

THE EVOLUTION OF OLD GERMANIC METRICS:  
FROM THE SCOP TO THE SCALD

Olga Smirnitckaya

Dept. of Germanic Philology  
Moscow State University  
Moscow, USSR 119899

ABSTRACT

In the evolution of Old Germanic poetry the need for a metre as the external verse form with the universal range of application is supplied in two ways. The metre is either abstracted from the concrete prosodic structures of epic alliterative line giving rise to syllabotonic (in Late Old English poetry) or is originated as the discovery of form within the language (the formalization of prosodic word-structures in scaldic poetry).

I. The alliterative verse

I.1. In works on comparative metrics the Germanic alliterative verse (AV) is usually referred to as a free form of tonic (or accentual) verse. Thus, M.L. West defines an alliterative line as "a variable unit containing two stresses and as much else as the poet saw fit to put in" /1, p.181/. This definition is to a certain extent contradictory. In fact, sentence stress is the basic measure of alliterative long line, but the long line carries not two stresses, but four. As for the short line, or half-line, it is known since Sievers' "Die altgermanische Metrik" /2/, that it not only counts stresses (phonetic words), but also takes into account - at least in regular forms of AV - the prosodic syllable features within the word. In its schemes syllables are classified by quantity and also by stress. However, it follows from the alliterative design that in the long line the gradation of phrasal stress is taken into account as well.

The complexity of AV, the union in it of utmost freedom with "inscrutable and needless" distinctions has always impeded scholars. Innumerable attempts have been made to explain away facts discovered by Sievers and his followers, either by changing priorities from the linguistic arrangement of the line to its oral (musical) performance or by drawing a sharp border-line between the principal (metrical) schemes and their phonetic (rhythmical)

realization. "Sievers faßte bloß die Realisierung ins Auge", - Kurylowicz writes in this connection, - ohne zum Grundschemata vorzudringen" /3, S.140/.

But Sievers' special rules are rules indeed, that is they prescriptively distinguish between the metrical (those recurrent in verse) and non-metrical (not in use or occasional) lines (cf. /4, p.174/).

Thus, being an accentual system, AV is quite sensitive to the quantitative structure of words in stressed positions. The change in the word order in Old Norse Vsp.42.7. fagrrauðr hani would result in a non-metrical ('too light') line <sup>a</sup>hani fagrrauðr. But a minor emendation would reconcile it with the scheme: eða hani fagrrauðr (cf. Gðr.II.7. eða gull glóðrauðr).

It is only natural that the metrical relevance of secondary stress provokes main objections. To quote Kurylowicz again, "Nach Sievers gehören sie zum metrischen Schema, während sie in Wirklichkeit bloß eine submetrische Rolle spielen, d.h. beim mündlichen Vortrag zwar berücksichtigt werden, aber metrisch ebenso wenig relevant sind wie die kombinatorischen Varianten der Sprachlaute für die phonologische Gestalt des Wortes" /3, S.140/. Nevertheless, in spite of the theory, secondary stress is essential to the metre in such a line as Old English Bëo. 463. SÖð - Dena folc (E-type, in Sievers' notation), where it supports the four-element structure of the line, i.e. prevents the weak syllables from slurring. Thus, this line is not to be modified into <sup>a</sup>mhtigan folc (but cf. Bëo. 1398. mhtigan drihtne). E. Sievers, with all his alleged 'empiricism' made a clear-cut distinction between the schemes with obligatory (i.e. metrical) and facultative (i.e. submetrical) secondary stresses.

Language selectivity of AV is never so persistent as in its 'rhythmic licences'. The extrametrical (i.e. additional to two scheme 'drops') anacrusis in BEOWULF will be a good example. The actual words in this position make it evident that in spite of what is expected of the accentual verse, AV distinguishes

between the so-called 'phonetic words' and words as prosodically structured lexical units. In the regular verse of the BEOWULF-poet anacrusis is reserved for unstressed morphemes (i.e. preverbs), while the unstressed auxiliary words (i.e. prepositions, conjunctions etc.) are avoided in this position. The pattern of Bëo. 217. Gewät þa ofer wægholm / winde gefýsed is recurrent in at least 75 lines of the poem. Thomas Cable took notice of the fact, pointing out that the deviations in metre are based on the same material as the deviations in Germanic accentual word structure /5, p.35/. Hence, it can be easily understood why anacrusis has remained in fact a minor rhythmic licence in the Scandinavian version of AV, where it occurs only occasionally and only in loose forms of Fornyrðislag. The matter is that in Old Norse there are practically no words with non-initial stress (verbs with prefixes). Or, to say it in another way, there exists no prosodic material where anacrusis could have been opposed to 'metrical' initial drops in B-, C-types (x' - x' - or x' - x' ).

These facts taken into consideration, we can better size up the essential difference between regular forms of AV and its loose forms. The rhythmic tendencies of the latter are in regular forms split into the main rule and the alternative rule, that is the rule realized under definable linguistic conditions (cf. Keyser's approach in /6/).

If metre is defined as an invariant scheme abstracted from the prosodic structure of a concrete line, then such metre is not to be found in AV, however complicated and strict it might be. The development of AV leads not to its abstraction but to its further splitting and division into variant metrical (main and alternative) schemes and, consequently, to its still closer union with the poetic language.

If metre is called the general law of verse, then the alliterative metrical system can be with good reason compared with the common law of ancient Teutons with its incidental detailing and casuistry. I believe that this mode of existence of Germanic verse (that is its not being abstracted from the word- and sentence-prosodic structures) is precisely the feature that makes it so interesting for the theory of metrics. It is an archaic feature of verse typologically implied by the very essence of epic authorship.

I.2. Theoretical studies of AV have always been verified by the question of how an ancient scop could cope with the system so astoundingly complicated as this. A. Heusler believed that Sievers' five types of the short line are to be regarded as a feature belonging not to AV as such

but to the artificial style that had developed in 'Leseepos' as a result of secondary normalization /7, S.130/. Now that owing to the discoveries of recent decades, more is known about the nature of epic authorship, we would rather say: formal complexity of AV is the result of its 'artlessness', that is of the fact that the scop was not aware of verse-form as such. It was not the form as a system of devices that he mastered but the formally organized - formulaic - language. Recreating and varying formulas the scop was at the same time recreating the verse with all its gradual transitions between the norm (canonized forms), usage and free variation.

It would not be a mistake to say that the whole theory of AV is imbedded in the formulaic theory as created by M. Parry and A. Lord. Parry's initial definition of the formula as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same essential conditions to express a given essential idea" /8, p.80/ and still more the illuminating statements of "The Singer of Tales" by A. Lord point to exactly the same type of relations between language and verse as was outlined above, except for the fact that the 'tendencies' of the folklore epic songs as distinguished from the medieval epos, have not jelled into 'special rules'.

But in spite of Lord's assumption that the singer "learns the meter ever in association with particular phrases, those expressing the most common and oft-repeated ideas of the traditional story" /9, p.32/, and that, consequently, "any study of formula must therefore properly begin with a consideration of metrics and music" /9, p.31/, the nature of epic metrics remains in the background of his theory. On the same pages he labels the verse "a more or less rigid rhythmic pattern" the singer "has to pour his ideas into" /9, p.22/ which seems exactly the opposite to the assumption cited above. Francis P. Magoun and his pupils by whose untiring efforts hoards of Old English formulas were examined, never attempted any explanation of AV, though 'the five types', as one could have imagined, proved indispensable for the practical purposes of classifying formulas. In the heated discussion of the Sixties around the formulaic theory (see the review of Ann Ch. Watts /10/) the problems of verse were altogether omitted from consideration. This indifference to the verse aspect of formulas can be accounted for by two reasons.

Firstly, the formulaic poetry was invariably viewed by the followers of Parry and Lord as the oral-formulaic poetry, formulas being regarded as the visible trace of oral composition, that is "the composition during oral performance".

The 'metrics', in its turn, was mainly thought of as the reflection of 'music', the reconstruction of which was believed to be the major aim of scholarly studies. Special importance was attached to the Anglo-Saxon harp (cf. the discussion in /II/). The difference between the literary situation in the twentieth century Yugoslavia and the situation in medieval England was obscured in that reasoning, though this particular difference is responsible for the fact that the epic poetry was transferred to parchment without the assistance of a philologist with a tape-recorder. It has been shown ever since that formulas can not be used as a proof of the oral origin of a text in its extant form. They do not fall into disuse, to say the least, in texts definitely known as those created on parchment. Formulaic poetry - and the corresponding type of metrics - lived as long as 'the unconscious authorship' (M. Steblin-Kamenskij's term) prevailed in medieval written poetry. To quote Steblin-Kamenskij, "The movement from unconscious to conscious authorship, obviously, is the basic direction in which literature develops. It is a great simplification, though, to assume that the transition from oral to written literature coincides with the transition to conscious authorship" /I2, p.130/.

Secondly, among various types of formulas and formulaic systems it was the semantic formulas (i.e. formulas serving to equip epic themes) that mainly attracted attention. It is clear, however, that the connection of verse with language is first and foremost realized on the level of more general patterns underlying semantic formulas, i.e. on the level of rhythmic-syntactic formulas. As a matter of fact, only the latter justify speaking of the 'totally formulaic style' as the general organizing principle of Old Germanic poetic language. As for semantic formulas, their share is largely dependant upon the genre of the text and other features of its poetic style.

Being rooted in 'unconscious authorship', AV can not break through the range of traditional ideas and values of epic poetry, and this puts an end to its existence.

1.3. There were several attempts to explain the collapse of AV (first of all in the English tradition) as the result of the changed structure of the language. Primary importance was attached to the changes in word prosodics (quantitative changes in Middle English word), in word-stock (numerous French borrowings and the deterioration of poetic vocabulary) and also to the analytic tendencies in grammar. This approach (first applied to AV by Winfred P. Lehmann /I3/) seems nowadays too straightforward. No less radical

prosodic transformations (as well as other linguistic changes) took place in the pre-written period, but while an unbroken poetic tradition and the continuity of poetic texts were preserved, they did not produce any catastrophes in the metrical system. The Old Norse "post-syncope" Fornyrðislag had, obviously, little affinity to the Common Germanic long line which was current at the time of syllable autonomy. Still, both systems, which are thousand years apart, are diachronically and typologically (as far as verse-language relations are concerned) identical. Linguistic changes become destructive for the verse only when poetry spreads to the spheres of reality unconquered (and unconquerable) by tradition, and the verse comes into contact with new subjects and raw speech material. This process can be to some extent traced in Late Old English texts. Thus, although the author of the Late Old English poem DURHAM takes great pains to follow the classical samples of AV, his attempts are bound to fail: "like a boy riding a bicycle, once the traditional poet or singer began to think about what he was doing, he was liable to fall off" /I4, p.176/. Although the syllable range varies in DURHAM within the same limits as in BEOWULF and the number of alliterative words per line is usually observed, the alliteration, marking accidental words, is ineffective, the metrical schemes of the short line are crushed, and the place of formulas is taken by disorderly speech material. The verse of DURHAM might be defined as "a variable unit containing two stresses and as much else as the poet saw fit to put in" (see I.1), but this is no longer alliterative verse.

At the same time it is quite symptomatic, that in this particular loose verse and as an attempt to compensate for its looseness, the "alternating rhythm becomes almost mandatory" /I3, p.100/:

9. Is in ðere byri eac/ bearnum gecyðed  
 14. Is ðer inne midd heom/ ðelwold biscop

The same is more or less true of other Late Old English texts. The way is gradually paved for the adoption of Latin and French poetic metres and for the conception of syllabo-tonics.

Some centuries earlier and on an incomparably larger scale the process of abstracting metrics as an external form began in the Scandinavian tradition. The starting point for this process was (as in the case of Old English poetry) the spreading of poetry to new subjects (first and foremost the sphere of the actual present) and the development of individual authorship. But the scaldic metrics unlike the budding syllabo-tonic schemes

of English poetry appears as the result of abstracting the form within the prosodic structures of the language itself.

## 2. The scaldic verse

2.1. The scaldic verse is generally considered as a tightened form of the epic verse: "the scalds added external requirements to those they had inherited" /I3, p.84/. The scaldic line is formed, from this point of view, by adding a fixed cadence (x) to the short line of the epic mould. The scald retains the accentual schemes of the line (Sievers' five types), but adds to them some innovative syllabic restrictions on the number of unstressed syllables and the quantitative rules: so, resolution is permitted in the initial positions of the line but avoided in the middle of the line, etc. The alliteration, in its turn, is subjected to some new formal restrictions and assisted by internal rhyme ('hending') of two types: aðalhending, or full rhyme, in the even lines of a visa and skothending, or partial rhyme, in its odd lines.

It is clear, however, that this approach to the scaldic verse entails additional complications to the old question of how poets were able to cope with their technique. The rules of epic poetry, as we have seen, were not cumbersome for the scop: "he learns the meter ever in association with particular phrases" /9, p.32/. But the scaldic poetry is demonstrably unformulaic. Entity of sense is not evolved by its lines. So, the three words of the following line by scald Sigvat Þórðarson all belong to three different sentences interwoven within the space of a helming: eirlaust - konungr - þeira. Peter G. Foote might be quite right when he suggests that "pairs of alliterative words and rhyming stems must have hung together as tags, perhaps not 'formulaic' in the strict sense of the word, but ready to spring in mind" /I5, p.183/, but the technique of such composition, - if we consider the remarkable 'scaldic sensibility' (Carol Clover) in matters of authorship, - remains even more obscure with this suggestion.

What is still worse, there are numerous lines that do not lend themselves to the routine procedure of metrical analysis: some of the generally accepted criteria are ineffective in case of the scaldic verse (especially those based on the semantic values of words), others - insufficient (as eddic alliteration in lines with an additional stress). The accentuation of the simplest line of four words (kilir ristur haf lista) becomes a problem for a scholar attached to the traditional approach. It is often assumed that the scalds sacrificed some metrical rules for the sake of some other metrical

rules, and that being inveterate 'formalists' they often actually violated form. Sometimes they went so far as to put auxiliary words in the position of key-alliteration to adjust the number of syllables and the framework of hending.

We prefer another solution to this problem. It is the contention of the present paper that eddic metrical schemes are not to be taken for granted in scaldic verse. The violation of the eddic structures was not compulsory but deliberate, not chaotic but systematic in scaldic versification. In his attitude towards the outworn treatment of the language in traditional poetry the scald resorted to a device that might be called 'alienation' (ostrannenie) after the Russian formal school. He experimented with the prosodic structures of words like a true 'structuralist' and in doing so reduced the structures of language to a few operable patterns. We are going to show now that scaldic metrics is not at all as complicated as it looks.

Old Icelandic literature (unlike Old Irish) completely passes over the question of how 'the young scalds' learned their trade. It is well-known to all those who attempted to penetrate 'Snorri's categories', that elucidations of the author of the YOUNGER EDDA are in fact mystifying, and the most important things are left unsaid. Suffice is to say that abounding in most exotic terminology, Snorri's famous treatise does not even possess a coherent term for alliteration.

2.2. The metrical units. In all probability the scaldic line comes from the alliterative epic line, but the relations between the two metrical units underwent complete transformation in scaldic poetry.

The scaldic six-syllable line derives from the short epic line. But the short line is the ultimate unit of AV which means, first, that it can not be divided into any smaller segments, and, second, that it is subordinated to the long line in the same way as the prosodic structures of the words are subordinated in speech to phrasal rhythm. It is then the long line with its rhythmic integrity and its variable schemes establishing the semantic values of words which can be rightly called the principal unit of AV.

This subordination of metrical units is abolished in scaldic verse, whose metrical schemes are constituted by the prosodic structures of isolated words. As a matter of fact, the continuity of the phrasal rhythm can not be retained in the verse where the phrase is broken by unjustified enjambements and is interwoven with other phrases to make the text nearly inscrutable. Alliteration under these circumstances provides only a formal connection for lines with the general accen-

tual pattern. In other words, the long line ceases to exist in scaldic poetry as an integral unit. It is transformed into a distich, or a constructive element in the composition of a *vísa* (cf. the Old Norse term *fjórdungr*, i.e. 'the fourth part of a *vísa*').

Thus, in scaldic poetry the short line is autonomous and serves as the principal metrical unit or the line proper (*vísuorð*).

The autonomization of the short line is most evidently manifested in its cadence. The scaldic cadence is obligatorily marked by a heading and is formed by an inseparable (whole) word. Marking the end of the line, the cadence is at the same time an element of the binary structure of the line. The remaining part of the line is, in its turn, segmented into two separate 'prosodic words'. The successive binary segmentation of the line corresponds, as we can see, to the successive binary segmentation of a *vísa* (*vísa* - *helmingr* - *fjórdungr* - *vísuorð*). At the same time, there appears a certain correlation between the metrical form and the separability of scaldic kennings.

In the composite structure of scaldic lines the traditional metrical types are subjected to considerable simplification and deformation.

2.3. The metrical types of scaldic verse (dróttkvætt). Thus, the scaldic line consists of three 'prosodic words' that may be termed in accordance with the succession of its segmentation as the finale (cadence), the mediale and the initiale. The boundary of the mediale is marked by the boundary of the penultimate notional word:

the main part of the line		cadence
austr se'k / fjöll af //	flausta	
<u>initiale</u>	<u>mediale</u>	<u>finale</u>

Each of these three segments of a scaldic line has essentially different metrical functions and rhythmic possibilities. The rigidity of the line increases from its beginning to its end. The finale, as we know, is the line's *constanta*. The mediale is chosen by the scald from all the available prosodic structures of the language (some structures, however, are dropped out or merged into one, see below). In this respect the mediale can be termed the line's *alternanta*. The structure of *alternanta* fully predicts the metrical treatment of the linguistic material in the initiale, which owing to its predictability allows considerable rhythmic variation (*varianta*). It is within this section of the line that quantitative substitutions (sometimes doubling the syllabic range of *varianta*), additional word-boundaries and cohesion are widely practised by the scald. However, the immediate

prosodic prototype of the initiale is the prosodic structure of a two- or three-syllable word.

Three prosodic types of *alternantas* are distinguished; hence, the whole variety of epic metrical forms (five types with their variations) is reduced to only three unified patterns. The lines which can not be confined to these three types (specifically, lines with weak initial position) are not infrequent in the earliest scaldic poetry (the 9th - the first half of the 10th century). In other cases they develop as a secondary metrical device in the innovative efforts of individual scalds; cf. for instance VELLEKLA by Einarr Skálaglam and some of the varieties of *dróttkvætt* encountered in HATTALYKILL and HATTATAL.

Type I, neutral, alternanta - x ('heavy'). This is the only type, whose *alternanta* admits of the inner (additional) word-boundary, on condition that the weak position in it is filled by the lightest of 'clitics'. Thus, the finite forms of the verb are avoided in this position, the *varianta* (initiale) of the same type or *alternanta* of type 3 being reserved for them. Examples: *hnekðumk / heiónir // rekkar; rýgr kvazk / inni // eiga; setit hef'k / opt við // betra*. Type I accounts for 39 (Pórbjörn Horn - klofi) up to 56 (Arnórr Þórðarson) per cent of lines in scaldic poetry of 10th-11th centuries and has a conspicuous preference for odd lines.

Two other types of *alternantas* are formed by a 'minimal' word ('light' *alternanta*). Both of them are functionally marked and prefer even lines. Type 2, *alternanta* ∪ (short two-syllabic word): *allsvangr / gøtur // langar; berr mik / Dønum // ferri; varð'k þeim / feginn // harðla*. Type 3 with a one-syllable *alternanta*: *hialdrgegnir / bú // þegna; vindblásit / skóf // Strinda; kilir ristur / haf // lista*.

The one-syllable *alternanta* in type 3 has some noteworthy quantitative restrictions. Thus, the structures with a long vowel in a closed syllable and/or consonant cluster (*skóf, batt, lezk*) are permitted for finite verbs but avoided for nouns and nominal forms. This restriction (known as 'the Craigie's rule') reflects the accentual disparity between the verb and the noun in AV, that is their belonging to different metrical ranks: the nouns, like 'hrings, hraustr' appear to be too 'heavy' for this *alternanta*.

The prosodic distinction of 'heavy' (type I) and 'light' (types 2,3) *alternantas* is manifested in their treatment of alliteration and rhyme. The 'heavy' *alternanta* as a general rule (more than 85% of lines among *höfuð-skáld*, i.e. 'head-scalds') is marked by rhyme and/or alliteration. The 'light' *alternantas*, on the

other hand, take no part in sound repetitions irrespective of the meaning of words in this position. The main weight of the line is correspondingly shifted in such lines to *varianta* (the initiale) crammed with heavy syllables and marked by both rhyme and alliteration. The natural prosodic structures (as they are reflected in eddic schemes) are substituted in these lines for an artificial, forced rhythm, most vividly shown in type 2 (with bisyllabic compounds in the initiale). Such lines as *hugsvinn / kona // innan* would be interpreted in terms of 'the five-type system' as a heavy variety of A-line ( $\leq \leq \leq x$ ); that is just the way they are usually interpreted in literature on scaldic poetry. The structural function of rhyme is sure to be denied in this case /16, p.35/. It is evident, on the other hand, that this artificial rhythm was used as a most effectual tool of bringing into prominence scaldic nonce words heavily burdened with consonant clusters and dissected by rhyme and alliteration in juxtaposition. Cf. some more examples from Sigvat's ERFIDRÁPA ÓLÁFS HELGA (IO40): (type 2) *sóknstriðs / firum // riða; margdyrr / konungr // varga; stálgustr / ofan // bustu*; (type 3) *úthlaupum / gram // kaupask; hundmorgum / lét // grundar; hjaldrmóðum / gram // bróðir; framlundar / og // mundar*.

The term 'stress' has been avoided above, although the observed features of scaldic metrics can be easily described as 'taking the stress off' *alternanta*, 'the stress junction' in *varianta* etc. However such a description would obviously be simply re-encoding the facts, following from the quantitative analysis of verse and the study of sound-repetitions. The scaldic verse fully justifies the approach to word stress according to which 'stress is not a force marking off a syllable and given a priori; rather, it is a mechanism referring syllables to one or another category' /17, p.25/. But this statement is justified by the scaldic metrics only insofar as it operates with isolated words.

2.4. Quantity and stress. It should be noted in conclusion, that although scaldic verse is both genetically and functionally linked with the types of the epic short line (and scaldic devices are effective only against the background of epic poetry), the relations between the two prosodic features of the epic line - quantity and stress - appear turned upside down.

In AV quantity was subordinated to stress. The syllable length served as an additional means of marking the 'lifts' of the line. The role of quantitative rules is minimal in loose forms of AV (such as in LAY OF HILDEBRAND), held by emphatic phrasal stresses and thus justi-

fying the name of tonic verse. The role of quantitative oppositions increases in the course of canonizing short-line schemes and/or reducing the range of syllable variation in the line. Their priority in relation to stress in scaldic verse is the natural consequence of its syllabism. But at the same time this is the result of the fact that the immediate prototype of the scaldic verse pattern is the short line, whose schemes are based on the prosodic structures of the word.

#### REFERENCES

- /1/ M.L. West, "Indo-European Metre", in: "Glotta. Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache", Bd. 51, 1973, pp. 161-167.
- /2/ E. Sievers, "Die altgermanische Metrik", Halle (Saale), 1893.
- /3/ J. Kuryłowicz, "Metrik und Sprachgeschichte", Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk, 1975.
- /4/ V.M. Žirmunskij, "Vvedenie v metriku", in: V.M. Žirmunskij, "Teorija stixa", Leningrad, 1975.
- /5/ Th. Cable, "The Meter and Melody of BEOWULF", Urbana, 1974.
- /6/ S.J. Keyser, "Old English Prosody", in: "College English", v. 3, N5, pp. 331-356.
- /7/ A. Heusler, "Deutsche Versgeschichte", Bd. I, T. I-II, Berlin, 1956.
- /8/ M. Parry, "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making, I: Homer and Homeric Style", in: "Harvard Studies in Classical Philology", v. 43, 1932.
- /9/ A.B. Lord, "The Singer of Tales", Cambridge, Mass., 1960.
- /10/ A. Ch. Watts, "The Lyre and the Harp. A Comparative Reconsideration of Oral Tradition in Homer and Old English Epic Poetry", in: "Yale Studies in English", v. 169, New Haven, 1969.
- /11/ "Old English Poetry. Fifteen Essays", ed. by R.P. Creed, Providence, 1967.
- /12/ M.I. Steblin-Kamenskij, "Folklore and Literature in Iceland and the Problem of Literary Progress", in: "Scandinavica", Bd. II, N2, pp. 127-136.
- /13/ W. Ph. Lehmann, "The Development of Germanic Verse Form", Austin, Tex., 1956.
- /14/ Th. A. Shippey, "Old English Verse", London, 1972.
- /15/ P.G. Foote, "Beginnings and Endings: some Notes on the Study of Scaldic Poetry", in: "Les vikings et leur civilisation", Paris - La Haye (Mouton), 1976.
- /16/ R. Frank, "Old Norse Court Poetry: The Dróttkvætt Stanza", in: "Islandica", Bd. 42, Ithaca - London, 1978.
- /17/ A. Liberman, "Germanic Accentology", v. I, "The Scandinavian Languages", Minneapolis, Minn., 1982.