched Lazarus is, and 5690a, where the contrast between the words *haftas* 'prisoners' and *hêlag* 'holy' is brought out. One may judge for oneself whether Mary Magdalene's intense sorrow, 5916a, and the Apostles' admonishment to Christ for wanting to return to a people who wished to stone him to death, 3990a, fall into the category of material worthy of emphasis, though the distribution of the other lines indicate that they should.

3.3.4 Heavy Hypermetric Verses in the *Hildebrandslied*

At some 68 lines, the *Hildebrandslied* is the longest alliterative poem that deals with traditional narrative in the Old High German poetic corpus. The story of Hildebrand is connected with the cycles of legendary narrative that grew from the historical personage of the Ostrogothic emperor of Rome, Theodoric; there are analogues elsewhere in the Scandinavian *Þíðreks saga af Bern* and a 15th-century German ballad, the *Jüngeres Hildebrandslied* (Haymes 1990). The language of the text is mixed, with the appearance of a High-German text which was partially and inconsistently converted to Low German (Lühr 1982:49-52) There are however several metrical inconsistencies in the text, when viewed with an eye toward known Old Saxon and Old English metrical practices (Russom 1998:171-72, 185-192). We can, however, reduce the number of metrical inconsistencies, or at least explain them, keeping in mind the possibility that a heavy hypermetric verse pattern did, in fact exist, and was tolerated, if only as a departure from the norms. The evidence from the *Hildebrandslied* is not helpful in the sense that it will aid in the elucidation of heavy hypermetrical structures in Old English and Old Saxon verse, given the limited number of examples and little context. However, the opposite might be true.

As edited by Braune, *Hildebrandslied*, presents us with one clear instance of a heavy hypermetric on-verse, l.7a, though with disapproval marked with brackets, ll.5-9:

garutun se iro guðhamun,   gurtun sih iro suert ana,
helidos, ubar [h]*ringa,   do sie to dero hiltiu ritun,*
Hiltibra[n]*t gimahalta* [*Heribrantes sunu*]:   *her uuas heroro man,*
ferahes frotoro;   her fragen gistuont…

"they prepared their battle-coverings,   girded their swords on themselves,
the heroes, over their corselets,   when the rode to the battle,
Hildebrand spoke [Heribrand's son]:   he was the elder man,
wiser in spirit;   he posed questions…"

Here a heavy hypermetric on-verse is combined with a normal B-Type off-verse, which

with its introductory unstressed syllables is quite similar to a weak hypermetric A-Type

off-verse. Russom chooses to remove *Heribrantes sunu* because it "causes severe

metrical problems in the middle of the otherwise unremarkable line 7"(Russom

1998:172). A variation of l.7 is encountered in line 36, though with Hadubrand and

Hildebrand taking the positions of the names, *Hadubra[n]t gima[ha]lta,   Hiltibrantes*

sunu, demonstrating that these two verses are capable of filling a whole long-line.

However, we find the same formula, here edited by Braune as a full long-line, as

line 45. The repetition of this formula is a nice parallel to Hadubrand's statement that

'*tot ist Hiltibra[n]t,   Heribrantes suno*,' ll. 44-48:

> '*…tot ist Hiltibra[n]t,   Heribrantes suno.*'
> *Hiltibrant gimahalta   Herib[ran]tes suno:*
> '*wela gisihu ih in dinem hrustim,*
> *dat du habes heme   herron goten,*
> *dat du noh bi desemo riche   reccheo ni wurti.*'

> "'Hildebrand is dead,   Heribrand's son.'
> Hildebrand spoke   Heribrand's son:
> 'I see well by your armor,
> that you have at home   a good lord,
> that you still in this kingdom   have not become an exile.'"

Lühr's edition of the same passage divides line 46 into two halves according to the

syntax, ll. 45-46:

> *hiltibrant gimahalta,   heri<brant>es suno:*
> '*wela gisihu ih   in dinem hrustim,*

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The resulting on-verse would then be read as a Type-A verse with resolution (Lühr 1982:252), and the off-verse as a Type-A with a single syllable in anacrusis (Lühr 1982:255):

S /(x) S   x   //   (x) S x /   S x
wela gisihu ih   *in dinem hrustim*

Problematic with Lühr's edition of this line is that the resulting verses are not constrained by alliteration. Although there are numerous examples of lines lacking alliteration in *Hildebrandslied*, e.g. 11b, 16b, 28b, 31b, it would perhaps be best to give the benefit of the doubt to readings that provide alliteration within the text, even though it might be arranged in ways other than expected.[79]

If we extend a little latitude to the poet of the *Hildebrandslied* as to the placement of the *höfuðstafr*,[80] and combine ll.45 and 46 so as to create from them one heavy hypermetric long-line, with l.45 as the on-verse and l.46 as the off-verse, we find a metrically somewhat more palatable scansion, in comparison to keeping a defective orphan-verse:

S x   x / (x) S x// S s   x / S   //   x x x x x x/(x) x x / S x
Hiltibrant gimahalta Heribrantes sunu: 'wela gisihu ih in dinem hrustim,'

This is further supported by the possibility of viewing l.46 as a misrepresentation of '*wela gisihu ih in hrustim dinem*,' which is fully at home as the off-verse to a hypermetric

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[79] For example, *Hildebrandslied* 60 *gundeas gimeinun: niuse, de motti* 'battles together: may he who can attempt it…' Rather than lacking alliteration we should expect that the poet was satisfied with the alliterative connection between *gimeinun* and *motti*.

[80] Many thanks to Mark Southern for pointing out to me, that since there is no contrastive stress on *dinem*, the greatest stress in this verse is to be found on *hrustim*. This being the case, then, the placement of the alliterating stave is on the most prominently stressed syllable in the verse, rather than on the first prominently stressed syllable of the verse, as is more customary.

on-verse, as we know from the OE and OS comparanda. Although this passage can be read as a heavy-hypermetric on-verse with a hypermetric off-verse, the attestations of lines 7 and 45-46 are not of sufficient quality and surety to be of help in dealing with the problem of the Old English and Old Saxon hypermetrics. Rather, that we find heavy hypermetric constructions in Old English and Old Saxon may help us in making a bit more sense of *Hildebrandslied*.

3.4 Summary of the Old English and Old Saxon Heavy Hypermetrics

As was pointed out in the analysis of the Old Saxon heavy hypermetric verses, perhaps the greatest indicator for the metrical validity of heavy hypermetrics comes neither from their structure nor from their being licensed by an accepted metrical framework. Rather, their validity arises from the non-arbitrariness of their placement. Six of the thirteen clearly heavy hypermetrical verses in the *Heliand*, *Genesis Fragment*, and *Genesis B* translation are employed as demarcative signals themselves, marking the initial points of speeches and/or the ends of passages. The remaining heavy hypermetrical verses in the Old Saxon corpus are in passages where added emphasis would not be undue, either in connection with affective passages, e.g. Christ's resurrection and Mary Magdalene's sorrow, or in passages depicting a contrast, e.g. Lazarus' wretchedness compared with the master of the house's wealth and the lowliness of the dogs that lick his wounds.

With this in mind, we can return to observing the purportedly heavy hypermetric verses in the Old English corpus and we find similar, though not entirely as obvious

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distributions,[81] which, incidentally, is a good reason to engage in comparative studies, because of the increased data sample. *Daniel* 207, located within a hypermetrical cluster, expresses a contrast between the *hæftas hearan* and the *hean byrig*, similar to *Heliand* 5690a, where the common ground between the two, in addition to the cognates *hæftas ~ haftas*, is the Christian idea of martyrs, righteous prisoners.

Two passages within *Maxims I* can be described as employing heavy hypermetric verses to indicate contrasts between passages, rather than line-internal contrasts. Recall passage ll. 93-102, where ll. 93-99 depict a (seemingly) loving relationship between a sailor and his wife. Lines 100-102, however, exhibit a sharp break with the preceding sentiment, and suggest that women can be fickle and faithless. The break is marked by a heavy hypermetric in 100a. Similarly, ll. 161-166 has two portions, the first a negative one, ll. 161-163, expressed with a normal long-line and a *ljóðaháttr*-like construction:

> *Wærleas mon ond wonhydig,*
> *ætrenmod ond ungetreow,*
> *þæs ne gymeð god.*

> "A perfidious and absent-minded man,
> poison-minded and faithless,
> God does not take heed of him."[82]

The following portion is a positive depiction of what God has done (contrasting with what he will not do, cf. l.163) and what is fitting for people to do (contrasting with what is unseemly for people, cf. ll.161-62), introduced with a heavy hypermetric, ll.164-166:

> *Fela sceop meotud þæs þe fyrn gewearð,   het siþþan swa forð wesan.*
> *Wæra gehwylcum wislicu   word gerisað,*

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[81] With, perhaps, the exception of *Maxims II* 42a, which introduces a significant sense-break.
[82] My trans.

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gleomen gied   and guman snyttro.

"The Measurer created much which came into being long ago, commanded it
                                        thereafter to continue to be so.
Wise words befit   every contract
a song the entertainer   and wisdom a man."[83]

The hypermetric cluster running from ll.62-70 contains a passage which can also be seen

as a series of contrasts punctuated by parallel heavy hypermetric constructions in ll.64a

and 66a. Verse 63b declares that it befits a woman to work at her embroidery. Following

immediately thereupon in 64a is a heavy hypermetric verse which introduces a passage

stating what happens to women who are careless. This passage concludes in l.65b and a

sense-break is introduced in 66a with a heavy hypermetric verse of parallel metric

construction with the one in 64a, stating the behavior of an ashamed man.

Of the two remaining heavy hypermetric verses in *Maxims I*, one can be said to

contain a line-internal contrast, *cene men gecynde rice. Cyning biþ anweald georn.*

'brave men (shall rule) the familial kingdom. A king is eager for sole possession,' which

we make take to express the preference for communal governance, rather than placing all

power in one man's hands. It is not clear what purpose the heavy hypermetric verse in

46a serves. The clearest parallel to the Old Saxon usage of heavy hypermetrics is to be

see in *Maxims II* 42a, which marks the beginning of a hypermetric cluster, follows a full

syntactic stop and corresponds to a major sense-break in the switch from gnomic

statements of the natural world to gnomic and ethical statements of religious significance.

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[83] My trans.

3.5 The Functional Determination of the Form of Heavy Hypermetrics

Returning to our original question of whether the existence of this metrical aberration in both traditions (and possibly a third) is sufficient evidence to posit this same structure in the poetic system which gave rise to both, we must consider several possible scenarios, since this question does not permit merely a yes/no answer. There are, rather, at least three distinct scenarios we must consider to explain this state of affairs. Already mentioned is the first possibility, namely that the tradition in which Old English and Old Saxon have their common origin possessed a structure akin to the heavy hypermetric. We cannot consider this first possibility as tenable, unless every other possibility has first been excluded. Our second possibility is that each tradition developed these constructions independently of one another, but given the same set of circumstances and functions served by the heavy hypermetric verse, the end results are identical. Closely related to the second possibility is the possibility that one tradition developed the heavy hypermetric and was passed onto the other, much like a sound change that extends across dialect and/or language boundaries. Although we might never be able to distinguish between the last two possibilities, since the existence of translations such as *Genesis B* attest to cultural interactions that would enable such a scenario to have taken place,[84] they share a commonality that eliminates the need to make a distinction between them. Whether both traditions developed heavy hypermetrics independently or one developed it

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[84] Also indicating that the English were not necessarily the culturally dominant party, as is argued somewhat by Zanni who sees aspects of Old Saxon verse as influenced by the English tradition of biblical epic poetry (Zanni 1980:116)

and passed it on to the other, is of no consequence here. If either is possible, we should accept it as the preferable answer to the question of common origin.

We have seen already how the heavy hypermetric is employed so as to foreground metrically and aurally certain passages against the surrounding verse. The key to understanding the essential motivating factor determining the form of heavy hypermetrics is the large number of regular hypermetrics employed by these poems. According to Timmer's analyses, hypermetric verses were employed in distinction to normal verses so as to mark the beginnings and ends of passages, retardation of the narrative and as 'an expression of emphasis or solemnity' (Timmer 1952:229), characteristics identical to my analysis of the heavy hypermetrics.[85] Fulk also notes that "in *Genesis A*, God tends to speak in hypermetrics" (Fulk 2001:151).

However, when the departure from normal verse-form is carried out with hypermetric verses, there is little left to do when a poet desires to employ the same effects within a hypermetric cluster. There is one immediately logical solution. If the main distinguishing feature between normal and hypermetric is an additional stress/foot, the way to one-up a hypermetric verse is to add yet another stress/foot. The left-headed nature of Germanic alliterative verse's *Grenzsignal* provides some additional padding against too much metrical disruption. The normally heavier on-verse, which may exhibit a greater range of alliterative patterns than the off-verse, is better suited to accommodate additional alliterating stresses. Thus is born the four-stressed heavy hypermetric verse.

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[85] One may argue that these characteristics I have ascribed also to the heavy hypermetrics are no different from those possessed by all hypermetrics in general. However, the behavior of heavy hypermetrics within hypermetric clusters, e.g. *Genesis B* 228a, 235a, and *Heliand* 5920a, proves otherwise.

Furthermore, since we can easily imagine that the same scenario could have taken place independently in either of these poetic traditions, we cannot assume that these metrical deviations are best explained as a sanctioned metrical variant extant in the predecessor of both traditions.

We must also conclude that despite the rarity of these constructions and the their violation of the UOC, they should stand as they do in the manuscripts, free from emendation. The violation of the UOC is, more or less, what provides the heavy hypermetric its efficacy. The heavy hypermetric, in its usage, is an example of interplay, a tensing of the normal metrical rules which coincides with textual meaning (Wimsatt and Beardsley:1959:596-97). Whether the heavy hypermetric may be seen as evidence of the automatization of the hypermetric verse with respect to its efficacy as a variant against the normal verse cannot necessarily be supported. However, we may speculate that they most likely represent an innovation to the metrical system, whether independently in each tradition or first in one and transferred to another.

3.6 Summary of Chapter Three

What we may derive from this study is that although two distinct poetic traditions possess identical metrical aberrations within their corpora, we cannot guarantee that they derive from a historically common source. The problem of the heavy hypermetrics provides us with some valuable lessons for the comparative/historical analysis of verse. First among these is the tendency to focus on prototypical forms in analysis. As we shall also see in the following chapter, marginalized forms and deviant forms are often as informative as a good generalization of a verse-form.

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A second key lesson learned is that one must also consider the ways in which a given metrical form is used, and how its form relates to its function, before one can accurately engage in a comparative analysis. For example, Bliss' suggestion that some of these heavy hypermetrical verses are a variant of the *ljóðaháttr* form, since both are tripartite and whose first two elements approximate the shape of two normal verses (Bliss 1972), excluded too soon other, better-suited explanations. That one must, at least partially, engage in poetic interpretation and analysis for comparative analysis is difficult for historical linguistics to accommodate. The role of hermeneutics in the explanation of language change has been a point of discussion in historical linguistics in the past fifteen years (see, for example, Lass (1997:325-390), Keller (1994:*passim*), and Anttila (1989:399-411)). The application of comparative-historical linguistic methods to a different setting and different set of data might serve as a fruitful place for new discussion on the subject.

We will continue with the study of hypermetrics in the next chapter, where I argue that the Old Norse *dróttkvætt* is the Scandinavian reflex of the common hypermetric verse. Whereas this chapter, as the one before, has shown how two seemingly similar poetic constructions may reasonably not be traced back to a common source, the next chapter will show how two seemingly different poetic structures may, in fact, share a common origin, despite the dissimilarities. We will also revisit some of the themes discussed in this chapter, namely the significant role played by demarcative signals within the line, the necessity to look at marginalized forms in analysis, and the importance of looking at structural characteristics of verses in terms of their poetic

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function, in diachronic terms of how they fit into what came before and what follows them in the poetic tradition, and to what extent the role of functional space within the poetic line plays in determining the form of a structure.

Chapter Four

A Comparative Analysis between the Old Norse *Dróttkvætt* Meter and the Hypermetric Verse of Old English and Old Saxon

"…we choose to go to the Moon, in this decade and to do the other things,
not because they are easy, but because they are hard…"[86]
-John F. Kennedy, *Rice University Speech*, September 12, 1962

4.1 Introduction

Whereas Chapter Three had as its focus the comparison of similar metrical constructions in two traditions, we turn now to a situation where we compare two dissimilar metrical structures and argue for their relatedness. Perhaps one of the greatest questions in early Scandinavian literary history revolves around the origin of skaldic verse. To many familiar with the meter employed in such alliterative poems as *Beowulf*, *The Wanderer*, and *Caedmon's Hymn*, the syllable- and mora-counting skaldic verse with its opaque diction and syntax and its heavy use of internal rhymes is nothing short of alien. Skaldic verse is so different from other early Germanic alliterative verses, that every major work on the subject of skaldic verse of the past 25 years, particularly on its favorite meter, the *dróttkvætt*, has addressed the questions of the origin of the *dróttkvætt* (Gade 1995:7-12, 226-38; Árnason 1992:81-89; Kuhn 1983:272-275; Frank 1978:34-35; Turville-Petre 1976:xxiv-xxviii). And although we have come to know the structure of the *dróttkvætt* in great detail, many important factors regarding its origins are still elusive.

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[86] One may note throughout this chapter the way in which notions of 'difficulty' in composition motivate change in skaldic verse. This is particularly evident in the distribution of internal rhymes, where the arrangement of full and off-rhyme is such that the typical arrangement places more demands on the poet than other possible arrangements.

Before beginning any further discussion, a brief overview of the key structures of the *dróttkvætt* with examples. The *dróttkvætt* is typically composed in stanzas of eight verses, divided into two *helmingar* 'half-stanzas.' Each *helming* is syntactically separate from the other, i.e. sentences typically do not begin in one *helming* and extend to the other. The *helming* contains four verses which are paired off with alliteration, with two alliterating stressed syllables in the odd-verses and one located on the first stressed syllable of the even-verse, e.g. Sneglu-Halli lv1:

> *Færðr sýndisk mér frændi*
> *Frísa kyns í brynju;*
> *gengr fyr hirð í hringum*
> *hjalmfaldinn kurfaldi;*
>
> *flærat eld í ári*
> *úthlaupi vanr Túta;*
> *sék á síðu leika*
> *sverð rúghleifa skerði.*[87]

In addition to the alliteration, which is the same as the alliteration in all early Germanic verse, the *dróttkvætt* requires the use of internal rhymes, or *hendingar* (see Section 4.4.2.2.4). The meter of the *dróttkvætt* is such that each verse contains six metrical positions (see Section 4.4.1). Most constrained are the last two positions which must contain a long stressed syllable followed by an unstressed, preferably short syllable (see Section 4.5), e.g. *frændi*, *brynju*, *hringum*, etc. The remaining four positions are metrically similar to a *fornyrðislag* verse (see Section 4.6.1ff.), except that even verses tend not to have unstressed syllables in the first position. Taking the first *helming* as an

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[87] "A kinsman of the Frisians appears to me in a byrnie; the dwarf walks helm-covered before the retinue in mail-rings; Tuta, accustomed to the expedition, does not flee the (cooking-)fire in the morning; I see a sword playing on the side of the cutter of rye-loaves."

example, the verses are Type-E, Type-A, Type-A, and Type-E. Furthermore, each position may have no more than two syllables, whether stressed or unstressed. Two short syllables may substitute for one long, stressed syllable provided the first of the two is stressed (known as resolution) or two short, unstressed syllables may substitute for one unstressed syllable (known as neutralization).

For much of the 20th century there have been two major possibilities considered for the origin of the *dróttkvætt*, one arguing for a native development and the other arguing for an origin in early Irish verse. However, it has been demonstrated by Gade 1995, as well as by Kuhn 1983 that the *dróttkvætt* meter shares so much in common with the native eddic *fornyrðislag* meter, that little reason remains to look to Irish meters as the main predecessors of the *dróttkvætt*.[88] For this same reason, Gade has chosen to look at *fornyrðislag* as the meter from which the *dróttkvætt* arose. She argues that the tendency in *fornyrðislag* to employ tetrasyllabic verses with enjambment into the first word of the next verse could have provided the exact model to produce the hexasyllabic *dróttkvætt*.[89] Yet Gade is quick to point out that there are, nonetheless, difficulties with this, in that there is scant evidence of a strictly tetrasyllabic *fornyrðislag*. Be that as it may, it still provides a better model than offered by Irish verses, particularly when one also compares internal rhyme in the two traditions (1995:233-38).

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[88] Although we should perhaps remain open to the possibility that there could be multiple influences upon its structure.

[89] For example, Vsp. 60:7-8 *oc á Fimbultýs || fornar rúnar* exhibits enjambement beteween *Fimbultýs* and *fornar* across the caesura. The same enjambement is found between positions 4 and 5 in the *dróttkvætt*. Section 4.4.1 and 4.4.1.2 discuss this in greater detail.

However, positing a *fornyrðislag*-like line which becomes hexasyllabic through enjambment with the off-verse is troubling as well. Given that eddic meters also prohibit alliteration from appearing on the second stressed syllable of an off-verse, it would be difficult to find a model for the greater tendency in the *dróttkvætt* to place the main alliterating stave on the first syllable of the even-line (which would correspond to the fourth stressed syllable in the eddic long-line). A restructuring process would be required which would redefine the length and metrical positions within a verse, as well as the relationship with its corresponding verse within the alliterative pattern. Although the degree of similarity between *fornyrðislag* and *dróttkvætt* is striking, one must also question whether that is the result of inherited features or perhaps the later influence of one verse type upon the other.

One possibility that has been overlooked up till now is that the alliterative tradition in Scandinavia might have possessed a longer, three-stressed alliterative verse as did the Old English and Old Saxon traditions.[90] Russom 1998 has gone to great lengths to demonstrate and explain how *fornyrðislag* and the continental Germanic and Old English normal verses could have developed from a common source. I would like to posit the possibility that there could have been a common three-stressed verse which gave rise to the hypermetric verses as we know them in the Old English and Old Saxon sources and to the *dróttkvætt* in the skaldic tradition. Since Gade has already posited a "parent"-meter which is more or less unattested, I find it justifiable to posit one which corresponds somewhat better to the "daughter"-meter than does *fornyrðislag*. One must keep in mind

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[90] See review of Sievers (1893 *AGM* §200.2.Anm.2) and Bliss (1972) below

that unlike phonological change in language, arguing genetic relationships between metrical patterns is necessarily more of an abductive process, by which one explanation may better suit a problem than another, although neither can be proven or disproven.

The remainder of this chapter will contain a section on the methodology of this study, which establishes the means by which one ought to proceed in a comparative analysis of verse, a section reviewing the main theories proposed on the history of *dróttkvætt* vis-à-vis the other native traditions, a section on the constitutive features of both the WGmc. hypermetric lines and *dróttkvætt*, and an analytical section which presents the means and motivations by which a common meter could have produced both metrical structures.

4.2 Methodology

The means by which one ought to proceed in a comparative study as such is very much similar to the way in which one employs the comparative method in linguistic reconstruction, though with necessary alterations. While the focal point of this study is to explore the origins of the *dróttkvætt*, it is important not only to study whence a verse originated, but also how it made its transition, and, if possible, why it did so. The focus of the previous chapter was to demonstrate that there are factors internal and inherent to the nature of verse which interfere with the application of the comparative method as if change in verse operated as does regular phonological change. To briefly summarize the main point made to this effect, features of verses cited as comparanda are problematic since their function within a verse determined their structure. These same features are not necessarily the result of their being related only via a common source. Treating

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features of verses, such as cadences, junctures, caesurae, cola, and number of syllables, as if they were fully analogous to segments shared by cognate lexical items in two or more languages is counterindicated.

This becomes clear if we return to one of historical linguistics' favorite axioms, Sturtevant's Paradox, that phonetic change is regular, and produces irregularity within paradigms; whereas analogy is irregular but creates regularity within the lexicon and paradigms (McMahon 1994:21). If change in verse is driven primarily by language change, i.e. by changes in the phonology and prosody of the language, then we would expect meter to be essentially irregular in some way, shape, or form. This clearly cannot be the case, since meter necessarily requires at some level an essential regularity. By no means do I wish to suggest that phonological changes have no bearing in the evolution and/or development of verse across time, merely that reference solely to phonological changes cannot in-and-of-itself explain everything in poetic change.[91]

A perhaps more fruitful approach to comparative metrics might also consider treating potentially cognate verses not as a problem analogous to phonological reconstruction, but rather as a problem more similar to that faced in comparative *morphological* reconstruction. We have already noted how at least some of the structures and features of verses behave as they ought to, if they are components within a system, which we will assume they are. The alteration of one member of the system will of course have consequences for other, related portions of that system. This approach is not

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[91] We will be interested in individual creativity within a traditional poetic system only in so far as it results in a alteration of the subsequent tradition as a whole. At the level of the individual poem, however, creative aspects are important when set against the typical structure of the verse, but donot necessarily result in alterations of a poetic tradition.

without its own problems, though. Linguists have long remarked that the precision available in phonological reconstruction by no means matches that which is possible for morphological reconstruction, let alone syntactic and morphosyntactic reconstruction (Lass 1997:246ff.). In general, however, we will be applying two main techniques found in comparative linguistic analysis to comparative metrical analysis, much as we did in the preceding chapter.

The first of these two is a sort of internal reconstruction. Rather than looking at variants within a paradigm and reconstructing a proto-form based solely thereon, we will be considering system-internal factors that might have led to the formation of relevant metrical features. We can also make use of variation within the corpus of extant *dróttkvætt* verses. Certain features of the *dróttkvætt*, stable and formalized in the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries were less rigidly employed in ninth and tenth century skaldic verse. The acknowledgement of such variation, in stark contrast to the adoption of the classical *dróttkvætt* as the sole comperandum, provides two benefits. Preference should naturally be given to older forms of the verse. It would be absurd to prefer a later linguistic form over its earlier counterpart in linguistic reconstruction. The same should hold true for historical metrical analysis. Secondly, by observing these differences extant in the historical record we can get a sense of the mechanics and motivations of diachronic metrical change, and apply the same principles to prehistoric change.

The second major method of analysis to be employed in this chapter is actually a group of phenomena, usually kept under the rubric of analogy or analogical change. Analogy is not one process or phenomenon *per se*, but rather several phenomena in

which, at least in language change, change is motivated by non-phonological, i.e. non-mechanical, factors (Hock 1986:167). Such processes will be of benefit to us, in that they necessarily involve a non-phonological motivation. One key feature of analogical processes, though, is that in every case there exists a point of commonality among separate elements. Of the various types of analogical processes, however, the one that concerns us the most is the four-part proportional analogy, which in a sense is most closely related to the first use of the term analogy (Lahiri 2000:1).

It should be noted quite clearly that the following study has the disadvantage of having its claims in a situation where they can be neither proved nor disproved. Although the same can be said for any linguistic reconstruction, phonological reconstructions are limited by naturalness of rules, in addition to other constraints. Unfortunately such constraints are not always available to a comparative metrical analysis, as they are for an analysis of phonological change or reconstruction. The problem that exists here is essentially no different from the one that exists in historical linguistics, in that we are engaging in a process of abductive reasoning. Abduction, which Anttila deems the "everyday logic par excellence" (1989:196-97) is also the "first explanatory phase of scientific inquiry" (1989:404), because it involves the establishment of a hypothesis which links a result with a possible cause, "abduction suggests that something is the case, that something *may be*" (1989:197).

Abduction does not, however, provide us with proof that the explanation presented does in fact explain the explanandum. Lass views abduction as problematic since "the nature of a particular abduction depends on contingent attributes of the

abducer" and since "[t]here is…an irreducibly personal element in abduction, as there is in any kind of hermeneutic procedure" (1997:335). Lass is particularly harsh in his characterization of abduction as "nothing more than the easy half of hypothetico-deductive method (which should already be apparent anyhow)" (1997:336). Unfortunately for those wishing to pursue a diachronic comparative study of verse, though, little else exists at the moment. Moreover, for those pursuing the history and genesis of skaldic verse, the mists of time have left little available with the exception of conjecture and speculation. Lass is, in the end I think, justified in making the claim that abduction is not sufficient for complete and meaningful explanation; however, as the quote from Anttila above shows, abduction is merely the *first* step in the process of scientific inquiry. Hypotheses are meant to be either supported or contraindicated. Although Lass would "rather live in a real desert than an imaginary paradise" (1997:352), an "imaginary paradise" still seems (to me, at least) preferable to an absolute void.

In those situations where one finds two or more competing hypotheses, neither of which can be fully proved or disproved, we must resort to other methods of adjudging claims. The case presently concerning us is just such a situation, whereby there is a multiplicity of competing hypotheses. We have already excluded one set of hypotheses, and are faced essentially with two remaining, the one presented here and its competitor, i.e. the most recent previous theory, that of Gade's. Rudi Keller, in his defense of functionalist, in particular invisible-hand, explanations in language change, argues that two key factors lending explanatory adequacy to any theory are plausibility and cogency (1994[1990]:72). Given a number of competing theories, one should always chose the

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most plausible and most cogent of those available. What I intend to argue below is that
Gade's theories concerning the history and origin of the *dróttkvætt*, though not lacking in
cogency, are less plausible than those which I present as their replacement.

4.3 Previous Explanations for the Origin of the *Dróttkvætt*

As mentioned above, there are two main categories of explanations given for the
origin of the *dróttkvætt*, either native or foreign. Since we have discounted the
possibilities for a purely foreign origin, as argued by Gade, Kuhn and Reichardt, the
exploration of the explanations for native beginnings should take precedence.

Eduard Sievers in his *Altgermanische Metrik* is actually not at all that different
from current positions, in that he considers the *dróttkvætt* to be a *fornyrðislag* verse with
an appended foot. Just as the later skaldic meters, such as *kimlabönd* and *hrynhent*, can
be seen as an expansion of the *dróttkvætt* by a foot, so too was the *dróttkvætt* the product
of an expansion. Sievers, however, brings up and dismisses the possibility of a
connection between the *dróttkvætt* and hypermetric verses:

> Es wäre ja recht wol möglich, dass diese versmasse wie die vollzeile des
> ljóðaháttr durch besondere typenwahl aus dem schwellvers abgezweigt wären,
> und es liegt auch nahe zu vermuten, dass dieser als sprechvers dreihebige vers den
> anstoss zur bildung eines dreihebigen kunstmetrums gegeben habe. *Aber die
> gleichheit der ersten beiden füsse des dróttkvætt und des normalverses ist zu
> augenfällig, als dass man sie von einander trennen dürfte.*[92]
>
> > (Sievers 1896:240, my ital.)

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[92] Rough trans. "It is certainly possible that these types of verses had branched off from the hypermetric
verse through the selection of particular types, like the *Vollzeile* [the longer third verse] of the *ljóðaháttr*,
and it would not be far off to suppose that this verse had provided the impetus for the construction of a
three-stressed artistic meter. *However, the similarity of the first two feet of the* dróttkvætt *and of the normal
verse is too noticable for one to be able to separate them from one another.*

The difference between *dróttkvætt* and the *Vollzeile* of a *ljóðaháttr* verse is considerable, particularly in the nature of the cadence. Whereas the *dróttkvætt* requires the cadence – x, the two most preferred cadences in *ljóðaháttr* are either x x or –, with the tendency to avoid the cadence types found in *dróttkvætt* (Árnason 1992:53). The same, however, cannot be said for the Old English hypermetric verses, as we shall see in Section V below.

Konstantin Reichardt in his monograph *Studien zu den Skalden des 9. und 10 Jahrhunderts* does not approach the problem of the genesis of the *dróttkvætt* from a metrical perspective, but rather chooses to separate stylistics from meter and base his judgments therefrom. What concerns Reichardt most of all is the relation between verse and syntax. Since, he argues, there are no good models for the complexity of the construction and arrangement of syntax and kennings in Irish poetry of the same or earlier periods, one must conclude that such developments must be native. He also rightly points out that one can observe the growth in complexity from the 9th to the 10th century, and that the earliest *dróttkvætt* was not the obfuscating web of words it later becomes (1928:67-68).

The arrangement of syntactic boundaries prompted Hans Kuhn to explore the historical development of the *dróttkvætt* as well in the article "Von Bragi bis Snorri." Kuhn starts with the assumption that *fornyrðislag* was the predecessor of the *dróttkvætt*, to which an additional, trochaic foot had been added. His initial arguments differ little from those of Sievers in that he posits a stricter form of *fornyrðislag*, permitting only four syllables per line. This posited tetrasyllabic line gave rise also to other skaldic verse

forms, such as the *kviðuháttr* and tetrasyllabic *runhent* (as in Egill Skallagrímsson's *Höfuðlausn*). The later characteristics of *dróttkvætt*, such as the placement of internal rhymes and the restriction on the placement of the main alliterating stave for the even verses, solidified only in the tenth century.

Although Kuhn is primarily concerned with his Law of the Caesura (*Zäsurgesetz*), he points out some features that serve to distinguish *dróttkvætt* from *fornyrðislag*. Specifically meant here is the existence of mismatched syntactic structures in several odd-numbered verses, where a constituent-boundary exists between positions III and IV, e.g. Rdr. 1.3 *Þrúðar skalk ok þengil*, where *ok þengil* is syntactically independent of the rest of the line. The difficulties lie therein, that *Þrúðar skalk ok* is not an acceptable line in *fornyrðislag*. There are 9 other examples of the same phenomenon in *Ragnarsdrápa* in addition to 13 of the same in even verses[93] (1969:211-213). If a strictly tetrasyllabic *fornyrðislag* did give rise to the *dróttkvætt*, then the metrical pattern of the verse had already become independent of the syntax of the filler in or before Bragi's works. Yet at the same time, eddic *fornyrðislag* retained its syntactic unity within the verse to a greater extent.

Bliss, primarily concerned with Old English metrics, looked to skaldic verse as a means of explaining the characteristics of Anglo-Saxon verse. In looking for a better description of Old English hypermetric verses, Bliss saw an analogy between the cadence of the *dróttkvætt* and the most prominent ending of the hypermetrics (Bliss 1958:88-90).

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[93] Rdr. 2.3, 3.2, 3.5, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.8, 6.7, 9.1, 9.2, 10.2, 13.1, 13.6, 14.4, 15.1, 15.4, 16.2, 16.4, 17.2, 18.3; and II 3.1, and 3.2.

Later in a short article of 1972 on the origins of the Old English hypermetric verse, Bliss argues that there is a historical connection between the Old English hypermetric verse and the eddic verses known as *ljóðaháttr* and *galdralag*. Before approaching his main hypothesis, however, Bliss discounts his earlier analogy between the Old English hypermetric and the *dróttkvætt*. He recants his former position, stating that the analogy is misleading, since the *dróttkvætt* does not allow metrical substitution of one type of half line for another, that *dróttkvætt* contains internal rhymes, that the alliterative patterns of *dróttkvætt* have lost their functionality, and that skaldic meters are syllabic (1972:243). Although the use of the *dróttkvætt* to explain the structure of Old English hypermetrics is not sufficient in a synchronic sense, there is no reason, as we shall see, that these structural differences should exclude any historical relationship between the two.

Though her work does not contain much on the origin on the *dróttkvætt*, Frank suggests, as others have, that the *dróttkvætt* is a "tightening and regularizing of the common Germanic long line." Throughout this chapter we shall be returning constantly to this notion. However, Frank does go on to make a curious comparison between the structure of the *dróttkvætt* and other early Indo-European verses, in that they share the traits of isosyllabism, a free initial and fixed cadence, a caesura, and a cadence with a fixed stress (1978:34). It would be unlikely, though, to expect that even if there had been an Indo-European proto-verse with those very characteristics, that it should have survived relatively intact across such a span of time, yet failed to be evidenced in the other Germanic poetic traditions. What is perhaps more likely, as was argued in the previous

chapter, is that these above-mentioned features are the result of drift in metrical structures.

In his larger work on the *dróttkvætt*, Kuhn maintains his earlier position that this verse form emerged from the *fornyrðislag*. Kuhn does not shy away from suggesting that there well could have been Irish influence upon skaldic verse. Although he recognizes that features such as a complex kenning-system and stanzaic divisions, found also in early Irish verse, were most likely native developments, Kuhn by the same token suggests that syllable counting and internal rhyme could have been adopted from the *filid*. His argumentation for this does not rest on formal comparisons, but rather on the possible Irish heritage of Bragi Boddason (1983:274-275). In all fairness, however, it seems to have been Kuhn's intention more to demonstrate that Hiberno-Norse relations and interactions existed during the appropriate time-frame, through which poetic desiderata could have been transferred.

4.4 The Constitutive Features of the Structures in Question

Presented below in tabular form is a quick summary of the main constituent features of the metrical structures in question. Each of these characteristics will be addressed and compared with one another, with the exception of the final characteristic, relating to the strophic/stichic structure of the verses. Since both eddic and skaldic verses exhibit the tendency to be grouped into stanzas, and almost all Old English and Old Saxon verse is written in a stichic fashion, strophic structure does not play a significant role in separating eddic from skaldic verse. We will approach the remaining six features in a variety of ways. Perhaps most helpful will be the more semiotic approach, whereby

each feature will be viewed in terms of the role it plays with other relevant features. A semiotic understanding of the interaction of metrical and parametrical characteristics of *dróttkvætt* provides us with a potentially system-internal explanation or motivation for that feature, which we may then disregard in the comparison with the West Germanic meters.

Due to the interaction evident between several features, not every feature will be dealt with separately, but rather in connection to related features. The two main bundles of features are the sound-patterning features (alliterative scheme of the on-verse, placement of *höfuðstafr*, and internal rhyme) and the metrical (cadence and metrical patterning). After addressing the problem of metrical type, we will proceed to analyze the interrelationships and comparative implications of the sound-patterning, and then address the metrical structure and patterning of the three verses.

Relevant Feature	*Dróttkvætt*	OE Hypermetric	OS Hypermetric
1. Metrical Type	syllable and stress counting, but not isosyllabic[94]	syllable and stress counting, but not isosyllabic	syllable and stress counting, but not isosyllabic
2. Alliterative Scheme	Mandatory double alliteration in odd-lines	88.43% double alliteration (367 of 415 on-verses)	98.95% double alliteration (189 of 191 on-verses)

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[94] Yet it does allow resolution and neutralization in certain positions (Gade 1995:60-66).

3. Placement of *höfuðstafr*	First syllable of even-line, in classical *dróttkvætt*	First stressed syllable of off-verse	First stressed syllable of off-verse
4 Rhyme	Classical *dróttkvætt* has *skothending* in odd-lines and *aðalhending* in even-lines, but looser in verse of the 9th C.	no requisite rhyme	no requisite rhyme
5 Cadence	Strict requisite for – x cadence, including adherence to *Sievers-Bugg'sche Regel*	No requisite cadence, though more than 86% verses with – x cadence evidenced.	No requisite cadence,though more than 76% verses with – x cadence evidenced.
6 Metrical Pattern	Five-types + cadence in odd-lines, Types A, D, and E + cadence in even-lines	one "normal" foot plus plus "heavy" foot	one "normal" foot plus one "heavy" foot

Table 3: The Constitutive Features of the *Dróttkvætt* and Old English and Old Saxon Hypermetric Verses

4.4.1 The Metrical Typology of the *Dróttkvætt*

The principal formal characteristic separating skaldic verse from every other type of early Germanic alliterative verse is its stricter limitation of unstressed syllables. Although, as we have seen in Frank (1978:34), that this is sometimes considered isosyllabism, i.e. the requirement of having identical numbers of syllables per line, it is, in fact, something quite different.[95] The comparison is often made between skaldic and

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[95] An example of this problem in terminology is seen in Árnason's review of Gade (1995) which makes the claim that *dróttkvætt* was not a syllable-counting verse (1998:99). In order to avoid further misunderstandings let us define a verse as a syllable-counting one, if it places at any part of its structure a limitation on the number of permissible syllables, whether that be a maximal or minimal limit. By this definition, one must conclude that the *dróttkvætt* is beyond any doubt a syllable-counting verse. On the other hand, let us reserve the term isosyllabic for those verses characterized by a constant and unchanging number of syllables in each line of verse. As we shall see, the *dróttkvætt* cannot be called isosyllabic. This is a distinction of great importance.

early Irish verse on account of the syllable-counting and internal rhymes shared by both traditions. However, one must note that Irish verse is truly isosyllabic; a heptasyllabic verse in the Irish tradition permits only seven syllables, not one more or less. The case is very much different in skaldic verse. Kuhn makes the point that it is more correct to speak of the *dróttkvætt*'s having six positions, rather than of its having six syllables.[96] This is evident in the fact that there are verses of *dróttkvætt* with 7 to 9 syllables, e.g. *Háttatal* 8:1-2:

> *Klofinn spyr ek hjalm fyrir hilmis*
> *hjarar egg, duga seggir.*[97]

> "I heard that the helmet was split before
> the edge of the chieftain's sword, the warriors do well."

In both verses there are more than six syllables: nine in the odd-line and seven in the even. Skalds were permitted to accommodate extra syllables into the verse by means of two phenomena, termed by modern metrists as resolution and neutralization. Resolution, which was available to all poets of early Germanic alliterative verse, is the equating of two metrically short syllables within a word, the first of which is stressed, with one long syllable. Thus the first word of each verse, *klofinn* and *hjarar*, counts as one long

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[96] "Zu dem Neuen, das von Anfang an, seit Bragi Boddason, im Dróttkvætt unverrückbar feststeht, gehört vor allem, daß jeder Vers 6 Silben oder richtiger Glieder und 3 volle Hebungen hat..." (1969:212).

[97] All passages from Snorri´s *Edda* are cited from Finnur Jónsson's edition, with normalized orthography. Unless indicated otherwise, all skaldic verses are cited from volume B of Finnur Jónsson's *Den Norsk-Isandske Skjaldedigtning*. Hooked-o is represented by /ö/ and long hooked-o by its un-umlauted counterpart, /á/.

position. Resolution, though permissible, was relatively rare, especially among the earlier skalds, with only nine instances from ninth-century skalds.[98]

In addition to resolution, skalds also had the license of neutralization, whereby two unstressed syllables are permitted to substitute for one unstressed syllable. This accounts for the remaining extra syllables in the passage above: *spyr ek*, and *fyrir*, both of which occur in weak positions. Although neutralization is permissible in every weak position of the verse (except position VI), resolution seems to have been limited primarily to positions I and II (Gade 1995:60-66).

What has perhaps escaped attention is that, despite its rigidity, *dróttkvætt* lines are not isosyllabic. Thus, comparisons between skaldic syllable counting and the syllable-counting verse of early Ireland are misleading. Syllable-counting Irish verse did not permit exceptions to the number of syllables in a line; they were isosyllabic in the true sense of the word. The closest feature that early Irish syllabic verse has with neutralization is optional elision. Yet they are nonetheless two distinct phenomena, in that elision results in the removal of a surface-level entity, so as not to disrupt the syllable count.[99]

We should also doubt whether the licenses of resolution and neutralization are modifications to an earlier, isosyllabic verse. The distinction required here is whether we suggest that the *dróttkvætt* was originally isosyllabic, and only later permitted resolution and neutralization. For an alternate and more viable solution, we can view the

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[98] Rdr. 11.8, Þjóðólfr lv. 2.7, Gldr. 5.8, TE lv. 1.4, 2.1, 3.4, 3.8, 5.7, and Þórsteinn tjaldstæðingr Ásgrímsson lv. 1.8.

[99] For examples of the usage of elision in early Irish verse and for a summary of the history and nature of isosyllabic poetry in Irish see Murphy (1961).

development of the *dróttkvætt* as an example of the "tightening and regularizing of the common Germanic long line" to use Frank's words (1978:34). The limitation to six syllables in *dróttkvætt* is an often-achieved goal, rather than a proscription, which fits well with Reichardt's opinion that the increasing constraints on the form of the *dróttkvætt* are the result of competition between skalds: "sie wetteiferten, sie suchten sich zu übertrumpfen, so wurden sie immer schwerer…"(1928:68)

This makes more credible the possibility that the *dróttkvætt* developed from a hypermetric-like verse. Bliss' survey of hypermetric verses in Old English reveals that the most common three-stressed sub-type of all hypermetrics was the 2A1(2A1a)[100]: – x | – x | – x, which has only six syllables. This is not to say that there was a proto-verse of that shape which gave rise to the forms in both traditions, nor does it imply that the structure of Old English hypermetric verses is closer to that of a common source. What one can see, though, is that the forms evidenced in the Old English corpus are of such a flexible nature as to encompass those forms used in the *dróttkvætt*.

If, then, we accept the possibility that the course of development of the *dróttkvætt* was driven by the aesthetics of formal difficulty and constraint, as is evidenced by the evolution of the *dróttkvætt* during the historical period (as argued, e.g. by Reichardt 1928:68), then we must seriously consider that the structure of the *dróttkvætt*, and of its predecessor, must have been less constrained than is shown in the classical form of the verse in the tenth century. As we will see below, this same argument is supported in other factors as well, such as the metrical pattern of the even-lines, the placement of

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[100] 47 tokens of this sub-type are present in the corpus of OE hypermetric verses (Bliss 1958:132).

alliterators in odd-lines (Section IV.2.1) , the use and placement of internal rhymes

(Section IV.2), as well as the solidification of the cadence (Section IV.3).

4.4.2 The Alliterative Scheme of the *Dróttkvætt*

There is perhaps less to be said concerning the alliterative scheme of the

dróttkvætt, principally because, as with most features of skaldic verse, we are faced with

a more demanding and less flexible treatment of the same features of non-skaldic verse.

However, what we shall see is that the placement of the alliterators and the use and

placement of internal rhymes are closely related to one another. In keeping with the

theme of this chapter, that *dróttkvætt* could have potentially arisen from the same metrical

type as the hypermetric verse in West Germanic, we will begin with a comparative

analysis of alliterative patterns in the three relevant traditions. The analysis of alliteration

will proceed then to a discussion of the relationship between the placement of alliteration

and the use of internal rhyme. This is necessary, not only because alliteration and

internal rhyme form a vital component of the structure of the *dróttkvætt*, but it is also

necessary so as to demonstrate that one cannot treat these features independently of one

another. A meter as complex as *dróttkvætt* demonstrates, as do most complex systems,

that an alteration in one area has consequences in others. One cannot engage in a

comparative analysis without first delineating those features that are the results of

system-internal pressures and changes.

4.4.2.1 Alliteration in the Odd-Lines

Without exception the *dróttkvætt* exhibits double alliteration in its odd-verses.

What remains variable, however, is the positioning of the *stuðlar*, or props, within the

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odd-verse. Any stressed syllable in the odd-line is capable of carrying alliteration. Kristján Árnason notes, however, that the relationship between stress and alliteration is not an "if-and-only-if" relation, in that not all stressed syllables must participate in the alliteration, merely that alliteration is permissible only on stressed syllables. One should not assume that a syllable is less stressed than another, based solely on its participation in the alliterative scheme (1992:134).

The metrical types do have some influence on the alliterative scheme. Most restrictive of the odd-lines are those of Types B and C. Type B lines, which seem to have been less preferred by the skalds, exhibit only one alliterative scheme, namely on positions II and V, e.g.:

*þás **h**risti-Sif **h**ringa* (Rdr 8:5)

It seems that the most preferred syntactic constructions used in Type B lines influenced the alliterative scheme. Since position III only permitted enclitic elements, any nomen falling in position IV was modified by the nomen in positions II and III, which would then carry the alliterating stave (Gade 1995:103-4). Type C lines, however, are permitted to carry alliteration on positions II and V only, since they are the only two stressed syllables in the line, e.g.:

*Vilið **H**rafnketill **h**eyra* (Rdr 1:1)

For the remaining metrical types, though, there are a variety of combinations available, e.g.:

1.) Positions I and V:

***Þ**rúðar skalk ok **þ**engil* (Rdr. 1:3)

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2.) Positions III and V:

> *Flaut of set, við sveita,* (Rdr. 4:1)

3.) Positions I and III:

> *hörðum herðimýlum* (Rdr. 5:7)

4.) Positions IV and V:

> *Þann áttak vin verstan* (Bragi II, 4:1)

One might notice, however, that position II may only participate in alliteration in Type B and C verses. Type A verses exclude position II from alliteration, because position II is necessarily subordinate to position I. And although Type D lines in *fornyrðislag* quite commonly employ alliteration in positions I and II, position II was excluded from alliteration in Type D lines in skaldic verse.

If we turn our attention to the hypermetric verses in West Germanic, we will see that double alliteration was not as strictly enforced as in the *dróttkvætt*. Bliss' survey indicates that some 367 (88.43%) of 415 hypermetric on-verses contain double alliteration.[101] Old Saxon has an even greater proportion, with 189 (98.95%) of 191 on-verses evidencing double alliteration. Russom has posited a link between alliteration and metrical complexity, and since the second foot of hypermetrical verses is more complex than in normal verses, one should expect a high degree of double alliteration (1987:83ff.).

The percentages of double alliteration in Old English hypermetric verses are perhaps a little misleading. All but four instances of single alliteration in hypermetric on-

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[101] Pope's figures are somewhat higher. Out of 467 on-verses he considers hypermetric, 450 (96.36%) do not have single alliteration (1966:154n).

verses occur in so-called "weak" hypermetric verses, i.e. in verses with only two stressed syllables. If we restrict ourselves to verses that have three stressed syllables, or at the bare minimum two stressed syllables and one syllable with secondary stress, then we find that our percentage of double alliteration increases significantly. Among the "heavy" hypermetric verses, we find only four which do not have double alliteration.[102] Of these four, we can immediately dismiss *Dan.* 273a: *him þær* [*on ofne*]. The elements *on ofne* are an editorial emendation, and even as such it seems that Bliss could have read this as a normal Type A verse, stressed on *him* and *ofne*. The lack of double alliteration in *Solomon & Saturn* 312a is also explicable. If we view the verse, which incidentally provides an excellent example of the use of a strong hypermetric off-verse in a parallel or antithetical construction (see Pope 1966:134-35):

Nieht bið wedera ðiestrost,   ned bið wyrda heardost

"Night is the darkest of weathers,   distress is the hardest of fates"

then we can observe that the line contains crossed alliteration. Although crossed alliteration is not the same as double alliteration, it is certainly more than single alliteration. The two remaining verses are still puzzling, yet both provide evidence that they obey the same hierarchical structures governing alliteration in normal verses (Russom 1987:100). Nonetheless, after discarding *Dan.* 273a, we find that 317 (99.06%) of 320 strong hypermetric on-verses do not have single alliteration.

The *Heliand*'s deviations from the double-alliterative norm are not only peculiar in their single alliteration, but also in the placement of that alliterator. Verse 1554a is

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[102] *Judith* 9a, *Genesis A* 2867a, *Daniel* 273a, and *Solomon & Saturn* 312a.

located in a metrically troublesome passage (1554a in Behaghel-Taeger corresponds to

1553b in Sievers), ll. 1153-1554b:

> *Iuuan oduuelon gibat gi them mannon   the ina iu an thesaro uueroldi ne lonon*
> *endi ruomot te iuuues uualdandes rikea.*

> "Give ye your wealth to those people   who will not repay it to you in this world
> and will glorify to the kingdom of your Ruler."

Behaghel-Taeger emends this passage by adding *armun* into 1553a and forming one

long-line out of the verse, ll. 1553-54:

> *Iuuan oduuelon   gibat gi them [armun] mannon*
> *the ina iu an thesaro uueroldi ne lonon   endi ruomot te iuuues uualdandes rikea.*

> "Give ye your wealth   to those poor people
> who will not repay it to you in this world   and will glorify to the kingdom of
> your Ruler."

With or without emendation, however, it is evident that the verse *the ina iu an thesaro*

uueroldi ne lonon is a weak hypermetric, and as such is less likely to be subject to double

alliteration than strong hypermetric verses, if they behave at all like their Old English

counterparts. The second verse, 5552a, is deviant in that it is a strong hypermetric on-

verse with single alliteration, yet places that alliterator on the second stressed syllable,

rather than the first:

> *Iesus fan Nazarethburh,   thie thar neglid stod*

> "Jesus from the city of Nazareth,   who stood there nailed"

If our understanding of alliteration in early Germanic verse is valid also here, then one

should expect *Iesus* to carry the alliteration, and that a sequence of two nomina, the first

of which does not participate in alliteration, should be prohibited (Rieger 1876:19-21; Gade 1995:37).

Despite these six deviations in Old English and Old Saxon hypermetrics, we can see that the West Germanic hypermetric on-verses behave like odd-lines of *dróttkvætt*, provided that we limit the West Germanic material to metrical structures of complexity comparable to that of the *dróttkvætt*. We are provided here with one possible explanation for the obligatory double alliteration in the odd-lines, namely that the predecessor verse-form of *dróttkvætt* and hypermetrics had obligatory double alliteration in the strong variety, most likely as a response to the considerable metrical complexity evident in these verses. Keeping our hypothesis of motivation in mind, however, in that many of the features of *dróttkvætt* were introduced and arranged so as to increase the formal demands upon the skald, we may also surmise an independent reason for obligatory double-alliteration. By removing the option of either single or double alliteration, the skald is constrained even further by the technical demands of the verse.

4.4.2.2 Internal Rhymes and the *Höfuðstafr*

The second characteristic which clearly defines the differences between skaldic poetry and the remaining Germanic alliterative verse is the (more or less) systematic use of verse-internal rhyme, called *hendingar*. This is not to say, however, that internal rhyme was unknown to the poetic traditions of England and Germany, for several examples are available to the contrary, rather the skalds differ in their very copious and nearly systematic employment of internal rhyme. Although rhyme seems to the modern reader of alliterative verse to be a hallmark of what separates early medieval from later

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medieval poetry, and that the two are somehow at odds with each other, the simultaneous usage of alliteration and rhyme within a verse demonstrate a certain symbiosis. The nature and positioning of one seems to be tied to the nature and positioning of the other.

I seek to argue here that the use of internal rhyme in the *dróttkvætt* had repercussions for the placement of the *höfuðstafr*. In brief, the removal of unstressed syllables in the first position of even-lines prevented the sequence / x ‖ x /, formed by the cadence of the odd-line and the initial position of the even-line.[103] In addition to the preservation of rhythmic alternation, the *höfuðstafr* was back to its leftmost position, and provided additional 'space' for the employment of sound-patterning devices. First, however, we will engage in a brief discussion of the earliest usages of rhyme in Latin, Irish and Old English verse, in order to highlight the differences between their methods of rhyming and those of the skalds, as well as to demonstrate similarities between Old English alliterative verse with rhyme and the *dróttkvætt*.

It is a tricky situation when one attempts to engage in a study of the "origin" of rhyme. One must assume that every language has the potential to make rhymes. What is of more relevance is whether a given poetic tradition either employs rhyme as a more-or-less obligatory feature, or does not employ it systematically yet does not prohibit it absolutely. Furthermore, to speak of "rhyme" as an entity is somewhat misleading, particularly in a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural context. Rather, one should differentiate between the various types of sound-patterning possibilities, before one may

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[103] For example, Rdr. 1:1-2:
   Vilið Hrafnketill heyra,
   hvé hreingróit steini
where the unstressed syllable in *heyra* is followed immediately by the unstressed *hvé*.

start comparing two types of "rhyming" verse. The alliteration, or *Stabreim*, exhibited in early Germanic poetry is, in actuality, a sub-set of consonance, i.e. a matching of consonants, which is restricted, among other things, to the first portion of the syllabic onset of the root of stressed words.[104] In addition to consonance one finds also assonance, the repetition of vowel sounds. What we generally understand as rhyme is a combination of assonance and consonance, occurring after the onsets of the syllables in question.

4.4.2.2.1 Rhyme in Early Latin Christian Poetry

Latin poetry of the early Christian era has two possible, and not mutually exclusive sources from which it would have been able to draw the usage of rhyme. Systematic rhyme in classical verse has its first attestations in the psalms of Augustine of Hippo and Fulgentius of Ruspe, as well as possibly in two poems of Commodian. It is possible that the rhyme employed by them was influenced by either Syrian or Punic psalms, which might have been known to the first two authors, the third then being influenced by Augustine's works (Klopsch 1972:37). The rhyme employed by Augustine, however, would probably be better described as assonance than as full rhyme, as exemplified in his *Psalm against the Donatists*, a psalm grouped into stanzas, the first letter of which follows the alphabetic sequence, and each line of which ends with either *e* or *ae*, a feature which Klopsch suggests might have arisen under influence from Syrian and Punic psalmistry (1972:6, 39ff., et passim.). Furthermore, each stanza is completed

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[104] The behavior of the so-called "vowel alliteration" in alliterative verse is a demonstration of matching null categories, rather than of (mis-)matching vowels (Jakobson 1963).

with a refrain which, in addition to the requisite ending, contains an internal, disyllabic

leonine rhyme:

> *omnes qui gaudetis de p**ace**,   modo verum iudic**ate***[105]

> "All you who rejoice in peace,   judge only the truth!"

One may see an example of the rhyme across several lines in this example:

> *Honores vanos qui quaerit,   non vult com Christo regnar**e***
> *Sicut princeps huius mali,   de cuius vocatur part**e**;*
> *Nam Donatus tunc volebat   Africam totam obtiner**e**;*
> *Tunc iudices transmarinos   petiit ab imperator**e**…*[106]

> "He who seeks vain honors,   desires not to reign with Christ,
> just like the foremost one of this evil, whose party is mentioned;
> For then Donatus desired   to occupy all of Africa;
> When he brought forth the overseas-judges from the emperor…"

Augustine, however, was preceded in the use of this device by the third-century poet

Commodian, who wrote arhythmical verse, which was apparently meant to be arranged

by the use of acrostics and the conclusion of each line in /e/, e.g.:

> *Paenitens es factus: noctibus diebusque precar**e**,*
> *Attamen a matre noli discedere long**e***
> *Et tibi misericors poterit Altissimus ess**e***[107]

> "A penitent you have been made: to pray night and day,
> but, do not desire to depart far from your mother
> and the Highest One will be able to be compassionate toward you."

Although the citation above includes only three lines, the remainder of the stanza spells

out *paenitantibus* "to the penitents" in the acrostic. We can see here, however, that every

line ends in /e/. One should not be surprised to see rhyme employed in such a manner.

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[105] Raby (1927:20-21)
[106] Example cited from Gasparov 1995:90.
[107] Raby (1927:11-14). Commodianus *Instructionum Liber II, iv.*

Rhyme as a sound-patterning technique *an sich* presents challenges in a heavily-suffixing language such as Latin, which we as English-speakers might fail to appreciate.

This connects us to our other potential source of rhyme as a stylistic element. Classical rhetorical prose already employed homoioteleuton and homoioptoton, i.e. the matching of endings in a series of words, as a means of emphasis. The use of rhyme in quantitative verse occurred only sporadically, and seems to make its entrance along with the switch from quantitative to rhythmic poetry. One should not be surprised at the connection, since the rhymes, in many cases actually homoiteleuton, were characteristic of the rhythmic prose. In the switch to rhythmic poetry, rhyme took on an additional function. Not only did the homoiteleuton serve rhetorically, but the rhyme in poetry also served as a demarcative signal to the audience where the ends of these newer, non-quantitatively arranged lines were situated (Norden 1918:866-868; Klopsch 1972:39). The first poet to make a consistent effort in using these rhymes in verse, though, was apparently Sedulius (first half of the fifth century). In Sedulius' hexametrical *Carmen paschale* and the Ambrosian *A solis ortus cardine*, one finds rhymes connecting final portions of lines, i.e. occurring at the line-ends (end-rhyme) or before the caesurae (leonine rhyme). Like Commodian and Augustine, Sedulius used what is better termed assonance, in that he rhymed like vowels, without any regard to the intermediary consonants, e.g.: *personat ~ pignora* (Klopsch 1972:39-40). It will be clear in the discussion of the skaldic *hendingar*, that they differ greatly from the rhymes used by early Christian Latin authors in their nature and placement.

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4.4.2.2.2 Rhyme in Early Irish Latin and Vernacular Poetry

The same is not necessarily true for the earliest examples of rhyme in Irish verse. The composition of Latin verse in Ireland seems to be linked to the works of Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, who composed rhymed Latin verse in southern Gaul around 500 C.E., most of which included the same type of assonance used by Augustine, though he also used disyllabic rhymes in stressed syllables. The first Irish composition with rhyme, however, is traditionally attributed to Colum Chille, who composed the *Altus prosator* in the latter sixth century. What distinguishes the *Altus prosator* from the earlier Latin rhymed verse is the inclusion of closed syllables in the rhyme, e.g.:

> *Altus prosator, vetust**us***
> *Dierum et ingenit**us***
> *Erat absque orig**ine***
> *Primordii et crepid**ine**,*[108]
>
> "The ancient, great Ancestor
> of the days, implanted,
> has been without a base
> and an origin of beginning,"

The rhyme in the first two lines on /us/ is a departure from the more traditional assonance of earlier Latin poets. The refrain to the *Altus prosator* even goes so far as to use homeoptoton for crossed leonine rhymes: *vari**atis** insig**nibus** | verit**atis** ordi**nibus***, as well as disyllabic assonance: *exc**epti**s contempto**ribus** | mundi praes**enti**s ist**iu**s*. These rhymed Latin octosyllables spread not long after to England, and seems to have been one of the more popular verse forms for ecclesiastical poetry in the British Isles (Murphy 1961:13-17).

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[108] *Analecta Hymnica LI*,#216, p. 275

Roughly contemporaneous with the Hiberno-Latin octosyllabics one finds rhyme used in vernacular Irish verse. One finds mono- and disyllabic rhymes in the earliest rhymed Irish verse, e.g. *néit ~ méit*, along with disyllabic assonance (in the example below also homoptoton on the dative-plural ending) (Murphy 1962:17-18):

> *Luin oc elaib*
> > *ungi oc d**írnaib**,*
> *crotha ban n-athech*
> > *oc ródaib r**ígnaib**,*

> "Blackbirds next to swans
> > ounces next to heavy-weights,
> The shapes of peasant-women
> > next to fair queens,"[109]

Irish poets later on had a copious variety of rhymes at their disposal, and they classified them according to their nature and placement. One may consult Murphy (1962:28-33) for a brief, yet thorough account of the variants. What truly sets the Irish system of rhymes apart from the Latin and skaldic rhyming systems, however, is its permission of rhyming consonants within certain 'classes.' Rather than matching consonant to consonant identically, Irish poets were allowed to match consonants within its 'class.' These classes grouped consonants according to their manner, and to a lesser extent place, of articulation, such that voiced stops made up one class, voiceless stops another. The remaining classes were the voiceless fricatives (excluding sibilants), voiced fricatives and

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[109] *ródaib*, adj. fem. dat. pl. 'red, strong, fierce' is probably used here in the sense of 'fair', since the senses of 'strong, fierce' are later innovations. This semantic association would not be too different from the development of Russ. ?????? 'red' from earlier (and now only obsolete or poetic) ?????? 'fair.' For a different interpretation see pp. 198-99 of Thurneysen, R. "Colmán Mac Lénénei und Senchán Torpéist." *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 19 (1931):193-209, who argues for the sense of *stattlich* 'stately, splendid.'

the sonorants [l], [r], and [n], the 'strongly-pronounced' sonorants [m], [nn], [ng], [ll], and [rr], and final [s], which is in a class by itself (Murphy 1962:32-33).

Likewise Irish poets had a well-established system for consonance. Although one might say that this is another point of similarity between Old and Middle Irish verse and skaldic verse, the differences overwhelm any point of agreement between the two. The differences are partly due to linguistic differences and partly due to differences in the poetic traditions. Medial consonance in Irish required that the vowels be of different qualities, though of identical quantity. Furthermore, though matching consonants had to be of the same class, they were permitted to differ in quality, i.e. palatal vs. non-palatal varieties could match one another. If the consonance occurred word-finally, the consonants had to match both class and quality (Murphy 1962:34).

4.4.2.2.3 Rhyme in Early English Latin and Vernacular Poetry

The path followed by poets in England mirrors closely the development of rhyme in Ireland, in that rhyme occurs first in ecclesiastical Latin poetry turning then to usage in vernacular poetry.[110] Likewise, one finds a transmission of a verse type from Ireland to England: the rhymed Latin octosllable. Most closely associated with this meter were the illustrious Aldhelm (d. 709) and his pupil Æthilwald. Although Aldhelm was schooled by Theodore of Tarsus and Hadrian at Canterbury, it is apparent that he had contact with

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[110] See in particular McKie (1997:830-31), who, inter alii, argues for an external source for the use of rhyme in English poetry. One must be ever cautions, however, in stating that rhyme was "transmitted from foreign verse forms." Rhyme is an ever-present possibility in any language, and one cannot ascribe the sporadic use of rhyme (as occurs, for example, in *Caedmon's Hymn*) necessarily to a foreign source. Far more significant to the history of rhyme in Old English verse, as we shall see below, is the systematic use of rhyme.

Irish scholars, although the nature of this contact is disputed. William of Malmesbury maintains that Aldhelm was a student of an Irishman named Maíldub, and an anonymous Irishman in a letter hails Aldhelm as having been nourished by one of his countrymen (Orchard 1994:2-4). Aldhelm may very well have learned to compose the Insular Latin octosyllable from Irish mentors; this is not so unlikely given that he was probably schooled some 75 years after Collum Chille's composition of the *Altus prosator*.

Travel across the Irish Sea and two generations did not leave the Insular Latin octosyllable unaffected, though. Whereas the Hiberno-Latin octosyllables seem to have been content with mono- and disyllabic rhyme, Aldhelm, as well as Æthilwald, increased the number of syllables taking part in the rhyme, showing a preference for disyllabic rhyme and a frequent use of trisyllabic rhymes, e.g.:

> *Æthereus qui omnia*
> *Mundi Herus molimina*
> *Verbi tantum cum numine*
> *Formasti in origine,*
> *Mihi, nova qui nutibus*
> *Adgredior nutantibus*
> *Litterarum cum lusibus,*
> *Odas coaptem usibus*
> *Facunda funde famina*[111]

There is even a curious incidence of a pentasyllabic rhyme in the *Carmen Rhythmicum*, ll. 173-4: *Pelluntur parietibus / Flabrorum arietibus* (Orchard 1994:41). Aldhelm also appears to have colored the Anglo-Latin octosyllable with more *Stabreim* than is found in similar Hiberno-Latin octosyllables, incorporating alliteration into 73.5% of the lines of

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[111] "Heavenly Lord, you who created in the beginning all the trappings of the world with but the divinity of the Word, pour forth eloquent words for me, who attempt novelties, if your favour is agreeable, (so that) I may adapt the verses to the usages, with play on letters." Æthilwald III.1-9 (Text and translation from Orchard 1994:52-3).

the *Carmen Rhythmicum*, and Æthilwald used it in some two-thirds of his octosyllables (Orchard 1994:53). Even Aldhelm's prose demonstrates that he was keenly aware of rhyme, in that he eschews the use of homoioptoton between nouns and attributive adjectives, preferring a *variatio* (Orchard 1994:10).

What is of most interest to the study of rhyme in skaldic verse is to be found, though, in the comparison to rhyme in Old English alliterative verse, both secular and ecclesiastical. Rhymes found in Old English verse may be divided into two varieties. The first, which I will term 'unstructured,' are those which are not employed in terms of an obligatory rhyme scheme. The second variety I will accordingly label 'structured,' in that they do correspond to a rigid scheme of rhyme within the terms of the poem in which they occur.[112] Both are significant for the development of rhyme in verse. The unstructured rhymes exist always as a potential source for the structured. That one must look for external sources for the institution of rhyme within a poetic tradition, is misleading. As mentioned above, the potential for rhyme exists in every language. Structured rhyme in Old English poetry, on the other hand, is enlightening for skaldic studies, in that it presents an alliterative verse upon which a new layer of sound-patterning has been added. The interrelationship between the two informs us of structural tendencies in the *dróttkvætt*.

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[112] I borrow the terms 'structured' and 'unstructured' essentially from Mukarovský's classification of the 'structured esthetic' *esteticno normované* and the 'unstructured esthetic' *esteticno nenormované* (Mukarovský 1964[1940]:31-32), with the sense that a 'structured' element conforms to a general expectation, whereas the 'unstructured' does not. These terms prevent misunderstandings when what is 'unstructured' is termed 'incidental' or worse yet 'accidental.'

Unstructured rhyme exists in Old English alliterative poetry, although it is not too frequently encountered. The unstructured rhyme occurs in many positions: from word-internal rhymes such as Bwlf. l. 736b *Þryðswyð beheold* 'guarded mightily,' to line-internal rhymes, e.g. Bwlf. l. 1008b *Þa wæs sæl ond mæl* 'it was then the fitting and proper time,' as well as at the ends of adjacent, but not paired verses, e.g. Ex. ll. 23b-24a: *wordum nægde, þær he him sægde* 'addressed with words, where he said to him.' The *Beowulf* poet also employed rhymes at longer intervals, as one particularly rhyme-rife passage shows, ll. 890-897:

> hwæþre him gesælde,   ðæt þæt swurd þurhw**od**
> wrætlicne wyrm,   þæt hit on wealle ætst**od**,
> dryhtlic iren;   draca morðre sw**ealt**.
> Hæfde aglæca   elne gegongen,
> þæt he beahhordes   brucan moste
> selfes dome;   sæbat gehleod,
> bær on bearm scipes   beorhte frætwa,
> Wælses eafera;   wyrm hat gem**ealt**.

> "nonetheless it availed him, that the sword penetrated
> the wondrous serpent,   so that it stood in the wall,
> the noble iron;   the dragon died through slaying.
> The fierce one   had brought it about with courage,
> such that he had occasion   to enjoy the ring-hoard
> according to his own choice;   he loaded the sea-boat,
> carried the bright treasure   into the bosom of the ship,
> the descendant of Wæls;   the serpent melted hotly."

Despite the five-line interval between *draca morðre sw**ealt*** and *wyrm hat gem**ealt***, the connection is clear, especially with the aid of the semantic and syntactic parallelism, NOUN + ADVERBIAL + VERB, and the metrical repetition of the Type-E rhythm. The concatination of these features serve to highlight the poet's emphasis on Sigemund's dragon-slaying, and its obvious foreshadowing of Beowulf's future exploits, in addition

to highlighting the scop's poem within the poem. The passage above is an excellent

example of unstructured rhyme in that it is employed for an effect in support of the poem

as a whole, but could have been left out without violating any requisites of the verse.

The structured rhyme in Old English verse differs not only in relation to the rules

of the verse, but also in respect to its function. Whereas the unstructured rhyme occurs

sporadically, occasionaly to effect, occasionaly in formulas (e.g. Bwlf. 1008b above), and

occasionally for the sheer delight of it, the use of structured rhyme by the Anglo-Saxons

makes a much larger statement about poetry and poetic traditions in England, yet suffers

therefrom in its aesthetic effect as somewhat of a novelty.[113]

There are three poems in the Old English corpus which exhibit structured rhyme,

Cynewulf's *Elene*, ll. 1236-50 and *Christ II* ll. 591-596 and of course *The Riming Poem*.

As these poems have come down to us, one does not immediately notice the rhyme, for in

many cases they seem to indicate "imperfect" rhymes, i.e. consonance without assonance,

e.g. *Elene* l. 1242 *wisdom onwreah. Ic wæs weorcum fah*, 'opened up wisdom. I was

stained with deeds,'. Fulk has pointed out that these off-rhymes represent proper rhymes

if one assumes that the original was written in an Anglian dialect, rather than standard

West Saxon (1992:362-68). The nature and position of the rhymes suggest that these

poems were composed in imitation of the Anglo-Latin octosyllable. In each case the

rhyme occurs at the end of an independent metrical unit, for the long-line it is the

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[113] *The Rhyming Poem* is criticized for this very problem, in that it is an "experiment," as Earl stated. The foregrounding of the rhyme is so great that much is lost in the content of the poem (1987:195). Rhyme is the sole focus of this piece, and the reader/listener is not allowed to forget that. One could imagine that the content of the poem could have been altered in its entirety to almost anything else, and the poem would have still achieved its goal.

individual verse, for the octosyllable at the end of the line. Below is an excerpt from

Elene:

> *Þus ic frod ond f**us*** *þurh þæt fæcne h**us***
> *wordcræftum w**æf** ond wundrum l**æ**s,*
> *þragum þ**reodude** ond geþanc **reodode***
> *nihtes n**earwe**. Nysse ic g**earwe***

What is most significant for skaldic verse is the fact that every line containing these

structured rhymes (n=108) also contains double alliteration in the on-verse.[114] One

should recall also that the *dróttkvætt* requires double alliteration in the odd-lines. As

mentioned earlier, these structured rhymes in Old English represent a break in tradition.

The addition of rhyme constitutes a significant foregrounding of this newer variety of

sound-patterning in Old English verse. Correspondingly it indicates that, in the face of

rhyme, the role of *Stabreim* had already undergone automatization, to use Mukarovský's

terms.[115] Rhyme, therefore, was the new formal challenge which Cynewulf and the

composer of *The Riming Poem* established for themselves. To accomplish these formal

challenges without making maximum use of the sound-patterning possibilities of the

traditional verse would diminish the challenge of rhyme. Therefore, if the traditional

verse allowed either single or double alliteration (an option perhaps present in order to

decrease the automatizing effects of formal obligations), then the poet could only extend

beyond that if all previous options had been used. Alliteration in early Irish verse would

not have been as prone to automatization either, since the obligations on the placement of

the alliterating elements were not as proscribed as those in Germanic alliterative verse.

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[114] The one exception to this is *Riming Poem* 79a, which is very a textually suspect verse.
[115] Mukarovský 1964 [1932]:19.

Let us assume that there is a similar motivation behind the requirement for double alliteration in the *dróttkvætt* verse. Given that skalds seem to have made a conscious decision to compose technically-demanding verse, it would be hard to imagine skalds' being able to avoid making maximal use of the sound-patterning possibilities in alliterative verse without first satisfying all alliterative obligations. It has been suggested by Russom, among others, that in traditional Germanic alliterative verse double alliteration served as a marker in more complex metrical constructions; that is to say that double alliteration establishes guide-posts for listeners in their decipherment of the metrical structure of the verse (1987:83ff.).

Such aids for relieving metrical complexity are lost, however, when every construction, regardless of complexity, is identically marked. We must, therefore, look for additional explanations for the obligation of double alliteration in *dróttkvætt* verse. Árnason has pointed out that the function as well as the placement of alliterators (*stuðlar*) in *dróttkvætt* differ from that in Eddic meters (1992:133-34). Rather than tying the placement and function of alliterators to factors dependent on the structure of the language, we might do better to look at the poetic-aesthetic function of alliteration in regard to the newer sound-patterning devices in skaldic poetry. By the point of the skaldic era of poetry, alliteration had become a *sine qua non*, but had, for the same reason, decreased its ability to act as a poetic marker. This is also similar to "semantic inflation" in language change, by which increased use of a marked member of a set decreases its overall markedness (Keller 1997:16). Kuhn has noted this as well, saying of

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the *dróttkvætt* that the "Zauberkraft seiner Stabreime längst nicht so weit reichte..."(1983:182).[116]

4.4.2.2.4 Internal Rhyme in Skaldic Verse

In this section I will first present a basic over-view of the formal characteristics of rhyme in *dróttkvætt*. Thereafter it will be argued that the nature and distribution of the rhymes (i.e. in odd or even lines) is dependent on the interaction of rhyme with alliteration. Skaldic internal rhyme is known as *hending*. The term most likely derives from the verb *henda* 'to grab, catch', in the sense that a rhyme "catches" the ear. Internal rhymes are of two types, each with its own distributional tendencies. The first is known as *skothending*, or 'inserted rhyme', and tends to occur most often in the odd lines. *Skothending* is a type of slant rhyme or consonance. Two syllables exhibit *skothending* if the vowels differ, but at least the first post-vocalic consonant is identical in both syllables, e.g.:

> *þás h**rafn**bláir h**efn**ðu* (Rdr. 3:7)
>
> *á hreing**öru** hl**ýri*** (Haustl 1:7)

The other is *aðalhending*, or 'full rhyme,' and is most prevalent in the even line. *Aðalhending*, in contrast to *skothending*, matches the vowels of two syllables (/a/ is permitted to match its u-umlauted counterpart, an etymological rhyme), as well as one or more consonants up to the next vowel, e.g.:

> *dr**aum** í sverða fl**aum**i* (Rdr. 3:4)
>
> *h**end**r sem fœtr of k**end**usk* (Rdr. 4:4)

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[116] Similarly also in von See (1967:42)

The quantity of the rhyming syllable underwent various treatments through the history of *dróttkvætt*, the earliest verses permit short syllables to rhyme with long syllables, whereas the poets of the classical *dróttkvætt* preferred to match long syllables to long syllables (Kuhn 1983:81-82).

4.4.2.2.4.1 The Distribution of *Hendingar*

In the earliest *dróttkvætt*, the distributional tendencies of the *hendingar* had not yet crystallized, and were freer than those of later *dróttkvætt*. It is apparent from the technical term *háttlausa* 'unmeasured, formless' that by the 12th century rhyme was considered almost indispensable.[117] The tendency for one type of internal rhyme to occur in the odd-lines and the other to occur in the even-lines, though, is natural. Given that odd-lines were required to have double alliteration, the chances that one could insert an internal rhyme into the verse, without repeating the same entire syllable were less when using off-rhyme (*skothending*) than with full rhyme (*aðalhending*). Likewise, the even-lines, which only had to place an alliterating stave on the first stressed syllable of the

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[117] There were, in addition to *dróttkvætt*, verse forms without internal rhymes, the so-called *háttlausa* verses. Mentioned also by Snorri, Rögnvaldr Kali Kolsson and Hallr Þórarinsson have an example of this in their *Háttalykill*, 26a:5-8 (oddly enough there is a rhyme in 26a:4):

> *þvít gollskati gagni,*
> *gram þann lofa ýtar,*
> *réð, sás ríkstr var heitinn,*
> *í randa gný hverjum.*

> 'for the gold(-giving)-man, he who
> was called the most powerful,
> determined the advantage in every clash of shields;
> men praise that wroth man.'

Even Egill Skallagrímsson composed verses that were *háttlausa* (e.g. lv. 3, in which there is internal rhyme possibly only in verses 4 and 6). The variation in placement of rhymes is typical of earlier skaldic verse (see E.O.G. Turville-Petre 1976:xxviii-xl), perhaps only being given a name in the later taxonomic works mentioned above (Kuhn 1983:88-89).

verse, could match a greater number of phonemes without risking a repetition. This is not to say that skalds totally eschewed paranomasia or *figurae etymologicae*, because they do, in fact, occur, e.g. in Hávarðr halti ísfirðingr, lv 13:1: *Þat mun vestr ok vestan* 'that (word) shall (come) west…and (come thence) from the west', or Þórðr Kolbeinsson's *Eiríksdrápa*, 8:5: *at skyldligast skyldi* 'that (Eirík) ought to [=*skyldi*] most dutifully [=*skyldligast*]…'. There seems to have been just as much sport in trying to make use of *aðalhending* in the odd-verses for this very challenge.

Skothending, however, was the freer of the two types of internal rhyme. In Bragi's *Ragnarsdrápa*, for example, *skothending* had roughly an even distribution between odd and even lines, with 27 instances in odd lines and 26 in even ones.[118] Most other skalds of the ninth and early tenth centuries, though, do not show as great a preference for *skothending* in even-lines.[119] In a sample of 843 verses from the ninth century up to and including the work of Egill Skallagrímsson, as compared to a same-sized sample starting in the eleventh century reveal the key differences between the use of *hendingar*.[120]

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[118] Odd-lines containing *skothending*: 3:7, 4:1, 5:1, 5:3, 5:5, 5:7, 6:1, 6:3, 6:5, 6:7, 7:1, 8:3, 8:7, 9:1, 9:3, 9:5, 10:5, 10:7, 11:3, 11:5, 14:3, 16:1, 16:3, 17:1, 17:3, 18:1, 18:3. Even-lines containing *skothending*: 1:4, 2:2, 3:2, 3:6, 4:2, 4:8, 5:2, 5:8, 6:2, 6:8, 8:2, 8:4, 8:6, 8:8, 9:2, 9:8, 11:2, 11:4, 11:6, 13:2, 13:6, 14:2, 17:2, 19:2, 19:4, 20:2.

[119] With perhaps the exception of Torf-Einarr jarl, who only uses *aðalhending* once; however, since only 5 stanzas of his survive, it would be difficult to draw any conclusions therefrom.

[120] See Appendix A and B for a list of verses surveyed. Survey taken from Jónsson's B-edition of skaldic verse (Jónsson 1908).

	Skothending-Odd	Skothending-Even	Aðalhending-Odd	Aðalhending-Even
9th-10th Centuries	266 (81.35%)	61 (18.65%)	44 (12.54%)	307 (87.46%)
11th- Century	346 (95.84%)	15 (4.16%)	51 (11.16%)	406 (88.84%)
Increase/Decrease	+ 14.49%	- 14.49%	- 1.38%	+ 1.38%

Table 4: *Hending* Distribution between 9th- and 11th-Century *Dróttkvætt*

One notices immediately that the greatest change occurs in the distribution of the

skothending, whereas the *aðalhending* remains relatively stable between the two periods.

Skothending clearly changes its distribution in favor of the odd-lines, with a more than

14% increase in the odd-lines. The motivation behind this is clear, if one recalls

Reichardt's characterization of the development of *dróttkvætt* as the result of poets'

attempting to out-do one another. To place *skothending* in the even-lines, where the

demands on sound-patterning are less, because no double alliteration is possible, would

be, in a sense, too easy. This is further borne out by the few even-lines that do possess

skothending. In the sample of verses from the eleventh century, one notes that when

skothending occurs in the even-lines, it is always concomitant with *aðalhending* in the

same verse, e.g. Hávarðr halti ísfirðingr lv, 1:6:

   *hj**ör** g<u>er</u>ðu st<u>yr</u> b**<u>ör</u>**var* [121]

Whereas *skothending* is not permitted to stand alone in the even-lines, *aðalhending* is

allowed to serve as the sole *hending* in the odd-lines. This distribution, in fact, is what

lends *skothending* its name. Taking the verb *skjóta* 'shoot' as the base, one can see that

this *hending* is inserted, not between lines with *aðalhending* as one might first assume,

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[121] The ten occurrences are Hávarðr halti ísfirðingr, LV 1:6, 7:8, 8:8, 10:4, 10:6; Þórhallr veiðimaðr LV 1:8; Helgi Ásbjarnarson LV 1:6; Gunnlaugr Illugason LV 4:2; Eiríkr viðsjá LV 1:6; Þórðr Kolbeinsson LV 3:2.

but rather between the *aðalhending* within a line (von See 1968:217-18). von See conjectures further, on the basis of the type and distribution of internal-rhyme and lack thereof in the earliest skaldic poetry, that internal-rhyme has its point of origin in the even-lines, because it served to compensate for the relative lack of sound-patterning in comparison to the double alliteration of the odd-verses (1968:220-21). Although he makes a valid point here, one can also interpret this development as the result of available poetic 'space' for sound-patterning. That is to say that the best place to introduce rhymes into an alliterating line of poetry (i.e. two verses) would be in the verse with fewer pre-existing demands on sound-patterning. The remainder of even-lines after the *höfuðstafr* presents a more fertile space for the addition of sound-patterning techniques, because it is less 'cramped' and, as mentioned above, there is less of a chance of reusing an entire syllable.

The fact that *skothending* in the even-lines of eleventh-century *dróttkvætt* must be accompanied by *aðalhending* suggest also that perhaps *aðalhending* and alliteration had begun to become more automatized, i.e. less effective as a foregrounding device, in comparison to the verses of the ninth and tenth centuries.

4.4.2.2.4.2 The Placement of the *Höfuðstafr*

In keeping with the focus of this chapter, the potential historical relationship between the Old Norse *dróttkvætt* and the West Germanic hypermetric line, we must recall that one difference between the two is the placement of the *höfuðstafr*, or main alliterating stave in the long-line. Whereas the hypermetric line of Old English and Old Saxon verse was always placed on the first stressed syllable of the off-verse, the

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höfuðstafr of the *dróttkvætt* occurs most often on the very first syllable of the even-line. However, in some 90 even lines,[122] according to Kuhn's reckoning, one encounters unstressed syllables at the beginning. These even-line Type-B and Type-C are such a rare occurrence that other metrists, such as Árnason, do not take them into account as possible variations (1991:134).

The rarity of such constructions had already been noticed by Snorri who mentions in his *Háttatal* (ff. 666-68) that such even-lines were *háttaföll* 'violation in meter:'[123]

> *Nú skal ríta þá háttu, er fornskáld hafa kveðit ok eru nú settir saman, þótt þeir hafi ort sumt með háttaföllum, ok eru þesir hættir dróttkvæðir kallaðir í fornum kvæðum, en sumir finnaz í lausavísum...*[124]

> "Now I shall write on those meters, which the ancient skalds recited and are composed now, even though they might have fashioned some with metrical violations, and these meters are called *dróttkvæðir* in old poems, and some are found in *lausavísum…*"

Snorri appears to be correct in his connection of these types of construction with earlier verse and in the *lausavísur*, since 33 are found in the ninth and tenth centuries and mostly in *lausavísur*.

I would like to suggest here, that the use of Type-B and Type-C lines in even-lines was avoided for two reasons. The primary cause of the movement of the *höfuðstafr* was metrical. If one recalls from section IV.I, the *dróttkvætt* verse contains six positions. Ideally each position is filled by a single syllable, a stressed, long syllable in strong

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[122] Twenty-seven of the 70 Type-C even-lines occur in the twelfth-century *Krákumál*, which in its form and composition is quite distant from the tradition of the classical *dróttkvætt*, and for this reason might best be disregarded, cf. Frank (1978:148).

[123] See Gade (1991:363 et passim) for discussion of the meaning of *fall* as a technical term. We will see below that we might also amend the sense in which Snorri uses the word *háttafall*.

[124] Jónsson (1931), with normalized orthography.

positions, with 'weak' positions containing unstressed and/or short syllables. Under the rules providing for resolution and neutralization, two short syllables may serve in the stead of one long syllable, provided that the first is stressed, and two unstressed syllables may fill the slot of one unstressed syllable, provided that they are from one disyllabic word or two monosyllabic words. Keeping the division of the *dróttkvætt* verse into six positions in mind, there are no patterns in which two weak positions are adjacent. For example, one would never find a verse whose underlying structure would be:

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
S	w	w	S	S	w

In more concrete terms, this would prohibit verses such as:

flærat í fárviðri

'he does not flee into the baleful weather'

The double weak sequence of the enclitic negator *–at* and the preposition *í* 'in, into' would not be permitted.   What is meant here by 'weak' is a position that accepts, to use Gade's terminology, a "syntactically bound particle (either a proclitic formword or an enclitic inflectional ending)" (1995:46). Nowhere in the patterns evident in *dróttkvætt* verses do we find a situation where two of these 'weak' positions are adjacent within a verse. If, however, we view the odd and even verse as the on-verse and off-verse of an alliterative long-line, much like modern editors arrange Old English poetry, we gain some insight into the motivation to place the *höfuðstafr* in position I. The minimal number of verses in any Germanic alliterative poetry is two. In early West Germanic poetry each line consists of at least one on-verse and one off-verse. This corresponds to the odd-lines

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and even-lines of skaldic verse. This arrangement causes the relationship between a pair
of verses to be greater than that between an even-verse and the immediately following
odd-verse. Given also, that each *dróttkvætt* verse concluded with a cadence whose
second syllable is a mandatorily 'weak' position, an even-verse which begins with a
'weak' position creates a situation in which there are two adjacent 'weak' positions, e.g.
between verses 1 and 2 of Rdr. 1:

> *Vilið Hrafnketill hey**ra**,*
> ***hvé** hreingróit steini*
> *Þrúðar skalk ok þengil*
> *þjófs ilja blað leyfa.*

> "Do you wish to hear, Hrafnketill,
> how I shall praise the leaf
> of the foot-sole of the thief of Thrudr (the shield),
> brightly adorned with paint, and the prince."

Although these adjacent 'weak' positions are in separate verses, they do occur in verses
which are metrically bound to one another. This adjacency of 'weak' positions is going
to be significantly more marked in the even-verses than in odd-verses, though the
tendency to avoid Type B verses in all positions is observable (Gade 1995:103). These
are then *háttaföll* in the same sense as argued for in Gade 1993, not necessarily metrical
violations *per se*, but rather 'falls' in the meter, i.e. 'dips' or *Senkungen*. Two contiguous
'weak' positions would upset the overall rhythm of the verse, and are therefore
undesireable, though they would not have been necessarily proscribed except verse-
internally.

  The second cause we will pursue is that the *höfuðstafr* was moved in order to
include as many *hendingar* as possible. As we saw in the previous section, internal

rhyme had become the preferred sound-patterning technique among the skalds, partially because alliteration had become a fixed and mandatory device. Kuhn notes that the use of rhyme beyond the necessary number increased up until the middle of the eleventh century, at which point they seem to have leveled off, so as not to offend the more traditional arrangement of rhyme in the classical *dróttkvæt* (1981:295). Since *hendingar* were placed on stressed syllables, or on root-syllables following the stressed syllable (such as on the second element of a compound), Type-B and Type-C lines possessed only three syllables capable of carrying rhyme, i.e. positions II, IV and V, and II, III, and V, respectively, whereas a Type-E line could support a maximum of four, e.g. *hjör ge_r_ðu st_yr_ b_ör_var* (Hávarðr halti ísfirðingr lv, 1:6). In fact, Type-B and Type-C Even from the ninth and tenth centuries show a disproportionate number of verses lacking *hending*. Whereas 93.84% of even-lines in my sample contain some form of internal rhyme, only 60.6% of the Type-B and Type-C Even from the ninth and tenth centuries contain internal rhyme. One should further note that of the 26 even-lines lacking *hending* in the survey, 10 are of Type-B or Type-C, or 38.46%. This is not to say that all later verses contained the maximum number of rhymes, but rather that the removal of unstressed particles from the beginning of the verse opens up more possibilities for rhymes. This seems counter-intuitive, when one compares this motivation to the motivations proposed for the positioning of *skothending* vs. *aðalhending* above, in that removing the possibility of Type-B and Type-C even-lines makes the use of internal rhyme easier. However, increasing the possibilities for rhymes increases the potential complexity for each verse.

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That the same metrical types are available in the odd-lines should be no surprise, since the complexity is already achieved with the requirement of double alliteration.

4.4.2.3 Summary of Sound-Patterning in *Dróttkvætt*

What is clear, as regards the comparative aspect of the preceding section, is that rules governing internal rhyme in *dróttkvætt* were not established until after the earliest verses were preserved. The dynamics apparent in the course of change exhibited by the position of internal rhymes in skaldic verse demonstrate that any predecessor of the *dróttkvætt* did not possess the same structural requirements as the verse at its high-point in the eleventh century. The distribution of *hending*, arguably first appearing in the even-lines where there were fewer restrictions on sound-patterning and then later spreading analogically to the odd-lines (von See 1968), also suggest that internal rhyme was an addition to a pre-existing metrical structure. Furthermore, the placement of the *höfuðstafr*, in classical *dróttkvætt* placed on the first syllable of the even-line, in the ninth and tenth centuries placed on the first stressed syllable of the even-line, demonstrates a structural change during the historic period. As concerns the alliterative patterings of the odd-lines, there is more congruence between the skaldic tradition and the West Germanic hypermetrics, in that both require double alliteration in comparable metrical patterns. The skaldic tradition exhibits the greatest break with the common tradition, in that alliteration was no longer tied to metrical complexity, and ceased to serve as the key sound-patterning device in the verse; however, this can only be an independent innovation. One may not, therefore, allow these structural differences to discount any potential historical relationship between the *dróttkvætt* verse and the hypermetric verses

of the Old English an Old Saxon poetic traditions[125], although the two differ greatly in

these respects in the historical period.

4.5 The Effect and Typology of the *Dróttkvætt* Cadences

To fully understand the principles guiding the metrical structure of the *dróttkvætt*,

in synchronic as well as diachronic terms, one must first understand the forces guiding

the most structured part of the meter, the cadence. As with many verses in the world´s

languages, the most restricted portion of a metrical line tends to be the end.

Correspondingly, the openings of lines tend to allow more variation (Fabb 1997:67). The

dróttkvætt is no exception to this. I will argue in this section that although the cadence of

the *dróttkvætt* is more fixed than its West Germanic hypermetrical counterpart, the

difference in the cadences of the two types of verses does not disqualify any potential

historical relationship between the two. That the precursor of the *dróttkvætt* would have

and could have developed a fixed cadence is natural and to be expected. Furthermore,

this focus on the cadence and the motivations behind its structure set up the groundwork

for the following section on the metrical patterns of the remainder of the verse.

As argued for in the preceding chapter, the cadence of a verse serves as a

demarcative signal, indicating the end of the verse. This phenomenon of the cadence as

demarcative signal in the Greek, Vedic, Irish and Slavic verses is relevant to the structure

of the *dróttkvætt* not because Old Norse shares a common linguistic past with these

languages. Rather on account of the structural similarities with these verses exhibited by

the *dróttkvætt*. All verses are typologically similar to the *dróttkvætt*, in that they are

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[125] As does Bliss (1972:243).

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syllablic verses with cadences which behave in similar fashions. If we posit, as others have, that the *dróttkvætt* is an innovation within the Scandinavian verse tradition itself, then we must conclude that it is likely that the structural peculiarities shared with other Indo-European verses must be the product of causes other than inherited structural features.

In questioning whether or not a proto-verse possessed these features by analyzing the structure of its daughter-verses, we must also question whether the possession of these features by one verse and the lack of the very same in another verse is grounds for disqualifying any historical relationship between the two. For our present task, to determine the potential for relationship between the *dróttkvætt* and the West Germanic hypermetric lines, we will have to ask whether the fixed cadence of the *dróttkvætt* is sufficient to disqualify it from a historical relationship with the hypermetrics.

The *dróttkvætt* highlights its cadences by two means.[126] The primary feature is that the last two syllables in each verse must form a specific cadence of a stressed long syllable followed by an unstressed short syllable. Syllabic stress and weight are the two features most relevent to Old Norse meter. Given these two features, we are faced with four possible combinations available for the disyllabic cadence, assuming as well that since the cadence must be contained within a single word and that no word in Old Norse could be disyllabic without having the stress on the first syllable:

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[126] There is, in addition to these two overt markers, a non-marker of the cadence. As with many other Indo-European meters, *dróttkvætt* does not allow a finite verb of an independent clause to stand in the final ictus (Árnason 2002:224, 227ff.). This does not in-and-of-itself mark the cadence, but does indicate the prominence given the cadence with respect to the initial portion of the verse.

Position V	Position VI
+Long, + Stress	+ Long, -Stress
-Long, + Stress	-Long, -Stress

Table 5: Matrix of Possible Cadences in Old Norse

By preceding a short unstressed syllable with a long stressed syllable, the efficacy of the cadence is increased since it uses the highest contrast possible in the verse.

The second feature of the cadence, the *Bugge-Sieversche Regel*, serves to further maintain the contrast. In its simplest form, the *Bugge-Sieversche Regel* excludes the sequence of a long vowel followed by a short vowel in hiatus from the cadence.[127] Whereas a word such as *flaumi* is permitted in the cadence, words such as *búa*, and *gróa* are also excluded. Gade makes it clear that the cadence must consist of a tri-moraic long syllable followed by a short syllable, i.e. a syllable with fewer than three morae, as counted from the first vowel to the beginning of the second vowel. Since *búa* has two morae in the first and one in the second, it is, according to the observed rules, short despite having a long vowel (1995:30-34; cf. Árnason 1991:112-115). The *Bugge-Sieversche Regel* maximizes the contrast, not only between long and short (which in eddic verse is a contrast between mono- and poly-moraic syllables), but in its requiring the use of a consonant it guarantees the highest contrast possible, and preserves the

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[127] There is an apparent exception in a poem by Rögnvaldr jarl kali Kollsson lv 1:1-2, *Tafl emk örr at efla | íþróttir kank níu*. Here we are perhaps dealing less with an exception to a rule than with a conscious breaking of the rule so as to highlight a variation within the allusion to Haraldr Sigurðarson harðráði's verse lv 1:1, *Íþróttir kank átta*. The 259 remaining verses attributed to Rögnvaldr follow the *Bugge-Sievers'sche Regel* flawlessly. This departure from norms is increased all the more with the ironic conclusion to the verse that *hvártveggja kank hyggja | harpslátt ok bragþáttu* 'I can understand both of these: | playing the harp and composing poetry.'

separateness of the syllables, with the consonants preventing the creation of monosyllables through elision. [128]

Old English hypermetrics, though lacking the *Bugge-Sieversche Regel*, show a tendency towards the same type of cadence as found in the *dróttkvætt*. The statistics of Bliss' scansion of Old English hypermetric verses indicate that 759 of the 880 verses (86.25%) end in – x, i.e. a long, stressed syllable followed by an unstressed syllable. Moreover, the cadence of these 759 verses is preceded by a word boundary in 467 instances (61.53%, or 53.07% of total). It is also no wonder that the single most prevalent type of three-stress hypermetric verse in Old English (with 47 tokens) is the 2A1(2A1a): – x | – x | – x. Following that one can see that the other major types are the 1A*1a(2A1a): – x | x – x | – x and the 1A*1b(2A1a): – x | x x – x | – x (with 37 and 26 tokens, respectively). Hypermetric verses in the *Heliand* and the *Genesis Fragment*, though they are much lengthier in the number of permitted unstressed syllables in the verse, also have a tendency towards a strong cadence. Of the 363 hypermetric verses, 278 (76.58%) have this trochaic cadence.

As mentioned earlier, although the West Germanic hypermetrics do not share the same rigidity as the *dróttkvætt* with respect to the cadence, the hypermetric verses do show a preference for the same type of cadence. Again one should also recall Frank's characterization of the *dróttkvætt* as a "tightening and regularizing of the common Germanic long line" (1978:34). For the *dróttkvætt* and the hypermetric to share a

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[128] Although this sounds speculative, this very thing occurred in eddic verse. Lines in the *Edda* such as *HH II*, 11.2 *at þeir sé* "that they might be" contain a monosyllable at the end, and as such exhibit an aberrant metrical pattern. Restoration of the pre-hiatus shape of the verb, though, makes for an acceptable verse: *at þeir séi* (Russom 1998:60-2).

common origin, it is not necessary for the two comperanda to share identical features, but rather for the two to have plausibly descended from a common form, which permits change and variation. It is conceivable that the predecessor of the *dróttkvætt* had a much looser cadence, which, perhaps prevalent in the majority of verses, came to be extended via analogy to all verses, with the stronger, more salient cadence replacing all others.

4.6 Metrical Patterns of the *Dróttkvætt* and Hypermetric Verses

As we have argued in the preceding section, the fixed cadence of the *dróttkvæt* is plausibly the result of a solidification of a previously freer cadence. We will argue further here in this section that the metrical patterns evident in *dróttkvætt* are the result of a reanalysis of the metrical structure of the verse subsequent to the fixation of the cadence. Such a view has advantages over the current hypotheses, whereby the *dróttkvætt* is the product of the addition of the cadence to an essentially tetrasyllabic *fornyrðislag* line. Although there is no way to establish with absolute certainty the veracity of any of these hypotheses, the view advanced here for the origin of the metrical patterning of the *dróttkvætt* vis-a-vis the West-Germanic hypermetric line is preferable to those held by Sievers, Kuhn, and Gade, since the changes proposed by their hypotheses are insufficiently motivated. Furthermore, since these arguments claim that the *dróttkvætt* must have come from the *fornyrðislag*, since the two share many similar features, we should reassess the problem. In the comparative approach to languages, one finds situations in which two languages share a feature, or bundle of features, without their necessarily having to be the result of a common, inherited origin.

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The remainder of this subsection will contain a review of Gade´s hypotheses concerning the metrical evolution of the *dróttkvætt*, combined with a critique thereof. After this review, I will demonstrate that the metrical patterns evident in the *dróttkvætt* were also permissible in the hypermetric verses. The point to be made here is that the fixing of the cadence at the end of the *dróttkvætt* verse led to a reanalysis of the preceding portion of the verse. This reanalysis would have been similar to the phenomena of proportional analogy and paradigm leveling in language change, in that a subset of the entire range of metrical patterns would have come to exclude all other possibilities of metrical patterns, just as one declension might come to replace competing declensions in nominal paradigms. It would be only natural to reinterpret the pre-cadence portion of the verse in terms of familiar metrical patterns, the patterns evidenced in *fornyrðislag* shored up to the minimal number of syllables. Although hypermetrical verses cannot be sufficiently described as a normal verse plus an additional foot,[129] there is no restriction against the formulation of hypermetric verses in such a manner.

Proportional analogy appears as the most likely process through which the first four positions of the *dróttkvætt* were restructured, rather than strictly by means of a leveling process. Although the metrical structures exhibited by the *dróttkvætt* of the historical period were acceptable also in hypermetric lines, we should not assume that these patterns excluded all others. As Fertig points out, analogical leveling is "the paradigm-internally motivated elimination of an allomorphic stem alternation" (2000:32). What this would mean, however, for a metrical analysis would be that the reduction of

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[129] Bliss 1972:

variation of metrical patterns within one type of verse (a paradigm, as it were) would be leveling if, and only if the motivation for the exclusion of other patterns were based solely on comparison to metrical patterns within only the same type of verse. Since we will be motivating our analogy by means of a separate and independent type of verse, we cannot speak of leveling in the same sense as argued by Fertig, which leaves proportional analogy the most suitable term for the process. This analogical process between the *dróttkvætt* and *fornyrðislag* is best characterized as a proportional analogy wherein the left half of the proportion is composed of the relationship between the minimum of four metrical positions and the filling-in with metrical material:

$$\text{\_\_ \_\_ \_\_ \_\_} : f^{130} \; :: \; \text{\_\_ \_\_ \_\_ \_\_} \,|-\text{x} : \text{D}$$

D here would be then solved by applying the metrical patterns evident in *fornyrðislag* to the first four metrical positions.

4.6.1 Gade's Theories of the Origin of the *Dróttkvætt*

Since Gade's *The Structure of Old Norse Dróttkvætt Poetry* is the latest work to deal with the history of this verse, it is necessary that we review the hypotheses presented therein. What we intend to add to Gade's work on the relationship between the *dróttkvætt* and *fornyrðislag* verses is not so much a refutation of her findings, but rather a new way of explaining these findings. At issue is not so much the facts concerning the similarities and dissimilarities of the two verse types, but rather the nature of the development of the *dróttkvætt*. A current view of the problem, e.g. as in Gade (1995), is that a tetrasyllabic *fornyrðislag* verse was expanded into the *dróttkvætt*. Such a view

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[130] *f* stands for the set of acceptable metrical patterns in *fornyrðislag*.

would suggest that there was an early form of *fornyrðislag* which gave rise to all further relevant verse forms. This we shall designate for the sake of argument as proto-*fornyrðislag*. This proto-verse was to split initially into two branches, tetrasyllabic and non-tetrasyllabic (which is the variety found in eddic verse). The tetrasyllabic variety was, according to this view, to turn into the *dróttkvætt* through the addition of the cadence. Also to be included here is a questionably attested tetrasyllabic verse called *balkarlag* by Snorri (Gade 1995:233). We can represent these relationships with the following treediagram. Each terminal node represents an attested verse structure, though each superordinant node represents an unattested, hypothesized predecessor:

proto-*fornyrðislag*

tetrasyllabic *fornyrðislag*   eddic *fornyrðislag*

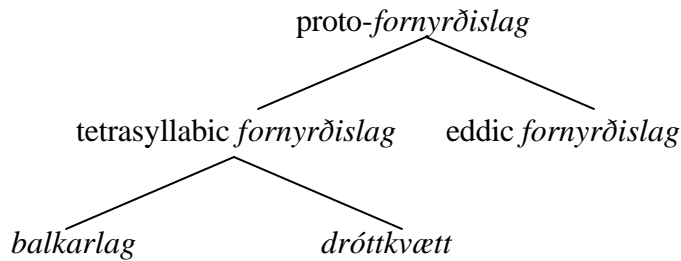*balkarlag*   *dróttkvætt*

Figure 1: Tree Structure of Verse-Relationships According to Gade's Theory of the History of the *Dróttkvætt*

The alternate view presented here will be that the *dróttkvætt* as it is known from attested sources represents a verse which developed from the same source as the West Germanic hypermetric verse, a predominantly three-stressed verse. The benefits of this view are immediately visible when its tree structure is compared to the preceding:
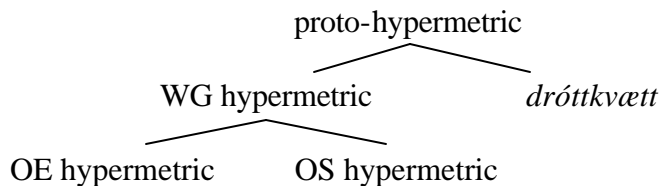
proto-hypermetric

WG hypermetric   *dróttkvætt*

OE hypermetric   OS hypermetric

Figure 2: Tree Structure of Verse-Relationships Between *Dróttkvætt* and West Germanic Hypermetric

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One can see that this hypothesis is simpler than the preceding one, since there are fewer unattested levels (that is, including all the other levels which would require one to trace *fornyrðislag* back to its West Germanic counterpart normal verse). Of second, though not lesser, importance is the guiding notion that the *dróttkvætt* is a more structured form of its predecessor. The transformation of one verse into another type of verse is simpler and more plausible when it occurs by means of the limitation of options, rather than the direct addition of features. Throughout this chapter we have taken as a principle that a change within a verse is less problematic when it involves the use of elements which would not have otherwise previously injured the well-formedness of the verse. Just as we have seen this principle in motion in the rhyme and alliterative schemes and cadence of the *dróttkvætt*, we will also see it operating in the meter of the verse as a metrical whole.

Although Gade and Sievers are of the opinion that the *dróttkvætt* developed out of the *fornyrðislag*, there is a tremendous difference between the ways in which the two argue the matter. Sievers was fully convinced that the *dróttkvætt* arose through the addition of an additional foot to a tetrasyllabic *fornyrðislag*: "Erweiterung durch anschiebung von – x schafft aus dem viergliedrigen normalvers das sechsgliedrige dróttkvætt..." (*AGM* §200). Sievers, however, fails to address, let alone explain, whence, how, and why the two syllables were added.

Here Gade makes the greatest improvement. In an attempt to bridge the gap between *dróttkvætt* and *fornyrðislag*, Gade looks to the similarities in the syntactic fillers of each. She argues that since there are combinations of metrical patterns, alliterative

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schemes, and enjambment common to each verse, that *dróttkvætt* arose from a tetrasyllabic *fornyrðislag* through the enjambment of the first two syllables of the off-verse of a *fornyrðislag* line. Since "the direct connections between odd and even lines in *fornyrðislag*, were subject to the same rules as the connections between positions 4 and 5-6 in *dróttkvætt*," the *fornyrðislag* line was misanalyzed at the syntactic boundary following the caesura, with the annexed trochee becoming the cadence of the *dróttkvætt*. This she exemplifies in verses from the *Edda*, e.g.:

> oc á ***Fimbultýs*** || ***fornar*** (rúnar)
> Vsp 60:7-8

> undir ***heiðvönum*** || ***helgom*** (baðmi)
> Vsp 27:3-4

> ganga þeir ***fagra*** || ***Freyio*** (at hitta)
> Þrk 12:1-2

> þeir er ***miðgarð*** || ***mæran*** (scópo)
> Vsp 4:3-4

By ending the line after the first word of the off-verse, one finds well-formed *dróttkvætt* constructions. These similarities are evident also in other metrical types, more specifically, in syntactic constructions with inverted and interupted genitive constructions, compare the two following examples which prohibit alliteration across the caesura (Gade 1995:232-33):

> ***hendr*** úrsvalar || ***Högna*** (mági)
> HH II, 44:9-10

> ***segls*** naglfara ***siglur***
> Rdr 5:3

One additional difference in the alliterative schemes between *dróttkvætt* and *fornyrðislag* is found in the final lift of Type E verses, in which the final lift of a *fornyrðislag* verse is not permitted to participate in alliteration without the first lift also doing the same: e.g. [131]

      Þann áttak **vin verstan** (Bragi II, 4:1)

 However, as indicated in sections IV.2.1, IV.2.2.5, and IV.3 above, the demotion of the importance of alliteration when combined with internal rhyme, is an innovation found solely within the *dróttkvætt* tradition.

4.6.1.1 Problems Presented by Gade's Approach to the History of the *Dróttkvætt*

      Gade sums up her theories concerning the origin of the *dróttkvætt* by stating that "tetrasyllabic alliterative lines with enjambment served as a model for hexasyllabic *dróttkvætt*, and that this penchant for enjambment was taken over by *dróttkvætt* and is manifested in the high percentage of enjambed lines in the poetry of the earliest skalds" (1995:233). The greatest obstacle facing this theory, however, is not, as Gade points out, the lack of a well-attested tetrasyllabic *fornyrðislag* (1995:233), but rather the problems inherent in a misparsing of a series of verses. Although there might be great similarities apparent between a single line of *fornyrðislag* and a single verse of *dróttkvætt* in isolation, one must question how this misanalysis of the *fornyrðislag* might play out in adjoining lines. Since eddic, just like skaldic, verse tended to be composed in stanzas, one must look to how a misparsed line affects the parsing of preceding and following lines. By reanalyzing one line within a stanza as though it were a *dróttkvætt*, many more

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[131] Gade offers two instances of this occurring in the *Edda*, the first of which seems to be a true irregularity (1995:230): *ef þú getrað **son** || við **siclingi***. The second instance, however, seems to be explainable, though it is still aberrant: *þá er við í **höll** || **húnscrar þióðar***, where the alliterative scheme is ABBA, thus satisfying the requirement of the first lift to alliterate.

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metrical and alliterative dissimilarities might be created within the rest of the stanza.

This can be demonstrated by looking at the whole context of Vsp 4:3-4, cited above:

> *Áðr Burs synir   bioðom um ypþo*
> *þeir er miðgarð,   mæran, scópo;*
> *sól scein sunnan   á salar steina,*
> *þá var grund gróin   grænum lauki.*

If we were to reanalyze verses 3-4 as indicated by Gade above, we would be hard pressed

to make sense of the rest of the stanza:

> *Áðr Burs synir bioðom*
> *um ypþo,*
> *þeir er miðgarð mæran*
> *scópo; sól scein sunnan*
> *á salar steina, þá var grun*
> *gróin graunum lauki.*

Even if one were to overlook the problems of the initial line and were to wait for verses

3-4 to reanalyze the meter, there are nonetheless tremendous deviations from accepted

norms of any Germanic alliterative verse. One first notes the deviations from accepted

distributions of alliterating syllables. *Miðgarð* and *mæran* have no *höfuðstafr*, nor do

gróin and *graunum*. Although the verses formed from *scópo* to *grund* are acceptable, as

far as alliteration is concerned (located on *sól*, *sunnan*, and *salar*), it lacks an acceptable

cadence.

In all fairness, though, we do find something quite similar to a *dróttkvætt*. A

typical four-line stanza of *fornyrðislag,* each with two tetrasyllabic half-lines has a total

of 32 syllables. The ideal *dróttkvætt helmingr* contains 24. This disparity does not

necessarily exclude the two from a historical relationship. Rather it may indicate that the

the predecessor of the *dróttkvætt*, if in fact *fornyrðislag*, was perhaps most commonly

composed in three-line stanzas. However, questions remain as to how the process of change took place to bring the *dróttkvætt* to its form attested at even the earliest stage. In order to return the accepted alliterative patterning, it would be likely that it was done so analogically. One must question, though, exactly when and how this was done. Furthermore, one must also explain exactly how the cadence was fixed, since many metrical patterns possible in the off-verse of *fornyrðislag* line are not well-formed *dróttkvætt* cadences. We find evidence for this in Vsp 66:1-2, which happens also to exhibit the same enjambment cited by Gade as a bridge between *fornyrðislag* and the *dróttkvætt*:

> *Þá kømr inn dimmi*   *dreki fliúgandi,*

If we were to misparse this line at the point of enjambment, we find that *Þá kømr inn dimmi dreki* would not be a metrically acceptable *dróttkvætt* verse due to the very specific cadence requirements.

Conversely, one cannot take any *dróttkvætt* stanza or *helmingr* and fashion a well-formed *fornyrðislag* stanza, e.g. Rdr 4:1-4:

> *Flaut of set, við sveita,*
> *sóknar álfs, í gólfi*
> *hræva dögg, þars höggnar*
> *hendr sem fætr of kendusk;*

cannot be reworked into:

> *Flaut of set, við*
> *sveita, sóknar*
> *álfs, í gólfi*
> *hræva dögg, þars*
> *höggnar hendr sem*
> *fætr of kendusk;*

Despite the fact that the reworking of the verse into *fornyrðislag* produces metrically acceptable sequences of syllables, there are seven violations of alliterative patterning as well as enjambment not normally found in eddic poetry, e.g. after *við*, *þars*, and *sem*.

Furthermore, looking toward enjambment as the connecting factor between *dróttkvætt* and *fornyrðislag* is problematic, if not self-contradictory. Gade reasons that, since the behavior of nominal constituents in positions 4 and 5-6 of a *dróttkvætt* verse exhibit the same behavior as nominal constituents across the caesura of a line of *fornyrðislag*, the former must have arisen from the latter. This sequence of events is troublesome. If a *dróttkvætt* verse were to have as its template a misparsed line of *fornyrðislag*, then we are faced with a situation where one verse with a "penchant for enjambment" arose from another verse which exhibits very similar enjambing behavior by means of a process whereby enjambment partially destroys itself in the equation of a syntactic boundary with a metrical boundary.

We find an additional problem when we consider that this hypothesis requires the generation of a novel metrical form, produced from the abstraction of a particular type of realization of a different abstract metrical form. One would expect that a productive template would also be relatively frequent. However, verses with the relevant enjambment across the caesura are not encountered with exceptional frequency. If it may be of worth as a point of comparison, *Völuspá*, *Helgaqviða Hundingsbana in fyrri*, and *Grípisspá* contain only 26 examples of enjambment across the caesura, and of these only 18 have an off-verse with metrical shape acceptable as a *dróttkvætt* cadence. These 18

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verses make up only 2.5% of the 719 long-lines of verse.[132] Despite the similarities

evident in the behaviors of positions 4 and 5-6 in the *dróttkvætt* and the caesura of the

fornyrðislag line, one must question whether such a massive restructuring of a metrical

system could have or would have been initiated by the cross-caesura enjambments in

fornyrðislag. Linguists generally accept the notion that paradigmatic restructuring and

analogical processes tend to use as their models high-frequency constructions and types

(Bybee 1996:247 *et passim*; Fertig 2000:17-18).

4.6.2 Explanation through Analogy

There remains still a way in which skaldic metrists may have their cake and eat it

too, i.e. one can simultaneously have a reasonable explanation of the origin of the

dróttkvætt without deriving it historically from the *fornyrðislag* and have an explanation

for the tremendous similarity shared by the *dróttkvætt* and *fornyrðislag*. What I will

suggest here is that if the *dróttkvætt* had developed out of a meter closely resembling the

West Germanic hypermetric, then it would have had a different set of acceptable metrical

patterns. The establishment of a fixed and mandatory cadence, however, served to

highlight the preceding portion of the verse as a metrical unit independant of the cadence.

What is of significance to us is that the metrical patterns exhibited in *dróttkvætt* verse

would be permissable in hypermetric verses, though the reverse is not true. As we saw

with many other aspects of the structure of skaldic poetry, the metrical patterns of the

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[132] Vsp 4:3-4, 9:5-6, 17:3-4, 28:9-10, 46:3-4, 60:7-8, 62:1-2; HH 2:5-6, 2:7-8, 32:1-2, 45:5-6; Gríp 6:3-4, 9:5-6, 26:3-4, 30:6-7, 31:7-8, 36:5-6, 49:5-6.

dróttkvætt can be seen to be a "tightening and regularizing of the common Germanic long line."

In some cases, however, parsing a hypermetric verse by removing a final trochaic cadence leads to the formation of metrical patterns found nowhere else in the poetic tradition. Take as an example verse 197a of *Maxims I*:

Cain, þone cwealm nerede

If we were to remove the final arsis of this verse, *nerede* (which is metrically equivalent to the sequence – x), we find the metrical pattern – x x x –, which does not conform to any known independant metrical pattern found in OE verse. Here one can see one of the most essential differences between a verse such as found in *dróttkvætt* and the hypermetric verse. The number of verses which fail to accommodate a verse-like metrical sequence before a underlyingly trochaic cadence in the corpus of Old English hypermetric verses is relatively limited, accounting for approximately 7[133] (2.18%) of the 321 relevant hypermetric on-verses, according to Bliss' survey.[134] As noted above, if we follow Gade's suggestion, we are faced with a situation in which the *dróttkvætt* is the reformation of a hexasyllabic line according to a *fornyrðislag* model which is found in roughly only 2.5% of *fornyðislag* lines.   In strong contrast to this, the restructuring of the hypermetric lines into *dróttkvætt* according to this approach would constitute a restructuring based on 97.2% of three-stressed verses and 75.7% of all hypermetric on-verses, barring heavy hypermetrics and remainder verses.

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[133] Types designated by Bliss as 2B2-(2C1), 2C1-(2A1a), 2E1a(2C1), 2E1b(2C1), and 3E1(2C1).

[134] One should note that *Christ & Satan* l. 201a, *hæftas of ðæm hean selde*, should not be categorized as a 2E1b(2C1) verse as Bliss does, since *hean* is a later contraction of a disyllabic (<PGmc. *hauhan-), which could make it the very common 1A*1b(2A1a).

In might be no exaggeration on Lass' part when he states that "[o]ne of the worst problems for the morphological historian is of course analogy..." (1997:250). The difficulty of exposing analogical processes in language change (and by extension in metrical change) lies in the lack of predictability and regularity of its occurence. Here again our interest in abduction (discussed earlier in Section 4.2) should be highlighted. Since analogy is "a strong force in linguistic change" on the one hand, yet "eludes formalization" on the other (McMahon 1994:96), one must first rely on abductive reasoning, with the hope that one might find the source for the analogy. Important also is the notion that analogy is not necessarily the derivation of rules on the part of a speaker, but rather the extension of pre-existing rules and tendencies as perceived by speakers into individual speech-acts. That linguists cannot entirely defend analogy as a clearly definable principle of language change *per se* (McMahon 1994:97) should indicate that there are para-linguistic factors to be considered in approaching change in verse traditions, factors which the cognitive sciences might be in a better state to explore. The extension of features of *fornyrðislag* to *dróttkvætt*, however, would serve in general to increase the isomorphism of the structure verse, as will be argued further below.

4.6.2.1 Overview of the Structure of Old English and Old Saxon Hypermetrics

Before we proceed to the comparison of the metrical patterns of the skaldic and West Germanic hypermetrics, though, it would be best to begin with a short overview of the theories concerning the structure of the hypermetric verse. Since we are concerning ourselves with the hypermetric verses insofar as they relate to the structure of the *dróttkvætt*, we will be restricting the discussion here to those hypermetric verses which

contain three stresses, i.e. "strong" hypermetric verses. The ways in which metrists have attempted to describe the hypermetric verses are various. The theories most relevant to our study here, however, are those of Sievers, Bliss (and by extension Hofmann), and Russom. Although his contribution to the study of hypermetrics is significant, Pope's theories concerning the structure of hypermetrics will be left out, primarily since they require the adoption of a rhythmical approach to verse.

Sievers' approach to the hypermetric (1893:*AGM* §§88-96) was a rather simple one. The three lifts of a verse were to be interpreted as though the first and second belonged to one verse, and the second and third belonged to a second verse which had overlapped the first verse. Thus, a verse such as *Bwlf*. 1706a is to be parsed as:

> /　　　x ‖ ／ x ｜ ／　　x
> *mægen mid modes snyttrum*

Verse 1706a, then, would be described as a AA verse, since it reflects a Type A verse overlapping another type A verse (§94).

Bliss pointed out, however, that such a method of description was inadequate. Verses like *Guth.* 5a, *greteð gæst oþerne*, following Sievers' approach, would have to be divided into a verse of the shape / x | / / overlying a verse shaped / | / \ x. It is quite apparent to those familiar with alliterative verse, that / x | / / is not an acceptable verse (1958:88). Bliss opts for a different method of description, though there are some similarities. Rather than viewing a hypermetric line as a pair of overlapped verses, Bliss sees it as a verse, whose second foot is "expanded" into a larger foot. In verses ending with / x (a, 1A, 2A and 2C) may be replaced with any verse beginning with a lift (1A,

1D, 2A, 2E, or 3E). Verses ending with a single lift (2B, 2E, 3B and 3E) may have that final lift replaced with a sequence equal to verses of types 2B, 2C or 3B (1958:89-90).

Although Bliss' system of description is far more accurate than that of Sievers, its shortcoming is the same as the shortcoming present in the theories concerning normal verses, namely that the descriptive adequacy conceals explanatory inadequacy. Russom's approach to Old English verse involved treating the feet of verses in terms of the typical shapes of words found in Old English. Whereas a normal verse consist of two feet, each foot with no more than one primary stress, hypermetric verses are comprised of one normal sized foot and a larger foot, the shape of which corresponds to that of a large compounded word (1987:59-61). The benefits evident in this approach are that it not only describes the verses present in the corpus, but at the same time gives a more adequate explanation for these structures in that it also explains why certain verses do not present themselves, though they might be a logically possible metrical sequence.

Since in this approach the basic metrical structures are based on the stress patterning inherent in the linguistic system of the language, the differences between metrical traditions ought to correspond, in many respects, to linguistic differences between the languages. Russom, following suggestions made originally by Lehmann,[135]

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[135] Lehmann's argument here should be approached with caution, though. The argument that the development of epenthetic vowels before sonorants in West Germanic, and the lack of the same in Old Norse, e.g. OE *æcer*, OS *acar*, and OHG *accar* vs. Go. *akrs*, ON *akr* 'field,' represents a weakening of the primary word-stress is problematic for several reasons. The first is that Lehmann claims that "[s]uch vowels develop in weakly stressed medial syllables as well as in final syllables" (1956:89-90). Epenthetic vowels cannot develop in either medial or final syllables, because there are no syllables prior to the insertion of the epenthetic vowels, in a phonemic sense, though they might exist at a purely phonetic level. Furthermore, during the 14th century an epenthetic vowel preceded /r/, e.g. ON *hestr* > Ice. *hestur* 'horse.' Other sonorants, however, were unaffected, e.g. ON, Ice. *vatn* 'water, lake' (Fulk 1992:66-67). If such a change were also the result of a change in the prosody of Icelandic, one would expect **vatun*, or **fugul*.

ascribes the tendency evident in the early Continental Germanic verse (i.e. the *Heliand* and *Hildebrandslied*) to incorporate more unstressed syllables than Old English verse, partially to a different system of stress, though the poet was still conscious of numerical limits on unstressed syllables (1998:169-70).

4.6.2.2 Hypermetric Patterns and the *Dróttkvætt*

As mentioned earlier, we can view the metrical patterns of *dróttkvætt* verse as a subset of those patterns used in hypermetric verses, eventhough the hypermetric verses were orgianized in a way different from skaldic verse. The metrical boundary arising out of the fixation of a specific cadence served to highlight the first four metrical positions of the verse. This, combined with the additional restrictions on resolution and the number of unstressed syllables permissable between stresses, would have made favorable the reinterpretation of the opening portion of the line in terms of metrical patterns evident in *fornyrðislag*. Line 1706a of *Beowulf* cited above is a classic example of a Type A pattern:

> / x / x / x
> *mægen mid modes snyttrum*

A Type-B can be found in the *Rood* 49a:

The epenthetic vowels inserted into medial syllables, e.g. the third syllable of Ohg *gimahalta* 'spoke,' are not the product of a phonological change, but rather the result of analogical leveling similar to the restoration of syncopated vowels (Suzuki 2001:14). Lehmann also argues for evidence of weak primary stress in Old Saxon in the treatment of secondary stress in the *Heliand*. Although he claims that "Old English poets could use the secondary stresses of the second elements of some compounds in metrically prominent positions; e.g., *lic-homa* 'body' occupies both lifts of the first half-line in *Beowulf* 812; in Old Saxon the second element of its cognate, *lîk-hamo* and similar compounds, was so weakly stressed that it never occupies the lifts in the *Heliand*" (1956:104). However, *Heliand* 4099a *an thene lîchamon* can only be read as a Type-C verse, the same as *Bwlf* 812a: *þæt him se lichoma*.

```
   x   /   x   x      /     / x
  begoten of  þæs guman sidan
```

Guth. 1161a demonstrates a Type-C:

```
  x     /     / x  /   x
  onwrige worda gongum
```

A verse which would correspond to a Type D *dróttkvætt* does not exist in the extant Old English corpus of hypermetric verses. As mentioned above under Russom's treatment of hypermetric verses, a verse could be excluded from appearing if it did not correspond to the shape of a valid verse. Since a verse may only contain one heavy foot (Russom 1987:28-29), i.e. a heavy foot must be paired with a light foot (less than two metrical positions), a verse with the shape / \ x | / x would be counterindicated due to the second foot / x. The same restrictions do not appear to be present in Old Saxon verse, which does provide us with some potential points of comparison for a Type D verse with an acceptable cadence, e.g. *Hel.* 1681a:

```
  / x  x   x  /   \ x   /  x
  lilli mid sô lioflîco blômon
```

Returning finally to the Old English corpus we find also examples of Type E verses, e.g. *GenA.* 156a:

```
  /   \   x   /      / x
  widlond ne wegas nytte
```

The commonalities demonstrated by hypermetric verses and *dróttkvætt* verses, in and of themselves, neither indicate nor prove a historical relationship. What they do establish, however, is the possibility that the variety of allowable metrical patterns before a strong cadence could have been restricted to those essential patterns found in *fornyrðislag*. That

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these patterns were already evident in hypermetric lines would serve only to strengthen the opportunity for a proportional analogy to exclude all other metrical patterns; in all likelihood they are probably one of the primary instigators of the analogy.

If this analogical process did, in fact, take place, then we also gain the further ability to establish a partial relative chronology for some of the changes discussed in this chapter. Foremost of these is that the establishment of the fixed cadence preceded the analogical reformation of the metrical patterns. Secondly, the limitation of the number of syllables to fill metrical positions in all likelihood also preceded the analogy, since the equation of the four essential metrical positions of the *fornyrðislag* with the first four positions of the predecessor of the *dróttkvætt* is an additional prerequisite of the analogy. The ultimate results of this analogical process would have been to simplify the skaldic metrical system *as a whole*, increasing the isomorphism of the acceptable metrical patterns within the poetic tradition. Moreover, as one can tell from the various attempts at defining and explaining the structure of the West Germanic hypermetric verses, exclusion of metrical patterns in the first four positions to those found in *fornyrðislag* increases the transparency/decreases the opacity of the metrical pattern of the *dróttkvætt* verse.

4.7 Summary of Chapter Four

The purpose of this chapter has been to demonstrate several things. In the larger picture, relevant to poetics as a whole and comparative metrics more specifically, the desideratum has been to expand our understanding of the workings and changing of verse structures across time by looking at issues beyond phonological change. Whereas

Chapter Two has demonstrated that comparative metrical analysis cannot necessarily adopt the methods of comparative linguistics, replacing lexical items with metrical structures, this chapter has required us to observe the structure of a verse in several perspectives, many of which are more similar to the workings of a language's morphology than to phonology. One perspective has been to view the ways in which structural characteristics affect each other, rather than approaching each characteristic atomically and in isolation. As shown in sections 4.4.2.2.3 and 4.4.2.2.4, for example, sound-patterning devices such as rhyme and *Stabreim* can, in part, affect the quality and distribution of the other when employed together within a single line. An additional perspective has been toward analogical processes. Whereas the predominant linguistic approach to meter has been via phonological theory and methods, we have seen how it is not improbable that the same cognitive processes evident in language change could be at work in change within a verse structure as well.

At a less general level, it is hoped that the arguments presented in this study might shed some light on the origins of the *dróttkvætt* verse. Employing methods of internal and comparative reconstruction has helped to show that despite its alien appearance, one need not look outside of the Germanic alliterative tradition to find a spot for skaldic verse. Furthermore, the connection of the *dróttkvætt* to the hypermetric line serves to fill a gap within the traditions. The *fornyrðislag*, *ljóðaháttr*, and *galdralag* all have Anglo-Saxon analogues, even if one must look in the *Metrical Charms* and *Maxims* to find the latter two. What seemed to be a gap on the Scandinavian side of the table was the lack of

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an analogue to the West Germanic hypermetric. This gap, we hope, has been filled by

viewing the *dróttkvætt* as the hypermetrics Scandinavian analogue.

The attentive observer might note, however, that this chapter has been

asymmetrical in its comparative approach to the *dróttkvætt* and the West Germanic

hypermetrics. Although we have been careful that we do not intend to make use of the

strtucture of Old English hypermetric verses as if they were identical to the predecessors

of the *dróttkvætt*, this comparative study has done little to add to our understanding the

(pre-)history of the two other comparanda, the Old English and Old Saxon hypermetric

verse. This is most clear in section 4.4.2.2, where the corpus of Old English hypermetric

verses failed to provide us with an adequate example of a verse which mirrored a Type D

verse in the *dróttkvætt*, yet the Old Saxon corpus did. A comparative study should, after

all, seek to find the common source and to give it body, if possible.

We will turn our attention to the Old English and Old Saxon hypermetric verses in

the next chapter. Although the goal of the next chapter will be to use comparative

linguistic methods applied to anomolous verses to question assumptions held concerning

the structure of the West Germanic hypermetric verse, such an endeavor would be

impossible without approaching the structural differences and similarities in the two

traditions, which we hope will lead us to a better understanding of the common and

separate histories of the two.

In the final chapter, we will bring together the findings of Chapter three and

Chapter Four in order to build a more thorough understanding of the Common-Germanic

hypermetric verse. Whereas Chapter Three has focused on one-verses alone, and this

chapter has dealt primarily with the *dróttkvætt*, the issue of the hypermetric off-verse still remains. Furthermore, we will see ways in which the structure of the *dróttkvætt* verse might make greater sense out of the metrical composition of Old English hypermetric verses. Comparative analyses, in addition to making claims about historical relatedness, can, as we have seen in the telling nature of the usage of heavy hypermetric on-verses in Old Saxon verse, serve to make sense of one tradition by comparison with another.

Chapter Five

Summary: Refining the Reconstruction and Problems for Future Research

> *Swa scriþende   gesceapum hweorfað*
> *gleomen gumena   geond grunda fela,*
> *þearfe secgað,   þoncword sprecaþ,*
> *simle suð oþþe norð   sumne gemetað*
> *gydda gleawne,   geofum unhneawne,*
> *se þe fore duguþe wile   dom aræran,*
> *eorlscip æfnan,   oþþæt eal scæceð,*
> *leoht ond lif somod;   lof se gewyrceð*
> *hafað under heofenum   heahfæstne dom.*[136]
>
> *--Widsith* ll.135-143

5.1 Introduction

In contrast to the way Widsith created the 'imperishable fame' for the recipient of a panegyric, our goal in this chapter, and in this dissertation as a whole, has been to regain a sense of the oral poetry lost, working backwards to reestablish the fame fashioned by these early poets. In this final chapter, the topics of the first four chapters will be revisited and reevaluated, with possibilities for future research and application of the comparative study of verse. Prior to that however, a sketch of the probable characteristics of the Common Germanic hypermetric[137] will be presented, based on the information gained in Chapter Three and Chapter Four. The purpose behind this sketch is two-fold. First come the tradition-specific concerns of gaining a greater understanding

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[136] Trans.: "As movers they turn among creatures, the entertainers of men throughout the many lands, they tell as is necessary, speak words of thanks, always meet either south or north someone amused with songs, unstingy with gifts, who wishes to establish fame before the retinue, perform noble deeds, until all passes, light and life together; he fashions praise, has permanent fame beneath the heavens."

[137] Although one might be tempted to refer to this as a Proto-Germanic hypermetric verse, based on the analogy with comparative linguistic reconstruction, we cannot be assured that these metrical forms were in place at the time prior to the dissolution of Proto-Germanic into its daughter languages. This is not only on account of the lack of evidence of Gothic verse, but more importantly due to the possibility that these metrical forms could have been borrowed from one tradition to the next prior to the splits in the independent traditions.

of the metrical forms extant in the pre-literate oral-poetic tradition. Secondly, there are

also theoretical concerns to be considered. Up til this point, I have dealt mainly with the

methodological problems which make comparative analysis challenging for metrical

structures. There are, however, concerns related to reconstruction as well, and in what

manner we may approach generating a picture of the proto-form we are after. By

positing a proto-form we can also put forth a hypothesis to be challenged or upheld by

later studies. Making decisions, however, as to which elements extant in surving poetic

forms belong to the proto-form and which are innovations or alterations is not a light

task. After the sketch of the Common-Germanic hypermetric verse we will briefly

reevaluate the six principles put forth in Section 1.3.1. and delineate some additional

problems faced by the application of comparative linguistic theories and methods to

literary texts. This chapter will conclude with a section depicting remaing questions and

problems, as well as areas for further research and study. First I will present some of the

difficulties present in in applying linguistic theory to literary texts, and follow that up by

suggesting one way in which we can benefit the interpretation of poetic texts by

considering typological features and pressures from the 'quasi-universals,' to use

Watkins' term. The final portion of this section will state areas for further research as

they apply to Germanic alliterative verse alone.

5.2 The Common Germanic Hypermetric Verse

As pointed out in Chapters One and Three, whereas much has been done to deal

with the differences in the form of the normal Germanic alliterative verse, little advance

has been made in the study of hypermetric verses. This is understandable, given that the

relatively few hypermetric verse extant do not paint an entire picture of their workings and underlying structure. This is not to say, however, that we are unable to engage in any worthwhile comparison to arrive at a rough semblance of the hypothetical predecessor for these verse. One must acknowledge, though, that the detail of the reconstruction is dependent on the detail of the available data. Looking past the specific details of the metrical organization of the hypermetric verses in Old English and Old Saxon, an issue which is still not settled entirely, e.g. Russom's decision to deal with only the most common hypermetric verses (Russom 1987:59). However, since we have dealt with the heavy hypermetric on-verses in Old English and Old Saxon verse and have treated them as independent innovations, we need not include them in the analysis here. There remains, though, some unfinished business in regard to the relationship between the *dróttkvætt*'s even-line and the West Germanic hypermetric off-verse.

As might have been noticed in Chapter Four, nothing was said regarding the disparity in the characteristics of the hypermetric off-verse as it is found in the Old English and Old Saxon alliterative traditions and the metrical composition of the even-lines in the skaldic *dróttkvætt*. Whereas the Saxon and Anglo-Saxon scops had at their disposal two main variants for off-verses, the strong and the more common weak hypermetric off verse, the skalds were restricted to employing three-stressed verses. Although noted in Section 4.4.2.2.4.2 that the strong tendency in *dróttkvætt* composition to avoid two contiguous weak positions within a long-line would make the use of a 'weak' even-line less favorable, sufficient explanation for the lack of constructions comparable to the West Germanic weak hypermetric off-verse is still lacking. The

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question that remains for us to answer is whether the Common-Germanic hypermetric off-verse permitted either strong or weak hypermetric verses. Fortunately we are able to get a sense from the distribution of the extant hypermetrics to gain some insight into this problem.

Three main possibilities are available to us for the composition of the Common Germanic hypermetric verse. The first, which we will reject, would posit all off-verses as weak. The second possibility is a portmanteau reconstruction which would posit a hypermetric line more-or-less identical to that found in the Old English and Old Saxon poetic corpora. The third possibility, and the one which is preferable over the first two, is that all hypermetric off-verses were strong, and that the weak hypermetric verses in Old English and Old Saxon verse are relative new-comers to the tradition. Before reaching an absolute conclusion, however, we will evaluate each possibility in turn and glean as much information as possible from the merit of each, or lack thereof.

5.2.1 The Possibility of the Weak Common Germanic Hypermetric Off-verse

The first possibility we face, and one which we may discount quite quickly, is that all of the off-verses in the Common Germanic hypermetric line were weak, i.e. had only two main stresses. The main cause for our dismissal of this possibility, in addition to the advantages of the other two possibilities, is that it would force us to make an excessively complicated reconstruction. As Hock points out, Occam's Razor is one of the most effective items in the historical linguist's tool-chest, although it might not always be a guarantee (1986:538-540). If we were to posit all Common Germanic hypermetric off-verses as being weak, we would be forced to account for the strong hypermetric verses in

each tradition, whereas only two thirds of the comparanda contain the equivalents of weak-hypermetric off-verses. Compared to the other possibilities, a Common-Germanic weak hypermetric off-verse is overly complicated. On the one hand, we would have to explain the entire lack of the equivalent of weak hypermetric off-verses in the *dróttkvætt*. Although one might explain them away by claiming that an analogical process took place whereby hypermetric verses were recast with the same symmetry as found in normal verses, combined with the claims in Chapter Four regarding the placement of the *höfuðstafr*, we will see that notions such as symmetry argue more in favor with alternate explanations. Moreover, although the weak hypermetric off-verse is the overwhelmingly most common found in Old English and Old Saxon verse,[138] there are nonetheless heavy hypermetric off-verses to be accounted for. Given that the distribution of the Old English strong hypermetric off-verses correlates somewhat with the tendency to use them in conjunction with parallism, placing "antithetical pairs," as seen in *Maxims II* l.42 in Chapter Three, in the prominent positions of each verse, a tendency noted by Pope (1942[1966]:134-35), we should consider that their employment and their form are related, with perhaps the survival of an archaic form aided by the maintenance a particular application of the that form. We should be quick to note that, in contrast to assumptions made by Suzuki (1991:497) about the relative antiquity of such gnomic statements, we would prefer to view the heavy hypermetric as a remnant or archaism in the Old English and Old Saxon traditions due to their relative scarcity and their universal

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[138] If we take Bliss' survey of hypermetric verses as a rough indication, then we see that 407 of 446 hypermetric off-verses are of the weak variety (Bliss 1958:130-33). Hofmann's survey reveals that the Old Saxon is much the same with some 150 of 154 hypermetric off-verses of the weak variety as well; noted exceptions are *Heliand* 1685b, 3066b, 3067b and 5755b (Hofmann 1991:180-81).

use in the cognate Scandinavian tradition. Much like an analogically based neologism, which tends to displace its predecessor, also known as Kurylowicz's fourth 'law' of analogy, e.g. the way in which the word *older* is unmarked in meaning with respect to its archaic predecessor *elder* (Hock 1986:223-27), it could be possible that the strong hypermetric off-verse of West Germaic verse represents an archaic form limited in its usage to a few purposes it still retains, all others having been subsumed by the newer weak hypermetric off-verse.

5.2.2 Portmanteau Reconstruction

The second possibility, though methodologically weak and theoretically troubling, is that we posit a reconstructed form which permits both strong and weak hypermetric off-verses, a sort of metrical portmanteau, in the sense that the reconstructed form permits both variants. What makes this option distasteful is that we arrive at nothing other than what we started off with. Moreover, it makes the assumption that the Old English and Old Saxon forms are more similar to the original than the *dróttkvætt*, an unwarranted assumption similar to the 'key language' fallacy of linguistic reconstruction. Although we still have to explain the loss of weak off-verses in the skaldic tradition, as suggested in the preceding section, this option does provide a somewhat more simplified journey from the Common to West Germanic hypermetric off-verse.

What is lacking still, though, is the sense of symmetry, a factor which is evident in the reconstruction of phonemic inventories, cf. Hock (1986:151-54). Since we would be inclined to reject our first possibility on the grounds that it produces an asymmetrical pattern, so too must we reject our second possibility in favor of a reconstruction which

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provides us with a sense of symmetry, and a metrical structure which is more analogous to the normal long-line in both the on- and off-verse. Provided that we can account sufficiently for the introduction of the weak hypermetric off-verse into the Old English and Old Saxon tradition.

5.2.3 The Strong Common-Germanic Off-Verse

As mentioned already, there are benefits to positing a heavy hypermetric off-verse as the only possible off-verse in the Common Germanic hypermetric line, despite the need to account for the development of the weak hypermetric off-verse in the West Germanic traditions. Moreover, we must also account for the lack of the development of the same in the North Germanic *dróttkvætt*. The first benefit, of course, is that the reconstructed form is more symmetrical than its West Germanic reflexes, having three stressed syllables on either side of the caesura. Secondly, viewing the weak hypermetric off-verse as a relative newcomer to the alliterative tradition explains the restricted occurrence of strong hypermetric off-verses, and brings their distribution more in line with that which we generally know about the characteristic behavior of archaic and innovative constructions (Kurylowicz's fourth 'law').

Fortunately Hofmann has already offered a possible and plausible explanation for our assumption. In addition to viewing the two halves of the hypermetric long-line as metrically symmetrical, with three lifts in each half-line, we must also view the verses in terms of the constrained poetic space. Just as we saw in Chapter Four, where the location and type of internal rhyme in the *dróttkvætt* is a function of the alliterative patterning, we

can also see the end of a strong hypermetric off-verse as possessing unused 'space.'

Hofmann depicts the situation thusly:

> Steht der einzige Stab des Abverses nämlich gleich am Anfang, gefolgt von zwei, im Abvers notwendigerweise stablosen Hebungen, dann sind die Gewichte ungleich verteilt. Das stabende Wort ist dem Anvers (mit seinen meist zwei Stäben) näher als dem stablosen Ende des eigenen Verses. Es kann in dieser Stellung die Funktion des Stabreims, den Vers rhythmisch zu beherrschen, kaum erfüllen.[139]

(Hofmann 1991:162)

One can view hypermetric lines with strong off-verses as being top-heavy, with a greater amount of metrically restricted material on the left than on the right side of the poetic line. By replacing a strong hypermetric off-verse with its weak equivalent the West Germanic hypermetric line would have been able to more evenly distribute the 'weight' of the line. The 'empty' space of the two non-alliterating lifts would be removed, avoiding a sequence of two non-alliterating lifts within a single verse, which also reduces the chances of having three non-alliterating lifts in sequence, depending on the metrical composition of the following on-verse. The metrical equivalence of 'light' and 'heavy' varieties of normal verses, which permits 'light' verses such as *Beowulf* 22a *þæt hine on ylde* to stand in the on-verse, also sanctions the weak and strong varieties of hypermetric verses.[140] That the surviving strong hypermetrics in the Old English tradition tend to contain parallel statements in the line might also explain their survival, given that the expectation established by the first partner of the parallelism would carry over to the

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[139] Rough trans. "If the only alliterating stave of the off-verse stands right at the beginning, followed by two necessarily non-alliterating lifts, then the weights [of the verses] are unequally distributed. The alliterating word is closer to the on-verse (with its, at most, two alliterating syllables) than the non-alliterating end of its own verse. In this position it can barely fulfill its function of governing the rhythm of the verse."

[140] Note also the similarity in alliterative patterning between weak hypermetrics and light normal verses.

other half of the parallelism. However, the tendency to employ the weak variant in the off-verse must have already begun prior to the first written poetic documents, since it is the preferred arrangement for both Old English and Old Saxon verses.[141]

An added bonus to this explanation is that it also accounts for the preservation of the strong off-verse in the skaldic *dróttkvætt*. On the one hand, the fossilization of the cadence in each *dróttkvætt* verse serves to delineate the end of each verse, as a *Grenzsignal* ought to do. On the other hand, the introduction of internal rhyme had the additional effect of maintaining the cohesion of the verse by making use of the previously 'empty' poetic space.

5.2.4 Methodological Limitations

In treating the comparison of metricals structures not as if they were lexical items, but rather as a comparison between two cohesive systems, such as two morphological systems, we have to acknowledge the limitations which might be present. Lass points out that "[m]orphological evolution for instance…does not lend itself to the (relatively) neat kind of reconstructive narration that phonological history does, except under very special conditions" (Lass 1997:246). We are limited to a great extent by the extant data. Although this seems like a somewhat jejune observation, we must not confuse the reconstruction for all that might have been. There is no way to tell what has been lost, a

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[141] That we have a strong indication that these tendencies existed at the point when the Saxon and Anglo-Saxon poetic traditions were still a cohesive unit argues against Kyte's suggestion that "hypermetric verses were a means of coping with the increasing number of syllables in a language as it moved from a synthetic to an analytical stage." Viewing the increase in the number of hypermetric verses between roughly 700 to 1000 C.E. as a function of language change might prevent us from considering other possibilities. Moreover, there is no need to increase the number of hypermetric verses to keep up with additional unstressed particles in the *Vorfeld* of the hypermetric verse, since that purpose could be equally filled by Type-B and Type-C verses.

fact which increases the importance of taking marginal forms into account when engaging in comparative analysis. The few remaining *ljóðaháttr*- and *galdralag*-like verse constructions in the Old English *Maxims I* and *Metrical Charms*, for example, do not provide enough information to begin a reconstruction with their corresponding Scandinavian forms, though they do indicate that such a construction might have existed at an earlier time. Furthermore, there is no guarantee that all strong hypermetric off-verses contained parallelism, only that this one of a multitude of ways in which the strong hypermetric off-verse was employed. What we must conclude, however, is that the Common Germanic poetic tradition had both normal and hypermetric verse types, and these hypermetric line most likely had a strong off-verse. This strong off-verse, however, was less favorable to the West Germanic scops who preferred employing a weak variety of off-verse to balance the weight of the line. The skalds, on the other hand, found themselves in an alternate situation where the 'empty space' in the remaining portion of the verse was given additional structure with the inclusion of internal rhyme.[142]

5.3 The Methodological Concerns of Comparative Poetic Analysis

The six methodological concerns raised in Section 1.3.1 of Chapter One, though listed in no particular order in Chapter One, are not equal in terms of their importance. The principles most critical to the comparative study of verse are that one finds arbitrary comparanda and that one looks at metrical structures in terms of its role within the verse. Second in importance is that one look to marginal forms as well as the prototypical forms

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[142] The rhyme-less variant of the *dróttkvætt*, the *háttlausa* verse, might represent a remnant, again indicating the importance of given attention to marginal forms.

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of a verse and that one consider non-phonological issues when looking at change within a verse. The last two principles, that similar structures might not be related and that dissimilar structures can be related, will follow as a matter of course, but one must keep these in mind when looking for comparanda.

As pointed out by Anttila (1989:255) the power of the Comparative Method rests in the Saussurean notion of the arbitrariness of the sign. That arbitrariness is the key to successful and meaningful reconstructions means that we should seek to evaluate each point of comparison with respect to arbitrariness. Suggestions for criteria with which one can evaluate reconstructions, for example Matasovic's criterion that "[a] reconstructed formula is more probable, the longer it is" (Matasovic 1996:89), are problematic if there are no provisions for arbitrariness. Although Matasovic's fourth criterion, "[a] reconstructed formula is more probable, the more unexpected or informative its elements are"[143] (Matasovic 1996:89), approaches the sense of arbitrariness, it misses the mark. As we have shown in Chapter Two, a series of seemingly arbitrary structural characteristics cannot be used for reconstruction if it can be shown that these figures are not arbitrary.

This leads to our second principle, that one view metrical structures in terms of what role they might serve within the line. Top among these has been the notion of the demarcative signal. The cadence of Greek, Vedic, Celtic, Slavic, and skaldic verse have a common origin, though not necessarily a historically or genetically common one.

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[143] This criterion would cause us to reject semantically pleonastic formulas such as "green grass" since there is nothing unusual about green grass, though a pair of formulas describing grass in an unusual or atypical way would tend more to indicate a common source (Matasovic 1996:74).

Rather they share a typological feature; they are cadenced verses. The explanation of these cadences is to be found in the way it serves to delineate verse. The Greek and Vedic cadences are judged in terms of a long syllable followed by either a long or short syllable, the Celtic cadence is one of a stressed and unstressed syllables, the skaldic one a combination of syllabic weight and stress. Despite the variation in the way in which the demarcative signal takes form, they all serve the same purpose, and their location and form within the verse is a function of this purpose and the nature of verse in general. One way of demonstrating the non-arbitrary nature of verse structures has been, in Chapter Two, to look at them in terms of their role as markers and maintainers of metrical unity.

Another way in which one must view the usage of verses, as we have seen in the heavy hypermetric verses of Chapter Three, is in their poetic context. Despite the inability of formal means to adjudge whether or not these verses represent valid metrical structures in the Old English and Old Saxon alliterative traditions, the non-arbitrary employment of a good portion of these verses in the *Heliand* and *Genesis Fragment* have shown that they were in all probability meant to be deviations from the expected norm, so as to attract attention to significant passages and speeches. Although we have chosen to discount any historical relationship between the Old English and Old Saxon heavy hypermetrics on the same basis, we have nonetheless made advances in the knowledge of sanctioned metrical structures and their employment in the two traditions.

Following these two major principles is a more methodological issue, namely that one observe marginal forms in addition to the more prototypical forms. Without this principle, Chapter Three would have naturally been impossible. The need to account for

metrical marginalia is important for reasons other than justifying one chapter in this dissertation, indeed, rare and marginal form, whether linguistic or poetic, are a critical focal point in any model. Accounting for regularities is a relatively easy process; however, the real challenge in explanation is the ability of a model to account not only for regular forms, but also the ability to separate formally unsatisfactory forms from satisfactory ones, regular and irregular, e.g. the need for models of Old English alliterative verse to account for unstressed as well as stressed syllables (Cable 1974:8-12).

In Chapter Four we saw how there was good reason to give priority to the verses of Bragi Boddason and Þjóðolfr ór Hvíni over that of, say, Sigvatr, despite their atypicality with respect to the majority of *dróttkvætt* verses. At one point, the differences in the placement of internal rhymes between the ninth and eleventh century were telling in that rhyme had not been as fixed a feature of *dróttkvætt* as we might have understood from reading Snorri. Yet, at another point, it was clear that overgeneralizations such as those made by Árnason regarding Type-B and Type-C constructions in the even-lines obscured the empirical fact that such constructions do occur, and that they could have been less preferred for reasons other than what we might have imagined. Just as Campanile refuted Meillet's claims regarding the nature of the cadence of Vedic meter by demonstrating that not all verses behaved in that manner, so too should we avoid making such statements, lest in our haste vital information fall through the cracks. Furthermore, when we combine our attention to marginal forms with an eye towards usage as a key to understanding formal aspects of verse, we arrive at solutions, such as those presented in

Chapter Three, that benefit not only linguistics, the linguistic study of verse, and the study of Germanic alliterative meter, but it also benefits literary analyses of these works. One the one hand, we are able to preserve texts closer to the way they find themselves in the manuscripts, since we do not need to emend these passages on account of their deviance, as some have done. On the other hand, we gain a glimpse into the workings of the poet as an artist not entirely bound by faithfulness to a tradition, as far as we can tell, and that innovations can be accommodated.

In Chapter Three and Chapter Four we encountered places where we could posit change within the metrical system, yet not in a way that is driven or motivated by reference to phonological changes within the respective languages. A prime example of this is the heavy hypermetric verse, where we can view it as the product of a proportional analogy N : H :: H : X, [144] where X is solved with a heavy hypermetric verse. Likewise our accounting for the similarities evident between the skaldic *dróttkvætt* and eddic *fornyrðislag* rests on the possibility that the first four positions of the *dróttkvætt* underwent an analogy with the *fornyrðislag* rather than having developed from it. Furthermore, there is no easy way to account for the introduction of internal rhyme into *dróttkvætt* without some concept of the aesthetic purpose, e.g. Mukarovský's notions of foregrounding and automatization, of these rhymes as ornamentation and their relation to alliteration. Furthermore there are no relevant prosodic or phonological changes that could be offered to account for the introduction of rhyme, and for its evolution within the historical period.

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[144] Where N stands for a normal verse and H for a hypermetric verse.

The two final principles, that similarities may not indicate relatedness, and conversely that dissimilar structures may very well be related serve as an indication that determining relatedness among metrical structures is just as problematic as it is for linguistics. However, without the regularity of sound-change to support it, comparative metrical analysis has a tougher time in engaging in identical endeavors. Fortunately the various Germanic alliterative traditions are of such a nature that we may assume *a priori* that they are the reflexes of an erstwhile Common Germanic alliterative poetic tradition. Furthermore, the differences evident among the individual branches provide sufficient divergence to make it reasonably possible for metrists to approach the problem of developing a more refined methodology. One fallacy one must be aware of is that ideally one should not rely on claiming relatedness between metrical structures by referencing similarity in structure and relatedness of languages. Ideally a Comparative Method for verse would be able to account for related metrical structures regardless of the language in which they find themselves, i.e. it would be equally adept at working at comparative Germanic meter as it would be in accounting for the relationship that might exist between two non-related languages which share similar poetic structures, either through borrowing or because of typological similarities.

These typological similarities, as we have seen in Chapter Two, are not entirely well-defined. Although we might engage in establishing typologies of verse as to whether they are metrical or rhythmic, weight-based or stress-based or a mix of the two, whether they occur stichically or stanzaically, etc., we might lose out on the possibility that groups of features commonly found with one another might be a function of the

metrical purpose they serve, as we saw with the demarcative signal, caesura, and juncture.

5.4 Remaining Questions and Problems

As done in Chapter One, we will distinguish between those issues that are related to the wider-scope of linguistics and literature on the one hand, and those issues that are are relevant only to the study of Germanic alliterative verse. Among the issues relevant to the relationship between linguistics and literature are the problems associated with the application of linguistic theories to literary data without the checks and guards of the regularity of phonological change enjoyed by the comparative study of language. How we go about developing and honing comparative studies of poetry or text may not be a matter of developing a proper methodology and applying it to the data, but rather a matter of observing adequate data and establishing the limits of any comparative study. Furthermore, we would ideally like to engage in a linguistic study of literature which could aid the study of literature as well as linguistics. To this end I suggest a means by which an established mode of reading poetry could be modified to make use of the some of the findings of the comparative metrical analyses presented here.

5.4.1 Linguistic Analysis of Literary Data

In developing a methodology and understanding of change in poetic form across time, it might be best to proceed in a more empirical, almost positivistic fashion. Rather than establishing a methodology with which one attempts reconstructions of poetic texts and then applying it, as Matasovic argues (Matasovic 1996:88-89), we should perhaps build from the bottom up, rather than from the top down. The problems associated with

attempting the reconstruction of Indo-European poetry or poetic texts are arithmetically greater than those faced in attempting the same in a daughter language family, such as Germanic. The first step toward generating a methodology might be found in making the small, careful steps at the bottom of the tree and moving thence upward as far as the data allow. If we are unable to succeed in reconstructing Proto-Germanic poetry, in either form or content, we have less hope in connecting formal elements of early Germanic literature with other branches of the Indo-European family. By making small, careful steps we can identify problems and limitations in the comparative analysis of poetry while simultaneously building up a sense of what does work and why. After we have a sufficient knowledge of what does work and what is best left alone, we might hope then to establish a proper methodology for comparative poetics. Until that is done, however, we might best maintain a strict adherence to the Comparative Method.

5.4.2 Universals and "Interplay"

In order to make proper use of the Comparative Method we have been forced to separate the arbitrary from the non-arbitrary, the demonstrably inherited features of a verse from those which are the result of other factors. The existence of such pressures on the structure of verse would have practical applications in the refinement of poetic-interpretive models such as that of the New Critics Wimsatt and Beardsley, whose 1959 article on meter and interpretation places the structure of meter on par with that of language, by arguing for a metrical grammar (Wimsatt and Beardsley 1959:588). The critical point Wimsatt and Beardsley make is for a certain amount of objectivity in the

reading of a poem (Wimsatt and Beardsley 1959:587-88).[145] This objectivity is to be

gained through viewing the points of "tension" within the poem, i.e. the disparity

"between the full spoken poem and some kind of metrical pattern."[146] An eye towards

objectivity make this approach to a text quite compatible with linguistic methods of

analysis,[147] yet at the same time still retains the openness one might wish to have in order

to engage in a proper interpretation of a poem.

The advance to be made on Wimsatt and Beardsley's 'interplay,' is to turn the

two-dimensional model, i.e. that of the metrical grammar and poetic instantiation, a sort

of poetic *langue* and *parole*, into a three dimensional one in which the poet interacts not

only with the form of the verse, but also with more quasi-universal pressures. By doing

so we might be able to increase our understanding of change in verse over time. The

identification of quasi-universals, such as the demarcative signal, could provide insight

and explanation into the direction verse change takes. We encountered an instance of

this, in a general sense, with the fossilization of internal rhyme distribution in the

dróttkvætt, where the stabilization of the iternal rhymes fell into gaps in the available

poetic space. There are, however, two points of view to this process. One is of wider

scope, which we have already discussed, but the other is of narrow scope, where we

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[145] It should be noted, though, that Wimsatt and Beardsley, as well as other New Critical approaches to literature, make assumptions regarding the status of a text which are not without their own problems (Cable 1991:135).

[146] Allen (1973) characterizes the demarcative signal as a means of maintaining tension within a line of verse. The fixed end of a verse combined with a freer initial provides both variability and structure (Allen 1973:110).

[147] Bloom, who arguably takes a diachronic approach to poetry in viewing the way in which poets make use of previous texts, would not be an ideal candidate to hitch to linguistic approaches, given his interest in 'strong poems' and their relation to canonicity (Bloom 1974:6-7), a concept foreign to and incompatible with linguistics.

could observe the change from the freer use of rhyme seen in Bragi's poetry as compared to the later skaldic verse. Given that the later *dróttkvætt* verses accommodate rhyme schemes with greater tension, since the later verse forms contain more constraints, we have to view the usage of rhymes in later skaldic verse differently than we do Bragi's, since Bragi's employment *skothending* in the even lines, without *aðalhending*, is unable to add the tension possible in later verse. Engaging in a reading of a ninth or an eleventh century *dróttkvætt* must be different due to the differing poetic context. Given the greater number of constraints placed on the scheme of internal rhymes, the same construction would represent two different types of interplay within the two different contexts. The relationship of the earlier to the later metrical grammars, i.e. a *dróttkvætt* in which one is permitted to employ *skothending* in an even-line without accompanying *aðalhending*, and one in which such constructions are prohibited, can be seen in which more opportunities for interplay are added. Furthermore, the change from one to the other follows a path marked out by the available 'space' within the verse for sound-patterning devices, on the one hand, and aesthetic concerns on the other, i.e. *skothending* in the even-line is 'too easy' because of the fewer demands placed on it by the lack of alliteration within the even-line.

Likewise with any other deviation or innovation in poetry, we need not only measure it against the existing pattern, but also against other, less obvious pressures. What we should expect to find, moreover, is that change in poetic form would follow these pressures, though the reduction of pressure in one aspect of a verse's structure might lead to increased pressure in other respects. In either case, we have a system by

which we can make hypotheses about the typology of meter and its application by poets,

hypotheses which can, in turn, be confirmed or replaced by better hypotheses. Rather

than an interaction between the meter and the tensions brought about by the poetic

composition, we must consider a triangle of interplays where the grammar of the meter

must contend with the possibilities available to it as a meter.[148] The poet, in turn, must

contend with the use of language in this metrical form. In those instances where there is

tension or interplay in the composition, it may be one of two types, an interplay with the

metrical grammar itself, but in line with the notion of "quasi-universals," or an instance

of interplay where the tension goes against the metrical grammar and the universal

tendencies of what would be expected. A prime example of this is found in the verse

composed by Rögnvaldr jarl which opens, lv. 1.1-2:

> *Tafl emk örr at efla,*
> *íþróttir kank níu.*

> "I am skilled at playing games,
> I know how to perform nine skills."

As mentioned in Chapter Four, the cadence of the *dróttkvætt* must have a stressed long

syllable, where length is defined by three or more morae, followed by an unstressed

syllable. In the verse above, *níu*, does not conform to this patterning. This is an instance

of interplay where the metrical rules are not adhered to. Furthermore, the resulting

deviation from the metrical scheme does not aid the cadence as a cadence,[149] and as such

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[148] For example, a verse comprised solely of stressed syllables has limited applicability if there is no chance to introduce an alternation of stressed and unstressed.

[149] This, of course, is not Rögnvaldr jarl's intention, rather the deviation from the typical cadence is required since this verse is a play on the apparently well-known verse composed by Haraldr harðráði the first line of which is *íþróttir kank átta*, "I know how to perform eight skills." This is an example of an

Rögnvaldr jarl would not stand a good chance of influencing the shape of the cadence future *dróttkvætt*. The reverse might not be the case if the cadence required only two morae. A deviation from a typically bimoraic stressed syllable to a trimoraic stressed syllable would stand a greater chance of altering the shape of the cadence. For the *dróttkvætt*, at least, the increasing number of constraints added to the metrical form represents an increase in the potential for interplay. On the one hand, the grammar of a poem's meter can be defined within the confines of the single poem itself. On the other hand, however, it is unwarranted to assume that two seemingly identical metrical forms have the same potential for interplay. By not looking into the historical context of the metrical grammar, and by not looking into functional aspects of the form, a number of relevant aspects of the poem could get lost.

5.4.3 Issues for Further Research in Germanic Alliterative Verse

There remains still a great deal to investigate within the various corpora of early Germanic alliterative verse. In this section we will begin with a review of some of the unanswered questions left by this study in regard to the *dróttkvætt* and the West Germanic hypermetric, first of the questions remaining that concern the usage of these forms with respect to shorter verse forms, and secondly the importance of considering the *dróttkvætt* not as a syllable-counting meter, but as a verse with positions and strict restrictions on the filling of those positions. There remain also questions regarding the source of the analogy invoked in in Chapter Four to account for the structural similarities

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inter-poem, to use Bloom's terminology (Bloom 1974:3), in this case a possible parody, where the context of the latter is not fully interpretable without knowledge of the former.

between *dróttkvætt* and *fornyrðislag*. One possible means of investigating this question further is to examine the less-studied skaldic verse forms, such as *kviðuháttr* and *tøglag*.

5.4.3.1 The *Dróttkvætt* and Hypermetric Once Again

Although the greatest portion of Chapter Four concerned itself with the possibilities of formal relatedness between the skaldic *dróttkvætt* and the hypermetric verse of Old English and Old Saxon poetry, there is much left to be investigated. One of the questions we have avoided until now has dealt with the usage of these longer verse forms with respect to shorter ones. At first glance, there seems to be a great deal to speak for the stylistic similarities present in *dróttkvætt* and the West Germanic hypermetric, in that they both have tendencies to represent something which one might term 'elevated speech.' The notion of 'elevated speech' works fairly well for the Old English hypermetrics (Fulk 2001, Hieatt 1980, Timmer 1952, Bartlett 1935), and as we have seen in Chapter Three for Old Saxon hypermetrics as well. The *dróttkvætt* as a predominantly encomiastic verse-form, particularly in the form of the *drápa* or *flokkr* (Gade 1995:1-2, Kuhn 1983:217-18, Frank 1978:55-72) seems to agree well with this usage of the hypermetrics. However, to make such comparisons requires us to employ generalizations, which always runs the risk of over-generalization.

To determine the use toward which the *dróttkvætt*, and skaldic verse in general, has been employed is more difficult than one might imagine. Given that scholars of skaldic poetry cannot successfully define eddic from skaldic poetry based on genre or

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usage (Frank 1985:158-59),[150] it seems a rather daunting, if not impossible, task to undertake. This is further complicated by the diffenences evident between stichic and strophic poetry. Whereas the hypermetric gains its efficacy primarily from the difference from normal verses, which may immediately precede and follow hypermetrics, even splitting to the extent of mixing an on-verse of one type with an off-verse of the other, the stanzaic nature of skaldic poetry does not leave many chances for one metrical type to be mixed with another in the same manner.[151] The strophic arrangement of both skaldic and eddic poetry, in general, must too be adequately examined, whether a clear solution is to be found or not.

5.4.3.2 Positional Meters and the Constraints on Unstressed Syllables

The second main area in need of further research as far as the *dróttkvætt* and hypermetric are concerned, has to do with the notion of the *dróttkvætt* as a positional meter, not, as many have surmised, an isosyllabic meter. To treat eddic, Old English, and Old Saxon poetry as non-syllable-counting, on the one hand, and skaldic poetry as a syllable-counting meter, on the other, fails to appreciate the common elements shared by both sets. A better distinction is to be made in the treatment of the unstressed syllables, where the difference between the two sets is not a binary, yes/no relationship, but rather one of degree. Skaldic poetry has more restrictive limits on the dips than other early alliterative traditions.

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[150] Cf. also Kuhn on the usage of *lausavísur* (Kuhn 1983:215-16).

[151] There are instances of skaldic poetry with a multitude of metrical and stanzaic forms, e.g. Rögnvaldr jarl and Hallr Þórarinsson's *Háttalykill*, which is a catalogue of metrical types, as the title indicates (*háttalykill* = *clavis metri* 'a key to meter').

Although this dissertation has made use predominantly of Russom's Word-Foot model of alliterative verse, there are other models of Old English verse, particularly Cable (1991:10-13), where the normal verse is treated in terms of four positions,[152] each of which has restrictions on the filler it receives, not only for the stressed syllables but also for the unstressed syllables and those carrying non-primary stress. It is not the case that Old English verse does not count syllables, merely that Old English verse allows greater latitude in the number of unstressed syllables appearing in certain positions (Cable 1991:10).

Interesting for future studies of the hypermetric verse might be to consider the hypermetric verse in terms of positions. We should again recall Frank's characterization of the *dróttkvætt* as a "tightening and regularizing of the common Germanic long line" (Frank 1978:34), which might indicate that the notion of the six positions might have already been extant within the verse, and it was merely the constraints on the usage of unstressed syllables in weak positions as well as the constraints on the employment of resolution that led to the development of the *dróttkvætt*. The six positions of the *dróttkvætt* might be applicable to the analysis of the Saxon and Anglo-Saxon hypermetric verse, if the two are in fact historically related. Although it is an analogy already suggested by Bliss (1958), we might approach it again, yet without the same pitfalls and problems evident in Sievers' theory of the *Schwellvers* as overlapping verses, or Bliss' notion of expansion, which is somewhat unconstrained. Thus if we are to treat the normal Old English verse as a four-positioned verse with limitations on syllabic number

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[152] The D* type is a lone instance of a five-positioned verse (Cable 1991:146-150).

and weight, we might wish to consider viewing the hypermetric verse as a six-positioned verse.[153] This already has some support if we consider that a Type-A off-verse must be considered hypermetric if there are two or more syllables preceding the first alliterating lift. Russom points out that verses such as *Beowulf* 1163b *þær þa godan twegen* is "rare even in the first half-line, and never appears in the second half-line outside of hypermetrical clusters" (Russom 1987:62). There would have to be a minimum difference of two syllables if we were, in fact, dealing with the difference between a four-positioned verse and a six-positioned verse, where position one is filled with a stressed, non-alliterating particle:

    1 2 3 4   5 6
    | | | | | |
    þær þa godan twegen

Naturally, we must also prevent ourselves from making the same mistakes as the past. We cannot, for example, treat a hypermetric as a normal verse with an additional foot added to either the beginning or end. Rather we should be prepared to deal with a wide range of optional fillers for the positions, the determination of which will rest on the extant data provided by the Old English hypermetrical corpus.[154]

5.4.3.3 Minor Skaldic Verse Forms

Another area requiring additional research surrounds the source of the analogy invoked in Chapter Four to account for the restructuring of the first four positions of the

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[153] By extension, the heavy hypermetric discussed in Chapter Three would be an eight-positioned verse.
[154] The verse of the *Heliand* will of course differ from the Old English, since the *Heliand* requires three or more syllables prior to the *höfuðstafr* in order to categorize a verse as hypermetric (Russom 1998:155-56).

dróttkvætt. Gade has already considered what she calls a 'tetrasyllabic'[155] *fornyrðislag* as

the necessary predecessor for the *dróttkvætt* (though the change comes via the addition of

the cadence, an explanation we have already discounted in Chapter Four). The closest

example of a four-positioned *fornyrðislag*, suggests Gade, is to be found perhaps in the

poorly attested *balkarlag* cited by Snorri (Gade 1995:233-34).

There are, however, two additional skaldic verse forms, one of which Gade also

considers, though not as a predecessor for the *dróttkvætt*, namely the second-most

popular skaldic verse form, the *kviðuháttr*, first attested in Þjóðolfr ór Hvíni's *Ynglingatal*

(von See 1967:47). The *kviðuháttr*, however, differs significantly from the *fornyrðislag*

in that it has only three positions in the on-verse, containing either two lifts, e.g.

Ynglingatal 25.11 *Gymis ljóð* (von See 1967:47), or one lift, e.g. *Ynglingatal* 1.1 *varð*

framgengt (Gade 1995:234); the off-verse, however, has four positions as one might

expect. Although possibly attested as early as the 9th century in the Rök stone's runic

inscription, exactly how the fourth position of the on-verse may have come to be lost still

requires explanation. Whereas the Rök stone has odd-lines with four positions, some

which may be lost through syncope, other odd-lines can only be interpreted as having

four syllables (Gade 1995:235). Needless to say, the *kviðuháttr* still could profit from

detailed investigation.

An additional verse worth examination to shed some light on the abstraction of

metrical patterns from eddic *fornyrðislag* is the minor skaldic verse form known as

tøglag, found principally in poems related to the court of Knútr, Sigvatr's *Knútsdrápa*

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[155] Four-positioned would be more accurate, given that isosyllabism is not present in skaldic meter.

and Þórarinn loftunga's *Tøgdrápa*, which has caused von See to suggest that perhaps that

tøglag might have originated in the English court of the Danish king (von See 1967:49), a

possibility which may or may not be supportable by the evidence. Furthermore, a quick

examination of half a stanza of the *Tøgdrápa* reveals the employment of *skothending* and

aðalhending, both features shared by the *dróttkvætt* (marked here with bold-face),

Tøgdrápa 1.1-4:

> *Gjöld hefk marka*
> *malmd**yn**s fyr hl**yn***
> *fr**amm** f**imm** tøgu*
> *f**or**vist b**or**it;*

> "Fifty marks of recompense
> have I carried forth
> for the maple-trees
> of the clash of metal."[156]

It would be hard to say where this verse form has its origin, though it is certain to say that

it shares many features with the *dróttkvætt* and is only attested relatively late (von See

1967:48-49).

What remains important about these minor skaldic verse forms is that they

demonstrate that at some point prior to the introduction of writing, skalds perceived the

traditional verse form of the *fornyrðislag* as possessing four metrical positions, and

proceeded to limit more strictly the number of *föll*, or dips.[157] The relationship between

the two sets of poetic style, i.e. the eddic and the skaldic, are perhaps best exemplified by

the famous scene from *Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar* where the doomed King Haraldr

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[156] The 'maple-tree of the clash of metal' is a kenning for 'warrior.'
[157] See Gade (1991).

harðráði composes an eddic-style verse,[158] which he then rejects in favor of a *dróttkvætt*

with the words "*Þetta er illa kveðit, ok mun verða at gera aðra vísu betri*"[159]

(Aðalbjarnarson 1951:187-88). Significant here is that the two styles of poetry coexisted,

each quite formally distinct from the other, yet no major linguistic change is available to

account for this poetic diglossia. Rather, the disparities point to cultural, aesthetic, and

traditional differences within the poetic community of Iceland in the thirteenth century

(Frank 1978:28).

5.5 Summary

The fact that we are engaging in a comparative reconstruction of the material

found relatively soon after the introduction of literacy in Northern Europe provides us

with a sense of the oral tradition with a minimum of bias from literate culture, if that

should be a concern at all (Haymes 1986:30-33). It might have been noted that I have

refrained from mentioning any sort of chronology for any suggested reconstruction, as

well as from any usage of the prefix 'proto-,' favoring, rather, the term 'common.' Since

we cannot discount the possibility of interaction between traditions after they might have

split from a common source, issues such as dating should best wait for better data. It is

important to repeat as well that even if we have made some advance in the understanding

of the formal elements of early Germanic alliterative poetry, by no means have we

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[158] Though not uninfluenced by skaldic sensibilities, as exemplified in the use of end-rhyme in lines three and four: *Hjalmar skína. Hefkat ek mína*. "Helmets shine. I do not have my [byrnie]." Although one might seek to argue that the first verse is skaldic, rather than eddic in style, the verse *Hefkat ek mína* cannot be scanned according to the typical rules for neutralization found in *dróttkvætt*, since the enclitic pronoun and negator *–kat* is syntactically bound to the verb. As such this verse would have scan as having five positions, if we were to obey the rules of skaldic verse. These problems, however, do not exist for an eddic scansion.

[159] Trans. "That is poorly composed, and it would be fitting to compose another, better verse."

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reconstructed the entirety of the oral tradition. We know, for example, from remnants that the Anglo-Saxon poetic tradition possessed analogues to the Old Norse *ljóðaháttr* and *galdralag* verse-types, yet too little remains to tell exactly how a common predecessor might have appeared. This should provide a solid warning against going too far too fast with reconstructions spanning greater lengths of time. Despite our best efforts, it is apparent that much has been irrecoverably lost.

A strict adherence to the Comparative Method requires non-arbitrary features as points of comparison. Should it happen, though, that any two comparanda be shown to possess similarities due to the result of factors other than common origin, preference should be given to the alternate explanation. Whether two metrical structures withstand the rigor of the Comparative Method or not, we can still reap benefits from the comparison. In those instances where the Comparative Method succeeds, we will gain precious insight into the form of ephemeral poetry lost for centuries and thought beyond our reach. Should we find alternate explanations for similarities, we will obtain a sense of universals of poetic form which will add a new dimension to our approach to understanding and reading poetry. In either case, win or lose, we make advances. Bringing linguistic methods to bear against literary problems can be a fruitful excercise, provided that the methods are treated appropriately and critically, especially in those instances where such analyses profit our study of literature as well. Likewise, linguistics can stand to benefit from viewing literature as well, in exposing the limitations of linguistic methods, and requiring at every turn a close familiarity with the textual, cultural and historical settings of the literature it hopes to contend with.

Location	*skothending-*Odd	*skothending-*Even	*aðalhending-*Odd	*aðalhending-*Even
Bragi, *Ragnarsdrápa*	3:7, 4:1(x3), 5:1, 5:3(x3), 5:5, 5:7, 6:1, 6:3, 6:5, 6:7, 7:1, 8:3, 8:7, 9:1, 9:3, 9:5(x3), 10:5, 10:7, 11:3, 11:5, 14:3, 16:1, 16:3, 17:1, 17:3, 18:1, 18:3	1:4, 2:2, 3:2, 4:2, 4:8, 5:2, 5:8, 6:2, 6:8(x3), 8:2, 8:4*, 8:6(x3), 8:8*, 9:2, 9:8, 11:2, 11:4, 11:6, 13:2(x3), 13:6, 14:2, 17:2, 19:2, 19:4(x3), 20:2	4:3, 11:7	1:2, 2:4, 3:4, 3:8, 4:4, 4:6, 5:4, 5:6, 6:4, 7:2, 7:4, 8:4*, 8:8*, 9:4, 9:8, 10:2, 10:6, 10:8, 11:8, 12:2, 12:4, 13:4, 13:8, 14:4, 15:2, 15:4, 16:2, 16:4, 17:4, 18:2, 18:4, 20:4
Bragi II	1:3, 4:1, 4:3	1:4, 3:2, 3:4		1:2, 2:2, 4:2, 4:4
Haraldr Hárfagri LV	1:1, 1:3	1:2		
Auðun illskælda LV	1:1, 1:3, 2:1, 2:3*, 2:7	2:4	2:3*, 2:5	1:2, 1:4, 2:2, 2:6, 2:8
Þjóðólfr ór Hvíni *Haustlöng*	1:7, 2:1, 2:3, 2:7, 3:3, 3:7, 4:1*, 4:3, 4:7, 5:5, 5:7, 6:3, 6:5, 6:7, 7:1, 7:3, 7:7, 8:3, 8:7, 9:1, 9:5, 9:7, 10:1, 10:5, 11:7, 12:3, 12:5, 12:7, 13:5, 14:3, 14:5, 15:1, 16:1, 16:3, 16:5, 16:7,	14:2*, 19:8*, 20:4*	1:1, 4:1*, 4:5, 5:1, 6:1, 9:3, 10:7, 11:1, 11:5, 13:1, 13:3, 14:7, 15:3, 15:5, 15:7, 17:5	1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8, 2:1, 2:4, 2:6, 2:8, 3:2, 3:4, 3:6, 3:8, 4:2, 4:4, 4:6, 4:8, 5:2, 5:4, 5:6, 5:8, 6:2, 6:4, 6:6, 6:8, 7:2, 7:4, 7:6, 7:8, 8:2, 8:4, 8:6, 8:8(x3), 9:2, 9:4, 9:6, 9:8, 10:2, 10:4, 10:6, 10:8,

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[160] Note, an * next to an entry indicates that this verse contains both *skot-* and *aðalhending*. A (x3) next to an entry indicates that there is three-fold rhyme within the verse. LV indicates *lausavísur.*

	17:1, 17:3, 17:7, 18:1, 18:3, 19:1, 19:3, 19:5, 19:7, 20:1, 20:3, 20:5			11:2, 11:4, 11:6, 11:8, 12:2, 12:4, 12:6, 12:8, 13:2, 13:4, 13:6, 13:8, 14:2*, 14:4, 14:6, 14:8, 15:2, 15:4, 15:6, 15:8, 16:2, 16:4, 16:6, 16:8, 17:2, 17:4, 17:6, 17:8, 18:2, 18:4, 18:6, 18:8, 19:2, 19:4, 19:6, 19:8*, 20:2, 20:4*, 20:6, 20:8
LV	1:3, 2:3, 2:5	1:2, 2:8	1:1	1:4, 2:2, 2:6
Þórbjörn hornklofi *Glymdrápa*	1:1, 1:3, 1:5, 1:7, 2:3, 2:5, 2:7, 3:1, 3:3, 4:1, 4:3, 4:5, 4:7, 5:1, 5:3, 5:5(x3), 5:7, 6:1, 6:3, 6:5, 6:7, 7:1, 7:3, 7:5, 7:7, 8:1, 8:3, 8:5, 8:7, 9:1, 9:3		2:1	1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8, 2:2, 2:4, 2:6, 2:8, 3:2, 3:4, 4:2, 4:4, 4:6, 4:8, 5:2, 5:4, 5:6, 5:8, 6:2, 6:4, 6:6, 6:8, 7:2, 7:4, 7:6, 7:8, 8:2, 8:4, 8:6, 8:8, 9:2, 9:4
Þórbjörn LV	1:1, 1:3, 1:5			1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8
Kveldúlfr LV	1:3, 1:5, 1:7			1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8
Hildr Hrólfsdóttir nefja LV	1:3, 1:5	1:8	1:1	1:2, 1:4, 1:6
Torf Einarr LV	1:7, 2:3, 2:5, 4:1, 4:7, 5:1, 5:7	1:2, 1:6, 1:8, 2:8, 3:2, 3:4, 3:6*, 3:8, 4:2,		3:4, 3:6*

		4:4, 4:8, 5:6, 5:8		
Þórsteinn tjaldstœðingr LV	1:7	1:2, 1:6, 1:8		
Egill Skallagrímsson Aðalsteinsdrápa	1:1, 1:3, 1:5*, 1:7, 2:1		1:5*	1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8, 2:2
Skjaldardrápa	1:5			1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8
Berudrápa	1:1, 1:3(x3), 1:5, 1:7	1:4*		1:2, 1:4*, 1:6, 1:8
LV	2:1, 2:3, 2:5, 2:7, 4:3, 4:5, 4:7, 5:1, 5:2, 5:5, 5:7, 6:1, 6:3, 6:5, 8:1, 8:5, 8:7, 9:1, 9:3, 9:5, 9:7, 10:5, 10:7, 11:1, 11:5, 11:7, 12:3, 12:5, 12:7, 13:3*, 13:7, 14:1, 14:3, 14:5, 14:7, 15:1, 15:3, 15:4, 16:3, 16:7, 17:1, 17:3, 17:5, 17:7, 18:1, 18:3, 18:5, 18:7, 19:1, 19:3, 19:7, 20:1(x3), 20:3, 20:5, 20:7, 21:1, 21:3, 21:5, 21:7, 22:1, 22:3*, 22:5, 22:7, 23:1, 23:3, 23:5, 23:7,	1:6*, 13:2*, 20:6, 24:4*, 36:6*, 38:8, 39:6, 40:4	4:1, 8:3, 10:1, 10:3, 11:3, 12:1, 13:1, 13:3*, 13:5, 16:1, 16:5, 22:3*, 28:3, 36:1, 37:1, 39:3, 41:1, 41:7*, 45:3, 45:7	1:6*, 1:8, 2:2, 2:4, 2:6, 2:8, 3:6, 4:2, 4:4, 4:6, 4:8, 5:2, 5:4, 5:6, 5:8, 6:2, 6:4, 7:6, 8:2, 8:4, 8:6, 8:8, 9:2, 9:4, 9:6, 9:8, 10:2, 10:4, 10:6, 10:8, 10:4, 10:6, 10:8, 11:2, 11:4, 11:6, 11:8, 12:2, 12:4, 12:6, 12:8, 13:2*, 13:4, 13:6, 13:8, 14:2, 14:4, 14:6, 14:8, 15:2, 15:4, 16:2, 16:4, 16:6, 16:8, 17:2, 17:4, 17:6, 17:8, 18:2, 18:4, 18:6, 18:8, 19:2, 19:4, 19:6, 19:8, 20:2, 20:4,

	24:3, 24:5, 24:7, 26:1, 26:3, 26:5, 26:7, 27:7, 28:1, 28:5, 28:7, 29:1, 29:3, 29:5, 30:3, 30:5, 30:7, 31:1, 31:3, 31:5, 31:7, 32:1, 32:3, 32:5, 32:7, 33:3, 33:5, 33:7, 34:1, 34:3, 34:5, 34:7, 35:1, 35:3, 35:5, 35:7, 36:3, 36:5, 36:7, 37:3, 37:5, 37:7, 38:5, 39:1, 40:5, 41:7*, 42:5, 42:7, 43:1, 43:5, 44:1, 44:3, 45:1, 45:5, 47:1			20:6, 20:8, 21:2, 21:4, 21:6, 21:8, 22:2, 22:4, 22:6, 22:8, 23:2, 23:4, 23:6*, 23:8, 24:2, 24:4*, 24:6, 24:8, 26:2, 26:4, 26:6, 26:8, 27:2, 27:4, 27:6, 27:8, 28:2, 28:4, 28:6, 28:8, 29:2, 29:4, 29:6, 29:8, 30:2, 30:4, 30:6, 30:8, 31:2, 31:4, 31:6, 31:8, 32:2, 32:4, 32:6, 32:8, 33:2, 33:4, 33:6, 33:8, 34:2, 34:4, 34:6, 34:8, 35:2, 35:4(x3), 35:6, 35:8, 36:2, 36:4, 36:6*, 36:8, 37:2, 37:4, 37:6, 37:8, 39:2, 39:4, 39:8, 40:6, 40:8, 41:2, 41:4, 41:6, 41:8, 42:2, 42:4, 42:6, 42:8, 43:2, 43:4, 43:6, 43:8, 44:2, 44:4, 45:2,

				45:4, 45:6, 45:8, 47:2

Appendix B
Hending Distribution in the 11th-Century *Dróttkvætt*[161]

Location	*skothending-*Odd	*skothending-*Even	*aðalhending-*Odd	*aðalhending-*Even
Hávarðr halti ísfirðingr LV	1:1, 1:3, 1:5, 1:7, 2:3, 2:5, 2:7, 3:3, 3:5, 3:7, 4:1, 4:3, 4:5, 5:1, 5:3, 5:5, 5:7, 6:1, 6:3, 6:5, 7:1, 7:3, 7:5, 7:7(x2), 8:1, 8:3, 8:7, 9:1, 9:3(x3), 9:7, 10:1, 10:3, 10:5, 10:7, 11:1, 11:3, 11:7(x4), 12:5, 12:7, 13:3, 13:5, 13:7, 14:1, 14:3	1:6*, 7:8*, 8:8*, 10:4*, 10:6*	2:1, 3:1, 4:7, 6:7, 8:5, 11:5, 12:1, 12:3, 13:1	1:2, 1:4, 1:6*, 1:8, 2:2, 2:4, 2:6, 2:8, 3:2, 3:4, 3:6, 3:8, 4:2, 4:4, 4:6, 4:8, 5:2, 5:4, 5:6, 5:8, 6:2, 6:4, 6:6, 6:8, 7:2, 7:4, 7:6, 7:8*, 8:2, 8:4, 8:6, 8:8*, 9:2, 9:4, 9:6, 9:8, 10:2, 10:4*, 10:6*, 10:8, 11:2, 11:4, 11:6, 11:8, 12:2, 12:4, 12:6, 12:8, 13:2, 13:4, 13:6, 13:8, 14:2, 14:4
Þórhallr veiðimaðr LV	1:1, 1:5, 2:1, 2:3, 2:7	1:8*	1:7, 2:5	1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8*, 2:2, 2:4, 2:6, 2:8
Helgi Ásbjarnarson LV	1:1, 1:3, 1:5	1:6*	1:7	1:2, 1:4, 1:6*, 1:8
Grímr Droplaugarson LV	1:1, 1:3, 1:5, 1:7, 2:1, 2:3, 2:5, 2:7, 3:1, 3:5, 3:7, 4:3, 4:5, 4:7, 5:1,		3:3	1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8, 2:2, 2:4, 2:6, 2:8, 3:2, 3:4, 3:6, 3:8, 4:2, 4:4, 4:6,

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[161] Note, an * next to an entry indicates that this verse contains both *skot-* and *aðalhending*. A (x3) next to an entry indicates that there is three-fold rhyme within the verse, i.e. *skot-* and *aðalhending* in one verse. A (x2) indicates two pairs of rhyme of the same type within one verse. A (x4) indicates a four-fold rhyme. LV indicates *lausavísur*.

	5:3, 5:5, 5:7			4:8, 5:2, 5:4, 5:6, 5:8
Gunnlaugr ormstunga Illugason Aðalsteinsdrápa	1:1, 1:3			1:2, 1:4
LV	1:1, 1:5, 1:7, 3:1, 3:3, 3:5*, 3:7, 4:3, 4:5, 4:7, 5:1, 5:5, 5:7, 6:1, 6:3, 6:5, 6:7, 7:1, 7:3, 7:5, 7:7, 8:1, 8:3, 8:7, 9:1, 9:3, 9:5, 9:7, 10:1, 10:3(x3), 10:5, 10:7, 11:3, 11:5, 11:7, 12:1, 12:3, 12:7, 13:1, 13:3, 13:5, 13:7	4:2*	3:5*, 8:5	1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8, 3:2(x3), 3:4, 3:6, 3:8, 4:2*, 4:4, 4:6, 4:8, 5:2, 5:4, 5:6, 5:8, 6:2, 6:4, 6:6, 6:8, 7:2, 7:4, 7:6, 7:8, 8:2, 8:4, 8:6, 8:8, 9:2, 9:4, 9:6, 9:8, 10:2, 10:4, 10:6, 10:8, 11:2, 11:4, 11:6, 11:8, 12:2, 12:4, 12:6, 12:8, 13:2, 13:4, 13:6, 13:8
Hrafn Önundarson LV	1:1, 1:3, 1:5, 1:7, 2:3, 2:5, 2:7, 3:3, 3:7		3:1	1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8, 2:2, 2:4, 2:6, 2:8, 3:2, 3:4, 3:6, 3:8
Gestr Þórhallason LV	1:3, 1:5, 1:7, 2:1, 2:3		1:1	1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8, 2:2, 2:4
Eyjólfr dáðaskald *Bandadrápa*	1:1, 1:3, 1:5, 1:7, 2:1, 2:3, 2:5, 2:7, 3:1, 3:3, 3:5, 3:7, 4:1, 4:3, 4:5, 4:7, 5:1, 5:3, 5:5, 5:7, 6:1, 6:3(x3), 6:5, 6:7, 7:3, 7:5, 7:7, 8:1, 8:3, 8:5, 8:7		9:1, 9:3, 9:5	1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8, 2:2, 2:4, 2:6, 2:8, 3:2, 3:4, 3:6, 3:8, 4:2, 4:4, 4:6, 4:8, 5:2, 5:4, 5:6, 5:8, 6:2, 6:4, 6:6, 6:8, 7:2, 7:4, 7:6, 7:8, 8:2, 8:4, 8:6, 8:8, 9:2,

				9:4
Haldórr ókristni *Eiríksflokkr*	1:1, 2:1, 2:3, 2:5, 3:1, 3:5, 3:7, 4:3, 4:5, 5:1, 5:5, 5:7, 6:1, 6:3, 6:5, 6:7, 7:1, 7:3(x3),7:5, 7:7, 8:1, 8:3, 8:7		1:3, 1:5, 1:7, 2:7, 4:1, 4:7, 5:3, 8:5	1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8, 2:2, 2:4, 2:6, 2:8, 3:2, 3:4, 3:6, 3:8, 4:2, 4:4, 4:6, 4:8, 5:2, 5:4, 5:6, 5:8, 6:2, 6:4, 6:6, 6:8, 7:2, 7:4, 7:6, 7:8, 8:2, 8:4, 8:6, 8:8
Þórkell í Hraundal LV	1:1, 1:3, 1:7			1:2, 1:4, 1:8
Þuríðr Óláfsdóttir pá	1:3, 1:5, 1:7 (x3)	1:8*		1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8*
Gísli Þórgautsson LV	1:3, 1:5, 1:7		1:1	1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8
Þórbjörn Brúnason LV	1:5, 1:7, 2:1, 2:3, 2:7, 3:1, 3:3, 3:5, 3:7, 4:3, 4:5, 4:7		1:1, 1:3, 4:1	1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8, 2:2, 2:4, 2:6, 2:8, 3:2, 3:4, 3:6, 3:8, 4:2, 4:4, 4:6, 4:8
Eiríkr viðsjá LV	1:1, 1:3, 1:7, 2:1, 2:3, 2:5*, 2:7, 3:1, 3:3, 3:7, 4:1, 4:3, 4:5, 5:1, 5:3, 5:5, 5:7*, 6:1, 6:3, 6:5, 6:7, 7:1, 7:3, 7:5, 7:7	1:6*	2:5*, 5:7*	1:2, 1:4, 1:6*, 1:8, 2:2, 2:4, 2:6, 2:8, 3:2, 3:4, 3:6, 3:8, 4:2, 4:4, 4:6, 4:8, 5:2, 5:4, 5:6, 5:8, 6:2, 6:4, 6:6, 6:8, 7:2, 7:4, 7:6, 7:8
Snæbjörn LV	1:1, 1:3, 1:5, 1:7, 2:1, 2:3			1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8, 2:2, 2:4
Þórðr Kolbeinsson Belgskakadrápa	1:1, 1:3, 2:1, 2:3, 2:5, 2:7, 3:1, 3:3, 3:5, 3:7			1:2, 1:4, 2:2, 2:4, 2:6, 2:8, 3:2, 3:4, 3:6, 3:8

Gunnlaugsdrápa	1:1, 1:5, 1:7			1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8
Eiríksdrápa	1:1, 1:3, 1:5, 1:7, 2:1, 2:3, 2:5, 2:7, 3:1, 3:3, 3:5, 3:7, 4:1, 4:3, 4:5(x3), 5:1, 5:5, 6:1, 6:3, 6:5, 6:7, 7:3, 7:5, 7:7, 8:1, 8:3, 8:7, 9:1, 9:3, 9:5, 9:7, 10:1, 10:3, 10:5, 10:7, 11:1, 11:3, 11:5, 11:7, 12:1, 12:3, 12:5, 12:7, 13:3, 13:7, 14:1, 14:3		4:7, 5:7, 7:1, 8:5, 13:1	1:2, 1:4, 1:6, 1:8, 2:2, 2:4, 2:6, 2:8, 3:2, 3:4, 3:6, 3:8, 4:2, 4:4, 4:6, 4:8, 5:2, 5:6, 5:8, 6:2, 6:4, 6:6, 6:8, 7:2, 7:4, 7:6, 7:8, 8:2, 8:4, 8:6, 8:8, 9:2, 9:4, 9:6, 9:8, 10:2, 10:4, 10:6, 10:8, 11:2, 11:4, 11:6, 11:8, 12:2, 12:4, 12:6, 12:8, 13:2, 13:4, 13:6, 13:8, 14:2, 14:4
LV	2:1, 2:3, 2:5, 2:7, 3:1, 3:3, 3:5, 3:7, 5:1, 5:3, 5:5, 5:7, 6:1, 6:3, 6:5, 6:7, 7:1 7:3, 7:5(x3), 7:7, 8:1, 8:5, 8:7, 9:5, 9:7, 10:1, 10:3, 10:5, 10:7, 11:1, 11:3, 11:5, 11:7(x3), 12:1, 12:3, 12:5(x3), 12:7	3:2*	8:3, 9:1, 9:3	2:2, 2:4, 2:6, 2:8, 3:2*, 3:4, 3:6, 3:8, 5:2, 5:4, 5:6, 5;8, 6:2, 6:4, 6:6, 6:8, 7:2, 7:4, 7:6, 7:8, 8:2, 8:4, 8:6, 8:8, 9:2, 9:4, 9:6, 9:8, 10:2, 10:4, 10:6, 10:8, 11:2, 11:4, 11:6, 11:8, 12:2, 12:4, 12:6, 12:8
Óláfr Haraldsson enn helgi LV	2:1, 2:3, 2:5, 2:7, 3:7, 4:1, 4:3, 4:5, 5:1, 5:7, 7:1, 7:3, 7:7, 8:3, 8:5	4:4*, 4:6*, 5:4*, 8:4*	3:1, 3:3, 3:5, 4:7, 5:3, 5:5, 7:5, 8:7, 9:1	4:2, 4:4*, 4:6*, 4:8, 5:2(x3), 5:2, 5:4*, 5:6, 5:8, 7:2, 7:4, 7:6, 7:8, 8:1, 8:4*, 8:6, 8:8,

				9:2

Glossary of Metrical Terms

anacrusis: in alliterative verse, syllables are said to stand in anacrusis when they precede the first stressed syllables, but stand outside of the metrical pattern. Anacrusis is found only in Type-A, Type-D and Type-E verses.

aðalhending: full internal rhyme employed in skaldic verse, where the two rhyming syllables have identical vowels and share one or more postvocalic consonants. See also *hending* and *skothending*.

cadence: the closing portion of a verse, often more constrained than the initial part of the verse. The cadence serves to demarcate the end of the verse and to provide structure to the verse, while enabling the remaining part of the verse to be flexible. Given the various forms of verse and meter, however, the exact nature of the cadence depends on the structural elements of the verse. One may say that a cadence involves either the repetition or variation of metrical elements.

drápa: a skaldic poetic form usually containing a series of several *dróttkvætt* stanzas and a two or four-verse refrain known as a *stef*. See also *flokkr*.

dróttkvætt: the most popular skaldic verse form composed in stanzas of eight verses paired into two half-stanzas (*helmingr*). Each verse contains six metrical positions, a fixed cadence, and either full or slanted internal rhymes.

flokkr: a skaldic poetic form comprised of a series of several *dróttkvætt* stanzas, but without a *stef*.

fornyrðislag: the most typical verse form found in eddic verse. The *fornyrðislag* is the Scandinavian equivalent of the West Germanic normal verses.

galdralag: in eddic verse the *galdralag* is identical to the *ljóðaháttr* except that there are two or more independently alliterating verses following the long-line. Furthermore, each of the verses after the long line tend to exhibit syntactic parallelism.

gayatri: a verse form of Sanskrit poetry. Each *gayatri* has three octosyllabic verses, the cadence tends to have all short syllables except the antepenult which is long.

Glied: in Germanic alliterative verse, a position within a verse. The *dróttkvætt*, for example, has six *Glieder* or metrical positions. Each position may be filled with one or more syllables, depending on the rules governing the particular poetic tradition.

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háttlausa: a variant of the *dróttkvætt* which contains no internal rhymes.

heavy hypermetric: in Old English and Old Saxon alliterative verse, an on‑verse which contains four stressed syllables and is roughly metrically equivalent to two normal verses, e.g. Maxims I 46a *trymman ond tyhtan, þæt he teala cunne* 'to be encouraged and prompted to know things well.'

hending: in skaldic verse, *hending* are internal rhymes employed in one of two varieties, either full (*aðalhending*) or slant‑rhyme (*skothending*).

höfuðstafr: the 'head‑stave' of an alliterative long‑line, generally the third stressed syllable of the long‑line, i.e. the first stressed syllable of the off‑verse.

hrynhent: a skaldic verse form similar to the *dróttkvætt*, except that the verse is expanded by an additional trochee, metrically identical to the cadence of the *dróttkvætt*, such that the *hrynhent* has eight metrical positions in each verse.

hypermetric: in Old English and Old Saxon alliterative verse, a verse which contains one or more stresses more than a normal verse. See also heavy hypermetric, strong hypermetric, and weak hypermetric.

isosyllabic: a verse is isosyllabic if each verse contains a strictly limited number of syllables, e.g. an octosyllabic verse, which is permitted only to contain eight syllables. Isosyllabic should be distinguished from the term 'syllable-counting.' Whereas all isosyllabic verses are syllable-counting, not all syllable-counting verses are isosyllabic.

jagati: a stanza form of Sanskrit poetry containing four dodecasyllabic verses, each with two hemistichs and a fixed cadence.

kimblabönd: a skaldic verse form similar to the *hrynhent*, except that the last two words of each verse rhyme with one another.

kviðuháttr: a skaldic verse form comprised of an on‑verse with three metrical positions and an off‑verse with four metrical positions. The *kviðuháttr* is, after the *dróttkvætt*, the second‑most common skaldic meter.

lausavísa: lit. 'loose verse,' in skaldic verse a *dróttkvætt* stanza not found as part of a *drápa* or *flokkr*.

ljóðaháttr: the second most common eddic verse form. The *ljóðaháttr* is comprised of an alliterative long‑line and a third verse which contains two or three stresses, two of which alliterate with each other but typically not with the preceding long‑line.

The *ljóðaháttr* is also characterized by a cadence in the third verse of either a resolved sequence of two short syllables or one long syllable.

málaháttr: a problematic eddic verse form found principally in two poems, *Atlamál in grænlenzku* and *Hamðismál*, as well as scattered in various other poems.

mora: a segmental unit within a syllable. Morae are counted starting with the vowel of a syllable. In Old Norse, short vowels have one mora, long vowels have two. Each post vocalic consonant up to the next following vowel adds an addition mora. For example, the first syllable of the ON word *hafa* 'to have' has two morae, *-af-*, whereas *finna* 'to find' has three, *-inn-*.

normal verse: in Old English and Old Saxon verse, a verse is normal if it contains no more than two syllables with primary stress.

off-verse: the second half of a pair of alliterative verses, also known as the b-verse.

on-verse: the first half of a pair of alliterative verses, also known as the a-verse.

resolution: in Germanic alliterative verse two short syllables may resolve and serve in the position of one long syllable. See also suspension.

runhent: a skaldic verse form with four metrical positions in the on- and off-verse, but primarily characterized by full rhyme between the last word of the on-verse and the last word of the off-verse.

skothending: slant-rhyme employed in skaldic verse, lit. 'inserted rhyme.' *Skothending* is characterized by two syllables containing different vowels, but one or more identical postvocalic consonants. See also *aðalhending* and *hending*.

suspension: in Germanic alliterative verse, a normally resolvable sequence of syllables may not be counted as a resolved sequence, allowing the disyllable to fill two metrical positions. See also resolution.

stef: a refrain of two or four verses used in the skaldic *drápa*.

strong hypermetric: in Old English and Old Saxon alliterative verse, a hypermetrical verse is strong if it contains three stressed syllables, and, if an off-verse, has the first stressed syllable as the alliterating stave, .e.g. *Bwlf*. 1163a *gán under gýldnum béage* 'walking beneath a golden ring.' See also hypermetric, heavy hypermetric, and weak hypermetric.

syllable-counting: a verse is syllable counting if it places a numerical limit on the number

of syllables permitted to stand in a given position or verse. A normal verse of Old English verse, for example, must contain a minimum of four syllables; however, since more than four syllables are permitted to a verse, we cannot consider Old English verse isosyllabic, though it is syllable-counting.

tristubh: a stanza in Sanskrit poetry containing four hendecasyllabic verses, each containing two hemistichs and a fixed cadence.

type: the various basic metrical patterns found in Germanic alliterative verse are traditionally grouped into five types, designated with a letter according to their relative frequency of usage, thus Type-A verses are the most common and Type-E the least. Type-A verses have the minimal metrical shape of /x/x, Type-B has the opposite x/x/; Type-C corresponds to x/\x; Type-D is either / /\x or with an inverted final portion, //x\; and Type-E /\x/.

tøglag: a skaldic verse form comprised of an on-verse and off-verse each with four metrical positions. Furthermore, there is obligatory *aðalhending* in the off-verse and optional *hending* in the on-verse.

weak hypermetric: in Old English and Old Saxon alliterative verse, a hypermetrical verse is weak if it contains only two stressed syllables, and, if an off-verse, has the penultimate stressed syllable as the alliterating stave, e.g. *Bwlf*. 1163b *þær þa gódan twégen* 'where the two good men.'

Word-Foot Model: put forth by Russom first in 1987, this model divides the alliterative verse into two feet, each of which must correspond to a valid stress-pattern for words in the language.

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