

The Syntax of Old Norse *Kviðuhátt* Meter

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This paper seeks to explain syntactic and structural features that have puzzled earlier scholars and editors of poems composed in *kviðuhátt*, one of the oldest attested Old Norse skaldic meters. More precisely, I attempt to answer the following questions: first, why do poems in *kviðuhátt* fail to adhere to the stanzaic eight-line division and the four-line *helmingr* (half-stanza) division, which are so firmly entrenched in the ON skaldic tradition? Second, why does the syntax of *kviðuhátt* poetry depart from other patterns of skaldic (and eddic) verb syntax? It will become clear that the metrical innovation that characterizes *kviðuhátt*, namely, the introduction of regularized catalectic a-lines of Sievers' Types A, C, and D, imposed significant restrictions on verb syntax. Rather than violating the verb-second constraint in independent clauses, the poets were forced to relax structural rules that are observed strictly in other branches of ON poetry.*

1. Introduction.

Unlike other ON alliterative meters, *kviðuhátt* has received scant attention from scholars.¹ This scholarly neglect is all the more to be

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¹ For a recent bibliography of the scholarship on ON alliterative poetry see Fulk and Gade 2002:102–23. *Kviðuhátt* is discussed (briefly) in Sievers 1879:291–294, Sievers 1893:117–118, Heusler 1956:201–204, Kuhn 1983:336, Faulkes 1991:74, 84, and Gade 2002:863–864. Most works devoted to poetry in this meter have been concerned with literary questions and with the dating of the earliest poems (see Marold 1983:114–153, Krag 1991, and Sapp 2000). The most complete treatment of *kviðuhátt* is Åkerlund 1939, but that study is outdated. The meaning and etymology of the word *kviðuhátt* are debated. See Konráð Gíslason 1881:188–189, Möbius 1883:292–293, Sievers 1893:219–220, Wessén 1915:127–141, Noreen 1924:61–65, Indrebø 1928:118, Finnur Jónsson 1929:268, Heusler 1956:215, and de Vries 1977:337–338.

lamented, because poems in this skaldic meter display unique metrical and syntactic characteristics that set them apart from other ON poetry.² In the following, I explore and seek to explain certain peculiar syntactic features of *kviðuháttir* poems that have been commented on by earlier scholars, but never explained.

Kviðuháttir was used in seven longer encomiastic poems totaling 1,926 lines from the ninth century to the thirteenth: namely, Þjóðólfr of Hvíni's *Ynglingatal* (Yt: 360 lines; end of ninth century?), Egill Skallagrímsson's *Sonatorrek* (St: 194 lines; ca. 960) and *Arinbjarnarkviða* (Abj: 196 lines; ca. 960), Eyvindr Finnson's *Háleygjatal* (Hál: 100 lines; ca. 985), Þórarinn loftunga's *Glælognskviða* (Glæ: 76 lines; ca. 1032), the anonymous *Nóregskonungatal* (Nkt: 664 lines; ca. 1190), and Sturla Þórðarson's *Hákonarkviða* (Hkv: 336 lines; 1263–64).³ These poems are transmitted either *en bloc* in the manuscripts or as narrative units or single stanzas and half-stanzas interspersed with prose in the kings' sagas and in the *Prose Edda*.

Unlike West Germanic alliterative poetry, ON skaldic poetry is strictly stanzaic. A stanza consists of eight lines that are divided into two four-line half-stanzas, or, to use the conventional ON term, *helmingar*. The *helmingr* is syntactically complete and inviolable.⁴ However, a

² The earliest forerunner to *kviðuháttir* is the stanza on the Swedish Rök stone, dated to around 850 (see von See 1967:47–48, Gade 1995:234–235, Gade 2002:858–859). It is generally believed that *kviðuháttir* developed as a catalectic variant of *fornyrðislag* (so Kuhn 1933:105, Åkerlund 1939:189, 192–194, Gade 2002:863; but compare Heusler 1956:203).

³ See Skj AI:7–15 (Yt), 40–43 (St), 43–48 (Abj), 68–71 (Hál), 324–327 (Glæ), 579–589 (Nkt), Skj AII:108–119 (Hkv). The dates given for the earliest poetry are tentative (but see Sapp 2000). *Kviðuháttir* is also used in two stanzas by Gísli Súrsson (sts. 10–11; Skj AI:103), in Grettir Ásmundarson's *Ævikviða* (7 sts; Skj AI:309–311) and another 8 1/2 stanzas in *Grettis saga* (Skj AII:439–442), in *Merlinusspá* (sts. 62–68; Skj AII:20–21), and in *Stjörnu-Odda draumr* I (5 sts; Skj AII:208). See also Faulkes 1991:84. Note that the line counts refer to half-lines, that is, a- and b-lines, and not to long lines. In Old Norse, the conventional terms for half-lines are a- and b-lines (or odd and even lines), not a- and b-verses as in Old English.

⁴ Syntactic completeness refers to the fact that the four-line stanzas are syntactically independent units, that is, no clause or phrase in one *helmingr* depends on or is appositive to a syntactic element in another *helmingr* or stanza (see

glance at the standard editions reveals that many of the *kviðuháttir* stanzas are syntactically incomplete; that is, they start in *medias res*, as it were, as is illustrated by the following stanza from *Ynglingatal*:⁵

(1) Yt 36	Unz fótverk	Before foot-ache
	við Foldar þróm	at (the) Fold's edge
	vígmíðlung	(the) battle-distributor
	of viðá skyldi.	(expl. <i>of</i>) to kill was ⁶
	Nú liggr gunndjarfr	Now lies (the) battle-brave
	á Geirstöðum	at Gjekstad
	herkonungr	war-king
	haugi ausinn.	by-(a)-mound covered.

Prose order: Unz fótverk skyldi of viðá vígmíðlung við Foldar þróm. Nú liggr gunndjarfr herkonungr á Geirstöðum, ausinn haugi.

Translation: Before foot-ache was to kill the battle-distributor [WARRIOR] at the Fold's edge [on the shores of Oslofjorden]. Now the battle-brave war-king lies at Gjekstad, covered by a mound.

Hollander 1947:300, Kuhn 1969, Kuhn 1983:187–188). In ON historical and poetological prose works, stanzas and half-stanzas are routinely interspersed with the prose as historical verification of events discussed or as illustrations of specific metrical and poetic peculiarities.

⁵ The translations and editions of the poems in *kviðuháttir* are my own. The lines in *fornyrðislag* (and the abbreviated titles of the poems) are cited from Neckel 1962, and the translations are my own. Note that, unlike West Germanic alliterative poetry and eddic *fornyrðislag*, poetry in ON skaldic meters is always printed in columns of half-lines rather than as long-lines divided by metrical caesurae. The referents of the kennings, the poetic circumlocutions that characterize ON skaldic diction, are included in the translation in small capitals within square brackets, for example, 'the battle-distributor [WARRIOR]'.

⁶ The notations (expl. *of*) and (expl. *um*) are used to signal the presence of the expletive particle *of* (later *um*), which evolved in preliterate ON from earlier prefixes (see Kuhn 1929). Though required by the meter, such particles are meaningless.

Furthermore, sentence boundaries are often obfuscated by *helmingr* and stanza divisions, which never happens in other skaldic meters. Consider the following four lines:

- | | | |
|-----------|---|---|
| (2) Hál 4 | Sævar beins
ok sunu marga
ǫndurdís
við Óðni gat. | Ocean's bone's
and sons many
(the) ski-goddess
with Óðinn begot. |
|-----------|---|---|

Prose order: Sævar beins; ok ǫndurdís gat marga sunu við Óðni.

Translation: Ocean's bone's [STONE'S]; and the ski-goddess [Skaði] begot many sons with Óðinn.

This half-stanza is cited as a single, separate unit by Snorri Sturluson in his *Heimskringla* (ca. 1235) to verify the mythological marriage of Óðinn and Skaði. However, the genitive qualifier *ocean's bone's* that introduces the half-stanza does not belong syntactically to the following three lines. Rather, this phrase must have qualified an NP in the preceding, no longer extant half-stanza, thus violating the *helmingr* division. Clearly, the four-line *helmingr* was such a structural staple in skaldic poetics that Snorri automatically cited the four lines as a unit, even though the first line is nonsensical in the present context. The question is why poems in *kviðuháttr* meter fail to adhere to the stanzaic eight-line division and the four-line *helmingr* division that are so firmly entrenched in the ON skaldic tradition.

In the following, I first examine the structure of *kviðuháttr* and attempt to answer that question. Second, I show how the poets resorted to different solutions to cope with metrical constraints imposed on syntax. It will become clear that the syntax of *kviðuháttr* departs from other patterns of skaldic (and eddic) verse syntax, but that the departures are principled, and the governing principles are clearly discoverable.

2. The Metrical Structure of *Kviðuhátt*.

Kviðuhátt is a variant of eddic *fornyrðislag*, but unlike the extant *fornyrðislag*, it is syllable counting.⁷ Whereas the b-lines are tetrasyllabic and follow the metrical patterns of *fornyrðislag*, the a-lines are hypometrical, that is, each a-line consists of three syllables instead of four. Because this is the distinguishing feature of the meter, I focus here on the a-lines in an attempt to explain the rather aberrant syntax of *kviðuhátt* poems.

Structurally *kviðuhátt* a-lines can best be characterized as catalectic, that is, they follow the same metrical patterns as *fornyrðislag* lines of Sievers' Types A, C, and D, minus the last, unstressed syllable.⁸ Types B, D4, and E do not end in an unstressed syllable; therefore there are no catalectic lines conforming to those patterns, and, consequently, no such *kviðuhátt* a-lines. Consider the following metrical schemes (according to Sievers' Five Types):⁹

⁷ *Fornyrðislag* meter is the ON equivalent of the West Germanic alliterative meter, and it served as the basis for Sievers' formulation of his Five-Type system (see Sievers 1893).

⁸ That is, whereas *fornyrðislag* a-lines have four metrical positions, a-lines in *kviðuhátt* have three metrical positions. ON poetry in *fornyrðislag* can also contain trisyllabic catalectic a-lines, but such lines are employed fairly infrequently and not according to a regular pattern as in *kviðuhátt*. See Sievers 1893:68, Heusler 1956:178–180.

⁹ See Sievers 1893:117–118. The alliterating staves have been emphasized in the ON text. Although criticism has been raised concerning the validity of this metrical framework for ON skaldic poetry (see Gade 1995), it provides a convenient descriptive layout for the purposes of the present investigation. The metrical notations used in 3 are the following: ˆ = alliterating lift; ˘ = nonalliterating lift; ˆ˘ = alliterating short lift; ˘˘ = nonalliterating short lift; ˘˘˘ = secondary stress, long syllable; ˘˘˘˘ = secondary stress, short syllable; x = unstressed syllable (dip); | = metrical foot demarcation.

(3) *Kviðuháttir* a-lines according to Sievers' Five Types

A1: ˘ x | ˘

Yt 4/11 glóða garmr embers' dog

A2: ˘ x | ˘

Yt 1/3 feigðarorð death-word

A3: ˘ x | ˘

Yt 2/5 þás í stein when into (the) stone

C1: x ˘ | ˘

Yt 1/5 ok sikling and (the) lordling

C3: x ˘ | ˘

Yt 16/1 Ok sveiðurs or: x ˘ | ˘
and (the) steer's

D1: ˘ | ˘ ˘

Yt 1/7 vágr vindlauss or: ˘ | ˘ ˘
sea windless

D2: ˘ | ˘ ˘

Yt 2/3 salvqrðuðr or: ˘ | ˘ ˘
hall-warden

D3: ˘ | ˘ ˘

Yt 3/11 menglōtuðr necklace-destroyer

Others:¹⁰

x ˘ ˘

Yt 14/1 varð Jqrundr or: x ˘ ˘
was Jqrundr

˘ x ˘

Yt 2/11 jōtunbyggðr or: ˘ x ˘
giant-populated

The main constraint that the catalectic meter places on the syntax is that it makes it difficult to accommodate finite verbs in the trisyllabic a-lines. As the following overview of the possible placement of such verbs in bound and independent clauses shows, that circumstance in turn has

¹⁰ In all ON meters, two short syllables occurring in the first lift are always resolved, that is, two short stressed syllables fill the position of one long stressed syllable (see Sievers 1878:455–456, Kuhn 1983:5–56, Gade 1995:60–66). In Yt 14/1 and 2/11, two short syllables occupy two metrical positions and resolution is suspended in positions 2–3 and 1–2, respectively. Sievers (1893:118) was at a loss to explain these two types.

consequences for the nature of sentence introduction that can occur in a-lines.

3. The Placement of Finite Verbs in Independent and Bound Clauses.

The terms *bound clauses* and *independent clauses* are used here to distinguish between clauses introduced by connectives (such as subordinating conjunctions and *ok* ‘and’, *en* ‘but, and’, *eða* ‘or’, *né* ‘nor’; bound clauses) and those not so introduced (independent clauses).¹¹ The distinction between bound clauses and independent clauses in poetry is mainly one of word order, in particular with regard to the placement of finite verbs. In independent clauses, a monosyllabic or short disyllabic, metrically resolved verb is usually unstressed and proclitic or enclitic to the first lift in the line.¹² The finite verb may also occur in the first position and carry a lift, or, more rarely, it may occur in metrical position 3 or 4 (Types E, D4 in *fornyrðislag* and *dróttkvætt*), but it cannot be preceded by more than one sentence element without violation of the syntax. In that respect, poetic syntax in independent clauses corresponds to that of prose (the finite verb must occur in syntactic positions 1 or 2, that is, obeying the verb-second constraint).¹³ Examples 4–7 show the

¹¹ For this distinction, see Kuhn 1933:30, 50–51 and Kuhn 1983:122–123.

¹² This is known as Kuhn’s First Law, according to which sentence particles must stand in the first dip of a sentence, proclitically to either the first or the second stressed word of a clause (see Kuhn 1933:8). For a convenient overview and discussion of Kuhn’s First Law in OE poetry, see Stockwell and Minkova 1994.

¹³ For discussions of the placement of verbs in independent clauses, see Kuhn 1933:30, 51–52, 58, Kuhn 1983:43, 117, 195, and Gade 1995:173–192. In eddic *fornyrðislag*, there are instances of finite verbs in independent clauses occurring further back than position 2, but according to Kuhn (1933:61) the percentage is negligible (1.9%). Kuhn’s percentage is a little skewed, however, because it is based on the ratio of verb placement to lines. If we look at the position of verbs in independent clauses with two constituents or more, the percentages are higher. In mythological *fornyrðislag* poems such as *Völuspá* and *Hymiskviða*, the placement of finite verbs in main clauses violates the verb-second constraint in 6.7% and 4.2% of the clauses, respectively. The numbers for the heroic poems with native narrative material is lower (*Helgakviða Hundingsbana* I, 1.7%; *Helgakviða Hjörvarðssonar*, 0%; *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* II, 2.5%).

possible placements of finite verbs in eddic *fornyrðislag* (the finite verbs are bolded, the alliterating staves italicized).

- (4) The placement of monosyllabic finite verbs in independent clauses in *fornyrðislag*

Type A, metrical position 1:

Vsp 42/5 ***gól** um hánom* **crowed** around him

Type A, metrical position 2:

Vsp 58/3 *festr **mun** slitna,* (the) fastening **will** tear

Type C, metrical position 1:

Vsp 28/11 ***dreccr** mið Mímir* **drinks** mead Mímir

Type D, metrical position 1:

Hym 27/1 ***gecc** Hlórriði* **went** Hlórriði

Type B, metrical position 1:

HH I, 27/3 ***brast** rǫnd við rǫnd* **crashed** rim against rim

Type B, metrical position 2 (rare):

HH I, 9/5 hann ***galt** oc gaf* he **paid** and gave

Type E, metrical position 1:

Br 16/3 ***svalt** alt í sal* **chilled** everything in (the) hall

Type E, metrical position 2:

HH I, 2/1 *nótt **varð** í bæ* night **fell** on (the) farm

Type E, metrical position 3:

Grp 25/7 *dægr eitt **er** þér* day one **is** for-you

Type E, metrical position 4:

Br 19/1 *benvǫnd of **lét*** wound-wand (expl. of) **let** (lie)¹⁴

The heroic poems in *fornyrðislag* with West Germanic narrative material have the most violations (*Brot af Sigurðarkviða*, 13.5%; *Sigurðarkviða in skamma*, 4.8%; *Guðrúnarkviða I*, 13.5%; *Guðrúnarkviða II*, 15.5%; *Guðrúnarkviða III*, 7.14%; *Guðrúnarhvot*, 16.7%; *Hamðismál*, 7.8%). For a discussion of the placement of finite verbs in OE and ON prose, see Swan 1994.

¹⁴ In this example, the finite verb is still in syntactic position 2, because the unstressed expletive *of* does not count as a sentence element (it evolved from a prefix; see note 6 above).

- (5) The placement of disyllabic, short-stemmed metrically nonresolved verbs and trisyllabic verbs in independent clauses in *fornyrðislag*

Type A2k, metrical positions 3–4:

Vsp 52/5 griótbjörg **gnata** gravel-mountains **tumble**

Type A, metrical positions 1–2 (with neutralization in position 2):¹⁵

Br 14/1 **vacnaði** Brynhildr **awoke** Brynhildr

Type C3, metrical positions 2–4 (rare):

HH II, 4/5 hon **scævaði** she **hastened**

Type D, metrical positions 2–4:

Prk 21/5 björg **brotnoðo** mountains **broke**

- (6) The placement of disyllabic, long-stemmed verbs in independent clauses in *fornyrðislag*

Type A, metrical positions 1–2:

Vsp 46/7 **mælir** Óðinn **speaks** Óðinn

Type A, metrical positions 3–4:

Grp 1/5 Grípir **heitir** Grípir **is-called**

Type B, metrical positions 2–3:

HHv 35/5 hon **vissi** þat she **knew** that

Type E, metrical positions 2–3:

Hym 13/5 fram **gengo** þeir forth **went** they.

In bound clauses, on the other hand, the finite verbs typically occur later than syntactic positions 1 or 2, and they usually carry lifts, even when they are monosyllabic. In the following half-stanza, the bound clause is introduced by the connective *enn* ‘and’, and the finite verb (*kǫnnodo* ‘watched’) occurs in syntactic position 5:

¹⁵ The term *neutralization* refers to two unstressed short syllables occupying one metrical position, that is, the unstressed counterpart to resolution (see Gade 1995:61–66).

- (7) HH I, 31/5-8 **Enn** þeir siálfir frá Svarinshaugi,
 And they themselves from Svarinshaugr
 með hermðar hug her **kønnoðo**.
 with wrathful mind (the) host **watched**.

Prose order: **Enn** þeir siálfir **kønnoðo** her frá Svarinshaugi með hermðar hug.

Translation: **And** they themselves **watched** the host from Svarinshaugr with wrathful mind.

In that respect, then, we may say that independent clauses have V1 or V2 word order, whereas the bound clauses show a strong tendency toward verb-final word order.¹⁶ As we see below, this has consequences for sentence introductions in *kviðuhátt*. It must be emphasized, however, that the verb-final word order in bound clauses, which occurs in all skaldic meters as well as in eddic *fornyrðislag*, cannot be observed in the extant ON prose (see Nygaard 1966:270–271, 347, and Swan 1994).

3.1. Finite Monosyllabic Verbs or Short Disyllabic Verbs in Kviðuhátt. Because sentence-introductory *kviðuhátt* a-lines are catalectic, monosyllabic and short disyllabic, resolved or neutralized finite verbs can be accommodated only in a small number of positions in independent clauses, as in 8–10 (the finite verbs are boldface).

¹⁶ In this respect, the poetic word order in ON bound clauses resembles that of verb-final Modern German subordinate clauses. The main difference is that, unlike in Modern German, connectives such as *but* and *and* also trigger this word order (see Kuhn 1933:51–52, 58–68, 108).

- (8) Metrical positions 1 and 2 in catalectic Type A lines of the structure $s+s+s$ ¹⁷

a. Yt 8/1 frák , at <i>Dagr</i>	heard -I that <i>Dagr</i>
b. Yt 13/1 vasa þat <i>bært</i>	was -not that appropriate
c. St 10/1 <i>mik</i> hefr <i>marr</i>	me has (the) ocean
d. St 1/1 mjök erum <i>tregt</i>	much is -for-me difficult

- (9) Metrical position 3 in catalectic Type A lines of the structure $s+s+s$ (extremely rare)¹⁸

a. Yt 6/9 núk þat veit	now-I that know
b. Abj 8/1 við því tók	of that took-possession
c. Glæ 9/ 5 hann of getr	he (expl. <i>of</i>) receives

- (10) Metrical position 1 in catalectic Type C lines¹⁹

a. Yt 11/1 fell <i>Alrekr</i>	fell <i>Alrekr</i>
b. Hkv 20/1 flugu <i>hræleiptr</i>	flew corpse-lightnings

Hence the fillers of *kviðuháttir* A- and C-lines that introduce independent clauses are very limited from a syntactic point of view. Furthermore, the catalectic nature of the meter prohibits lines ending in an unstressed inflectional syllable, which restricts the inventory of available fillers

¹⁷ In the following, *s* refers to a monosyllable, or a resolved or neutralized disyllable, and $\bar{s}s$ to a disyllabic word with a long first syllable. The finite verbs are bolded and the alliterating syllables are italicized.

¹⁸ As we see below, it appears that, in *kviðuháttir*, adverbs such as *nú* ‘now’ could be treated as connectives to allow for bound-clause word order, in which case 9a cannot be regarded as an example of an independent clause. Note that the finite verbs in 9b–c are still in syntactic position 2 (as we have seen, the expletive particle *of* does not count as a sentence element). If the finite verbs had been preceded by two constituents, we would have a violation of the verb-second constraint in independent clauses (which explains the rarity of such lines in the corpus of *kviðuháttir* poetry).

¹⁹ In Egill’s poetry, there are occasional examples of Type D in which the verb in position 1 carries alliteration (St. 14/5, 14/7, 18/5; Abj 3/5), but such lines are not found elsewhere and appear to be an idiosyncrasy of Egill’s.

even more. Consider the following main types:

- | | | | |
|---------|-------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (11) a. | V+Pron+Adv: | St 16/1 finnk þat opt | find -I that often |
| b. | V+Adv+Adj: | St 25/5 skalk þó glaðr | shall -I yet happy |
| c. | V+PP: | Nkt 35/5 stendr í Krists | stands in Christ's |
| d. | Pron+V+N: | St 10/1 mik hefr marr | me has (the) sea |
| e. | Pron+V+Adv: | Nkt 39/5 sá vas norðr | that-one was north |
| f. | Adv+V+Pron: | St 13/1 opt kømr mér | often comes to-me |
| g. | Adv+V+N: | Glæ 1/5 þar vas jarl | there was (the) earl |
| h. | V+N: | Abj 25/5 hlóðk lofkøst | heaped -I praise-pile |
| i. | Pron/V+Adj: | Abj 22/1 hinns fégrimmr | that-one- is property-grim |
| j. | V+Adv: | Hk 4/1 bar tállaust | bore deceitlessly |

3.2. Long-Stemmed Finite Disyllabic Verbs in Kviðuháttir.

In sentence-introductory *kviðuháttir* a-lines, long-stemmed inflected disyllabic verbs in independent clauses can occur only in metrical positions 1–2 in Type A lines of the structure $\bar{s}s + s$.²⁰

- (12) V+N: Yt 7/1 **kveðkat** dul **speak**-I-not folly

Again, the syntactic fillers are extremely restricted because the word in position 3 must be monosyllabic. Trisyllabic finite verbs cannot occur at all in catalectic *kviðuháttir* a-lines because such verbs end in unstressed syllables (compare Prk 21/5 *biørg brotnoðo* 'mountains broke' in 5 above).

3.3. Summary.

As we have seen, the catalectic nature of *kviðuháttir* a-lines places severe constraints on the position of finite verbs in independent clauses. However, because *kviðuháttir* b-lines are not catalectic, but correspond to *fornyrðislag* lines with four metrical positions, monosyllabic, disyllabic, and trisyllabic finite verbs can easily be accommodated in b-lines. Yet, the placement of such verbs in b-lines necessarily violates the syntax of independent clauses introduced in a preceding a-line (that is, in syntactic position 1 or 2). Poets composing in *kviðuháttir* meter circumvented that

²⁰ This type of filler is rare: Yt (3 tokens), St (5 tokens), Abj (3 tokens), Hál (1 token), Glæ (1 token), Nkt (18 tokens), Hkv (4 tokens).

problem in different ways, as discussed in sections 4.1–4.3 below where it is shown how poets depart from an older form, that is, the correlation of stanzaic and *helmingr* structure with sentence structure, to comply with the requirements of a new form. It is also clear, however, that the poets in some cases were forced by the meter to resort to measures that violated syntax and word order.²¹

4. Devices to Circumvent Constraints on Syntax Imposed by Meter.

4.1. Run-on Bound Clauses Obliterating Stanzaic Boundaries.

As shown above, finite verbs in bound clauses are not subject to the restrictions imposed on finite verbs in independent clauses. They occur later than in syntactic positions 1 or 2 and usually carry a lift.²² Hence poets composing in *kviðuhátt* meter frequently resorted to a concatenation of bound clauses, which allowed for the placement of finite verbs in b-lines. Most frequently, these bound clauses are introduced by *en* ‘and, but’ or *ok* ‘and’, but such connectives as *þás* ‘when’, *svát* ‘so that’, *þars* ‘where’, *unz* ‘until’, *áðr* ‘before’, and *þvít* ‘because’ are also quite common. It may at first seem incongruous that the (now) coordinating conjunctions *and* and *but* should trigger the same word order as subordinating conjunctions. However, as Kuhn (1933) has shown, they do so in all branches of Germanic alliterative poetry. In fact, verb-final word order in *and*-clauses occurs in Old English, Old High German, and Middle High German prose, and it is documented in prose as late as Luther (see Kuhn 1933:63–64, 108). According to Kuhn 1933:51, the anaphoric nature of these connectives caused independent

²¹ Violations of Kuhn’s First Law are a case in point (see note 12 above). In Egill’s poetry in *kviðuhátt*, for example, finite verbs in bound clauses may occur in unstressed positions in Type C a-lines that are not sentence introductory, as in the following example from St 11/2–4: *at í syni mínum | vasa ills þegns | efni vaxit* ‘that in (the) son of-mine | **was**-not (a) bad man’s makings grown’ (‘that my son did not have the makings of a bad man’). In this line, the unstressed verb (*vasa* ‘was-not’), which, owing to its lack of stress, is a sentence particle, does not occur in the licensed position. Kuhn (1933:28–29) notes these instances, but makes no attempt to explain why some poems in *kviðuhátt* behave in this manner.

²² See Kuhn 1933:51–52, Kuhn 1983:43, 118–19, Gade 1995:177–208.

clauses to be reanalyzed as bound clauses, thus causing finite verbs to occur further back and in stressed positions.

As stated above, the extant ON prose does not have SOV word order in *and*- and *but*-clauses, but as 13 shows, that word order is common in poetry, and more so in *kviðuháttir* than in the other skaldic meters and in *fornyrðislag* (connectives and finite verbs are in boldface).

(13) Yt 33–34	Varð Guðrøðr inn gøfuglæti lómi beitr, sás fyr lǫngu vas, ok umbróð at ǫlum stilli höfuð heiptrækt at hilmi dró , ok launsigr inn lómgeði Ósu qrr af jǫfri bar , ok buðlungr á beði fornum Stíflusunds of stunginn vas .	Became Guðrøðr the grandiose by-deceit overcome, who for long was , and deceit when aledrunk (the) lord (the) head venge-driven against (the) prince plotted , and secret-victory the deceit-minded Ása's servant over (the) king gained , and (the) ruler on (the) shore old of-Stíflusund (expl. <i>of</i>) pierced was .
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Prose order: Inn gøfuglæti Guðrøðr, **sás vas** fyr lǫngu, **varð** beitr lómi, **ok** at ǫlum stilli **dró** heiptrækt höfuð umbróð at hilmi, **ok** inn lómgeði qrr Ósu **bar** launsigr af jǫfri, **ok** buðlungr **vas** of stunginn á fornum beði Stíflusunds.

Translation: The grandiose Guðrøðr, **who lived** long ago, **was** overcome by deceit, **and**, while the lord was ale-drunk, the vengeance-driven head [Ása] **plotted** against the prince, **and** the deceit-minded servant of Ása **gained** a secret victory over the king, **and** the ruler **was** pierced through on the old shore of Stíflusund.

Such structures are especially favored by Þjóðólfr in *Ynglingatal*, but they are also found regularly in other poems in *kviðuháttir*, especially in *Hákonarkviða*. In longer poems composed in other skaldic meters, such run-on concatenations of bound clauses do not occur. The stanzaic eight-

line units are also strictly adhered to in encomiastic poems in *fornyrðislag*, as the following stanza from Gísl Illugason's poem to Magnús berfœttr shows (ca. 1104; Skj AI, 441, st. 5):²³

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (14) | Hyrr sveimaði ;
hallir þurru ;
gekk hár logi
of herqð þeira.
Séa knátti þar,
es salir fellu ,
landráð konungs,
of liði Þóris. | Fire surged ;
halls crumbled ;
went (the) high flame
through (the) counties of-theirs.
See (one) could there,
as houses crumbled ,
(the) justice of-(the)-king,
around (the) host of-Þórir. |
|------|--|--|

Prose order: Hyrr **sveimaði**; hallir **þurru**; hár logi **gekk** of herqð þeira. Þar **knátti** sea konungs landráð, **es** salir **fellu** of Þóris liði.

Translation: Fire **surged**; halls **crumbled**; the high flame **rushed** through their counties. There one **could** see the king's justice **as** houses **collapsed** around Þórir's host.

There can be no doubt that the abundance of run-on bound clauses that characterize poems in *kviðuháttir* meter and violate the stanzaic boundaries resulted from restrictions imposed by the meter on the syntax. With three exceptions (Yt 3/9, 12/1, 31/5), all the finite verbs in bound clauses in *Ynglingatal* are found in stressed positions in b-lines, usually in Types B (monosyllabic verb in final position: 43%) or C2 (long-stemmed disyllabic verb in positions 3–4: 29%). That circumstance has not gone unnoticed by scholars, and it has been suggested that Þjóðólfr used verb-final placement for psychological reasons, that is, to create a suspense that ultimately reaches its closure with the verb in final position (Åkerlund 1939:249–250; Nordland 1956:124–125). Although we cannot exclude the possibility that the preponderance of Type B and C2 b-lines in *Ynglingatal* could have been caused by stylistic preferences, it is more likely that we are dealing with an archaic syntactic feature, namely, the necessity to accommodate the finite verbs in bound clauses in stressed, sentence-final positions. In *Sonatorrek* and *Arinbjarnarkviða*, there is a similar tendency as far as Type B is concerned (38%, 56%), but in the

²³ For the sake of convenience, the stanza is printed as a sequence of half-lines.

later poetry, lines of this type are more negligible (Glæ 18%; Nkt 11%, Hkv 6%). In the later poems, verb-final position occurs much less frequently, allowing for a word order that is closer to that of prose, although V1/V2 in bound clauses is usually avoided. The poets of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries also tend to place the finite verbs in bound clauses in trochaic lines (Type *ss+ss*: Glæ 30%, Nkt 40%, Hkv 48% as opposed to Yt 15%, St 11%, Abj 12.5%, Hál 21%). Consider the following example from *Hákonarkviða* (connectives and finite verbs are emphasized):²⁴

(15) Hkv 30	En sú rausn ríða knátti Hǫrða grams með himinskautum, hvé vǫlsungr veita knátti sæmdardag sinnar víxlu.	And that splendor hover could (the) Hǫrðar's king's along (the) heaven-corners, how (the) hero entertain could on-(the)-glory-day of-his consecration.
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Prose order: **En** sú rausn grams Hǫrða **knátti** ríða með himinskautum, **hvé** vǫlsungr **knátti** veita sæmdardag sinnar víxlu.

Translation: **And** that splendor of the king of the Hǫrðar **could** hover along the heavenly corners, **how** the hero **could** entertain on the glorious day of his consecration.

We see, then, that there seems to be a clear correlation between the placement of finite verbs, the types of metrical lines employed by the poets, and the time of composition.

Throughout the period under examination, pronouns and adverbs, which are not connectives, could be treated as such in *kviðuhátt* to allow for bound-clause word order:²⁵

²⁴ In the sequence *inf + aux* (*ríða knátti* 'hover could', *veita knátti* 'entertain could') the inflected aux counts as verb-final, as in Modern German subordinate clauses.

²⁵ Further examples of this irregularity occur in Yt 6/9, 19/5, 29/9; St 12/5; Abj 6/1, 17/1, 19/1, 23/1; Hál 2/1; Glæ 6/1; Nkt 59/1; Hkv 22/1, 25/1, 32/1. Kuhn (1933:61) briefly noted the irregular lines in Yt. See also 9a and note 18 above.

- (16) Yt 19/5–8 **þann** hergammr **that-one** (the) war-buzzard
 hrægum fœti with-(a)-bloody foot
 víts borinn from-afar come
 á Vendli **sparn**. at Vendel **kicked**.

Prose order: Hergammr, borinn víts, **sparn þann** hrægum fœti á Vendli.

Translation: The war-buzzard [BIRD OF PREY], come from afar, **kicked that one** with a bloody foot at Vendel.

- (17) Hkv 36/1–2 **Þar** sjóðmjöll There purse-snow
 svífa **knátti**. drift **could**.

Prose order: **Þar knátti** sjóðmjöll svífa.

Translation: **There** purse-snow [SILVER] **could** drift.

In 16, the demonstrative *þann* (m. acc. sg.) ‘that one’ takes on the function of a connective and causes verb-final word order; and in 17, the adverb *þar* ‘there’ triggers the same word order (see also the adverb *nú* ‘now’ in 9a above). Thus, we can say that the syntax of independent clauses in poetry in *kviðuhátt* meter sometimes exhibits verb-final word order, but only if these clauses are introduced by demonstratives or adverbs. There is no natural linguistic basis for treating demonstratives in Old Norse as connectives. Unlike in West Germanic, where demonstratives could occur without relative particles and cause a potential confusion between demonstrative and demonstrative + relative particle (see Kuhn 1933:52; also his note 114), in Old Norse the relative particle *er* was rarely omitted, and such occurrences are late and part of the learned style (see Nygaard 1966:262). Furthermore, there is no parallel elsewhere in the language to reanalysis of an adverb such as *nú* ‘now’ as a connective. Clearly, by treating pronouns and adverbs as connectives, the poets increased the inventory of possible bound clauses, which enabled them to avoid VPs in catalectic a-lines.

To be sure, pronouns and adverbs could function as connectives in eddic *fornyrðislag* as well.²⁶ However, the difference is that, in *fornyrðislag*, the verb-second constraint in independent clauses is not as strictly adhered to as in *kviðuhátt*, and verb-final word order also occurs in independent clauses that are not introduced by adverbs and pronouns. Violations are especially prominent in the eddic heroic lays with West Germanic narrative material, and West Germanic influence on the word order of *fornyrðislag* poems cannot be excluded.²⁷ In *kviðuhátt*, however, violations of the verb-second constraint in independent clauses occur only when the clauses are introduced by adverbs and pronouns. It could well be that this is an archaic feature, that is, a remnant of an older verb-final word order in independent clauses.²⁸ In other skaldic meters, there are no instances in which adverbs and demonstratives take on the function of connectives, which suggests that this is another peculiarity in *kviðuhátt* triggered by the necessity to accommodate finite verbs in b-lines.

4.2. Nominal Elements Obliterating Helmingr or Stanzaic Boundaries.

Rather than beginning a new clause in an a-line, poets would postpone nominal elements, thus allowing them to introduce new clauses in b-lines, even if it meant obfuscating the four- or eight-line metrical divisions that are strictly observed in other ON skaldic meters. These nominal elements are often the subject or appositions to the subject.²⁹

²⁶ See, for example, Vsp 10/5, 20/9, 20/10, 26/3; Hym 1/1; Þrk 8/5, 10/5, 11/5, 32/5; HH I 4/1, 47/1; HH II, 1/5, 24/5; Rm 23/5.

²⁷ See the percentages given in note 13 above. For West Germanic influence on ON *fornyrðislag*, see Kuhn 1939.

²⁸ That word order is found in such runic inscriptions as the Gallehus inscription from ca. 450 C.E.: *ek hlewagastir holtijar horna tawido* ‘I Hlewagastir descendent-of-Holti (the) horn made’. For this inscription, see Krause 1937:596–598.

²⁹ In 18–20, the verbs and the connectives are bolded, elements belonging to the same NPs are italicized, and the nominal elements obfuscating the metrical boundaries are bolded and italicized.

(18) Abj 10–11:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>10. Þar stóð mér
 <i>mǫrgum betri</i>
 <i>hǫddfinnǫndum</i>
 á hlið aðra
 tryggr vinr minn,
 sás trúa knáttak,
 <i>heiðþróaðr</i>
 <i>hverju ráði,</i></p> <p>11. Arinbjörn,
 es oss einn of hóf,
 <i>knía fremstr,</i>
 frá konungs fjónum,
 vinr þjóðans,
 es vættki ló
 í herskás
 hilmis garði.</p> | <p>There stood for-me
 <i>than-many better</i>
 <i>hoard-finders</i>
 on side one
 (the) faithful friend of-mine,
 whom trust could-I,
 <i>honor-thriving</i>
 <i>by-each counsel,</i></p> <p>Arinbjörn,
 who us alone (expl. of) removed,
 <i>of-men (the) foremost,</i>
 from (the) king's hatred,
 (the) friend of-(the)-lord,
 who never lied
 in (the) warprone
 monarch's mansion.</p> |
|---|--|

Prose order: Þar **stóð tryggr vinr minn, sás knáttak** trúa, á aðra hlið mér, *betri mǫrgum hoddfinnǫndum, heiðþróaðr hverju ráði, Arinbjörn, fremstr knía, es* einn of **hóf** oss frá konungs fjónum, **vinr þjóðans, es** vættki ló í herskás hilmis garði.

Translation: There **stood the faithful friend of mine, whom I could** trust, by my one side, *better than most hoard-finders, honor-thriving by each counsel, Arinbjörn, foremost of men, who* alone **removed** me (literally 'us') from the king's hatred, **the friend of the lord, who** never **lied** in the war-prone monarch's mansion.

The stanzaic division in 18 is that of the standard editions. However, in Abj 10, the NP in line 5 (*tryggr vinr minn* 'the faithful friend of mine'), which begins the new *helmingr*, is the postponed subject from the previous half-stanza, and *Arinbjörn* (st. 11/1) and *vinr þjóðans* 'the friend of the lord' (st. 11/5) are NPs belonging to the same complex subject. Stanzas of this type are not found in *Ynglingatal*, but they are quite common in *kviðuháttir* until the late thirteenth century.

If four lines are quoted separately, the *helmingr* is often syntactically incomplete unless it is sentence-introductory, as shown in 19.

- | | | | |
|------|--------|--|--|
| (19) | Hál 16 | <i>jólna sumbl;</i>
en vér gótum
stillis lof
sem steinar brú. | (the) gods' drink;
and we fashioned
(the) ruler's praise
like (a) stone's bridge. |
|------|--------|--|--|

Prose order: **Jólna sumbl;** **en** vér **gótum** stillis lof sem brú steinar.

Translation: **The gods' drink** [POETRY]; **and** I (literally 'we') **fashioned** the ruler's praise like a bridge of stone.

In this half-stanza from *Háleygjatal*, which Snorri quotes as a separate unit in the *Prose Edda* to illustrate a collective name for the ON gods (*jóln* 'gods'), the poetic circumlocution in line 1 (*jólna sumbl* 'the gods' drink [POETRY]') must belong to the preceding, no longer extant *helmingr*. As was the case in 2 above, Snorri adhered to the four-line half-stanza unit and ignored the fact that, as it stands in the text, line 1 occurs in syntactic isolation. Again it is clear that poets composing in *kviðuhátt* meter departed from a deeply entrenched convention to comply with the requirements imposed by a new form.

4.3. Preposition of Nominal Elements.

Quite often nominal elements, usually the subject or appositions to the subject, are preposed to allow for sentence introduction in a following b-line. In 20, the adjective in line 5 (*lofanlig* 'praiseworthy') modifies the subject (*himna sól* 'sun of the heavens') of the following bound clause, introduced in line 6:

(20) Hkv 40	En elding ifla foldar langa leið lýsa knátti , lofanlig , þá er litum skipti <i>himna sól</i> við hafröðul.	And (the) lightning of-(the)-hawks' land (a) long way shine could , (the) praise-worthy , when color exchanged <i>heavens' sun</i> with (the) ocean radiance.
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Prose order: **En** elding ifla foldar **knátti** lýsa langa leið, **þá er lofanlig sól himna skipti** litum við hafröðul.

Translation: **And** the lightning of the hawks' land [ARM > GOLD] **could** shine a long way **when the praiseworthy sun of the heavens exchanged** color with the ocean-radiance [GOLD].

As we have seen, the catalectic a-lines favor nominal fillers (Types A, C, and D), and this led poets to postpone or to prepose concatenations of nominal elements, further obscuring *helmingr* and stanza boundaries. Such stanzas are not found in *Ynglingatal*, but they are particularly prominent in Egill's poetry, in *Háleygjatal*, in the first and last parts of *Nóregs Konungatal*, and in *Hákonarkviða*.³⁰ Earlier scholars have noted that poems in *kviðuhátt* are characterized by syntactic nominal variation in a much higher degree than, for example, ON poems in *dróttkvætt* meter (Marold 1983:144–153).³¹ The reason for this is clear: nominal compounds, NPs, and PPs could easily be accommodated in catalectic a-lines, whereas VPs could not. To be sure, such nominal fillers are

³⁰ See St 2/5, 3/1, 8/5, 17/5, 21/5, 24/5; Abj 1/5, 2/1, 8/5, 10/5, 11/1, 11/5, 13/5, 14/5, 15/5, 18/5, 19/5, 21/5, 22/5, 23/5; Hál 4/1, 6/5, 10/5, 11/5, 12/5, 13/5, 16/1; Nkt 1/5, 71/5, 72/5, 73/5, 74/5, 75/5, 76/5, 77/5, 78/5, 80/5, 81/5, 82/5, 83/5; Hkv 2/5, 6/5, 15/5, 18/5, 24/5, 25/5, 26/5, 27/5, 29/5, 31/5, 33/5, 36/5, 37/5, 38/5, 40/5, 41/5.

³¹ Nominal variation comprises epic repetition, series of poetic synonyms, and series of appositions and appellatives. Consider the variation in 18: *tryggr vinr minn* '(the) faithful friend of-mine', *betri mǫrgum hǫddfinnǫndum* 'better than-most hoard-finders', *heiðþróaðr hverju ráði* 'honor-thriving by-each counsel', *Arinbjörn* 'Arinbjörn', *fremstr knía* 'foremost of-men', *vinr þjóðans* 'the-friend of the-lord'.

characteristic of a-lines in other Germanic meters as well, but not to the same extent as in *kviðuhátt*.

As was the case with the types of fillers discussed in 4.1, there is a marked shift in the types of metrical lines used with these nominal fillers starting with *Glælognskviða*. Consider the following percentages:³²

(21) Metrical Types of *kviðuhátt* a-lines from the ninth century until 1263

	Type A	Type C	Type D
Yt	62%	2%	35%
St	66%	18%	16%
Abj	30%	35%	31%
Hál	63%	6%	28%
Glæ	71%	12%	6%
Nkt	80%	12%	2%
Hkv	72%	24%	1%

Poems traditionally (or tentatively) dated to the ninth and tenth centuries show a fairly high percentage of Type D lines, but the frequency of that type decreases dramatically in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, while at the same time there is an increase in trochaic lines (see also the discussion in 4.1 above). This circumstance would seem to have implications for the debate concerning the date ascribed to a poem like *Ynglingatal*.³³

Both preposition and postponement of nominal (and other) sentence elements occur frequently in *dróttkvætt* poetry, too, but unlike in *kviðuhátt*, such elements never obfuscate *helmingr* and stanzaic boundaries in *dróttkvætt* (see Kuhn 1983:202–205). It is clear that preposition crossing metrical boundaries is another characteristic prompted by metrical restrictions in *kviðuhátt*.

³² The occurrence of Type A (*s+s+s*) is negligible throughout the centuries, and the type has been omitted in this table. For the dates of the poetic texts, see section 1 above.

³³ The distribution of other types of lines over the four centuries examined here also shows significant differences, as was pointed out in 4.1, but a discussion of that material lies outside the scope of the present discussion.

5. Conclusion.

The discussion above has shown that the catalectic *kviðuhátt* a-lines, the main characteristic of this meter, caused a breakdown in the syntactic and metrical structure, and this breakdown sets *kviðuhátt* apart from other ON meters. First of all, the aberrant syntax of *kviðuhátt*, which has been commented on by earlier scholars but never explained, is caused by metrical restrictions imposed on syntax, more specifically, on the placement of finite verbs in catalectic a-lines. Already by the time of the composition of the earliest poetry in *kviðuhátt* meter, the placement of finite verbs in independent clauses was subject to the verb-second constraint. In other skaldic meters and in eddic *fornyrðislag*, monosyllabic, disyllabic, and trisyllabic finite verbs could easily be accommodated in clause-introductory a-lines, but the metrical inventory of a-lines available to poets composing in *kviðuhátt* meter was restricted to the catalectic versions of Types A, C, and D. In lines of these types, finite verbs could occur only in a small number of positions, that is, positions 1, 2, and 3 in a-lines, and position 1 in c-lines, proclitically to the first or the second stressed word in the sentence.³⁴ Placing the finite verb of independent clauses in the following b-line was not an option, because such a word order violated the verb-second constraint. The finite verbs in bound clauses, on the other hand, could occur further back and in stressed positions, and they do so in all branches of ON poetry. In fact, poetry in *kviðuhátt* meter from as late as 1263 (Hkv) still displays verb-final syntax in bound clauses, even though that word order is not attested in the earliest ON prose. Furthermore, demonstratives and adverbs could function as connectives to allow for bound-clause word order. In Old Norse, there is no linguistic basis for reanalyzing demonstratives and adverbs as connectives, but this could be an archaic feature that was retained in *kviðuhátt* because it increased the inventory of bound clauses and allowed the poets to place finite verbs in b-lines (sentence-final position). In *Hákonarkviða* (ca. 1263), this type of bound clause is always introduced by the adverb *þar* ‘there’ plus a compound (Type C; Hkv 22/1, 25/1, 32/1, 36/1). The construction is clearly no longer productive and has been reduced to a mere syntactic metric stereotype.

³⁴ See, again, Kuhn’s First Law. Recall that finite verbs in metrical position 3 are very rare.

Second, and as a consequence of the need to accommodate finite verbs in b-lines, poems in *kviðuháttir* are characterized by a strong preference for bound clauses. This in turn led to concatenations of such clauses obfuscating the eight-line stanzaic division that is inviolable in all other skaldic meters, as well as in encomiastic *fornyrðislag* poetry (see 13 and 14 above).

Third, to allow for clause onset in tetrasyllabic b-lines rather than in catalectic a-lines, the poets often postponed or preposed nominal elements, making extensive nominal variation another feature characteristic of *kviðuháttir*.³⁵ Furthermore, because of nominal variation, the poets often failed to treat the four-line half-stanza as an independent syntactic unit, unlike their practice when composing in other skaldic meters.³⁶ Because the *helmingr* unit was so deeply entrenched in ON poetic tradition, later authors of prose works, such as Snorri Sturluson, automatically cited such half-stanzas in a prose context, despite the fact that they are syntactically incomplete (see 2 and 19 above).

When faced with the restrictions imposed by a new poetic form, then, poets composing in *kviðuháttir* meter were forced to relax structural rules that were strictly adhered to in other skaldic meters. To observe the constraint of word order, and, more specifically, the placement of inflected verbs in independent clauses, they adopted measures that violated such Nordic innovations as the eight-line stanza and the four-line *helmingr* units. Thus, it is clear that the syntactic and structural abnormalities of *kviðuháttir* poems are both principled and predictable. In that respect, *kviðuháttir* is a valuable heuristic in regard to poetic syntax,

³⁵ Marold (1983:214), in particular, emphasizes the stylistic difference between Þjóðólfr's *dróttkvætt* and *kviðuháttir* poems.

³⁶ Egill Skallagrímsson's poetry in *kviðuháttir* (St. 194 lines; Abj. 196 lines) contains 15 violations of the *helmingr* unit, but his poetry in the skaldic meters *runhent* (*Höfuðlausn*, 152 lines; Skj AI:35–39) and *dróttkvætt* (*Lausavísur*, 352 lines; Skj AI:48–59) has no violations. The corresponding numbers for Eyvindr Finnsson are as follows: *kviðuháttir* has 7 violations (*Hál*, 100 lines), *dróttkvætt* has no violations (*Lausavísur*, 112 lines; Skj AI: 961–70). That also holds true for Sturla Þórðarson: *kviðuháttir* has 14 violations (*Hkv*, 336 lines), *hrynhent* has no violations (*Hrynhenda*, 168 lines; Skj AII:102–108), *hagmælt* has no violations (*Hrafnsmál*, 160 lines; Skj AII, 119–124), and *dróttkvætt* has no violations (*Hákonarflokkur*, 88 lines; Skj AII:124–127).

and it lends strong support to our reconstruction of the grammar and prosody of ON poetry.

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