ERIC T. LANDER

The etymology of the Nordic negative enclitic *-a/-(a)t*

1 Introduction

A number of etymologies for the negative enclitic *-a/-(a)t* in Nordic have been proposed in the literature. In this article I discuss four of them, referring to them as the AND, ONE, NEVER-A-THING, and PERSON MARKER etymologies. Each is described in (1).

(1) Etymologies to be assessed

(i) *AND etymology*
ON *-a* is cognate with Go. *-uh* (< PGmc **-(u)h*^{w} < PIE **-k*^{w}*e*),

I am grateful to a number of reviewers and colleagues for helpful comments, suggestions, corrections, and discussion throughout the long history of this article. In particular I would like to thank two anonymous reviewers for *ANF*, Jóhanna Barðdal, Johan Brandtler, David Håkansson, Artūras Ratkus, Henrik Rosenkvist, Tarrin Wills, and Gebrenegus Ghilagaber Yebio for their excellent input on various aspects of this work. Thanks also to my audience at GLAC 24 (May 11–12, 2018). Special thanks to Haraldur Bernharðsson for sharing a prepublication version of the XML file with the lemmatizations for the forthcoming electronic edition of *The Codex Regius of the Poetic Edda* (Editiones Arnamagnæanæ, Series Electronicæ, Vol. III) from the Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies, Reykjavík. My research has been supported by postdoctoral funding from the University of Gothenburg and from Stockholm University.

Lander, E. T., postdoctoral researcher in Nordic languages, Dept. of Swedish and Multilingualism, Stockholm University. "The etymology of the Nordic negative enclitic *-a/-(a)t*". *ANF* 136, pp. 73–134.

Abstract: This paper provides a critical assessment of the etymological hypotheses that have been put forth through the years for ON *-a/-(a)t* 'not', a negative particle suffixed to finite verbs, found in Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian. The four main etymologies evaluated are: (i) the connector/generalizing particle PGmc **-(u)h*^{w} (cf. Go. *-uh*); (ii) the numeral for 'one', PGmc **ainã/*ainat-* (cf. Go. *ain*, *ainata*); (iii) the (negative) indefinite phrases PGmc **(n-)aiwa-* '(n)ever' and **(n-)aiwa-weht-* '(n)ever a thing'; and finally (iv) *-(a)t* as an extended version of *-a*, with *-t* originally a second person singular marker, i.e. **ā* (< **ai*) 'ever' + 2SG **-t*. Etymology (iv) is a new hypothesis, and much of the paper is spent testing it, using evidence from the Poetic Edda. It turns out that there is good support for etymology (iv). Still, it is difficult to decide the question once and for all, and progress on this front depends mostly on the prospect of new empirical material emerging, in particular new runic inscriptions.

Keywords: analogy, grammaticalization, Jespersen's Cycle, negation, reinforcement.

a generalizing/connector particle most easily glossed as 'and', while *-(a)t* is cognate with Go. *-uþþan* (< *-uh* + *þan*) (Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1874).

(ii) ONE *etymology*
ON *-(a)t* < **ainat-* 'one' (neuter singular, long-form) (originally going back to Kock 1879). Starting with Brate (1887: 52, fn. 1), some scholars also consider ON *-a* to be derived from the neuter singular (short-form) **ainã* 'one'. Cf. Go. *ain*, *ainata*.

(iii) NEVER-A-THING *etymology*
The (negative) indefinite phrases '(n)ever' (< PGmc **(n-)aiwa-*) and '(n)ever a thing' (< PGmc **(n-)aiwa-weht-*) give rise to ON *-a* and *-(a)t*, respectively, paralleling West Germanic forms like OE *n-ā* 'no, not' and OE *n-ā-wiht* 'nothing' > *nāht* 'nothing, not' (Grønvik 1997, building on earlier work; see below).

(iv) PERSON MARKER *etymology*
As in Grønvik's etymology, ON *-a* can be identified as 'ever' (ultimately from **aiwa-* 'eternity'). Unlike previous scholarly treatments, however, this etymology posits that ON *-(a)t* is basically composed of *-a* plus 2SG *-t*, where the person marker PN **-t* is seen in the preterite indicative of strong verbs, in the present indicative of preterite-present verbs, and in the present and past indicative of suppletive 'be'. The person marker was appended by analogy with the 1SG **-k* (cf. ON *em-k-a-k*). This hypothesis can be tested from a number of different angles, with promising results, as I will show with data from the Poetic Edda.

It is clear that *-a* and *-(a)t* are semantically equivalent and should from a synchronic point of view be considered as a 'unit' (Sievers 1912: 336), but a historical account needs to distinguish between them, so that each form gets an adequate explanation (whatever that might be) of its own. There are, naturally, different approaches in the literature as to how closely related the two forms are. For instance, many proponents of the ONE etymology see *-a* and *-(a)t* as more or less parallel forms, with each one coming from a different neuter singular form of 'one'. The originator of the ONE etymology, Axel Kock, however, took a less symmetric view of the two particles, deriving only *-at* from 'one' and arguing that *-a* arose later, via reanalysis of *-at* in certain phonological contexts. Nevertheless, at the risk of oversimplifying, I group these views together under the label ONE. More detailed discussion is provided below.

In this article I take one etymology at a time and discuss its pros and cons. The first three etymologies are ordered from least to most plausible (AND < ONE < NEVER-A-THING). The fourth option (PERSON MARKER) is an original hypothesis offered up on the basis that Grønvik's NEVER-A-THING etymology, for all of its merits, is not very sensitive to dialect-geographical restrictions on the enclitic negator. I develop the PERSON MARKER etymology and test it in a number of different ways, showing that there is good evidence in its favor. This does not necessarily entail that Grønvik's etymology must be rejected, but it does show that the etymology of the negative particle is a complex question which cannot yet be considered fully settled or answered.

Turning now to some general background, consider the following passage, which was written by Jacob Grimm almost a century before Jespersen's seminal work on the negative cycle (Jespersen 1917).

> NI war die ursprüngliche und wahre negation; in der goth. sprache hat sie noch den weitesten spielraum, in den übrigen nimmt sie allmälich ab, wiewohl auf verschiedne weise; heutzutag ist sie vor dem verbo überall verschwunden und den partikeln gewichen, die anfangs bloß zu ihrer verstärkung hinter das verbum gestellt wurden und zum theil mit ihr selbst zusammengesetzt sind.[1]
> (Grimm 1831: 715)

Although Jespersen extended the idea to languages outside of Germanic, such as French, it is clear that Grimm had a good understanding of the phenomenon, despite rarely receiving credit for this in the literature (though see Kock 1879: 18–19 and Haugen 1986 for some discussion).

What we today call Jespersen's Cycle (coined by Dahl 1979) can be illustrated using Old Norse as in (2–5) (unless otherwise indicated, line numbers are from Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson et al. 2019).

(2) *ne* V_{FIN} → *ne* V_{FIN}*-a/-at* → V_{FIN}*-a/-at*

(3) máni þat **ne** vissi / hvat hann megins átti
moon that NEG knew what he power.GEN had
'The moon didn't know the power he had.'
(*Vǫluspá* 5)

[1] "*Ni* was the original, true negation; in the Gothic language it had the widest range, in the rest [of Germanic] it is narrowed down gradually, though in different ways; these days it has disappeared in its pre-verbal position everywhere and given way to particles that at first were placed post-verbally only for the sake of reinforcement and are in part made up of it [= the original negation *ni*]."

(4) er þú at gráti **ne** fær**-at**
which you to crying.DAT NEG get-NEG
'which for crying you do not receive'
(*Hamðismál* 7)

(5) sékk**-a** ek þann Vǫlundi / til smiðju borinn.
see.1SG-NEG I it Wayland.DAT to smithy borne
'I don't see it carried to the smithy for Wayland.'
(*Vǫlundarkviða* 18)

In the earliest stage of the cycle, preverbal *ne* (PIE **ne*) was the sole marker of negation; this stage survived here and there in the Old Norse texts (see Section 5.3), one example being (3). In the next stage of the cycle, a reinforcing particle *-a/-(a)t* with postverbal placement arose, creating a configuration in which the verb was flanked by two negative elements, as seen in (4). In the final stage of the cycle (before it potentially repeats), preverbal *ne* disappears completely and *-a/-(a)t* takes over, as illustrated in (5). Preverbal *ne* was archaic already in the earliest poetry and essentially gone by 800 AD (Þórhallur Eyþórsson 2002). As we will see below, Jespersen's Cycle was completed in Nordic far earlier than in West Germanic (as also noted by Breitbarth et al. 2020: 124–125).

Before ending this section, some basic facts about *-a/-(a)t* will be helpful in what follows. First, the particle could be suffixed only to finite verbs. Verbs negated by the enclitic appear main-clause-initially in 83 % of cases in the Poetic Edda (Þórhallur Eyþórsson 2002: 197–198, 200, Table 1 and earlier work).[2] The particle could not be appended to infinitives, for which *eigi* (lit. 'never') was used instead. Importantly, *eigi* is also seen with finite verbs in prose interludes scattered throughout the Poetic Edda (e.g. *Þórr kom* ***eigi*** 'Thor came not' in *Lokasenna*) and even in the poetry itself as an 'emphatic' negation (for some early discussion

[2] A reviewer suggests that the Old Norse particle's appearance in second position (i.e. immediately following the clause-initial verb) might be informative as to its etymology, since this is the typical position for clitics in old Indo-European (Wackernagel 1892). The main problem with this idea is that obligatory clause-initial placement of the negated finite verb was not the rule in *early* Nordic; by the time this rule had established itself, *-a/-(a)t* was already a negator (Þórhallur Eyþórsson 2002: 216–217). The fact that the enclitic appeared in a Wackernagel-like position at this later stage, then, leaves us none the wiser about its ultimate origins. Moreover, clitics appearing in this second position in old Indo-European were diverse in kind (as noted by Anderson 1993: 70, among others), so even if the enclitic negation could be said to appear in Wackernagel's position, it is unclear how helpful this would be in narrowing down the etymological options available. That is, we would still have to decide if it was a (pro)noun, sentential adverbial, discourse particle, etc.

see Neckel 1912; for discussion of emphasis and discourse activation in the development of negators, see Blaxter & Willis 2017). Use of *eigi* instead of *-a/-(a)t* with finite verbs is obviously a newer development and marks a restart of Jespersen's Cycle in Nordic.[3]

Second, the particle appears to be a West Nordic innovation, with no convincing evidence of the particle having existed in East Nordic varieties (though the material is of course limited).[4] There are more than 230 attestations of the particle in the Poetic Edda and, by Grønvik's (1997: 9, Table I) count, close to 500 in total in skaldic verse (from the 9th to 14th centuries). The electronic *ONP* returns 41 attestations of *-a* and 40 of *-(a)t* in prose works, including *Grágás*, *Díalógar (Viðróður) Gregors páfa*, the Old Icelandic *Hómilíur*, *Morkinskinna*, *Alexanders saga*, and a handful of other works.

Finally, the vowel in *-(a)t* was subject to a simple phonological rule of deletion after a short vowel: *gerðu-t* (*Am* 38/7), *gerði-t* (*Am* 27/7) vs. *má-at* (*Fáfn* 45/5), *bjó-at* (*Sigsk* 37/3). That being said, there are a handful of forms, many involving the subjunctive ending *-i*, which nevertheless allow the negator *-at* or *-a* to their immediate right (e.g. *skríði-at* [*HHund II* 32/1], *renni-a* [*HHund II* 32/5], *bíti-a* [*HHund II* 33/1]) (see Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1874: xxvi, though note that they erroneously give *skríði-a* for the first form). A prose example is *mátti-a* 'could not'

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[3] As far as syntactic positioning is concerned, the development of *eigi* does not neatly follow Jespersen's Cycle. For one, there is no stage at which *eigi* cooccurs with the negation *-a/-(a)t*. Instead *-a/-(a)t* is seemingly replaced in postverbal position by *eigi*, giving the impression of 'jumping ahead' to the final stage in the cycle.

[4] Delbrück (1910: 40) writes: "Es ist merkwürdig, daß dieses *-a* sich nur im Westnordischen findet. Ob es einst auch im Ostnordischen vorhanden war, dort aber durch die synonymen *eigh* und *ekke* verdrängt wurde, wage ich nicht zu entscheiden." ["It is remarkable that this *-a* is found in West Nordic only. Whether it once existed in East Nordic also, but was replaced by the synonyms *eigh* and *ekke*, I dare not decide."] Now, Younger Futhark orthography provides no reliable way of distinguishing *eigi* from *ekki*. Spellings like **iki** and **aki** are common, but a dotted **k**-rune was sometimes used to spell voiced *g* (e.g. DR 295, Hällestad 1, from the late 10th century: **saʀ:flu:aiki** *saʀ flū ęigi* 'he did not flee'. Interestingly, a search in the *Samnordisk runtextdatabas* shows us that all the occurrences of *ęigi* and *ękki* from the Viking Age (9th to 11th centuries) are found in inscriptions from Denmark and Sweden (i.e. East Nordic), while all the occurrences of *eigi* and *ekki* from the Medieval period (11th to 16th centuries) are from Norway (i.e. West Nordic). As always, it is wise to remember that there is an unequal geographic distribution of Viking Age inscriptions. Since Norway has fewer Viking Age inscriptions than Sweden or Denmark, it may not be significant that *eigi* and *ekki* happen to be absent in that corpus, whereas (as a reviewer notes) the absence of the enclitic negator in Swedish and Danish inscriptions may be more significant. The facts as they stand now suggest that *ęigi* and *ękki* took root in East Nordic early, at a time when West Nordic still had *-a/-(a)t*. As *-a/-(a)t* declined in West Nordic, *ęigi* (ON *eigi*) and *ękki* (ON *ekki*) spread into this branch from the east.

from *Díalógar (Viðróður) Gregors pápa* 91/25 (*ONP*). There are also exceptions in the 3PL, e.g. *skyldu-at* (*Am* 2/2), *létu-at* (*Am* 32/4). See also Nygaard (1867: 52–54, Anm. 2, a–c).

2 AND etymology

> There can be little doubt of the identity, by way of assimilation, of the Goth. *-uh* or *-uþ-þan* and the Scandin. *-a* or *-aþ* (*-at*) … The negative and affirmative frequently take the place of one another in different dialects… so *eyvit* etymologically = *ought*, but in fact used = *naught*[.]
> (Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1874: xxviii)

The Gothic connector/conjunction (and even generalizer) *-uh* is cognate with Skt. *ca*, Lat. *-que*, Gk. *te*, etc., all meaning 'and, also' (PGmc **-(u-)h^{w}* < PIE **-k^{w}e*, ultimately part of the indefinite/interrogative pronominal paradigm of PIE **k^{w}i-/*k^{w}e-/*k^{w}o-*). The alleged connection to ON *-a/-(a)t* is what I have dubbed the AND etymology. These days the etymology, first proposed by Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1874), can be considered a relic of the past, with no serious adherents, but it is still instructive to understand the reasons why this is so.

One obvious functional similarity between Go. *-uh* and ON *-a/-(a)t* is the tendency to be attached to a clause-initial finite verb: for example, Go. *qeþun-uh* 'And they said…', *in-uh-sandidedun* 'And (they) sent in…'. In Old Norse, as mentioned, it was also quite common for *-a/-(a)t* to appear very early in the clause (Þórhallur Eyþórsson 2002: 197–198). However, there are a number of problematic sound correspondences in Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon's hypothesis, as was recognized only a few years later by Kock (1879: 15). To start with, Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon's chronology for "*-aþ* (*-at*)" – where the variant *-(a)þ/-(a)ð* is apparently assumed to be the primary or older form, with *-(a)t* being a later or secondary variant of some kind – is incorrect. There can be no doubt that *-(a)t* is the older form, with *-(a)þ/-(a)ð* coming later. Of 122 attestations of *-(a)t/-(a)þ/-(a)ð* in the Codex Regius, roughly a quarter (29/122 = 24 %) are written *-(a)þ/-(a)ð* and the rest (93/122 = 76 %) are written *-(a)t*.[5] These can be understood as somewhat early examples of stops being lenited under weak stress (e.g. *hús-it* > *hús-ið*), which in Old

[5] One of these 93 is actually written <ar> (*Hávm* 49/3) in the manuscript, but this is likely an error for <at>. More discussion of the data can be found in Section 5.3.

Norwegian and Old Icelandic began c.1300 and in eastern Scandinavian a bit later (Haugen 1982: 64). This means that Go. *-uþþan* (< *-uh-þan* 'and then') must be compared not with ON *-(a)þ/-(a)ð* but with ON *-(a)t*, giving the unexpected correspondence Go. *þ* : ON *t*. On top of that, the vowel correspondence Go. *u*: ON *a* can be considered equally mysterious.

Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1874) also make an attempt at drawing similarities in the morphosyntactic distribution of *-uh* and *-at*, stating that "further proof" for the cognate status of these two elements is that "neither the Goth. nor the Icel. suffix was used with nouns" (Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1874: xxviii). This is a decidedly odd way of formulating a generalization, and it does not capture the facts in a very satisfactory way. On the one hand, ON *-a/-(a)t* was found exclusively on finite verb forms. Go. *-uh*, on the other hand, was, in addition to verbs, also found on pronouns (often forming indefinite pronouns from interrogatives) (e.g. *ƕaz-uh* 'who(so)ever, every', *ƕarjiz-uh* 'every one (of them)', *ainƕarjiz-uh* 'each other', *imm-uh* 'and to him'), adverbs (e.g. *þan-uh* 'and then', *ƕan-uh* 'and when'), and prepositions (e.g. *fram-uh* 'and from') (see Miller 2019: 511–512). So even though *-uh* and *-a/-(a)t* both happened to avoid nouns (though not pronouns for *-uh*, clearly), this obscures the fact that *-uh* had a significantly wider distribution and more functional uses than *-a/-(a)t*. When all is said and done, the AND etymology fails on both the formal and functional fronts.[6]

3 ONE etymology

> Negationen *-at* torde kunna härledas af *aitt*, yngre *eitt* (ett, något)[.][7] (Kock 1879: 16)

[6] A form related to *-uh* is Go. *-hun* (e.g. *ni ƕas-hun* 'no one', *ni ƕan-hun* 'never', etc.), if derived from some variant of the PIE pronominal item **-$k^{ʷ}$V-* plus the negative particle **ne* (cf. Skt. *caná*) (Delbrück 1910: 8–12; see also Feist 1939: 275 s.v. *-hun* for examples and references). It is thought to be cognate with (Vernerized) NWGmc **-gen/*-gin*, which in North Germanic gives *-ge/-gi* (*engi* 'no one' < **(ne) ęinn-gi* 'no one at all' and assimilated to *-ki* in *ekki* 'not' < **(ne) ęitt-ki* 'nothing at all'; see Grønvik 1997 for discussion) and in West Germanic gives *-gen/-gin* (OE *hwergen*, OS *hwargin*, OHG *iowergin* 'somewhere', etc.). ~~Note, however, that Dunkel (2014b: 274) posits PIE **ǵʰi-ná* > ON *-gi*, OHG *-gin*, etc., where **ǵʰi* is a particle meaning 'verily' and **-ná* is an adverbial ending (Dunkel 2014a: 150).~~

[7] "The negation *-at* could be derived from *aitt*, younger *eitt* (one, something)[.]"

3.1 Basic version

The basic development hypothesized by Kock for ON *-(a)t* is uncontroversially attested in Latin *nōn* 'not' < Old Latin *noenum* 'not one (at all)'. As we shall see, however, there is some debate about the Germanic evidence. In any case, Kock's hypothesis from 1879 has since been accepted or adopted in some form by a number of scholars over the years (see Kock 1879: 16–19; 1896: 194–196; Brate 1887: 52, fn. 1; Neckel 1912: 16; Jespersen 1917: 8; Noreen 1923: § 54,3 and § 151,1; Haugen 1986: 161; de Vries 2000: 17; Lundin Åkesson 2005: 238; among others).

Note that Kock posits only that *-(a)t* derives from 'one', since he has other ideas about *-a*. It has become quite common, however, to adopt a version of the ONE etymology which gives *-a* a 'one'-based etymology as well. That is, short-form PGmc N.ACC.SG **ainã* (cf. Go. *ain*) gives ON *-a*, while long-form/pronominal PGmc N.ACC.SG **ainat-* (cf. Go. *ainata*) gives ON *-(a)t* (Brate 1887: 52, fn. 1; Noreen 1923: § 54,3 and § 151,1; de Vries 2000: 1 s.v. *a*, 17 s.v. *at*). The precise stages needed for the proposed development are provided in more detail in (6) (where ˌ stands for secondary stress on the root diphthong **ai*; note that **a* in the next syllable is unstressed).

(6) short-form **ˌainã* > **ˌain* > **ān* > **ã̃* > ON *-a*
long/pronominal **ˌainat-* > **ˌaint* > **ãnt* > **ãtt* > ON *-at*

In contrast to Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon's (1874) AND etymology, the ONE etymology as sketched in (6) poses no major problems as far as sound changes go. The specific changes are outlined more explicitly in (7). Note that although the 'one' element starts out with secondary stress in (6), it must have gradually lost stress over time as it became a bound form. This is how the changes in (7c–e), referring to weak or no stress, came into play.

(7) a. syncope of unstressed vowels (**dagaz* > ON *dagr*, Gallehus **horna** > *horn*)
b. secondarily stressed **ai* > PN **ā* (Noreen 1923: § 54,3)
c. loss of final *n* (with nasalization and, where applicable, compensatory lengthening) in unstressed words (e.g. **an* > **ã̃* > ON *á* 'on', **in* > **ĩ* > ON *í* 'in') (see Haugen 1982: 61)[8]

[8] For some early discussion of the various conditions under which final *-n* was lost or retained in function words, see also Kock (1895: 129–131).

d. assimilation of **nt* > *tt*, followed by degemination under weak (or no) stress (e.g. **hin-t* > **hitt* > ON *hit* 'that, the', **far-in-t* > **faritt* > ON *farit*) (Noreen 1923: § 266,2, § 285,5; Haugen 1982: 61–62)
e. unstressed **ā* shortens to *a* (Noreen 1923: § 151,1, Brøndum-Nielsen 1950: § 104,2)

All of the changes in (7) are relatively well understood (see Haugen 1976 as a general reference). Nevertheless, it is difficult to verify a sound change like (7b), which refers to "stark nebentoniger silbe" (Noreen 1923: § 54,3), which Noreen (1923: § 51,2) considers to be present (i) in compounds on the root syllable of the word which does not receive primary stress (his example being ***kirkjugarðr*** 'cemetery, churchyard') and (ii) on derivational syllables like *-and*, *-ing*, *-ern*, etc. (e.g. *vík**ing**r*). Although **ainat-* does not fit neatly into either of these two categories, it is more than conceivable that an emphatic minimizer like '(not a single) one' would pass through a secondarily stressed stage during the grammaticalization process towards unstressed enclitic negator. The diphthong **ai* monophthongized to **ā* quite early on,[9] so obviously minimizer **ainat-* must have already had its root syllable downgraded from primary to secondary stress (i.e. **ˈainat-* **ˌainat-*) by this time. How far back the alleged minimizer function of **ainat-* goes in Germanic, then, is of some consequence for the proposed phonological development.

As alluded to above, there is some debate concerning the naturalness of the ONE etymology in Germanic (as opposed to Latin, for instance, where the development *ne oenum* > *noenum* > *nōn* 'not' is fully accepted). Ottar Grønvik, specifically in reference to de Vries (2000 [1962]: 1), writes that going back to a pre-Nordic form like the short-form N.SG **ain-* in the sense of 'nicht irgendetwas'…

> synes meget betenkelig, da det ikke finnes spor av noen slik bruk av **aina* i andre germanske språk. Delbrück (1910:31) legger også vekt på att heller ikke **ainata* lar seg støtte ved noen tilsvarende bruk i gotisk; han kunne ha tilføyd: heller ikke i vestgermansk.[10]
> (Grønvik 1997: 19)

[9] If Versloot's (2017) conclusions about the dating of *stressed *ai* > *ā* / __{*h*, *r*} are any indication.

[10] "appears highly questionable, since there is no trace of such a use of **aina* in other Germanic languages. Delbrück (1910: 31) also emphasizes that **ainata* does not support any corresponding use in Gothic; he could have added: not in West Germanic either."

But there are a number of cases throughout Germanic that are relevant enough to bolster the credibility of the ONE etymology. In (8) I have provided four cases where **ain-* is used to build a negative(-related) element in Germanic:

(8) (i) the focus/polarity item PGmc ****aina****-gaz* 'only' > Go. *ainaha* (weak M.NOM.SG) 'only'; OE *ānig*, OS *ānig*, OHG *einīg*, ON *einigr* 'any'

(ii) PGmc **ne* ***ain-*** > OHG *ni ein* (later *nein*), OE *nān*, ON *neinn* (and *neitt*)

(iii) PGmc **neh*^{w}-***ain***- > OHG *nihein(ig)*, *nehein* > G. *kein* (see Braune/Reiffenstein 2004: 254) (cf. also Du. *geen*)

(iv) ****ęinn****-gi* > ON *engi* 'no one', ****ęitt****-ki* > *ekki* 'nothing, not'; OSw. *ængin*, *ækki* (> *icke* 'not'), *ænkti* (> *inte* 'not'), etc.

Some forms in (8) without a doubt postdate *-a*/*-(a)t*, but they are still relevant for demonstrating the basic plausibility of the ONE etymology. *Ekki*, for example, represents a new stage in Jespersen's Cycle, and since *ekki* unquestionably has a 'one' etymology (< N.SG **ęitt-ki*), this makes it conceivable that the older negation *-a*/*-(a)t* was based on 'one' as well. In other words, the potential for building 'one'-based negative elements in Germanic cannot be denied, and it would seem that the ONE etymology, having both semantic and phonological credibility, is stronger than Grønvik's objection.

Still, there is no guarantee that the negative cycle will reuse the same element over and over again. More importantly, although short-form **ainã* may very well have the credentials to back up a development to ON *-a*, Grønvik is basically correct that long-form **ainat-* is not nearly as plausible of a candidate. Except for ON *ekki* (< **ęitt-ki*) and *neitt* – both of which are late forms (see Grønvik 1997: 9, Table I for data) – none of the items in (8) require the long-form version of 'one'. Assuming that ON *-a* and *-(a)t* have separate etymologies, the ONE etymology, by not properly accounting for *-(a)t*, really does only half the job. Even if only a single etymology is deemed sufficient for the pair of negators, it is almost certainly *-(a)t* that crucially needs explaining (cf. Grimm's 1831: 716, 737 idea that *-a* was just an apocopated form of *-at*). In the end, *-(a)t* is left without a decent explanation considering the lack of evidence for **ainat*-based (though not **ainã*-based) negation in Germanic.

3.2 Kock's hypothesis about *-a*

Axel Kock (1879, 1896, 1911) happens to fall into the ONE camp when it comes to the Nordic negative enclitic, but his proposal concerning *-a* does not depend on the ONE etymology *per se*. For Kock, *-a* has been derived through reanalysis from *-at* in the following way:

(9) *má-k-at ek* > *má-k-at-k* > *mákakk* > *mák-a-k / mák-a ek*
ert-at þú > *ert-at-þu* > *ert-at-tu* > *ert-a-tu / ert-a þú*
sér-at þú > *sér-að þú* > *sér-að-ðu* > *sér-a-ðu / sér-a þú*
(Kock 1879: 16, 1896: 195–196, 1911: 135; Grønvik 1997: 19)

As seen in (9), the basic idea is that *-(a)t* was reanalyzed as *-a* through a process of assimilation and subsequent simplification. Note that various stages in Kock's alleged reanalysis coexist synchronically.

(10)[11] *má-k-at ek* > ****má-k-at-k*** > ****mákakk*** > *mák-a-k / mák-a ek*
ert-at þú > ***ʔert-at-þu*** > *ert-at-tu* > *ert-a-tu / ert-a þú*
sér-at þú > *sér-að þú* > ****sér-að-ðu*** > *sér-a-ðu / sér-a þú*

In (10), the bolded forms are questionable or unattested. This in itself is not fatal to his hypothesis, considering that these middle stages represent assimilation processes which are transitory and not necessarily expected to be found in writing. One could, moreover, explain why pre-assimilated **mákatk* is unattested on the basis of a phonotactic rule like 'no *tk*-clusters in unstressed syllables' (which, importantly, would still allow for monosyllabic ***satk*** 'sat.1SG' in e.g. *er ek sárla satk* [*Guðr II* 11/3]). Perhaps a similar restriction could account for why **mákakk* should be ruled out.[12] Nevertheless, I think there are on the whole a few too many

[11] For some specific attestations from the Eddic material (Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson et al. 2019 except where indicated otherwise): <vilcat ec> *vilk-at ek* (*Hamð* 7/3), <Emkat ec> *emk-at ek* (*Skí* 18/1); <macak> *mák-a-k* (*Am* 57/2), <mattigac> *máttig-a-k* (*Ghv* 13/3); <Fanca ec> *fannk-a ek* (*Hávm* 38/1); <Mvnatþv> *munat þú* (*Grottasǫngr* 20/1 [NB: not Codex Regius; my sources are Bugge 1867 and Neckel/Kuhn 1983]); <ſca-lattv> *skalattu* (*Hávm* 125/6); <ſcal,ªtv> *skalatu* (*Hávm* 121/6); <þottiſca þv> *þóttisk-a þú* (*Hárb* 27/5); <varþaþ> *varð-að* (*Vafþr* 38/8). It is of course often difficult to determine from the scribal evidence if a postposed second person pronoun like <þv> is enclitic (e.g. *-a-ðu*) or independent (*-a þú*).

[12] A reviewer suggests that the outer *-k* in **mák-at-k* would have been appended only after the inner *-k* had become opaque, which may very well delay the emergence of *-a* (according to Kock's hypothesis) to an unacceptably late date. I am not so sure. It is not necessary to assume that every instance of *-k* must derive from its own, separate cycle wherein postposed *ek* had gradually weakened to *-k* (i.e. (i) *má (e)k* > *má-k*, (ii) *má-k-a (e)k* > *má-k-a-k*). The marker *-k* need arise only once; once present in the language, it can proliferate as an agreement marker on the verb (which is not unheard of, typologically

loose ends in Kock's hypothesis for it to be true. One might say that it gives an anachronistic impression, with the earliest and latest forms firmly attested but a number of uncertainties in the middle. Still, the basic idea is worth considering and will reappear in a different guise in Section 5.

4 NEVER-A-THING etymology

> Die verstärkung der verneinung ist doppelter art. Entweder wird durch anwendung zweier negierender partikeln ein größerer nachdruck hervorgebracht, oder der negierende sinn durch zufügung eines positiven wortes gehoben, das die negation begleitet. Hierbei ereignet sich dann nicht selten, daß die eigentliche negativpartikel untergeht und ihre verneinende kraft ganz von dem positiven wort angezogen wird.[13]
> (Grimm 1831: 726–727)

> Wie, wenn das suffix als dessen vollständigste form *at* erscheint, selbst aus einem anfänglichen *vâtt*, *vætt* hervorgegangen wäre?[14]
> (Grimm 1831: 718)

4.1 From Grimm to Grønvik

Certain incisive insights from Jacob Grimm's third volume of his *Deutsche Grammatik* (specifically Chapter 9 on negation) have in more recent years gone unnoticed. Grimm clearly had a good understanding of the negative cycle, minimizers, and more. For our specific purposes, we should note that Grimm correctly identified the parallelism between West Germanic *(ni)wiht* and ON *vættr*, *véttr* (fem.) / *vætr* (neut.) 'being; (no)thing', and that he recognized that ON *ne …-a/-(a)t* was functionally equivalent to OHG *ni … wiht/nieht* (Grimm 1831: 718). On the basis of evidence from Eddic poetry he arrives at the conclusion that *ne* must have fallen away

speaking). Important to note is that double *-k* marking is attested multiple times in the Poetic Edda, e.g. *vildi-g-a-k* 'I did not want' (*Helr* 12/6). If we give Kock the benefit of the doubt, then the two *-k* markers do not have much of an age gap at all; pleonastic marking could have become an option basically as soon as (or shortly after) the *-k* marker emerged in the first place.

[13] "The reinforcement of the negative is twofold in nature. Either a greater emphasis is put forth through the use of two negating particles, or the negative sense is elevated by a positive word accompanying the negation. In this way it happens not infrequently that what is actually the negative particle declines and its negating force gets entirely drawn in by the positive word."

[14] "What if the suffix, in its complete form appearing as *at*, itself was derived from an original *vâtt*, *vætt*?"

early on in Nordic (Grimm 1831: 714–715), suggesting that he understood how ON *væt(t)r*, *véttr* 'nothing' arose from overtly negated **ne wehti-* 'not a thing', cf. Go. *ni waiht(s)* (see also Kock 1879: 19, Delbrück 1910: 19–22).[15] Moreover, he observes that West Germanic retains the original proclitic negator and even begins to show the possibility of contraction or prefixation with *ne* (e.g. OE *nāt* = *ne wāt* 'know(s) not', *nolde* = *ne wolde* 'would not', ME *nis* 'is not', *willy nilly* 'will he, won't he', and so on; Grimm 1831: 712–713).

When it comes to the details, however, he is not as successful in explaining how *-at* is related to "*vâtt*, *vætt*" (where the form with long *â* is pure wishful thinking). Grimm (1831: 718) imagines that *v-* can easily drop (providing support from *Norvegr* > *Noregr* 'Norway') and that *-r* is "unwesentlich" (providing *væt-ki*, *vættugi* 'nothing'), thus *-vætr* > *-æt*. As should be clear at this point, Kock (1879: 14–15) was rightly worried about the vowel correspondence in *væt-* or *vétt-* : ***-at***. Obviously, the specifics of Grimm's pre-Neogrammarian etymology of *-at* from *vætt-* are unworkable.

Grønvik (1997: § 6.2) has provided an updated, more contemporary version of Grimm's etymology. But whereas Grimm supposed that *-a* was just a shortened form of *-at* ("*-at*, oder bloßes *-a* verkürzt" [Grimm 1831: 737; see also p. 716]), Grønvik provides two separate etymologies, the one for *-a* building on Scherer (1890 [1878]: 476)[16] and the one for *-(a)t* building on Grimm.[17] Grønvik's etymologies are summarized in (11). Note that I depart from Grønvik in writing **ne* instead of unstressed **ni*

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[15] Despite the fact that the indefinite pronoun *ainshun* is usually claimed to require *ni*, Coombs (1976: 67–68) points out one clear instance in Gothic of *ainshun* without *ni*, though still in a syntactically negative context: *sai, jau* ***ainshun*** *þize reike galaubidedi imma aiþþau Fareisaie*? 'Lo, has **any** of the rulers or the Pharisees believed him?' (John 7:48, and commented on in the *Skeireins*). Danielsen (1968: 73, fn.) also provides *þata anþar ni wait ei* ***ainnohun*** *daupidedjau* 'on the other hand, I don't know if I baptized **any other**' (1Cor. 1:16). Consider also the potentially emphatic use of *waihts* 'thing' in Go. *ni* ***in waihtai*** *waninassu* 'no want/lack **at all**' in the *Skeireins* (Coombs 1976: 63–64). See also Miller (2019: 90–91).

[16] And later endorsed by Kock (1879: 16), Delbrück (1910: 23, 38), Neckel (1912: 16), among others.

[17] See also Lyngby (1865: 23, fn. 3): "nægtelsen *ni*, som ledsager det gotiske ord, faldt bort, ligesom oldn. *engi* er got. *ni ainshun* … Got. *aiv* genfindes altså på oldn. i formerne: *æ*, *ei*, *ey*, *-a*. Nægtelsen *-at* har sandsynlig endnu tilføjet *vætt*, så at *-at* er et forudsat gotisk **(ni). a(iv) (vaih)t*." ["the negation *ni*, which accompanies the Gothic word, fell away, just as ON *engi* is Go. *ni ainshun* … Go. *aiv* is thus found in the Old Norse forms *æ*, *ei*, *ey*, *-a*. The negation *-at* has probably also added *vætt*, so that *-at* is a hypothetical Gothic **(ni). a(iv) (vaih)t*."] (my italics, for clarity) Nygaard (1867: 55, fn.) also cites Lyngby while referring to criticism of the idea from Sophus Bugge.

(see Ringe 2006: 117) and **wehti-* (Kroonen's 2013: 578 reconstruction) instead of **wihti-*.

(11) a. **ne aiwa-* 'not ever'
> ON *-a* (cf. ON *á* 'always', OE *n-ā* 'never, not, no', Go. *ni aiw* 'never')

b. **ne aiwa-wehti-* 'not ever a (single) thing'
> ON *-at* (cf. OE *n-ā-wiht* 'nothing')

Grønvik claims that ON *á* 'always' can be considered an unreduced version of the enclitic negation *-a*.[18] For Grønvik, the negative meaning in the Old Norse negator derives from the configuration in (11) wherein preposed *ne* was still present (i.e. 'not ever/always' > 'never' > 'not' and 'not ever a single thing' > 'never a single thing' > 'not'), just as in OE *n-ā* 'never, not, no', OE *n-ā-wiht* 'nothing' > *nāwht* > *nāht* > Eng. *naught*, *nought*, *not* (Craigie et al. 1971 s.v. *naught*, *not*, *nought*), Go. *ni aiw*, where the old negation is still present. As he points out, the same basic development must be assumed for Old Norse items like *ei(gi)* 'not' < **ne ęi-gi* 'not ever-at.all' and *aldri(gi)* 'never' < **ne aldre-gi* 'not in.any.age-at.all', etc. Some words survive which preserve the older indefinite/generalizing interpretation of *-ki* ~ *-gi*, e.g. ON *hvergi* 'whoever' (Delbrück 1910: 16).

Grønvik's etymology is ingenious but requires closer inspection. Consider the development of *-a*, for which Grønvik simply provides **(ne) aiwa-* > **(n-)ā* > ON *-a*. To fill in some details here, we can first assume that secondarily stressed **ai* monophthongizes to **ā* (Noreen 1923: § 54,3) quite early, followed by loss of unstressed *-a*. Word-final *-w* in **āw* is then susceptible to deletion (Kock 1898: 259), giving **ā* (ON *á* 'always') > ON *-a* 'not'.[19] This development appears to be, in some sense, smooth and gradual. As for ON *-(a)t*, however, I do not think we can assume the same kind of gradual phonological development from **(ne) aiwa-wehti-*, despite what Grønvik appears to suggest in (12).

(12) **-ā-weht-* > **-ā-(u)ht-* > **ātt* > ON *-at* (Grønvik 1997: 20)

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[18] De Vries (2000: 1, s.v. *a*) explicitly considers this "weniger wahrscheinlich" than the ONE etymology. Neckel (1912: 16) takes a hybrid view, seeing ON *-a* as related to Go. *aiw* but ON *-at* as related to Go. *ainata*.

[19] It is worth mentioning that the regular outcome of **aiwa* (with *stressed *ai*) may have been **øy* (i.e. **ęi* with *u*-mutation from **w*): **fraiwa* > **frękiu* > **frøy* > dialectal Sw. *frøy* 'seed', as well as **aiwa* > **ęiu* > **øy* > OIcel. *ey* ~ *ei* 'ever, always' (Brøndum-Nielsen 1950: § 106; see also Noreen 1923: § 77,15).

I think there is a case to be made for syncope here. Assuming for now that the first component *-*ā*- has the development sketched above for -*a*, we would in fact expect the sequence *-*ā-weht*- to give ON **ávett* or **ávit* (cf. *eyvit* 'nothing'), with retention of the labial, just as in ON *ávalt* 'always' < **āw-allt* (cf. Go. *aiw allata*) or *ævi* 'life, age', *ævin*- 'eternal' (Kock 1898: 258–261), and also *æva* '(n)ever, not' < **aiwō*-. Thus (12) might instead be written as (13).[20]

(13) **ā=weht*- > **ātt* > ON -*at*

This sort of phenomenon is attested elsewhere in Germanic: consider (i) Sw. *något ~ nåt*, *någon ~ nån*; (ii) the alternation OE *nōwiht ~ nōht* 'nothing' found in the Vespasian Psalter (c. 750) (Campbell 2003: § 393, fn. 1); and (iii) ON *æ* 'always', which has been analyzed as a truncated form of *ævi* (i.e. **aiwīⁿ*-) (Brøndum-Nielsen 1950: § 106, Anm. 2).[21]

If we accept the need for syncope of -*w*V- in **āwa=weht*- or *ævi*, then it also becomes necessary to reconsider the gradual development leading up to -*a*. As Kock (1898: 260–261, especially fn. 1) discusses, we might expect *u*-mutation in **āw* > **ǭ(w)* 'always', which could explain the initial vowel in the variant *ofalt* 'always' (which in turn gave way to reanalysis as prepositional phrases of the sort *of (v)alt um alt*). If we assume syncope of the sequence -*wa*- right off the bat, however, then we have a more principled explanation for the lack of *u*-umlaut in the old forms *á* and -*a*, as seen in (14).

(14) **aiwa*- > **āwa*- > **ā* > ON -*a*

Not only do we avoid the risk of *u*-mutation this way, but the syncope of the labial-vowel sequence puts -*a* in line with ON -*(a)t* (< **ai=weht*- or even **aiwa=wehti*-), ON *æ* 'always' (< **aiwīⁿ*-), OE *nōwiht ~ nōht*, etc.[22]

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[20] Directly relevant to the syncope posited in (13) are **þew-ern-ōn* > *þerna* 'maid' (Kroonen 2013: 585) and **mawidē* > Eggja **made** 'scraped/rubbed off' (Spurkland 2005: 70).

[21] A reviewer suggests that polysyllabic words might be more susceptible to medial syncope of this type than disyllabic words, but the list of examples I provide here would seem to speak against this intuition. Still, the suggestion should be investigated in more detail.

[22] It is also worth mentioning that prefixing anything but the completely reduced **ā* form to **wehti*- may result in unexpected forms. For instance, **āw-wehti*- with -*ww*- might predict sharpening, though (as a reviewer points out) this depends on how old and how branch-independent one believes sharpening to be. The proto-form **āwa-wehti*-, moreover, would have the labial-retention problem (see discussion above on *ávalt*) twice over. Wholesale syncope of the labial-vowel sequence shows itself once again to be preferable.

The NEVER-A-THING etymology makes good sense within the larger context of North-West Germanic. The North-West Germanic dialect continuum had the raw materials **ne*, **aiw-*, and **wehti-*. These could be combined in various ways, as seen in (15).

(15) **ne* + **aiw-* = never
**ne* + **wehti-* = nothing
**aiw-* + **wehti-* = anything, aught
**ne* + **aiw-* + **wehti-* = nothing

These compositional, highly transparent forms were then subject to phonological reduction and semantic bleaching (e.g. 'nothing' or 'never' 'not') over time, but at different rates depending on the (sub-)branch. Nordic, clearly, is the earliest, since we have a completely opaque item *-a/-(a)t* already by 800. In West Germanic the process took much longer, as summarized in (16).

(16) OE *nāwiht* > *nāwuht*, *nāwht* (Alfred, 9th c.) > *nāht* (Ælfric, 10th c.) (Clark Hall 1916 s.v. *nāht*, *nāwuht*)

OS *niowiht, neowiht* > ODu. *niewiht* > MDu. *niwet, nit, niet* (13th c.) (Philippa et al. 2003–2009 s.v. *niet*)

OHG *niowiht*, *neowiht* > *nieweht* > late OHG *nieht* 'not' (11th c.) (Braune/Reiffenstein 2004: § 299)

After this, there is evidence that the cycle was seeing a renewal in Nordic, where compositional forms are observed once again: ON *ey-vit* 'not at all', *ey-vit eitt* 'nothing at all' (Geir T. Zoëga 2004: 120–121) (unstressed *vit* < *vétt-*), *n-einn*, and the like appearing in the 13th century (Grønvik 1997: 9, Table I). Similar redux forms, such as OE *nān-þing*, are seen in West Germanic at various stages too.

4.2 Interlude on gravity

Both the ONE and NEVER-A-THING etymologies invoke monophthongization of **ai* to **ā* under secondary stress (Noreen 1923: § 54,3). Secondary stress is only one of the environments conditioning the change. The diphthong monophthongizes to **ā* also before **h* (Noreen 1923: § 54,1) and **r* (Noreen 1923: § 54,2), e.g. **taihwō-* (cf. OE *tā(he)*, OHG *zēha*) > ON *tá* 'toe' and **airu-* (cf. Go. *airus*, OE *ār*) > ON *árr* 'messenger' (examples from Kroonen 2013: 505, 13). Elsewhere **ai* goes to **ęi* (ON *steinn* < **stainaz*).

In an attempt to understand how **h*, **r*, and secondary stress can be understood as a coherent set of conditioning factors for this monophothongization, Nielsen (1983: 161, citing Davidsen-Nielsen & Ørum 1978) makes a reasonable case that the Jakobsonian feature [gravity] plays a role. Gravity is defined as low acoustic pitch, essentially amounting to [–coronal] for consonants and [+back] for vowels.

> If in principle we are right in attributing the monophthongization of *ai* in weakly accented syllables to regressive 'gravity' assimilation, it is only to be expected that a vowel with less accent should fall more easily prey to the economy of (acoustic) energy than a vowel with a greater amount of accent – this is to explain why the distribution of *ā* < *ai* is not so restricted in weakly accented syllables as it is in strongly accented ones.
> (Nielsen 1983: 161)

According to Nielsen, gravity can be seen as the relevant organizing feature for **h*, **r*, and many of the consonants following long *ā* in the personal names **ufakʀ** [*Ūfāgʀ*], *Þorlákr*, *Óláfr*, *Monámr* (all from Noreen 1923: § 54,3). Certain counterexamples can be disposed of easily. For instance, Noreen supposes that *Hróarr* and *Þorarr* derive from a compound with **-gaizaz* (ON *geirr*) 'spear' as the second component (which would put the diphthong to the left of coronal **z* > **ʀ*), but the second part in these names more plausibly comes from **-warjaz* 'protector' or perhaps **-harjaz* 'warrior' (see Peterson 2004: 29). Still, as Nielsen admits, a few counterexamples from Noreen still remain, like the name *Únáss* (cf. ON *neiss* '(a)shamed') or the word *herað* 'district' (cf. OHG *heriraita* or *hariraida* 'army'), with the monophthong preceding coronal consonants.

Assuming nevertheless that Nielsen (1983) is basically correct, gravity might be used as a diagnostic for judging those etymologies appealing to monophthongization of **ai* to **ā* under secondary stress in Proto-Nordic. The reader will recall from above that both the ONE and NEVER-A-THING etymologies make use of this sub-rule. Since both of these etymologies are quite plausible explanations for the origins of *-a/-(a)t*, an additional diagnostic would be useful in deciding between them.[23]

As for the ONE etymology, the forms at stake are the following: **ˌain-* > … > ON *-a* and **ˌain-t* > … > ON *-at* (see (6–7) above). The diphthong is followed by the consonants *n* and *t*, which are both coronal and thus [–grave], making this a point against the ONE etymology. The

[23] It is quite clear that Delbrück (1910: 31, 40), for instance, cannot decide between *-at* deriving from **ainata* vs. being cognate with Go. *waiht*, though he prefers the former option.

NEVER-A-THING etymology involves the forms *ˌ*aiwa*- > … > ON -*a* and *ˌ*aiwa-wehti*- > … > ON -*at*. The diphthong here is followed by the consonant *w*, which is non-coronal and therefore [+grave], satisfying Nielsen's gravity requirement. In other words, the ONE etymology does not pass the gravity test, while the NEVER-A-THING etymology does. The gravity test does not carry enough weight to be decisive on its own merits, of course, but it is interesting in the sense that it makes a fine-grained distinction between the ONE and NEVER-A-THING etymologies.[24]

4.3 Bridging contexts?

In this section I will attempt to evaluate Grønvik's (1997) etymology from the perspective of recent work on bridging contexts in Jespersen's Cycle. Breitbarth et al. (2013) point out that reanalysis via Jespersen's Cycle is not inevitable; they put forth a specific set of bridging contexts which theoretically allow for certain indefinites and minimizers to enter into the cycle and, over time, develop into new sentential negations. In related work, Willis (2016: 469–476) investigates how OE *nāwiht* 'nothing' could undergo reanalysis from object argument to negative adverb (see also Blaxter & Willis 2017: 115–116 on Old Norwegian). The first relevant bridging context associated with this shift involves so-called ambitransitive verbs, where subject = agent in both transitive and intransitive uses (see Dixon 1994: 18–19, 54). Such verbs can be termed A-labile.[25] Examples include 'drink', 'eat', 'read', and 'write', where the intransitive version is basically an unergative with "an implied generic patient" (Breitbarth et al. 2013: 145). To take a simple example of the process, *I ate nothing* might eventually be interpreted as 'I didn't eat', where *nothing* is interpreted not as an object but as sentential negation (leaving the object position

[24] It is generally accepted (see e.g. Noreen 1923: § 54,3 or Haugen 1976: 157) that ON *nakkwarr* 'someone' derives from a phrase like **ne-wait-ek-ʾhwaz*- 'not-know-I-who'. But whereas Brink (1991/2009: 26) puts monophthongization of **ai* before the assimilation of **tk* to **kk* (i.e. **nwajtk*- > **najtk*- > ***nātk***-), which violates the gravity rule since *t* is coronal, Brøndum-Nielsen (1950: 147) gives the ordering **naitk*- > **naikk*- > ***nāk***-, where the gravity rule is not violated since monophthongization occurs after assimilation of **tk* > **kk*, putting **ai* before non-coronal *k*. Once again the gravity test allows us to make a choice between analyses which differ on such subtle points.

[25] P-lability, where the intransitive subject is a patient (e.g. 'break'), is another kind of alternation identified by Dixon (1994) in his influential work. As noted by Creissels (2014: 912) in reference to Letuchiy (2009), one important subtype of P-lability is what is called anticausative (causative/inchoative) lability (Haspelmath 1993), with no semantic agent in the intransitive (Kjartan Ottósson 2013: 330 provides ON *opna* 'open [trans.]' vs. *opnask* 'open [intrans.]'). This kind of lability "seem[s] to be quite rare in Old Nordic" (Kjartan Ottósson 2013: 367).

unoccupied, which, as mentioned, is an option for this particular type of verb). A second bridging context involves degree/extent arguments which may optionally appear with certain predicates expressing harm, success, or caring/indifference. Some examples are provided in (17) and (18).

(17) a. *& he nowiht fromade in his lare* (Old English)
and he nothing succeeded in his teaching
'and he had no success in his teaching'
(Willis 2016: 478, his (33))

b. *æn Þorgæir uar i gong-u-nne medr þæim ok*
but Þórgeirr was in walk-DAT.SG-DEF.M.DAT.SG with them.DAT.PL and
vann ækki a honum (Old Norwegian)
achieved ekki on him.DAT.SG
'but Þórgeirr was walking with them and didn't harm him'
(DN II.156, 1280)
(Blaxter & Willis 2017: 115, their (11))

(18) a. *De verklaring hielp niets.* (Dutch)
the explanation helped nothing
'The explanation didn't help at all.'

b. *Dat heeft het huis niets beschadigd.*
that has the house nothing damaged
'That hasn't damaged the house at all/one bit.'
(Willis 2016: 475, his (22–23))

One might make use of these bridging contexts in order to devise a way of testing Grønvik's NEVER-A-THING etymology on the Poetic Edda material. If ON *-(a)t* ultimately descends from 'nothing', one might expect it to have followed the same path sketched above, where incipient grammaticalization to negation begins in certain bridging contexts with certain predicates. To be more specific: Grønvik's (1997) etymology suggests that **aiwa-wehti-* 'nothing' starts out as an object with transitive verbs; A-labile verbs would allow for partial reanalysis to negative adverb; at a later stage, the negative adverb would be allowed with intransitive verbs.

Of course, by the time we see *-(a)t* attested it is heavily eroded and has most likely expanded its syntactic distribution far beyond the original bridging contexts which allowed for the reanalysis from 'nothing' to 'not'. Still, considering that it had such a strong competitor in *-a*, which according to Grønvik ultimately descends from the adverb 'never' (thus not requiring the same syntactic reanalysis from pronoun to adverb), it is conceivable, in theory, that their separate etymological origins may

still be discernible in the early poetic material in the form of a skewed distribution of *-a* vs. *-(a)t* with certain predicate types. For example, we might expect to see *-(a)t* appearing more frequently with unergative or A-labile verbs (where subject = agent) than *-a* does; the flipside of this is that we might expect *-(a)t* to appear less frequently than *-a* does with intransitives of the unaccusative (lack of a clear agent) type (cf. also Breitbarth et al. 2013: 156–157).

To test this hypothesis, I have collected all of the attestations of *-a* and *-(a)t* in the Poetic Edda (making use of the XML file mentioned in fn. 33) and recorded which verbs carry the enclitic negator. I then eliminated all cases where modal auxiliaries (*knega*, *kunna*, *mega*, *munu*, *skulu*) carry the negator. Now, one could argue that examples like *sofa þeir ne máttu-t* 'sleep they could not' (*Guðr II* 3) should be categorized by the main verb *sofa*, which in turn could be considered an A-labile verb on the basis of attestations with cognate objects, such as *er menn höfðu sofit svefn* 'when the men had slept sleep' in *Gísla saga Súrssonar* (Fritzner/Unger 1883–96 s.v. *svefn*). I have not done so here, however, in order to keep the connection to the negator itself as direct as possible. For the remaining verbs, I identified those which are (i) intransitive, (ii) copular (*vera* 'be', *verða* 'become', *þykkja* 'seem', including impersonal constructions like *er-a mér gulls vant* 'there is to me no lacking of gold = I do not lack gold' [*Skí* 22/4]), and (iii) those which, although transitive, might reasonably be considered candidates for A-lability ('say', 'see', 'know', etc.) (useful resources for categorizing are Fritzner/Unger 1883–96 and Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1874). I further divided intransitives into unaccusatives and unergatives (see Perlmutter 1978: 162–163). There are admittedly a number of difficulties here, and not everyone will agree with my classification. I invite readers to peruse the Appendix and test for themselves.

Table 1 shows the relevant verbs appearing with *-a* or *-(a)t* in the Poetic Edda arranged by verb type. Token frequencies are provided in parentheses. Token frequencies are summed up in Table 2a, and type (i.e. unique verb) frequencies are given in Table 2b.

The chi-square statistic for Table 2a is 1.1347 with 3 degrees of freedom. The corresponding p-value is 0.7687, which is higher than the usual significance levels of 0.10, 0.05, and 0.01. The chi-square statistic for Table 2b is 0.719 with 3 degrees of freedom and a corresponding p-value of 0.8687, which is also higher than the usual significance levels of 0.10, 0.05, and 0.01. Thus, neither of the results is significant at any of the usual significance levels.

Table 1. Intransitive, copular, and A-labile verbs with *-a* and *-(a)t* in the Poetic Edda.

	Unaccusative	**Copular**	**Unergative**	**Candidates for A-lability**
-a	*fljúga* 'fly' (of an arrow) (1) *hníga* 'sink/fall down (dead)' (1) *lifa* 'live, be alive' (2) *halda* 'stay' (1)	*vera* 'be' (22) *verða* 'become' (4) *þykkja* 'seem' (3)	*koma* 'come' (3) *fara* 'go, travel' (1) *renna* 'run' (1) *sitja* 'sit' (1) *gráta* 'weep' (1) *hlæja* 'laugh' (1)	*vita* 'know' (5) *geyja* 'bark at' (1) *hyggja* 'think, intend' (1) *kveðja* 'address' (2) *kveða* 'say' (1) *sjá* 'see' (4) *segja* 'say' (1) *mæla* 'speak' (1) *bíta* 'bite' (1) *ríða* 'ride' (1) *kalla* 'call' (2)
-(a)t	*lifa* 'live, be alive' (1) *hníga* 'fall down' (1) *skríða* 'glide' (1) *brenna* 'be on fire' (1)	*vera* 'be' (16) *verða* 'become' (6) *þykkja* 'seem' (2)	*rísa* 'get up' (2) *koma* 'come' (4) *fara* 'go, travel' (1) *gráta* 'weep' (1) *búa* 'brood' (1)	*bíta* 'bite' (1) *vita* 'know' (3) *segja* 'say' (1) *kveða* 'say' (2) *sjá* 'see' (4) *hyggja* 'think, intend' (1)

We could also combine columns to create two larger groups (unaccusatives and copular verbs vs. unergative and A-labile verbs) in order to see if anything of significance emerges from the data.

The chi-square statistic for Table 3a is 0.0589 with 1 degree of freedom. The corresponding p-value is 0.8082, which is not significant at any of the usual significance levels. The chi-square statistic for Table 3b is 0.4375 with 1 degree of freedom and a corresponding p-value of 0.5083, which again is higher than the usual significance levels of 0.10, 0.05, and 0.01. In other words, none of the contigency tables below shows a statistically significant association between negation choice and the verbs considered to be relevant to the bridging contexts discussed above.

One would also like to know how *-(a)t* vs. *-a* are distributed with regard to verbs of harming, succeeding, and caring/indifference, which is another bridging context discussed by Willis (2016). If Grønvik's etymology of the enclitic negation is correct, one would expect that verbs of harming, succeeding, and caring/indifference might be overrepresented with *-(a)t*, whereas *-a* is not expected to show any such preference. It is

Table 2a. Verb tokens by class and enclitic negation.

	Unacc.	**Copular**	**Unerg.**	**A-labile**	**Totals**
-a	5	29	8	20	**62**
-(a)t	4	24	9	12	**49**
Totals	**9**	**53**	**17**	**32**	***111***

Table 2b. Verb types by class and enclitic negation.

	Unacc.	**Copular**	**Unerg.**	**A-labile**	**Totals**
-a	4	3	6	11	**24**
-(a)t	4	3	5	6	**18**
Totals	**8**	**6**	**11**	**17**	***42***

Table 3a. Verb tokens by class and enclitic negation.

	Unacc. and copular	**Unerg. and A-labile**	**Totals**
-a	34	28	**62**
-(a)t	28	21	**49**
Totals	**62**	**49**	***111***

Table 3b. Verb types by class and enclitic negation.

	Unacc. and copular	**Unerg. and A-labile**	**Totals**
-a	7	17	**24**
-(a)t	7	11	**18**
Totals	**14**	**28**	***42***

quite difficult to determine what makes a particular verb one of harming, succeeding, or caring, but some candidates include *bjarga* 'save, help', *hirða* 'mind, take care, bother to', *vinna* 'withstand, avail', *stríða* 'harm', *kvelja* 'torment', *véla* 'deceive', and *trega* 'distress'. Overall, there does indeed seem to be a tendency for *-(a)t* over *-a*: *vinna* appears twice with *-(a)t*, and *stríða*, *kvelja*, *véla*, and *trega* all appear once with *-(a)t*. However, counterexamples exist as well: the verb *hirða* appears three times with *-a*, and *bjarga* once with *-a*. It is unclear to me how much should

be made of these facts, but suffice it to say that quite a bit more is needed to prove a plausible connection to Grønvik's etymology.

In sum, then, there is no statistically significant association between negation choice and verb class (the latter identified on the basis of the bridging contexts discussed by Breitbarth et al. 2013). This does not, of course, totally rule out Grønvik's etymology that ON *-(a)t* comes from 'nothing'; it just means that a certain kind of evidence for it is lacking. It is possible that the enclitic particles are so far along in the grammaticalization process that any traces of their original syntactic conditioning have been erased. There are also, as mentioned above, various methodological questions to consider, especially regarding verb classification. Perhaps another tallying method would result in patterns which could be interpreted as evidence for the etymology in the form of bridging contexts. For now, however, such results are absent.

5 PERSON MARKER etymology

Grønvik's NEVER-A-THING etymology is not only plausible but also elegant. Still, there is one fact that it does not directly address, namely the dialect-geographical fact that *-a/-(a)t* appears to be absent in East Nordic. As Þórhallur Eyþórsson (2002: 195–196, also fn. 11) points out, the negative enclitic is found in Old Icelandic texts and in two Norwegian runic inscriptions from the Viking Age (N284 and N171); a third runic attestation is **munat** 'shall not' on the Karlevi stone (Öl 1), which is found in East Nordic territory but assumed to be of West Nordic provenance due to its stanza of skaldic *dróttkvætt*. A possible attestation of the negative particle in East Nordic (though western Sweden) is the Sparlösa stone (Vg 119), part of which reads **ᴀslriku lu--ʀ ukþ-t ᴀ(i)u(i)sl** 'Alríkr (Lumbr?) did not fear Eivísl', where **ukþ-t** appears to be the 3SG weak preterite of *ugga* 'fear' plus negative *-(a)t*, i.e. *uggð*[*i*]*-t*. If Sparlösa is correctly dated to the 800s, then not only would **ukþ-t** be the only genuinely East Nordic attestation of *-a/-(a)t* to be attested but also the earliest one on record. It should be noted, however, that this part of the text has also been parsed **uk þ[ᴀ]t(ᴀ)** 'and that, thereto, after that' (see Jungner & Svärdström 1958–70: 219–221 for an overview). In the end, the Sparlösa inscription is controversial and it is not sufficient evidence for establishing the existence of *-a/-(a)t* in East Nordic. I continue on

the assumption that the particle is restricted to West Nordic, a fact that requires explanation.

5.1 Background on 'I'

The 1SG.NOM pronoun 'I' in Indo-European can be reinforced with a number of different particles, as seen in (19) (my main references for (19) and (20) are Dunkel 2014b: 199–203, 208–220, 595–602; Sihler 1995: 369–370; Kroonen 2013: 116, who also cites Howe 1996: 241; Feist 1939: 291 s.v. *ik*; Ringe 2006: 124, 137; Beekes 2009: 373 s.v. *ἐγω*). Dunkel (idem) translates the emphatic particles **óm* as 'so; gerade, genau' and postposed **óh$_1$* as 'gerade' or 'eben' (i.e. 'simply', 'just', etc.).

(19) PIE **éǵ* > Hitt. *ūk*, Old Lith. *èš*, Latv. *es*, ~~PGmc **ek*~~
PIE **éǵ-h$_2$* > Arm. *es*
PIE **éǵ(-h$_2$) + **óm*** > Skt. *ahám*, Old Av. *azəm*, OCS *azŭ*
PIE **éǵ + **óh$_1$*** > Hitt. *uga* 'but I', Gk. *ἐγώ*, Lat. *egō*

There are other possibilities not only in the first person (e.g. 1SG.NOM PIE **eǵ oh$_1$ ge* > Gk. *ἐγώγε* 'I for my part, as for me', 1SG.ACC **mé gó/e* > ~~Hitt. *ammuk*~~, Gk. *ἐμέ γε*, ON *mik*; Dunkel 2014b: 281–282) but also in the second person (e.g. 2SG.NOM PIE **tuh$_2$ ó/em* > Skt. *tvám*, Old Av. *tuuəm*, Umbr. *tiom* [Dunkel 2014b: 812]; 2SG.ACC PIE **t(u̯)é ge* 'you at least' > ~~Hitt. *tuk*~~, Go. *þuk* [Dunkel 2014b: 282; see also Kroonen 2013: 549]).

The pronouns in Germanic are provided in (20).

(20) PIE **éǵ* > stressed PGmc **ek* > Gallehus **ek**
unstressed PGmc **ik* > OE *ic*, OHG *ih*
PIE **éǵ(-h$_2$) + **óm*** > **ekon* > **ekõ* > PGmc **ekã* > eastern PN **-ka**, **eka**, **-(e)ka** 'I'[26] > East Nordic *iak* (breaking)
PIE **éǵ + **óh$_1$*** > **ekō* > WGmc: OHG *ihhâ*, Du. *ikke*

Here we might also add the "particle of obscure origin" PGmc **-õ* seen in Go. *þan-**a***, *þat-**a***, *in-**a***, *hwan-**a***, OE *þon-**e***, *hin-**e***, *hwon-**e***, etc. (Ringe 2006: 85), comparable to Skt. *id-ám* 'it', *iy-ám* 'she' (Sihler 1995: 370, though see also Dunkel 2014b: 599). My hypothesis is that the emergence of *-a/-(a)t* can be (indirectly) linked to these reinforcers, as I will explain in more detail in the next section.

[26] In an inscription such as the one on the Lindholmen amulet (**ek erilaz sa [w]ilagaz hateka**) we might want to translate the reinforcer: 'I am the/an *erilaz*. I am **even** called the Wily One' or 'I, **for my part**, am called the Wily One'. Translating the reinforcer is certainly not customary, but in some cases it might be justified.

The first person singular pronoun displays breaking in East Nordic (OSw./ODa. *iak* > *iagh* > Sw. *jag*, Da. *jeg*). Unstressed **-ã* (and other unstressed back vowels like PGmc **-a*, **-u*, and **-ō*$^{(n)}$) trigger the root vowel **e* to change to (**ea* > **ia* >) **ja*, which directly affects PN **ek-ã*. West Nordic, on the other hand, shows no breaking in the pronoun (ON *ek* > Far. *eg*, Nyno. *eg*). Apparent exceptions in West Nordic all involve later changes: the glide in Icel. *ég* /jɛɣ/ is probably a 14th-century development (Haugen 1982: 41–42); Norwegian Bokmål *jeg* and Far. *jeg* are due to Danish influence. Eastern varieties without breaking are not impossible either (e.g. Jutlandic *æ*). Finally, as a reviewer has pointed out, Dalecarlian does not show breaking in the pronoun (Övdalian *ig*, Orsamål *ik*).

As is well known, there is generally speaking more breaking in East Nordic than in West Nordic. Still, there are plenty of lexical items that show breaking in both branches: PGmc **sternōⁿ* > ON *stjarna*, like OSw. *stiærna* 'star'; PGmc **ebna-* > ON *jafn*, like OSw. *iamn* 'even'; PGmc **meluks* > ON *mjǫlk*, like OSw. *miolk* 'milk'; PGmc **erþō* > ON *jǫrð*, like OSw. *iorþ*. As far as the 1SG.NOM pronoun goes, the most straightforward way to account for the presence or absence of breaking is to reconstruct two separate forms: reinforced **ek-ã* (or **ek-a*)[27] vs. the bare form **ek* (see also Antonsen 2002: 302). Evidence for this can be inferred from the Dalecarlian situation. As Schulte (2018: 62–63) points out, the Dalarna region forms the dialectal epicenter of breaking in light stems, with conservative varieties showing forms like *bjärå*, *mjätå* (vs. non-broken Sw. *bära* 'carry', *mäta* 'measure'). The degree to which breaking has penetrated into Dalecarlian makes it all the more remarkable that the 1SG.NOM pronouns are not broken in Övdalian and Orsamål, leading me to posit **ek* as the more plausible proto-form in such varieties. Thus

[27] If the etymology in (20) is correct, then PN **ek**ᴀ is to be transcribed *ekã*, i.e. with nasalization of the vowel preserved from Proto-Germanic. While early inscriptions like Noleby (probably **-[k]a**), Lindholmen (**-ka**), and Sjælland (**-ka**) of course spell the reinforcer with **a**, it is notable that later Proto-Nordic inscriptions (Ellestad **ek**ᴀ, **-k**ᴀ; Stentofften **-ek**ᴀ) spell the reinforcer with the new ᴀ-rune ᛯ (a development from ᛃ **j** **jāra*) even though the old **a**-rune ᚨ is still available to spell nasalized *ã* (**ansuz* > **ãsʀ* > ON *áss*), perhaps suggesting non-nasalized *eka*. Presence or absence of nasalization on the vowel has no effect on the hypothesis I lay out here. For all we know, the negative enclitic ON *-a* could have been pronounced *-ã*. The First Grammarian (see Haugen 1950, Hreinn Benediktsson 1972) reveals in his careful observations about his language that nasalization survived into the Old Icelandic vowel system, but (as a reviewer points out) nasalization was allophonic in the short vowels and phonemic only in the long vowels (Hreinn Benediktsson 1972: 135–136). So there is little we can learn about the negative enclitic from the First Grammarian, though – as a matter of curiosity – he clearly did have this item in his language.

Dalecarlian has generalized the short form **ek*, like West Nordic, whereas East Nordic has generalized the long form **ekã*.

In Proto-Germanic, then, there was a good deal of variation in the first person nominative pronoun: **ek* (Gallehus **ek**) was the primary form, but it could be reinforced by **-ã* (Lindholmen and Sjælland **-ka**) or **-ō* (OHG *ihha*). As evidenced by (non-Attic) Greek *ἐγών*, which is a compromise of hypothetical **ἐγόν* (< PIE **eǵ(-h_2) **óm***) and **ἐγώ* (< PIE **éǵ **óh**$_1$*) (see Dunkel 2014b: 201, fn. 17; Sihler 1995: 369–370; Beekes 2009: 373 s.v. *ἐγω*), blending of reinforcers was a distinct possibility as well. Proto-Nordic certainly inherited both **ek* and unstressed **ik* (**ik** on the Åsum bracteate, DR IK11).

It is rather common in the literature to see Lindholmen **hateka** and Sjælland **haitika** parsed as *ha(i)t-ekã* and *hait-ikã*, but it can be noted that the vowel preceding *-kã* may very well belong to the (1SG passive) verb itself: *ha(i)tē-kã* < PGmc **haitai*. Thus Lindholmen and Sjælland provide evidence only for an enclitic *-kã* (not *-ekã* or *-ikã*). Noleby **toj-a** is less clear on this point, but if **toje͡ka** is the correct reading, then there is also evidence for an enclitic *-ekã*. As Sihler (1995: 369–370) points out, the fact that the Gallehus horn inscription has **ek** rather than ****eka** cannot be due to apocope of *-ã*, since word-final *-ã* is present a couple of words later in the sentence, in the accusative form **horna** 'horn'. Indeed, the longer form of the pronoun does not appear as an independent pronoun until Ellestad (**ekA**) (6th or 7th century), which is the sole runic attestation of the independent pronoun with reinforcer *-ã* that we have. So while Hopper (1975: 35) uses the Ellestad form as an argument (against Meillet) that **ekã* was not exclusively enclitic, I think it is perfectly reasonable to believe that this use of the reinforced pronoun was a slightly later development in Proto-Nordic, a good illustration of how the enclitic pronoun can influence the full pronoun rather than the other way around (cf. Howe 1996: 89–90). Conversely, it is known that non-reinforced **ek** was not exclusively independent but could also appear cliticized on the verb, as shown by Björketorp **fAlAhAk** 'conceal' with enclitic **-k** (Antonsen 2002: 307 reads the fuller form *-æk*). Even though this is an East Nordic inscription, it is exactly what needs to be posited in order to anticipate first person singular verb forms in Old Norse like *fá-k*, *sé-k*, *var-k*, *em-k*, which are abundantly attested in the Poetic Edda. The early origin of *-k* is assured on the basis of such evidence (Finnur Jónsson 1926: 203).

In contrast to independent (preverbal) **ekA**, enclitic (postverbal) **-ka** and **-(e)kA** are much better attested in the runic corpus. It is important to recognize, moreover, that all cases of **-ka** and **-(e)kA** which we have are

from East Nordic territory (Noleby, Lindholmen, Ellestad, Stentoften, Sjælland). This fact means that the runic material does not actually provide any clarity on the situation in West Nordic. Reconstructing an early West Nordic clitic *-*k* (alongside independent **ek*), then, is rational on the basis of the available evidence.

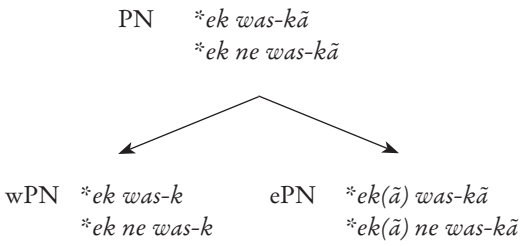
In sum, I offer the following analysis of the runic evidence discussed above. In my view, the evidence points to a Proto-Nordic situation wherein **ek* was the full pronoun and *-*(ə)kã* was the enclitic form. As eastern and western varieties began to diverge, eastern Proto-Nordic levelled in favor of the enclitic, adding the reinforcer from the enclitic to the full pronoun (eastern PN **ek(ã)* and *-*(ə)kã*), while western Proto-Nordic dropped the reinforcer from the enclitic (western PN **ek* and *-*(ə)k*). As mentioned above, final *-*ã* conditioned breaking in the full pronoun of eastern Nordic and was subsequently deleted. This was never an issue in the western pronoun since the reinforcer was dropped from the enclitic form and never introduced into the full pronoun.

5.2 The PERSON MARKER hypothesis

The hypothesis I will develop for the enclitic negator consists of two subparts: (i) ON *-a* derives from **ai* 'ever', and (ii) ON *-(a)t* is an extended form of *-a*, where *-t* is historically a second person marker. This may appear at first glance to make for an incongruous hypothesis, with the two enclitic negations arising by quite disparate means, but the crucial connection between (i) and (ii) is found in the name of the hypothesis: person markers, which allow for an analogical reanalysis to be spelled out in more detail below.

Let us start with part (i) of the hypothesis. I will first consider constructions with a first person singular verb. As discussed above, the runic evidence points to a PN **ek* with enclitic form *-*kã*. As western and eastern branches arose (which I take to have happened relatively early), certain levellings occurred, with the western variety dropping the reinforcer in *-*kã* and the eastern variety introducing the reinforcer into the independent form (Ellestad **ek**ʌ). Thus 'I was' in western Proto-Nordic should be reconstructed **ek was-k* 'I was-1SG'; the eastern version would have been **ek(ã) was-kã*.

(21)



As shown in (21), the negated version of the sentence would have simply involved the addition of preverbal **ne* in both varieties, which represents Stage I in Jespersen's Cycle.

For Stage II, my proposal is that there was an adverbial particle **ai* 'ever' (along with the obvious already-mentioned connections to ON *á* 'always', *ei* 'ever, always; not', consider also **aik-ud** *ęi-kund-* 'ever-born' on N KJ29B; Grønvik 2006: 26) which served as an emphatic reinforcer of negation, cooccurring with proclitic **ne*. Obviously this builds on the work and insights of Grimm and Grønvik, but with some differences. One difference is my reconstruction of the negative reinforcer adverb 'ever' as **ai*, which I put on a par with **ai* in NWGmc **n-ai* 'no' (OE *nā*, ON *nei*). My own contribution to the etymology is the observation that the reduced/grammaticalized items **n-* (< **ni*) and **ai* (< **aiwa-*) had arisen already in North-West Germanic, my rationale for which is as follows. I assume that stressed PIE **ne* (Skt. *ná*) developed into Proto-Germanic stressed **ne* (OE/ON *ne*), which alternated with an unstressed **ni* (Go. *ni*), just like PGmc stressed **ek* (ON *ek*) ~ unstressed **ik* (OHG *ih*) (see Ringe 2006: 117, 124). The parallels do not stop there: just as **ek* could be reinforced by **-ã*, **ne* could be reinforced by **-h^w*, giving Go. *ni-h*, ON *né* 'nor' (cf. Lat. *ne-que*). It is plausible that both North and West Germanic would have had apocope (probably not datable to Proto-North-West Germanic itself, but soon after its breakup) in the unstressed item **ni* > **n-* (cf. **ek* > **-k*). If I am on the right track, then unstressed PGmc **ni* should be **n-* already by the time we reach North-West Germanic and Proto-Nordic.[28] On the basis of OE *nā* and

[28] Support for my claim comes from the fact that there is very little evidence that East Germanic (Gothic) inherited a negative morpheme *n-* from Proto-Germanic (see Grimm 1831: 709–711 for early discussion and Miller 2019: 90). Go. *ne* /nē/ 'no' seems to be inherited wholesale from Proto-Indo-European (cf. Skt. *nā́*, Lat. *nē*, OIr. *ní*; Feist 1939: 373 s.v. *ne*; Dunkel 2014b: 536 posits PIE **né eh_1* 'not at all'), and Go. *nei* /nī/ 'not at all' (two attestations; Miller 2019: 517) does not easily lend itself to decomposition as **n-ei*. The etymology of the interrogative adverb *nibai* is not settled (with similar issues for *niba(i)* 'if not, unless'), leading to different decompositional alternatives: *n-ibai* or *ni-bai* (see Miller 2019: 537, 538, with references), but synchronically the comparison to *ja-bai*

ON *nei* 'no', then, we reconstruct NWGmc **n-ai* (vs. Go. *nē* 'no' which cannot come from **nai* but must instead come from **nē*). The first part in the answer particle 'no' is the negative prefix **n-*. The second part is **ai*, which we do not have to reconstruct as bisyllabic **aiwa-* but can simply reconstruct as **ai*, on the assumption that the formation of 'no' had already involved a significant amount of bleaching and reduction of the noun **aiwa-* 'eternity' on the way from Proto-Germanic to North-West Germanic. Thus my etymology of ON *-a* from 'ever' is in a basic sense derivative of other views in the literature, but it is framed in a different way, since it pays attention to and attempts to reconstruct different layers of the grammaticalization processes to which the noun **aiwaz* 'eternity, age' served as input.

As Katrín Axelsdóttir (2002: 164) points out, the 1SG.NOM marker *-k* always, without exception, appears with the negative enclitic in the Poetic Edda (double *-k*: ON *stǫðvi-g-a-k* 'stop-1SG-NEG-1SG' [*Hávm* 147/5], *bjargi-g-a-k* 'save-1SG-NEG-1SG' [*Hávm* 149/5], *þik-k-a-k* 'get-1SG-NEG-1SG' [*Skí* 22/1]; single *-k*: *var-k-a* 'was-1SG-NEG' [*HHund II* 12/1], *sit-k-a* 'sit-1SG-NEG' [*HHund II* 36/1], *vil-k-at* 'want-1SG-NEG' [*Lok* 18/6], and so on).[29] This I take to reflect the older situation, given in (22).[30]

(22) Western Proto-Nordic

* *ek*	*ne*	*was-k*	*ai …*
I	NEG	was-1SG	ever …

'I was not ever …'

might encourage the analysis *ni-bai* (with *ni-*, not *n-*). Consider in particular Go. *nih* = *ni-h* 'and not, nor, not even' (Miller 2019: 544–545). Here we might expect breaking of *i* to *ai* /ɛ/ before *h*, but ***naih* is unattested, even though the adverb/discourse marker *nu* 'now' does show breaking in the exact same environment: **nu-h* > *nauh* 'still' (but also the interrogative particle *nuh*). A reasonable explanation would be that breaking was undone in the reinforced negation, by analogy with the regular (non-reinforced) negation *ni* (and in the interrogative particle *nu-h* by analogy with *nu*) (Miller 2019: 37, with references). If so, the relevant morpheme is once again *ni-* rather than *n-*. Note here that Go. *nist* 'is not' is an exceptional form and not good evidence for a morpheme *n-*, as this kind of contraction is not the rule in Gothic (cf. *ni im* 'I am not') (see Miller 2019: 516–517 and fn. 7, with references).

[29] For early discussion, see Munch & Unger (1847: 100–101) and Nygaard (1867: 54, Anm. 2d).

[30] Note that I have chosen the gloss '1SG' (rather than 'I') as the more neutral option, allowing me to avoid making the distinction between enclitic pronoun and agreement marker. The way I see it, there is nothing in my hypothesis that hinges on this distinction. It should be mentioned that not necessarily everyone agrees that **-k(A)** is a first person singular marker. Braunmüller (2017) sees a new synthetic passive, on the model of Latin, developing in early runic, so that early 1SG constructions like **hateka** 'am.called. I' are eventually extended and generalized to other persons, e.g. 3SG **raisidoka stainar** 'was. raised stone.NOM' on the Ellestad runestone (Braunmüller 2017: 12).

This is the origin of ON *-a*: **ai* monophthongizes to *ā* (which after the syncope period becomes *-a*) under secondary stress. It is well known from the study of the Germanic poetic tradition that adverbs typically carry secondary stress in the sentence (e.g. Hopper 1975: 91), so the connection to Noreen's (1923: § 54,3c) rule is transparent.

Now, eastern Proto-Nordic did not – as far as we know, considering the absence of any eastern attestations of negative *-a* – use this strategy, at least not long enough or consistently enough for it to take root. Perhaps the retention of the old reinforcer **-ã* on **ek* is a clue, hinting that there was simply more competition between different reinforcement strategies in eastern Proto-Nordic, with none of them winning out until slightly later. Here it is relevant to note that in negative contexts the reinforcer **-ã* was conceivably ambiguous between a narrow (pronominal focalizer or reinforcer) reading and a wider (reinforcer of verbal/sentential negation) reading: ePN **ek(ã) ne was-kã* 'even I was not' ~ 'I was not even'. Thus the pronominal reinforcer can generally speaking be considered a kind of emphatic focalizer, putting it in the same basic class as minimizers, which are known to be a rich source of new negators (e.g. Lat. *nōn/nec … passum* 'not (even) a (single) step' Fr. *pas* 'not').[31] Other reinforcers and minimizers were surely available in eastern Proto-Nordic, but we cannot know with any certainty (without more evidence from runic) which ones exactly. What is certain is that the element **(ne) ęi-gi* '(n)ever-at.all' ('not') eventually won out (see fn. 4 above). Coinciding with this, the reinforcer **-ã* vanished due to syncope, having first triggered breaking in the root vowel (**ek-ã* > **eak-ã* > **iak-ã* > *iak*).

In the meantime, western Proto-Nordic had generalized its Stage II configuration with **ai* > **ā* 'ever', which after monophothongization under secondary stress weakened further to unstressed clitic status (thus **ek ne was-k-ā* 'I was not ever', **þū ne wast-ā* 'you were not ever', **hānaz ne was-ā* 'he was not ever', and so on). We are now in a position to explain the development of ON *-(a)t*, which according to my hypothesis was

[31] Vossen & van der Auwera (2014: 48) write: "It is not the case that French *ne* was weak and needed reinforcement. As a negative marker *ne* was fine, but the point is (i) that one often wants to emphasize negation, as with *du tout* (lit.) 'of all' in modern French *ne … pas du tout* 'not at all' or with *at all* in *not at all*, (ii) that *pas*, literally 'step', once had that function, serving as a 'minimizer' with movement verbs (the movement not extending even one step), and (iii) that, over time, the emphatic meaning bleached and eventually turned into an exponent of neutral negation." I should point out that my usage of *reinforcer* is rather more neutral, and I view the addition of a postverbal negator in the same basic way they do, with emphasis as one of the main drivers of Jespersen's Cycle the world over (Vossen & van der Auwera 2014 discuss Austronesian, see especially pp. 70–72).

an extended form of *-a* (thus resembling Kock's idea discussed in Section 3.2, but in reverse). We start with the observation that first person singular verbs in the Poetic Edda *always* have the agreement marker *-k* (e.g. *em-k-a* [*Sigrdr* 20/3], *em-k-at* [*Skí* 18/1]). Oftentimes the negation is flanked by *-k* (the first *-k* in some cases appearing in lenited form as *-g*) (e.g. *má-k-a-k* 'may-1SG-NEG-I' [*Am* 57/2]), *stǫðvi-g-a-k* 'stop-1SG-NEG-1SG' [*Hávm* 147/5]). Configurations like ON ***var-k-at-k* are not attested (Þórhallur Eyþórsson 2002: fn. 8, citing unpublished work by Katrín Axelsdóttir 2001: 9), though as I mention in Section 3.2 this could be explained on phonotactic grounds.[32] I propose that these basic facts can be derived from the analogical equation in (23): since the first person singular configuration very often flanked its negator with person markers, the second person singular began doing so as well, resulting in an extra, unetymological *-t* (**-ā* + **-t* = **-āt* > ON *-at*). Note that the second **-k* marker in the negated 1SG form did not have to be a strict rule in early Proto-Nordic in order for the **-t* marker to arise in the 2SG form; the possibility of double **-k* in the 1SG just had to be frequent *enough* for the analogy to spread and take root in the 2SG. Asterisks in (23) are meant to flag that the forms are western Proto-Nordic (i.e. older than Old Norse).

(23)

**was-k*	:	**ne was-k-ā-k*	::	**was-t* :	****ne was-t-ā-t***
was-1SG		NEG was-1SG-NEG-1SG		were-2SG	NEG were-2SG-NEG-2SG

Crucially, *-t* is the regular 2SG ending in the present of preterite-present verbs, in the preterite of regular strong verbs, and in some irregular verbs, such as *vesa*/*vera* (*ert* 'you are', *vast*/*vart* 'you were'). The absorption of **-t* onto **-ā* could have happened already in early Proto-Nordic. At first, **-āt* occurred exclusively with 2SG verbs (cf. ON *ef fǫður ne átt-at* [*Fáfn* 3/1] 'if father you have not', *ert-at-tu*, etc.). Later on, as we approach the Viking Age, **-āt* began to lose its strict association with 2SG and became combinable also with 1SG (cf. ON *em-k-at ek*). Note that there is plenty of time for this to happen: if negative reinforcer **ai* (> **ā*) 'ever' arose around 400 AD and **-āt* one hundred years later, then more than two centuries still remain until the early Viking Age (and as I discuss in the next section, there is one more major change to occur, which can be dated to the 600s). Interestingly, Þórhallur Eyþórsson (2002: 217) observes that the agreement marker *-k* and the enclitic negation seem to have been lost at basically the same time in the history of Nordic. If my hypothesis

[32] Note that *-(a)t* is possible with a single *-k* marker, i.e. *em-k-at* (*ek*). This possibility is a later development on my hypothesis.

is on the right track, then the fates of *-k* and *-a*/*-(a)t* were inextricably intertwined from rise to fall.

5.3 Testing the PERSON MARKER hypothesis

One positive aspect of the PERSON MARKER etymology is that it is testable. To that end, I have considered the 29 poems in the Codex Regius (GKS 2365 4to) of the Poetic Edda. Prose passages and prose interpolations like *Frá dauða Sinfjǫtla* och *Dráp Niflunga* are excluded. Also, no poems from other manuscripts, such as *Baldrs draumar* in AM 748 I 4to, have been included in my investigation. I have collected all attestations of *-a*/*-(a)t* in the Codex Regius by consulting a prepublication version of the XML file containing the lemmatizations for the forthcoming electronic edition of the Codex Regius.[33] The printed version of this new diplomatic edition of the codex is cited as Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson et al. (2019). The numbers for *-a* and *-(a)t* per poem are provided in Table 4. See the Appendix for a fuller presentation of the data.

It should be pointed out that some cases of the enclitic negation are plausibly missing from the text, in the sense that the Codex Regius in a few spots shows a newer negation where, metrically speaking, the older enclitic is expected. One example is *Hávamál* 38/3 <at ei v*e*ri þiGia þegit>, where *ei væri* may in other editions be rendered *væri-a* or *væri-t* (see Neckel/Kuhn 1983: 23, note to 39/3). As this example illustrates, even if we know that *ei* was not the original negation, we still cannot choose between *-a* and *-(a)t*, since both forms are attested after subjunctive verbs ending in *-i*. Since the difference between *-a* and *-(a)t* is crucial for a full understanding of the history of the enclitic negation, such cases simply do not add anything to my study and are therefore not included. In other words, only attestations of the enclitic negation which are actually found in the manuscript (including erasures) are included in my investigation.

A subset of the attestations in Table 4 involve a proclitic *ne* to the immediate left of the finite verb (i.e. the Stage II configuration in Jespersen's Cycle). Of 114 attestations of *-a*, two show a cooccurring *ne* (i.e. *ne* V_{FIN}*-a*), while 12 of 122 attestations of *-(a)t* have a cooccurring *ne* (i.e. *ne* V_{FIN}*-(a)t*). To round out the picture, I have counted 28 cases of the

[33] Diplomatic transcription by Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, normalized text by Haraldur Bernharðsson and Jóhannes Bjarni Sigtryggsson, conversion to Menotic XML by Karl Gunnar Johansson, and programming and technical assistance by Paul Meurer and Tone Merete Bruvik.

Table 4. Attestations in the Poetic Edda of enclitic negations *-a* and *-(a)t*.

Poem	*-a*	*-(a)t*
Vǫluspá	1	0
Hávamál	16	24
Vafþrúðnismál	0	3
Grímnismál	0	2
Skírnismál	3	1
Hárbarðsljóð	3	3
Hýmiskviða	0	4
Lokasenna	11	5
Þrymskviða	1	0
Vǫlundarkviða	6	2
Alvíssmál	2	2
Helgakviða Hundingsbana I (Vǫlsungakviða)	1	4
Helgakviða Hjǫrvarðssonar	3	5
Helgakviða Hundingsbana II (Vǫlsungakviða hin forna)	9	5
Grípisspá	5	7
Reginsmál	2	5
Fáfnismál	3	5
Sigrdrífumál	4	3
Brot af Sigurðarkviðu	1	1
Guðrúnarkviða I	1	1
Sigurðarkviða hin skamma	9	7
Helreið Brynhildar	1	0
Guðrúnarkviða II	5	3
Guðrúnarkviða III	3	2
Oddrúnarkviða	3	3
Atlakviða	4	2
Atlamál hin grœnlenzku	14	17
Guðrúnarhvǫt	2	2
Hamðismál	1	4
Totals	**114**	**122**
Grand total	***236***	

Table 5. Use of *-a* vs. *-(a)t* with all singular verbs in the Poetic Edda.

	1SG	2SG	3SG	Totals
-a	37 (25.8216)	22 (26.338)	51 (57.8404)	**110**
-(a)t	13 (24.1784)	29 (24.662)	61 (54.1596)	**103**
Totals	**50**	**51**	**112**	***213***

Stage I configuration, i.e. *ne* (not *né* 'nor') plus the finite verb without the enclitic negation.[34, 35]

In Table 5, attestations of *-a* vs. *-(a)t* have been categorized by the person/number features of the finite verb on which the enclitic negation appears. Only singular verbs are shown here.[36]

The chi-square statistic for Table 5 is 13.1578 with 2 degrees of freedom. The corresponding p-value is 0.0014, and the result is significant at p = 0.01. Expected values for each cell are given in parentheses in Table 5. It is clear that 1SG verbs in the Poetic Edda select *-a* over *-(a)t* much more often than expected by the null hypothesis. Less clear-cut but nevertheless true is the fact that 2SG selects *-(a)t* over *-a* more often than expected. The basic tendency was noticed already by Nygaard (1867:

[34] Grønvik (1997: 9–11, 20–21) seems to have slightly undercounted overall, reporting 109 attestations of *-a* (whereof two are *ne* + *-a*) and 120 of *-(a)t* (whereof eight are *ne* + *-(a)t*) and 23 cases of bare *ne* plus the finite verb. The possibility of undercounting was one of which he was clearly aware: "Det er også mulig at jeg kan ha oversett enkelte belegg i denne store stoffmengde." (Grønvik 1997: 10)

[35] Lundin Åkesson (2005: 246, Table 2) reports 235 attestations of bare *-a/-(a)t* and 20 attestations of *ne* V_{FIN}*-a/-(a)t*, for a grand total of 255. This exceeds my grand total of 236 attestations of the enclitic negation. There are indications that she has overcounted. For example, Lundin Åkesson (2005: 251) writes that *Lokasenna* has five cases of *ne* V_{FIN}*-a/-(a)t*, which she provides as *né megoð* (7/3), *né scylda* (23/2), *né mátto* (46/5), *né lezcaðu* (47/3), and *né manað* (47/6) (from Neckel/Kuhn 1983). Only the last two, however, are negated by both *ne* and *-a/-(a)t* (2SG *ne lezk-a-ðu* and 3SG *ne man-at*); the rest of the examples show preverbal *ne* only, with the verbs showing inflectional endings that happen to resemble the postverbal negator: *megoð* = *meguð* (2PL.PRES of *mega*), *scylda* = *skylda* (1SG.PRET.SUBJ of *skulu*), and *mátto* = *máttu* (3PL.PRET of *mega*). Perhaps similar mistakes were made elsewhere. Þórhallur Eyþórsson (2002: 200, Table 1) reports 240 attestations of the enclitic negation, which agrees much better with my number.

[36] Singular verbs bear 213 of 236 total attestations of the negative enclitic, meaning that the enclitic appears 23 times with verbs in the plural: two instances of *-a* with a 1PL verb (*vitum-a* [*Sigsk* 18/1], *ættim-a* [*Akv* 6/7]); two of *-a* with a 2PL verb (imperative *segit-a* [*Vǫl* 21/1] and 'became' with a dual pronoun: *Urðu-a ið glíkir* [*Ghv* 4/1]); and 19 attestations of *-(a)t* with a 3PL verb.

54–55, Anm. 2d, e). This suggests that 1SG verbs are indeed associated with 'unmarked' *-a* and 2SG verbs with 'marked' *-(a)t*. Verbs in the 3SG appear to be like the 2SG in that they more often take the 'marked' option *-(a)t*. This will be discussed in more detail below.

Various scholars have alleged that *-a* tends to appear before consonants and that *-(a)t* tends to appear before vowels (e.g. Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1874: xxvi; Kock 1879: 14, who cites figures from Konráð Gíslason 1846: 226; consider also similar claims in Nygaard 1867: 52–53, Anm. 2a). If Grimm (1831: 716, 737) has his way, then *-at* is reduced to *-a* before consonants, as seen in (24).

(24) *-at* > *-a* / __ C

According to (24), *-a* should appear before consonants, and *-(a)t* should appear before vowels. This hypothetical rule would be on a par with the external sandhi process observed with English *a* ~ *an*. Of 236 total attestations in the Poetic Edda, 105 (44 %) of them can be considered strictly in line with this rule. If we decide that the rule allows for either *-a* or *-(a)t* at the end of a line or half-line, then the figure is 132 (56 %). On the one hand, it is possible that (24) is an old rule which was gradually overwritten by later syntactic and/or semantic conditioning (much like the origins of Eng. *my* ~ *mine* from an originally phonological conditioning). On the other hand, such a preference could easily have arisen much later, as a practical way for scribes to understand the distribution of these old negators. And then there is of course a third option, that (24) is a figment of scholarly imagination (in Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon 1874: xxvi it is written that there is a preference for *-a* before consonants and *-at* before vowels, "but they are often used indiscriminately"). If (24) has any basis in reality at all, then I think there is reason to believe it is a younger tendency. My reasoning is based on the behavior of negation with the second person clitic pronoun.

Before explaining my argument, some brief background is needed. The sequence *-at-tu* is attested in a number of forms: *gaft-at-tu* (*Reg* 7/2, 7/3), *Mant-at-tu, Gunnarr!* (*Brot* 18/1), *ert-at-tu* (*Alv* 2/6), *vannt-at-tu* (*HHund II* 21/5), all of which unambiguously show *-tt-* in the orthography (i.e. <attv>). The sequence *-at-tu* is the result of assimilation from *-at-þu*, and *-at-tu* is subject to further weakening, giving *-at-u*.[37] Negated

[37] There is a crucial difference between this morphological parsing vs. Kock's (1879: 16, 1896: 195–196, 1911: 135) hypothesis sketched in (9–10) above. With *-at-u* the assimilation process does not alter the identity of *-at*, so we get *-at* plus the remainder of the

forms like <ſcalatv> *skal-at-u* (*Lok* 15/2), then, must derive from *-at-tu* (compare *ertu* 'are.you', *skaltu* 'shall.you') since the expected form of the enclitic 2SG pronoun after a vowel (as in *skal**a**tu*) is not *-tu* but *-ðu* (cf. *flý-ðu* 'flee-3PL.PRET' vs. *stríd-du* 'fight-3PL.PRET' or *set-tu* 'set-3PL.PRET'). In sum, there are two basic patterns possible: *-at-(t)u* or *-a-ðu*, where the former does not obey (24) and the latter does.

Now, if *-at* was regularly shortened to *-a* before consonants in the early stages of Nordic, then we might expect this ancient rule to reveal itself in certain frozen expressions, one good candidate being exactly the sequence of enclitic negator plus second person pronoun. One would predict, by the rule in (24), that the regular way of adding a second person clitic pronoun to a negated verb would be *-a-ðu* (just like weak preterites following a vowel, e.g. 3PL *flý-ðu* 'fled'). Sequences like <aþv> and <a þv> are certainly attested in the Codex Regius (17 attestations) and may indeed represent *-a-ðu*, but it is important to note that in some cases it could just as well stand for *-a þú* (e.g. <ne lezcaþv> in *Lok* 47/3) with an independent pronoun. On the other hand, the sequence *-at-(t)u* is also quite common (19 attestations) in Codex Regius – more common, in my opinion, than would be expected had (24) been a genuinely ancient rule which governed the two versions of the negative enclitic in the earliest days of Nordic.[38]

In other words, if we accept that the negative enclitic tends towards the distribution *-a* + C vs. *-(a)t* + V, then it would be a preference arising much later, perhaps as a scribal rule of thumb. If that is so, then it would be wise to filter this complicating factor out of the data. For the sake of argument, then, I have classified the data from the Poetic Edda into three categories: (i) fully in line with (24); (ii) ambiguous, meaning that attestations of the enclitic negation are at the end of a line or half-line (following line breaks in Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson et al. 2019); and (iii) not in line with (24) (that is to say, *-a* immediately precedes a vowel or *-(a)t* immediately precedes a consonant within a half-line). In order to factor

pronoun after assimilation (*-u*). For Kock, on the other hand, the process results in *-at* being reanalyzed as *-a* with the remainder apparently taken to be the enclitic pronoun *-tu* (*-at-tu* > *-atu* = *-a-tu*).

[38] What is more, the sandhi rule in (24) does not resemble any other early Nordic phonological process that I know of (see also Schulte 2008: 14–17 for discussion of external sandhi in the runic material). One might even predict unetymological initial *t-* to have arisen from reparsing at the word boundary (i.e. …*-at* # V… …*-a* # *t*V…, like Middle English *an ewte a newt*). I am not aware of any such examples. Suffice it to say that the evidence for (24), whatever its age might be, is tenuous overall. If it is to be taken seriously at all, it seems more plausible that it arose much later.

Table 6. Non-conditioned *-a* vs. *-(a)t* with singular verbs.

	1SG	2SG	3SG	Totals
-a	28	2	2	**32**
-(a)t	0	24	55	**79**
Totals	**28**	**26**	**57**	***111***

out the potentially confounding variable of phonological conditioning, it is useful to consider only the attestations which do not straightforwardly obey (24) (i.e. attestations which are of category (ii) or (iii) as per my description above, e.g. *bíðka ek þess bót* [*Vǫl* 18/13]). This would leave us with the set of attestations which cannot be explained in terms of (24), eliminating at least one possible explanation for the patterning observed.

The non-conditioned attestations divided by verb type are given in Table 6.[39] Some obvious observations can be made here.[40] Verbs in the 1SG select *-a* every single time under these conditions, and verbs in the 2SG and 3SG almost always select *-(a)t*. In other words, by factoring out any potential phonological conditioning, the patterns detected in Table 5 above have been greatly amplified. If (24) is indeed a later rule, then Table 6 could be interpreted to reveal the older distribution of the enclitic negator.

My hypothesis relies on the salience of *-t* as a marker of the 2SG in certain verb classes: strong, preterite-present, and the suppletive verb *vesa/vera* 'be' (ON *er-t*, *vas-t*, *var-t*; on *er-t* see Crawford 2012). This distribution of the 2SG marker goes back to Proto-Nordic (Haugen 1982: 122, 124 reconstructs **es-t* '(thou) art', **was-t* '(you) were', **kann-t* '(you)

[39] Going back to the discussion of *-at-(t)u* above: both the sequences *-atu* and *-aðu* would seem to constitute counterexamples to the analogy hypothesis, but in reality only forms showing *-aðu* are true counterexamples. This is because *-a-ðu* does *not* derive from *-at-tu* (thus 2SG selects *-a*), whereas forms showing *-atu* do come from *-at-tu* (so 2SG selects *-(a)t* over *-a*). In my data I have been rather strict and classified cases of *-at-u* as obedient to phonological conditioning, meaning that they are left out in Table 6. Had the five cases of *-at-u* been left in, then the percentage for *-(a)t* in the 2SG would obviously have been even higher.

[40] The patterns are clear enough that statistical analysis need not be involved, but for the sake of transparency: although there are values less than 5 in this table, a chi-square test would still be appropriate considering that the *expected* value for each cell is greater than 5: *-a*.1SG = 8.0721, *-a*.2SG = 7.4955, *-a*.3SG = 16.4324; *-(a)t*.1SG = 19.9279, *-(a)t*.2SG = 18.5045, *-(a)t*.3SG = 40.5676. The chi-square statistic is 92.5966, with a corresponding p-value so low that the null hypothesis can be categorically rejected.

Table 7. 2SG negated verbs by verb type in the Poetic Edda.

	Strong	**Preterite-present**	***vesa/vera***	**Weak**
-a	7	4	0	11
-(a)t	11	11	3	4

Table 8. 2SG negated verbs by verb type in the Poetic Edda.

	Strong/irregular	**Weak**	**Totals**
-a	11	11	**22**
-(a)t	25	4	**29**
Totals	**36**	**15**	***51***

can', **skaut-t* '(you) shot'). If ON *-(a)t* owes its existence to these classes in particular, one would expect 2SG verbs negated with *-(a)t* in the Poetic Edda to be mostly of these types; conversely, 2SG verbs which are negated with *-a* (having lost, on my hypothesis, their original link to *-(a)t*) would be expected to occur more frequently on verbs which are not of these types (basically, weak verbs). See Table 7; the first three columns of Table 7 are then collapsed in Table 8.

The chi-square statistic for Table 8 is 7.8991. The corresponding p-value is 0.0049, and the result is significant at p = 0.01. There are 51 verbs in the Poetic Edda which are in the 2SG and negated using *-a* or *-(a)t*. Verbs in the 2SG with *-(a)t* are more often of the strong, preterite-present, or suppletive 'be' type than of the weak type. This is in line with my prediction, in that these classes are allegedly the ones which were crucial in making possible the absorption of *-t* onto the negator **-ā*. As seen in Table 8, verbs in the 2SG which show the negation *-a* are evenly split between strong/irregular and weak types (11 attestations each). This is because 2SG verbs negated by *-a* became a possibility only later, when the original morphosyntactic conditioning of *-(a)t* was becoming opaque.

To take this one step further, one might rightly ask if these 2SG verbs are found in the expected tense/mood. For strong verbs it is the preterite indicative which shows the marker *-t* in the 2SG. For the preterite-presents it is the present indicative. For *vesa/vera* it is both present indicative (*ert*) and past indicative (*vast*, *vart*). Weak verbs, again, do not show the

marker. In Table 9 I have bolded the tenses/moods which are expected to show *-t* in the 2SG.

For 2SG verbs with *-a*, there do not seem to be any particular preferences or tendencies: only 2/7 (29 %) strong verbs are in the PRET.IND, 2/4 (50 %) preterite-presents are in the PRES.IND, and the weak verbs show a variety of tenses and moods. Second singular verbs with *-(a)t*, on the other hand, show a striking pattern: all of the preterite-presents are analyzable as PRES.IND,[41] just as predicted (the lack of an actual *-t* on some of these forms has a rational explanation; see below). Furthermore, all three forms of *vera*/*vesa* are in line with the prediction, with two in the PRES.IND and the third in the PRET.IND. In the strong verbs negated by *-(a)t* there is less of a striking pattern, but it does show a slightly higher percentage of PRET.IND, with 4/11 (36 %, compared to 29 % for strong verbs with *-a*). The weak verbs, again, show no apparent pattern. I consider this quite strong support in favor of my hypothesis, with the potential refinement that the preterite-presents and suppletive 'be' may have played a bigger role than the strong preterite in the analogical process.

There is a further prediction made by my hypothesis. Consider the partial paradigms from Old Norse in Table 10 below. As mentioned, the preterite indicative of strong verbs (e.g. *taka*, *vinna*) and present indicative of preterite-present verbs (e.g. *muna*) use *-t* as a marker of the 2SG, while 1SG and 3SG pattern together in being unmarked. For the verb 'be' this pattern applies to both the present and preterite indicative. Thus we might predict that 3SG should prefer *-a* over *-(a)t* in the Poetic Edda, in the same way that 1SG prefers *-a* over *-(a)t*. This prediction does not seem to be borne out, as seen in Tables 5 and 6 above. There is no preference on the part of 3SG negated verbs to choose *-a* over *-(a)t*; instead, 3SG negated verbs appear more frequently with *-(a)t* than with *-a*.

Here we must entertain the possibility that the pattern in the Edda is not the result of a single historical process dating back to early Proto-Nordic. Rather, the synchronic pattern evidenced in the Poetic Edda is likely to have resulted from a more complex history of overlapping developments. The earlier development could very well have been the preterite-present/irregular pattern, producing the initial rule that *-(a)t* was specifically linked to the 2SG. Indeed, we know on independent grounds that *-t* must have been a highly salient marker of the 2SG in early Nordic,

[41] Nine of the ten have been tagged as such in the file I consulted. One attestation of *skal-* (*Hávamál* 111/6) has been tagged as an imperative but has the same form and appears in a similar environment as attestations of *skal-* which are tagged as PRES.IND.

Table 9. Tense and mood of 2SG negated verbs in the Poetic Edda.

	Strong	Preterite-present	*vesa/vera*	Weak
	hlær (PRES.IND)	***man*** **(PRES.IND)**	-	*gár* (PRES.IND)
	sér (PRES.IND)	***veizt*** **(PRES.IND)**		*gerr* (PRES.IND)
				kallar (PRES.IND)
	fannt **(PRET.IND)**	*máttir* (PRET.IND)		*lezk* (PRES.IND)
	komt **(PRET.IND)**			
		skyldir (PRET.SUBJ)		*þóttisk* (PRET.IND)
	geyj (IMP)			*þóttis(k)* (PRET.IND)
-a	*grát* (IMP)			
	lát (IMP)			*kveðir* (PRES.SUBJ)
				mæltir (PRET.SUBJ)
				hirð (IMP)
				hirð (IMP)
				hirð (IMP)
	sér (PRES.IND)	***skal*** **(PRES.IMP/IND?)**	***ert*** **PRES.IND**	*gerði* (PRET.IND)
	getr (PRES.IND)	***skal*** **(PRES.IND)**	***ert*** **PRES.IND**	
	fœr (PRES.IND)	***skal*** **(PRES.IND)**		*deili* (PRES.SUBJ)
		skal **(PRES.IND)**	***var*** **PRET.IND**	
	gaft **(PRET.IND)**	***skal*** **(PRES.IND)**		*kvelj* (IMP)
	gaft **(PRET.IND)**	***vill*** **(PRES.IND)**		*teygj* (IMP)
-(a)t	***kvað*** **(PRET.IND)**	***veizt*** **(PRES.IND)**		
	vannt **(PRET.IND)**	***mun*** **(PRES.IND)**		
		mant **(PRES.IND)**		
	gef (IMP)	***mant*** **(PRES.IND)**		
	grátt (IMP)	***átt*** **(PRES.IND)**		
	kjós (IMP)			
	rís (IMP)			

since the old 3SG *ist* (Vetteland **ist**, Go. *ist*) 'is' was replaced in Proto-Nordic by a *t*-less form, while the 2SG picked up a *-t* (ON 2SG *er-t*, 3SG *es/er*) (Fulk 2018: 325). Later, the distribution of the enclitic negation could have been subject to analogy on the pattern of the present tense, where 2SG and 3SG pattern together (ending in ON *-r*) against an unmarked 1SG. The intrusion of 2SG PN **-ʀ* into the 3SG is attested in Björketorp **bʌrutʀ** *bᵃrȳt-ʀ* 'breaks' (Stentoften showing the older 3SG ending in **bʌr-iutiþ**). The 2SG forms *skal-at-u* (<ſca*l*atv> in *Lok* 15/2) and *skal-at-tu* (<ſca*l*attv> in *Hávm* 125/6) rather conspicuously show preterite-present *skal-* without inflectional *-t* (see also Nygaard 1867: 55, Anm. 2f). In fact, as seen in Table 9 above, endingless *skal-* is the rule in the Poetic Edda

Table 10. Preterite and present endings.

	vesa 'be'	*muna* 'remember'	*taka* 'take'	*vinna* 'work, gain, etc.'
PRES				
1SG	*em*	*man*	*tek*	*vinn*
2SG	*er-t*	*man-t*	*tek-r*	*vinn-r*
3SG	*es*	*man*	*tek-r*	*vinn-r*
PRET				
1SG	*vas*		*tók*	*vann*
2SG	*vas-t*	[weak]	*tók-t*	*vann-t*
3SG	*vas*		*tók*	*vann*

for negated *skulu*, but not for other verbs (2SG *gaft-at-tu*, *mant-at-tu*, *vannt-at-tu*). Kock (1892: 386) explains the form as *skall* < **skal-R*, i.e. **skal-* with the regular present ending **-R* instead of the older preterite-present ending **-t*, where *skall* is then reduced to *skal* because of weak stress and/or influence from the 1SG/3SG. This is also his explanation for 2SG preterite-presents like *mun* 'will' < **munn* < **mun-R* (cf. <muNattv> *mun-at-tu* in *Lok* 49/2) and *vill* 'want.2SG' < **vil-R* (cf. <þv villat> *þú vill-at* in *Hávm* 111/11).

According to the hypothesis advanced so far, negative **-ā* was extended with a **-t* initially serving as a person/number marker, on the model of **-t* marking the 2SG.PRES.IND of preterite-present verbs and the 2SG.PRET.IND of regular strong verbs. This means that negative **-āt*, in the earliest days of its existence, was restricted to appearing on verbs in the 2SG. If certain preterite-present verbs subsequently shifted over to a 2SG ending in **-R* (for which we have already seen evidence in the form of ON *skall*, *vill*, etc.) then it is reasonable to imagine that negative **-āt* might have expanded its domain, becoming possible wherever the verb ending was **-R*, which was not only in the 2SG but also in the 3SG in the PRES.IND system. Soon thereafter, **-āt* became possible with any finite verb in the 3SG.[42] If Björketorp's **bArutR** 'breaks' is a good indication of when the

[42] In other words, I do not think that the 'rule' which singles out the ending **-R* would have left a lasting mark on later stages (as opposed to the older rule which added **-t* to the negative particle in the 2SG). Rather, the possibility of **-āt* appearing with verbs ending

*-*R* syncretism between 2SG and 3SG arose in Nordic, then the connection between *-*āt* and 3SG could be hypothesized to have arisen soon after, perhaps in the late 7th or early 8th century. In sum, then, *-*āt* would have started out occurring specifically on 2SG verbs in the early Proto-Nordic period (on the basis of the PRES.IND pattern in preterite-present verbs: 1SG/3SG vs. 2SG), but as time went on *-*āt* began to spread into the 3SG as well (on the basis of the regular PRES.IND pattern: 1SG vs. 2SG/3SG).[43]

The very small set of runic inscriptions showing *-a/-(a)t* do not do much to confirm or disconfirm the PERSON MARKER hypothesis.[44]

(25) a. **sikat**
sé-kk-at
'I see not'
(Trå III, N 284, c. 900–950)

b. **munat: raiþ:uiþur**
mun-at Reið-Viðurr
'never shall Reið-Viðurr…'
(Karlevi, Öl 1, late 900s)

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in *-*R* would have been the first step in a quick succession of steps that resulted in *-*āt* becoming generalized to all 3SG verbs. Indeed, the Poetic Edda data on 3SG verbs with *-(a)t* (60 in total) are a mixed bag as far as endings go. There are various verbs ending in *-i*: nine in the PRES.SUBJ, eight of which end in *-i* (*haldi*, *skyli* [3x], *hafi*, *komi*, *skríði*, *véli*) plus one instance of *sé*; four are PRET.SUBJ (*kæmi*, *ynði*, *væri*, *stríddi*), one PRES.IND [*þikki*], and seven PRET.IND (*hafði*, *gerði* [2x], *varnaði*, *sagði*, *yppði*, *átti*). Then there are 12 preterite-present verbs in the PRES.IND (*kann* [4x], *mun* [5x], *man*, *má*, *skal*) and one preterite-present tagged as PRES.IMP (*skal*). Twelve are strong verbs in the PRET.IND (*varð* [2x], *kná*, *bað*, *kvað*, *lét*, *bjó*, *sá* [2x], *komsk*, *fellsk*, and *reis*). Fourteen are PRES.IND forms ending in *-r* (*berr* [2x], *er* [6x], *hlýr*, *verðr* [2x], *brennr*, *kjömr*, *tregr*).

[43] Of some indirect relevance here is the middle morpheme in Nordic, namely 1SG *-mk* (from the reflexive pronoun *mik*) and, elsewhere, *-sk* (from the reflexive pronoun *sik*). The paradigm of West Nordic *kallask* (from Kjartan Ottósson 2008: 186, 216) is:

	SG	PL
1	kǫllu-mk	kǫllum-sk
3	kalla-sk	kallit-sk (< kallið-sk)
3	kalla-sk	kalla-sk

As Kjartan Ottósson (2008: 202) points out, both the 2SG and 3SG forms in all likelihood derive from verb forms ending in PN *-*R* (synchronically, *kallar* plus *-sk* results in *kalla-sk*). Interestingly, the 'stem' *kalla-* appears exactly in the cells where enclitic *-(a)t* is preferred (as mentioned above, *-(a)t* is preferred not only in the 2SG and 3SG but also in the 3PL). This *per se* is not evidence for the PERSON MARKER hypothesis, of course, but it does provide a precedent in early Nordic for the particular syncretism of 2SG/3SG/3PL. If the middle paradigm could do it, then it was also possible for PN *-*āt* to have had this distribution.

[44] I have consulted the *Samnordisk runtextdatabas* (http://www.nordiska.uu.se/forskn/samnord.htm) of Uppsala University. Translations are my own.

c. ***era · fenbra͡uhþum · flahþa***
er-a feiknbrǫgðum flagða
'It is not through the trickery/sorcery of troll-women (that…)'
(Vinje, N 171, 1190s)

(25a) shows 1SG with *-at*, which could be considered a counterexample to the analogy hypothesis. (25b) shows a 3SG verb with *-at*, which is in line with the discussion above, while the 3SG verb with *-a* in (25c) goes against what we might expect from Tables 5 and 6 (though recall that all of the negation–person/number combinations in (25) are attested in the Poetic Edda as well). In short, the runic evidence is inconclusive.

By the end of the Proto-Nordic period, the original patterns had been obscured even further, giving way to apparent optionality. Later on, we might speculate, order is reimposed by medieval scribes in the form of the rule in (24) above. The hypothetical developments are summarized in Figure 1.

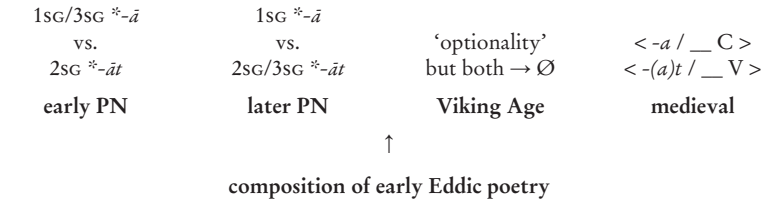

Figure 1. Developments of enclitic negation from early Proto-Nordic to early Viking Age.

In any case, we can be sure that the enclitic negations were dying out in the spoken vernacular during the Viking Age, supplanted by *eigi*.

6 Concluding remarks

In conclusion, I have investigated four main etymologies for the ON negative enclitic *-a/-(a)t*. The first was the AND etymology of Cleasby & Guðbrandur Vigfússon (1874), the idea being that ON *-a/-(a)t* and Go. *-uh/-uþþan* are cognate. This hypothesis is too confused to be true. The

second etymology, going back first to Kock (1879), is that ON *-(a)t* can be identified with **ainat-* 'one'. Erik Brate's (1887: 52, fn. 1) extension of this idea to *-a* (so that long-form N.SG **ainat-* > ON *-at*, while short-form N.SG **ain-* > ON *-a*) has also gained a following over the years. The ONE etymology is certainly credible, but it does not satisfy the gravity requirement on **ai* > *ā* as set up by Nielsen (1983). The third etymology has its origins in Grimm (1831), Lyngby (1865), and Scherer (1890 [1878]), more recently synthesized by Grønvik (1997). The idea is that ON *-a* and *-(a)t* are the result of the same grammaticalization process that produced OE *n-ā* (cf. ON *-a*) < **(ne) aiwa-* 'not ever' and OE *n-ā-wiht* (cf. ON *-at*) < **(ne) aiwa-wehti-* 'not ever a (single) thing'. Not only does the NEVER-A-THING etymology place ON *-a*/*-(a)t* into a coherent picture of Jespersen's Cycle in North-West-Germanic, but it also – unlike the ONE etymology – fulfills the gravity requirement. This makes the NEVER-A-THING etymology one of the best explanations on the market for the Nordic negative enclitic.

Still, I have suggested that yet another option, what I have dubbed the PERSON MARKER etymology, is worth exploring, motivated by the desire to better understand the restriction of the negative enclitic to West Nordic. By evaluating all of the available evidence from runic for person marker clitics in early Nordic, I have argued that western and eastern Proto-Nordic differed slightly in their first person singular pronouns. Eastern Proto-Nordic levelled the original pattern of **ek* / **-kã* in favor of the enclitic, giving **ek(ã)* / **-kã*; western Proto-Nordic levelled in favor of the non-reinforced item, giving **ek* / **-k*. This is based on a mixture of evidence from East Nordic runic inscriptions and Old Norse. The fact that the enclitic negator always cooccurred with the person marker *-k* in the Poetic Edda (Katrín Axelsdóttir 2002: 164), I argue, can be used to explain the emergence of *-(a)t*: the negator *-a* (< **ā* < **ai* 'ever') often appeared flanked by person markers in the first person singular, a pattern that may have been extended to the second person as well, where in certain tenses/moods of certain verb classes the ending was **-t*. So, for example, ***was-t-ā-t*** 'was-2SG-NEG-2SG' was formed on the model of **was-k-ā-k* 'was-I-NEG-I', and this second **-t* was absorbed onto and reanalyzed as part of the negator, giving **-āt* > ON *-(a)t*. There is evidence from the Poetic Edda that 2SG negated verbs prefer to use *-(a)t* rather than *-a*. Even more suggestive is the evidence from verb classes: 2SG preterite-present verbs negated by *-(a)t* in the Poetic Edda are without exception in the present tense (which is not the case for 2SG preterite-present verbs negated by *-a*). This is exactly what is predicted if *-t* in *-(a)t* is originally

a 2SG marker, since *-t* is a 2SG marker in the present of preterite-presents but not in other tenses/moods. There is supporting evidence from strong verbs and suppletive 'be' on this front as well. Enclitic **-āt* spread to the 3SG (and 3PL) later on, due to the possibility of using the regular 2SG PRES.IND ending **-R* in preterite-present verbs (cf. attestations of 2SG *vill* < **vil-R* instead of *vilt*, 2SG *skal(l)* < **skal-R* instead of *skalt*, etc.). I have hypothesized that it is this option (2SG *skal-t* ~ **skal-R*) which allowed for **-āt* to spread from the 2SG into the 3SG, since **-R* also marked the 3SG in the present. Because the Stentoften and Björketorp inscriptions famously show the first hints of the emerging 2SG/3SG syncretism in **-R*, I would like to propose that the spread of **-āt* into the 3SG (and then the 3PL) occurred shortly thereafter, which is to say the 600s. This still leaves a couple of centuries before the composition of the earliest Eddic poetry – in other words, enough time for the association of *-a/-(a)t* with certain persons/numbers to become opaque (cf. ***emk-at ek***, *lát-**a-ðu***, etc.).

To end more soberly, Grønvik's NEVER-A-THING etymology remains plausible, and even the ONE etymology is more plausible than often supposed. In my view, the PERSON MARKER etymology has two advantages. The first advantage is its testability (and of course the fact that the results appear to confirm the predictions made by it). The second is its sensitivity to western vs. eastern varieties of Proto-Nordic. Since the enclitic negator appears to be restricted to West Nordic, it is important that the PERSON MARKER etymology makes a connection between varieties that retained the reinforcer on the first person singular pronoun and those that did not. More specifically, I posited that the western variety lost the reinforcer **-ã* on the first person singular pronoun early on, leaving an opportunity for **ai* 'ever' to fill this gap. Since eastern Nordic retained the reinforcer **-ã* (leading to breaking in the first person singular pronoun), conditions were perhaps less favorable in this variety for the item **ai* (> **-ā*, and later **-āt*) to break through. It is not impossible, of course, for varieties showing retention of the reinforcer to have developed (a negation like) *-a/-(a)t* as well, but there is little to no evidence that this happened. My etymology allows for a framing of such facts. Obviously new facts coming to light, such as older runic inscriptions containing the postverbal negator, could lead to great progress on this question. Until then, the etymology of the enclitic negator will continue to hang in the balance.

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Abbreviations

Akv	*Atlakviða*
Alv	*Alvíssmál*
Am	*Atlamál hin grœnlenzku*
Brot	*Brot af Sigurðarkviðu*
C	consonant
Eng.	English
Da.	Danish
DAT	dative
Du.	Dutch
Áfn	*Áfnismál*
Far.	Faroese
FIN	finite
G.	German
GEN	genitive
Ghv	*Guðrúnarhvǫt*
Gk.	Greek
Go.	Gothic
Grím	*Grímnismál*
Gríp	*Grípisspá*
Guðr I	*Guðrúnarkviða I*
Guðr II	*Guðrúnarkviða II*
Guðr III	*Guðrúnarkviða III*

Hamð	*Hamðismál*
Hárb	*Hárbarðsljóð*
Hávm	*Hávamál*
Helr	*Helreið Brynhildar*
HHj	*Helgakviða Hjǫrvarðssonar*
HHund I	*Helgakviða Hundingsbana I*
HHund II	*Helgakviða Hundingsbana II*
Hym	*Hymiskviða*
Icel.	Icelandic
Lat.	Latin
Lok	*Lokasenna*
ME	Middle English
NEG	negation
NWGmc	North-West Germanic
Nyno.	Nynorsk
ODa.	Old Danish
Oddrgr	*Oddrúnargrátr*
OE	Old English
OHG	Old High German
OIr.	Old Irish
ON	Old Norse
OS	Old Saxon
OSw.	Old Swedish
PGmc	Proto-Germanic
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PN	Proto-Nordic
Reg	*Reginsmál*
Sigrdr	*Sigrdrífumál*
Sigsk	*Sigurðarkviða hin skamma*
SG	singular
Ský	*Skírnismál*
Skt.	Sanskrit
Sw.	Swedish
Þry	*Þrymskviða*
V	vowel
Vafþr	*Vafþrúðnismál*
Vǫl	*Vǫlundarkviða*
Vsp	*Vǫluspá*

Appendix

This table is intended only as a basic inventory of *-a/-(a)t* in the Poetic Edda (using the XML file provided to me by Haraldur Bernharðsson, as mentioned in my acknowledgments and in fn. 33). Note that only the (half-)line wherein the negative enclitic is found is provided below, which in many cases leads to an incomplete picture of the syntactic and semantic context.

[ ] = erasure

Poem	**Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson et al. 2019**	**Neckel/Kuhn 1983**	**Verb**	**Inflection**
		-a		
Vǫluspá	3/3 vara ſandr nę ſęr	3/3 vara sandr né sær	*vera* 'be, exist'	3SG PRET.IND
Hávamál	11/5 veg*ra* h*aN* velli at	11/5 vegra hann velli at,	*vega* 'carry'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	11/7 era ſva gott	12/1 Era svá gott,	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	26/7 ueita *maþr*	27/7 veita maðr,	*vita* 'know'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	29/2 ſcala *maþr* aNan hafa	30/2 scala maðr annan hafa,	*skulu* 'shall'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	30/4 veita gorla	31/4 veita gorla,	*vita* 'know'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	34/2 ſc*a*la geſtr v*er*a	35/2 scala gestr vera	*skulu* 'shall'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	37/2 ſc*a*la *maþr* ve\i á	38/2 scala maðr velli á	*skulu* 'shall'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	38/1 Fanca ec mildaN ma*n*n	39/1 Fanca ec mildan mann	*finna* 'find'	1SG PRET.IND
Hávamál	51/2 ſc*a*la m*aN*e gefa	52/2 scala manni gefa,	*skulu* 'shall'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	73/1 Ueita hiN	75/1 Veita hinn,	*vita* 'know'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	120/6 era ſa uinr a/ðro*m*	124/6 era sá vinr ǫðrom,	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	132/5 geſt þv ne geɣia	135/5 gest þú né geyia	*geyja* 'bark at'	2SG IMP
Hávamál	147/4 flɣg*ra* h*aN* s*va* ſtint	150/4 flýgra hann svá stint,	*fljúga* 'fly'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	147/5 at ec ſta/dvigac	150/5 at ec stǫðvigac,	*stǫðva* 'stop'	1SG PRES.SUBJ
Hávamál	149/5 at ec h*a*n*o*m biargigac	152/5 at ec hánom biargigac	*bjarga* 'save'	1SG PRES.SUBJ
Hávamál	155/6 hníg*ra* ſa halr fɣ*r* híoro*m*.	158/6 hnígra sá halr fyr hiorom.	*hníga* 'sink/fall down (dead)'	3SG PRES.IND
Skírnismál	5/2 hɣcca ec s*va* micla v*er*a	5/2 hycca ec svá micla vera,	*hyggja* 'think, intend'	1SG PRES.IND

Poem	Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson et al. 2019	Neckel/Kuhn 1983	Verb	Inflection
		-a		
Skírnismál	22/1 Baᵭg ec þiccac	22/1 'Baug ec þiccac,	*þiggja* 'receive, accept'	1SG PRES.IND
Skírnismál	22/4 era m*er* gvllz vant	22/4 era mér gullz vant	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Hárbarðsljóð	3/4 v*er*þra matrᵰN bet*ri*.	3/4 verðra matrinn betri;	*verða* 'become'	3SG PRES.IND
Hárbarðsljóð	15/3 faNtaþv maN iN hardara	14/3 fanntaðu mann inn harðara	*finna* 'find'	2SG PRET.IND
Hárbarðsljóð	27/5 *oc* þottiſca þv þa þoR v*er*a.	26/5 oc þóttisca þú þá Þórr vera;	*þykkja* 'seem'	2SG PRET.IND
Lokasenna	16/5 q*ve*þira laſta ſtaᵭfo*m*	16/5 qveðira lastastǫfom	*kveðja* 'address'	2SG PRES.SUBJ
Lokasenna	18/1 Loca ec q*ve*þca	18/1 'Loca ec qveðca	*kveðja* 'address'	1SG PRES.IND
Lokasenna	22/5 þei*m* e*r* þv gefa ſcyldira	22/5 þeim er þú gefa scyldira,	*skulu* 'shall, should'	2SG PRET.SUBJ
Lokasenna	30/3 era þer va*m*ma vant.	30/3 era þér vamma vant;	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Lokasenna	36/3 mvnca ec þ*vi* leyna lengr.	36/3 munca ec því leyna lengr:	*munu* 'will'	1SG PRES.IND
Lokasenna	36/6 *oc* [þ]era þo óno yeR.	36/6 oc era þó óno verr.'	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Lokasenna	42/6 veizta þv þa veſaꝉ hve þv vegr.ˊ	42/6 veizta þú þá, vesall, hvé þú vegr.'	*vita* 'know'	2SG PRES.IND
Lokasenna	47/3 hvi ne lezcaþv loci.	47/3 hví né lezcaðu, Loki?	*letja(-sk)* 'deprive, contain (oneself)'	2SG PRES.IND
Lokasenna	56/5 co*m*a me*þ* aſa ſono*m*	56/5 koma með ása sonom,	*koma* 'come'	3SG PRET.IND
Lokasenna	61/6 *oc* þóţiſ[ca]þv þa þoR v*er*a.	60/6 oc þóttisca þú þá Þórr vera.'	*þykkja* 'seem'	2SG PRET.IND
Lokasenna	63/6 *oc* maţira þv þa neſti na	62/6 oc máttira þú þá nesti ná,	*mega* 'be able to'	2SG PRET.IND
Þrymskviða	24/5 ſaca ec b*r*vþir	25/5 sáca ec brúðir	*sjá* 'see'	1SG PRET.IND
Vǫlundarkviða	16/9 era ſa nv hyR	16/5 'Era sá nú hýrr,	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Vǫlundarkviða	18/9 ſécca ec þaN volvndi	18/9 sécca ec þann Vǫlundi	*sjá* 'see'	1SG PRES.IND
Vǫlundarkviða	18/13 bíþca ec þ*es* bót	19/3 – bíðca ec þess bót –	*bíða* 'await'	1SG PRES.IND
Vǫlundarkviða	21/1 Segit á meyio*m*	22/5 segita meyiom	*segja* 'say'	2PL PRES.IMP
Vǫlundarkviða	24/4 þoriga ec at ſegia	26/7 'Þoriga ec at segia,	*þora* 'dare'	1SG PRES.IND

Poem	Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson et al. 2019	Neckel/Kuhn 1983	Verb	Inflection
		-a		
Vǫlundarkviða	36/1 Mæltira þv þ*at* mál	37/1 'Mæltira þú þat mál,	*mæla* 'speak'	2SG PRET.SUBJ
Alvíssmál	4/4 va,ʳ[ca] ec hei*m*a	4/4 varca ec heima,	*vera* 'be'	1SG PRET.IND
Alvíssmál	8/2 mvna þ*er* v*er*þa	8/2 muna þér verða,	*munu* 'will'	3SG PRES.IND
Helgakviða Hundingsbana I	50/3 mvna nv helgi	50/11 muna nú Helgi	*munu* 'will'	3SG PRES.IND
Helgakviða Hjǫrvarðssonar	24/1 Mvn[ca] ec ganga	23/1 'Munca ec ganga,	*munu* 'will'	1SG PRES.IND
Helgakviða Hjǫrvarðssonar	24/4 era m*er* orvęnt	23/4 era mér ørvænt,	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Helgakviða Hjǫrvarðssonar	44/5 mʏndiga ec loſtic	42/5 myndiga ec lostig	*munu* 'will'	1SG PRET.SUBJ
Helgakviða Hundingsbana II	2/3 era þ*at* carlſ ęt*t*	2/3 era þat karls ætt,	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Helgakviða Hundingsbana II	12/1 Varca ec fiaʀi	12/1 'Varca ec fiarri,	*vera* 'be'	1SG PRET.IND
Helgakviða Hundingsbana II	16/1 Nama haᵘgna m*er*[l]	17/1 Nama Hǫgna mær	*nema* 'take'	3SG PRET.IND
Helgakviða Hundingsbana II	18/1 Mvna þ*er* ſigrvn	25/1 'Muna þér Sigrún	*munu* 'will'	3SG PRES.IND
Helgakviða Hundingsbana II	24/5 þiccia m*er* friþ<r>	19/5 þiccia mér friðr	*þykkja* 'seem'	3SG PRES.IND
Helgakviða Hundingsbana II	32/5 reNia ſa maʀ	32/5 rennia sá marr,	*renna* 'run'	3SG PRES.SUBJ
Helgakviða Hundingsbana II	33/1 Bit,ⁱa þ*er* þ*at* ſv*er*þ	33/1 Bítia þér þat sverð,	*bíta* 'bite'	3SG PRES.SUBJ
Helgakviða Hundingsbana II	36/1 Sitca ec s*va* ſæl	36/1 'Sitca ec svá sæl	*sitja* 'sit'	1SG PRES.IND
Helgakviða Hundingsbana II	41/1 Era þ*at* ſvic e*in*	41/1 'Era þat svic ein,	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Grípisspá	19/7 ſc*a*la fremr eN ſva	19/7 scala fremr enn svá	*skulu* 'shall'	3SG PRES.IND
Grípisspá	20/8 g*er*ra ſegia.	20/8 gerra segia.'	*gera* 'do'	2SG PRES.IND
Grípisspá	21/5 ręt em[ca] ec	21/5 rétt emca ec	*vera* 'be'	1SG PRES.IND
Grípisspá	23/1 Er[a] m*eþ* laᵘſto*m*	23/1 'Era með lǫstom	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND

Poem	Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson et al. 2019	Neckel/Kuhn 1983	Verb	Inflection
		-a		
Grípisspá	29/7 gáraþv m*aNa*	29/7 gáraðu manna,	*gá* 'heed'	2SG PRES.IND
Reginsmál	6/5 v*er*þra ſęla ſca/pvþ	6/5 verðra sæla scǫpuð,	*verða* 'become'	3SG PRES.IND
Reginsmál	13/4 era þat hęft	12/4 era þat hœft,	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Fáfnismál	2/4 fa/d*vr* ec ácka	2/4 fǫður ec ácca,	*eiga* 'have'	1SG PRET.IND
Fáfnismál	17/6 fanca ec marga ma/go.	16/6 fannca ec marga mǫgo.'	*finna* 'find'	1SG PRET.IND
Fáfnismál	41/3 era ko*nvn*glict	40/3 era konunglict	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Sigrdrífumál	10/7 era ſva brattr breki	10/7 era svá brattr breki	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Sigrdrífumál	20/1 Munca ec flǫia	21/1 'Munca ec flœia,	*munu* 'will'	1SG PRES.IND
Sigrdrífumál	20/3 emca ec m*eþ* bleɣþi boriN.	21/3 emca ec með bleyði borinn;	*vera* 'be'	1SG PRES.IND
Sigrdrífumál	28/5 látaþv þino*m* ſvefni raþa	28/5 látaðu þínom svefni ráða,	*láta* 'let'	2SG IMP
Brot af Sigurðarkviðu	8/1 Vęria þ*at* ſęmt	9/1 Væria þat sœmt,	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRET.SUBJ
Guðrúnarkviða I	19/5 man*n*a þv gvN*aR*	21/5 ma*n*a þú, Gunnarr,	*munu* 'will'	2SG PRES.IND
Sigurðarkviða in skamma	18/1 Vito*m*a vid amoldo	18/1 Vitoma við á moldo	*vita* 'know'	1PL PRES.IND
Sigurðarkviða in skamma	22/5 g*r*ataþv gvdr*vn*.	25/5 'Grátaðu, Guðrún,	*gráta* 'weep'	2SG IMP
Sigurðarkviða in skamma	24/1 Riþra þei*m* ſiþ*an*	27/1 Ríðra þeim síðan,	*ríða* 'ride'	3SG PRES.IND
Sigurðarkviða in skamma	27/3 hlęraþv af þ*vi*	31/3 'Hlæraðu af því,	*hlæja* 'laugh'	2SG PRES.IND
Sigurðarkviða in skamma	29/1 Frɣra. *maþr* þ*er* engi gvN*aR*	33/1 'Frýra maðr þér engi, Gunnarr,	*frýja* 'challenge, reproach'	3SG PRES.IND
Sigurðarkviða in skamma	40/3 leta ma*n* ſic letia	43/3 léta mann sic letia	*láta* 'let'	3SG PRET.IND
Sigurðarkviða in skamma	42/3 letía *maþr* h*an*a	45/3 'Letia maðr hána	*letja* 'hinder, dissuade'	3SG PRES.SUBJ
Sigurðarkviða in skamma	45/6 vara got*t* ihvg	47/6 – vara gott í hug –,	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRET.IND
Sigurðarkviða in skamma	51/5 mv*n*a ɣdvart fár	53/5 muna yðvart far	*munu* 'will'	3SG PRES.IND
Helreið Brynhildar	12/6 er ec vildigac	13/6 er ec vildigac,	*vilja* 'wish'	1SG PRET.IND
Guðrúnarkviða II	10/5 g*er*þiga ęc híuf*ra*	11/5 gerðiga ec hiúfra	*gera* 'do'	1SG PRET.IND
Guðrúnarkviða II	28/1 Hirþaþv ha/lldom	28/1 'Hirðaðu hǫlðom	*hirða* 'mind, care for, bother to'	2SG IMP

Poem	Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson et al. 2019	Neckel/Kuhn 1983	Verb	Inflection
		-a		
Guðrúnarkviða II	29/1 Maca ec g*r*ímildr	29/1 'Máca ec, Grímildr,	*mega* 'be able to'	1SG PRES.IND
Guðrúnarkviða II	31/1 Hirþa þv bíoþa	31/1 'Hirða þú bióða	*hirða* 'mind, care for, bother to'	2SG IMP
Guðrúnarkviða II	41/3 þa e*r* ec vildigac	40/3 þá er ek vildigac	*vilja* 'wish'	1SG PRET.IND
Guðrúnarkviða III	7/1 Ke*m*ra nv gvnaR	8/1 'Kemra nú Gunnarr,	*koma* 'come'	3SG PRES.IND
Guðrúnarkviða III	7/2 calliga ec haʀgna	8/2 kalliga ec Hǫgna,	*kalla* 'call'	1SG PRES.IND
Guðrúnarkviða III	7/3 ſecka ec ſiþ*an*	8/3 sécca ec síðan	*sjá* 'see'	1SG PRES.IND
Oddrúnargrátr	14/5 q*v*aþa h*a*ɴ [iþ]^{ina}oþræ	16/1 qvaða hann ina œðri	*kveða* 'say, speak'	3SG PRET.IND
Oddrúnargrátr	18/5 vara langt af þ*vi*	18/5 vara langt af því,	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRET.IND
Oddrúnargrátr	32/3 s*va* at ec mattigac	32/7 svá at ec máttigac	*mega* 'be able to'	1SG PRET.IND
Atlakviða	6/7 þ*at* e*r* við ęttima	6/7 þat er við ættima	*eiga* 'have, own'	1PL PRET.SUBJ
Atlakviða	27/8 lifira nv haʀgni.	26/8 lifira nú Hǫgni.	*lifa* 'live, be alive'	3SG PRES.IND
Atlakviða	40/1 Callaraþv ſiþ*an*	37/1 Kallaraðu síðan	*kalla* 'call'	2SG PRES.IND
Atlakviða	40/5 ſeraþv ſiþ*an*	37/5 séraðu síðan	*sjá* 'see'	2SG PRES.IND
Atlamál	14/2 ácka ec þ*es* kʏni	13/2 áca ec þess kynni,	*eiga* 'have'	1SG PRES.IND
Atlamál	14/3 vilca ec þ*es* leita	13/3 vilca ec þess leita,	*vilja* 'wish'	1SG PRES.IND
Atlamál	29/3 fórþv*m*ca fórþo	29/3 forðomca for þó,	*forða(-sk)* 'escape'	1SG PRES.IND
Atlamál	41/5 hirþa þv os hrǫþa	40/5 'Hirða þú oss hrœða,	*hirða* 'mind, care for, bother to'	2SG IMP
Atlamál	48/3 fóra fęlt þeʏgi	47/3 fóra fælt þeygi,	*fara* 'go forth'	3SG PRET.IND
Atlamál	57/2 macak þ*vi* leʏna	56/2 – mácac því leyna –,	*mega* 'be able to'	1SG PRES.IND
Atlamál	57/4 knaka ec þes niota	56/4 cnáca ec þess nióta;	*knega* 'be able to'	1SG PRES.IND
Atlamál	63/7 lifir[a] s*va* lengi	61/7 lifira svá lengi,	*lifa* 'live'	3SG PRES.IND
Atlamál	64/2 helta in lengr rvmi	62/2 helta in lengr rúmi,	*halda* 'stay'	3SG PRET.IND
Atlamál	73/1 Caɴ[ca] ec ſlicſ ſʏnia	70/1 'Kannca ec slícs synia,	*kunna* 'be able to'	1SG PRES.IND
Atlamál	99/3 em[ca ec] lit*t* leiciɴ	90/7 emca ec lítt leikinn,	*vera* 'be'	1SG PRES.IND

Poem	**Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson et al. 2019**	**Neckel/Kuhn 1983**	**Verb**	**Inflection**
		-a		
Atlamál	102/3 varþa ván lɣgi	93/3 varða ván lygi,	*verða* 'become'	3SG PRET.IND
Atlamál	106/3 fan[ca] ec ihvg heilo*m*	96/9 fanca ec í hug heilom	*finna* 'find'	1SG PRET.IND
Atlamál	113/1 Co*m*taþv af þ*vi* þingi	101/1 Komtaðu af því þingi,	*koma* 'come'	2SG PRET.IND
Guðrúnarhvǫt	4/1 Urþva iþ glik*ir*	3/1 Urðoa iþ glíkir	*verða* 'become'	2PL PRET.IND
Guðrúnarhvǫt	13/3 mattigac bolva	12/3 máttigac bǫlva	*mega* 'be able to'	1SG PRET.IND
Hamðismál	2/1 Vara þ*at* nv́	2/1 Vara þat nú	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRET.IND
		-(a)t		
Hávamál	6/2 ſcɣlit maþr hrǫſiN v*er*a	6/2 scylit maðr hrœsinn vera,	*skulu* 'shall, should'	3SG PRES.SUBJ
Hávamál	10/2 beʀat *maþr* braʀto at	10/2 berrat maðr brauto at,	*bera* 'carry'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	11/2 b*eʀat* <maþr braʀto at>	11/2 berrat maðr brauto at,	*bera* 'carry'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	18/1 Haldit *maþr* akéri	19/1 Haldit maðr á keri,	*halda* 'hold'	3SG PRES.SUBJ
Hávamál	29/5 ef h*aN* fregiN er at	30/5 ef hann freginn erat	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	39/3 ſcɣlit *maþr* þaʀrf þola.	40/3 scylit maðr þǫrf þola;	*skulu* 'shall, should'	3SG PRES.SUBJ
Hávamál	49/3 hlɣrar h*eN*e baʀcr ne baʀ.	50/3 hlýr*a* henni bǫrcr né barr;	*hlýja* 'protect'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	52/5 vrðot iafnſpak*ir*	53/5 urðot iafnspakir,	*verða* 'become'	3PL PRET.IND
Hávamál	60/3 þot h*aN* ſęð vędr t*il* vel.	61/3 þótt hann séð væddr til vel;	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.SUBJ
Hávamál	60/7 þot h*aN* haf*it* góðaN.	61/7 þótt hann hafit góðan.	*hafa* 'have, own'	3SG PRES.SUBJ
Hávamál	68/1 Ęrat *maþr* allz veſall	69/1 Erat maðr allz vesall,	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	73/6 ſcɣlit þaN vítca vár.	75/6 scylit þann vitca vár.	*skulu* 'shall, should'	3SG PRES.SUBJ
Hávamál	86/7 v*er*þ*r*;it *maþr* ſva trɣGr	89/7 verðit maðr svá tryggr,	*verða* 'become'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	110/5 nóttþv́[n] rifat	112/5 nótt þú rísat,	*rísa* 'get up, arise'	2SG IMP
Hávamál	111/6 ſca,atv [fiʀa þic] ifaðmi ſofa	113/6 scalat*tu* í faðmi sofa,	*skulu* 'shall, should'	2SG IMP(?)
Hávamál	111/11 mat þv villat	114/4 mat þú villat	*vilja* 'desire'	2SG PRES.IND

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		-(a)t		
Hávamál	121/6 ſcal,ª tv þer viþ verra maN	125/6 scalattu þér við verra mann;	*skulu* 'shall, should'	2SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	123/7 *oc* gefat þinom fiandom friþ.	127/7 oc gefat þínom fiándom frið.	*gefa* 'give'	2SG IMP
Hávamál	125/6 ſcalattv ¡oRoſto	129/6 scalattu í orrosto –	*skulu* 'shall, should'	2SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	130/4 erat *maþr* s va goþr	133/4 erat maðr svá góðr,	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	143/2 er kaNat þioðanſ kóna	146/2 er kannat þióðans kona	*kunna* 'be able to'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	145/6 bitaþ þeim vapn ne veler.	148/6 bítað þeim vápn né velir.	*bíta* 'bite'	3PL PRES.IND
Hávamál	149/4 breNrat ſva breit	152/4 brennrat svá breitt,	*brenna* 'burn (be on fire)'	3SG PRES.IND
Hávamál	155/4 mvnaþ haN faꝛa	158/4 munað hann falla,	*munu* 'will'	3SG PRES.IND
Vafþrúðnismál	16/6 verþrat ís a á.	16/6 verðrat íss á á.'	*verða* 'be(come)'	3SG PRES.IND
Vafþrúðnismál	32/6 er haN hafdit gꝛgiar gaman.	32/6 er hann hafðit gýgiar gaman.'	*hafa* 'have'	3SG PRET.IND
Vafþrúðnismál	38/8 *oc* varþaþ haN aſom aliN.	38/8 oc varðað hann ásom alinn.'	*verða* 'be(come)'	3SG PRET.IND
Grímnismál	20/5 at haN aptr ne comiþ	20/5 at hann aptr né komið,	*koma* 'come'	3SG PRES.SUBJ
Grímnismál	25/6 kna at ſv veig vanaz.	25/6 knáat sú veig vanaz.	*knega* 'be able to'	3SG PRES.IND
Skírnismál	18/1 Emkat ec alfa	18/1 'Emcat ec álfa	*vera* 'be'	1SG PRES.IND
Hárbarðsljóð	5/3 veitzatv fꝛr gorla	4/3 veiztattu fyrir gorla:	*vita* 'know'	2SG PRES.IND
Hárbarðsljóð	9/5 baþat haN hleNi meN flꝛtia	8/5 baðat hann hlennimenn flytia	*biðja* 'ask for'	3SG PRET.IND
Hárbarðsljóð	36/1 Emkat ec ſa hęl bítr	35/1 'Emcat ec sá hælbítr	*vera* 'be'	1SG PRES.IND
Hymiskviða	13/1 Sagðit hanom	14/1 Sagðit hánom	*segja* 'say'	3SG PRET.IND
Hymiskviða	25/5 qvaþat maN ranman	28/5 qvaðat mann ramman,	*kveða* 'say, speak'	3SG PRET.IND
Hymiskviða	29/6 knacat ec ſegia	32/6 'knácat ec seggia	*knega* 'be able to'	1SG PRES.IND
Hymiskviða	34/1 Foroð lengi	37/1 Fóroð lengi,	*fara* 'travel'	3PL PRET.IND
Lokasenna	15/2 ſcalatv ſva gora	15/2 scalattu svá gora,	*skulu* 'shall, should'	2SG PRES.IND
Lokasenna	18/6 vilcat ec at iþ reiðir vegiz.	18/6 vilcat ec, at iþ vreiðir vegiz.'	*vilja* 'wish'	1SG PRES.IND

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		-(a)t		
Lokasenna	28/5 er þv riþa ſerat	28/5 er þú ríða sérat	*sjá* 'see'	2SG PRES.IND
Lokasenna	47/6 e*r* ſina męlgi ne manaþ.	47/6 er sína mælgi né manað.'	*muna* 'remember, call to mind'	3SG PRES.IND
Lokasenna	49/2 muNat*tv* le*n*gi s*va*	49/2 munattu lengi svá	*munu* 'will'	2SG PRES.IND
Vǫlundar-kviða	32/7 at þv q*ve*liat	33/7 at þú qveliat	*kvelja* 'torment'	2SG IMP
Vǫlundar-kviða	36/5 erat s*va ma*þ*r* hár	37/5 erat svá maðr hár,	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Alvíssmál	1/6 hei*m*a ſc*a*lat hvíld ne*m*a.	1/6 heima scalat hvíld nema.'	*skulu* 'shall, should'	3SG PRES.IND
Alvíssmál	2/6 ertattv t*il* brvþar bóriN.	2/6 ertattu til brúðar borinn.'	*vera* 'be'	2SG PRES.IND
Helgakviða Hundings-bana I	12/1 Letaþ bvðlv*n*gr	12/1 Létað buðlungr	*láta (uppi)* 'offer, grant'	3SG PRET.IND
Helgakviða Hundings-bana I	28/3 varþat hra/No*m*	29/3 varðat hrǫnnom	*verða* 'become'	3SG PRET.IND
Helgakviða Hundings-bana I	39/1 Fad*ir* var^{at},tv	40/1 'Faðir varattu	*vera* 'be'	2SG PRET.IND
Helgakviða Hundings-bana I	45/1 Þicciat m*er* goð*ir*	46/1 Þicciat mér góðir	*þykkja* 'seem'	3PL PRES.IND
Helgakviða Hjǫrvarðs-sonar	4/1 Kioſaţv hiorvaþ*r*	3/1 'Kiósattu Hiorva*rð*	*kjósa* 'choose'	2SG IMP
Helgakviða Hjǫrvarðs-sonar	11/1 Ertattv hiorvarþ*r*	10/1 'Ertattu, Hiorvarðr,	*vera* 'be'	2SG PRES.IND
Helgakviða Hjǫrvarðs-sonar	14/6 knegoþ os falor fara.	13/6 knegoð oss fálor fara.'	*knega* 'be able to'	3PL PRES.IND
Helgakviða Hjǫrvarðs-sonar	19/6 ef þer kǫmiþ iþverſt þvari.	18/6 ef þér kœmið í þverst þvari.'	*koma* 'come'	3SG PRET.SUBJ
Helgakviða Hjǫrvarðs-sonar	43/2 brvþ*r* gráttattv	41/2 – brúðr, grátattu! –,	*gráta* 'weep'	2SG IMP
Helgakviða Hundings-bana II	19/1 Erat þer at a/llo	26/1 'Erat þér at ǫllo,	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Helgakviða Hundings-bana II	21/5 uaNtattv vígi	28/5 vantattu vígi,	*vinna* 'avail'	2SG PRET.IND

Poem	Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson et al. 2019	Neckel/Kuhn 1983	Verb	Inflection
		-(a)t		
Helgakviða Hundingsbana II	22/3 viNat ſcioldvngar ſcaꝛpo*m*.	29/3 vinnat scioldungar scǫpum.'	*vinna* 'withstand'	3PL PRES.IND
Helgakviða Hundingsbana II	29/1 Þiccit m*er* goþ*ir*	24/1 Þiccit mér góðir	*þykkja* 'seem'	3SG PRES.IND
Helgakviða Hundingsbana II	32/1 Scriþ,ıat þ*at* ſcip	32/1 Scríðiat þat scip,	*skríða* 'glide'	3SG PRES.SUBJ
Grípisspá	22/5 ſc*a*latv leʏnæ	22/5 scalattu leyna,	*skulu* 'shall, should'	2SG PRES.IND
Grípisspá	26/1 Uilcat ec reiþi	26/1 'Vilcat ec reiði	*vilja* 'wish'	1SG PRES.IND
Grípisspá	31/7 mantattv horſca	31/7 mantattu horsca	*muna* 'remember'	2SG PRES.IND
Grípisspá	34/8 męr angradit.	34/8 mér angraðit.'	*angra* 'vex'	3PL PRET.SUBJ
Grípisspá	42/8 ſlicſ eroþ dǫmi.	42/8 slícs eroð dœmi.	*vera* 'be'	3PL PRES.IND
Grípisspá	51/5 mvnat męt*ri maþr*	52/5 munat mætri maðr	*munu* 'will'	3SG PRES.IND
Grípisspá	52/2 mvn at ſcaꝛpo*m* viNa	53/2 Munat scǫpom vinna,	*munu* 'will'	3SG PRES.IND
Reginsmál	1/3 kaNat s*er* viþ viti varaz.	1/3 kannat sér við víti varaz;	*kunna* 'be able to'	3SG PRES.IND
Reginsmál	7/2 gaftattv aſt giafar	7/2 gaftattu ástgiafar,	*gefa* 'give'	2SG PRET.IND
Reginsmál	7/3 gaftattv af heilo*m* hvg.	7/3 gaftattu af heilom hug;	*gefa* 'give'	2SG PRET.IND
Reginsmál	12/3 ef þv getraþ ſon	11/3 ef þú getrað son	*geta* 'get'	2SG PRES.IND
Reginsmál	17/7 mvnat vagmarar	16/7 munat vágmarar	*munu* 'will'	3SG PRES.IND
Fáfnismál	3/1 Veiztv ef faꝛþvr ne áttað	3/1 'Veiztu, ef fǫður né áttað,	*eiga* 'have'	2SG PRES.IND
Fáfnismál	14/3 eigoþ þęr ęt*t* ſaman.	13/3 eigoð þær ætt saman;	*eiga* 'have'	3PL PRES.IND
Fáfnismál	37/1 Erat s*va* horſcr	36/1 'Erat svá horscr	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRES.IND
Fáfnismál	38/6 kaNat h*aN* viþ ſlíco at ſia.	37/6 kannat hann við slíco at siá.'	*kunna* 'be able to'	3SG PRES.IND
Fáfnismál	45/5 ma at ſigrdr*ífa*r	44/5 máat Sigrdríf*a*	*mega* 'be able to'	3SG PRES.IND
Sigrdrífumál	8/3 vęlit þic itrʏgd ef þv tr*v*ir.	7/3 vélit þic í trygð, ef þú trúir;	*véla* 'deceive'	3SG PRES.SUBJ
Sigrdrífumál	23/3 deilit v*iþ* hei*m*ſca hali.	24/3 deilit við heimsca hali;	*deila* 'quarrel'	2SG PRES.SUBJ
Sigrdrífumál	28/6 teʏgiatv þęr at coſſi konor.	28/6 teygiattu þér at kossi konor!	*teygja* 'entice'	2SG IMP

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		-(a)t		
Brot af Sigurðar-kviðu	18/1 Mantattv gvNaR	17/1 Mantattu, Gunnarr,	*muna* 'remember'	2SG PRES.IND
Guðrúnar-kviða I	1/5 g*e*rþit ho*n* hívf*ra*	1/5 gerðit hon hiúfra	*gera* 'do'	3SG PRET.IND
Sigurðarkviða in skamma	12/3 ſc*a*lat vlf ala	12/3 scalat úlf ala	*skulu* 'shall, should'	3SG IMP
Sigurðarkviða in skamma	23/3 kaNat h*aN* fiRaz	26/3 kannat hann firraz	*kunna* 'be able to'	3SG PRES.IND
Sigurðarkviða in skamma	30/5 varþ[cat] ec t*il* vng	34/5 varðcat ec til ung,	*verða* 'become'	1SG PRET.IND
Sigurðarkviða in skamma	32/4 varat h*aN* ia᷑go	39/4 varat hann í augo	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRET.IND
Sigurðarkviða in skamma	37/3 bioat v*m* hv*er*fan	40/3 bióat um hverfan	*búa* 'brood'	3SG PRET.IND
Sigurðarkviða in skamma	49/5 vilcat ec maN tra᷑þan	51/5 'Vilcat ec mann trauðan	*vilja* 'wish'	1SG PRES.IND
Sigurðarkviða in skamma	54/5 mvnaþ at vilia	56/5 munað at vilia,	*munu* 'will'	3SG PRES.IND
Guðrúnar-kviða II	3/5 ſofa þ*eir* ne mattvþ	3/5 sofa þeir né máttoð	*mega* 'be able to'	3PL PRET.IND
Guðrúnar-kviða II	5/8 eigendr ne lifþvt.	5/8 eigendr né lifðot.	*lifa* 'be alive'	3PL PRET.IND
Guðrúnar-kviða II	32/1 Muncaþ ec lęt*ꝛa*	31/9 Muncað ec le*ꝛa*,	*munu* 'will'	1SG PRES.IND
Guðrúnar-kviða III	10/1 Sa at *maþr* armlict	11/1 Sáat maðr armlict,	*sjá* 'see'	3SG PRET.IND
Guðrúnar-kviða III	10/2 hv*er*r e*r* þ*at* ſa át	11/2 hverr er þat sáat,	*sjá* 'see'	3SG PRET.IND
Oddrúnar-grátr	11/1 Hnecaþ ec af þvi	10/1 'Hnécað ec af því	*hníga* 'fall down'	1SG PRET.IND
Oddrúnar-grátr	16/5 fliciſ dǫ*m*i q*v*aðattv	12/5 slícs dœmi qvaðattu	*kveða* 'say, speak'	2SG PRET.IND
Oddrúnar-grátr	25/6 þar ę*r* þ*eir* co*m*a ne ſcꝛldoþ.	25/6 þar er þeir koma né scyldoð,	*skulu* 'shall, should'	3PL PRET.SUBJ
Atlakviða	12/8 ef gvNaR ne kǫ*m*raþ.	11/8 ef Gunnarr né kømrað.'	*koma* 'come'	3SG PRES.IND
Atlakviða	43/4 varnaþit. h*aN* viþ gvdrvno.	40/4 varnaðit hann við Guðrúno;	*varna* 'beware'	3SG PRET.IND
Atlamál	2/2 ſcꝛldóat feig*ir*	2/2 – scyldoat feigir –,	*skulu* 'shall, should'	3PL PRET.IND
Atlamál	3/8 eN ſialf ne{*n*} ko*m*ſcat.	3/8 enn siálf né komscat.	*koma(-sk)* 'come'	3SG PRET.IND
Atlamál	5/8 hvgðoþ þ*at* varþa.	5/8 hugðoð þat varða.	*hyggja* 'think, intend'	3PL PRET.IND
Atlamál	6/7 fellzcaþ ſaþr ſviþri	6/7 fellzcað saðr sviðri,	*falla(-sk)* 'befit'	3SG PRET.IND

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		-(a)t		
Atlamál	12/6 macaþ ec eN hꝛGia	12/2 – mácað ec enn hyggia –,	*mega* 'be able to'	1SG PRES.IND
Atlamál	27/7 gerþit vatn vęgia	26/7 gerðit vatn vægia;	*gera* 'do'	3SG PRET.IND
Atlamál	28/3 verit várt bvnar	28/3 værit vart búnar,	*vera* 'be'	3PL PRET.SUBJ
Atlamál	32/4 leto at heldr ſegiaz.	31/4 létoat heldr segiaz.	*láta* 'let'	3PL PRET.IND
Atlamál	33/5 vé<i>t[kaþ] ec hvart verþ laꝛniþ	32/5 'Veʀtcað ec, hvárt verð launið	*vita* 'know'	1SG PRES.IND
Atlamál	38/7 gerþvt far feſta	37/7 gerðot far festa,	*gera* 'do'	3PL PRET.IND
Atlamál	48/2 ꝛpþit lit*t*hvrþo*m*	47/2 ypþit lítt hurðom,	*yppa* 'up with'	3SG PRET.IND
Atlamál	52/2 s*va* at ſa vp*p* reiſat	51/2 svá at sá upp reisat,	*rísa* 'get up'	3SG PRET.IND
Atlamál	60/8 at ho*n* s*er* ne ꝛnþit.	58/8 at hon sér né ynðit.	*una* 'be content'	3SG PRET.SUBJ
Atlamál	92/6 þ*at* er m*eN* dǫ*m*i visoþ	86/6 þat er menn dœmi vissoð,	*vita* 'know'	3PL PRET.IND
Atlamál	101/2 þót*t* veriþ ſcaplict	92/2 þótt vǽrið scaplict;	*vera* 'be'	3SG PRET.SUBJ
Atlamál	105/6 g*er*þit hlvt þiGia.	96/6 gerði*ra*t hlut þiggia.	*gera* 'do'	2SG PRET.IND
Atlamál	111/8 e*r s*e*r* ne attiþ.	99/8 er sér né áttið.	*eiga* 'have, own'	3SG PRET.IND
Guðrúnar-hvǫt	2/3 hvi tregraþ ꝛcr	2/3 hví tregrað ycr	*trega* 'distress'	3SG PRES.IND
Guðrúnar-hvǫt	12/2 ſakaþ ec ne kvNo	11/2 sácað ec né kunn*a*,	*sjá* 'see'	1SG PRET.IND
Hamðismál	6/8 at s*er* ne ſtriddit.	8/8 at sér né stríddit.'	*stríða* 'harm'	3SG PRET.SUBJ
Hamðismál	7/3 vilcat ec við moþ*vr*	9/3 'Vilcat ec við móður	*vilja* 'wish'	1SG PRES.IND
Hamðismál	7/8 ę*r* þv at g*ra*ti ne fǫrat.	9/8 er þú at gráti né færat?	*fá* 'get'	2SG PRES.IND
Hamðismál	14/4 g*er*þot hęꝛra	18/4 gerðot heyra,	*gera* 'do'	3PL PRET.IND