THE SYNTAX OF THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN IN

GOTHIC AND OLD NORSE

A thesis submitted to the Graduate School of the
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the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

BY

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.  INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.  THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY AND MODERN GERMAN</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Indo-European Family</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Germanic Family</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern German</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive Verbs</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. GOTHIC</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sis</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sik</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sein-</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seina, The Genitive Case of the Reflexive Pronoun Declension</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis and Discussion</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive Verbs</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Reciprocal Use of the Reflexive Pronoun</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Possessive</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constituent Structures</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Operations Involving the Reflexive Pronoun</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectivization</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalizations</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolute Constructions</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

There has been no single work written which has undertaken the task of analyzing the syntax of the reflexive pronoun per se as well as in verbal constructions. This study will examine the syntactic role of the reflexive pronoun in the respective grammars of Gothic and Old Norse.

The use of the reflexive pronoun in Gothic and Old Norse is more complex than the handbooks of these languages indicate. Most handbooks either offer no statement whatsoever concerning the use of the reflexive pronoun (Krause, Handbuch des Gotischen; Kiekers, Handbuch der vergleichenden gotischen Grammatik; Heusler, Altisländisches Elementarbuch; Noreen, Altisländische und Altnorwegische Grammatik) or dismiss the reflexive pronoun with the statement that the reflexive is used only to refer to the subject of the sentence: Braune/Ebbinghaus, Gotische Grammatik, p. 91, "Das reflexive *seins kommt nur im Gen. Dat. Akk. vor; es bezeichnet sich stets auf das Subjekt seines Satzes." Streitberg, Gotisches Elementarbuch, p. 175, "Das Reflexiv bezieht sich nur auf das Subjekt seines Satzes; dagegen bezieht sich das anaphorische Pronomen is stets auf ein anderes Wort seines Satzes als das Subjekt." Wright, Grammar of the Gothic Language, p. 188, "The reflexive pronoun always relates to the subject of its own sentence..." Upon more careful examination of the languages, it soon becomes apparent that the reflexive is not used only to refer to the subject of the sentence. Because statements such as those just cited do not adequately describe the use of the reflexive pronoun, this study was undertaken in order
to discover exactly how the reflexive pronoun is used in Gothic and Old Norse. The use of the reflexive pronoun in Gothic and Old Norse differs from the use of the reflexive pronoun in the later languages of the Germanic family. How this change in the usage came about and what was involved in the change will also be examined in this study.

There have been several important studies made on the reflexive pronoun in several of the Germanic languages. Most of these studies are concerned with the task of listing the occurrences of the reflexive pronoun in the later languages.

In 1876 Hugo Hänsel wrote a doctoral dissertation entitled Über den Gebrauch der Pronomina Reflexiva bei Notker. This study consists of a 30-page list of references of all the occurrences of the pronouns that are used reflexively by Notker. The references are given according to the following categories: I. *sich*; a) with *selb*, b) with a preposition, c) with a verb, d) in a double accusative construction, e) in accusative with infinitive constructions, f) with other infinitives and participles. II. *sini*; a) as a reflexive genitive, b) as a non-reflexive genitive. III. Use of the personal pronoun to designate reflection; a) *iro* (*selbero*), genitive singular feminine, b) *imo* (*selbemo*), c) *iro* (*selb--*), dative singular feminine, d) *iro* (*selbero*) genitive plural, e) in (*selben*) dative plural. IV. Where the Latin reflexive is left untranslated. V. Use of the first and second person pronouns to express reflection; a) *min* selbes, b) *din* selbes, c) *mir* selbemo, d) uns, e) *dir* (*selbemo*), f) *iu*, g) *mih* selben, unsih selben, h) *dih* selben, iuh selben. VI. Reciprocal uses. His conclusions about the uses of the reflexive pronouns in Notker are the following:

"1. Das Pron. refl. wird, wenn es von einem sbst. abhängig ist, diesem vorangestellt..."
2. Der artikel kan (sic) vorgesetzt werden; dann steht das pron. zwischen diesem und dem substantivum. Vor ıro selbero fehlt er jedoch regelmässig.

3. Bei den einsilbigen formen dient im ganzen die zusetzung von selb zur hervorhebung.

4. Beim dat. sing. fem. ist die schwache form von selb, also ıro selbun, am beliebtesten; ebenso werden die zusammengesetzten formen sin selbes, mir selbemo, imo selbemo, uns selben, in selben den einfachen sin, mir, imo, uns, in vorgeren.

5. ıro selbero kan (sic) statt des einfachen ıro, mag es nun gen. sing. fem. oder gen. plur. sein, nur stehen wenn dem substantivum, zu dem ıro selbero gehört, kein adjectivum apponiert ist...

6. Verpört sind für den unreflexiven gebrauch min selbes und gen. sing. fem. ıro selbero.

7. Der sprachgebrauch der Ps. unterscheidet sich von denen der übrigen schriften in folgenden puncten: a) Es werden vermieden ıro selbero, g.s.f. überhaupt und reflexives ıro selbero, d.s.f.

b) Die Pron. refl. der 1. und 2. persen kommen nur in Ps. und Bo. vor. Die zusetzung von selb aber unterscheidet sich in so fern, als in den Ps. dasselbe im acc. (mih, dih, selben), in Bo., wenn es überhaupt zum acc. zugesetzt wird, im nom. hinzutritt.

c) Beim dat. sing. masc. imo findet sich selb in den Ps. nur im dat. zugesetzt; in Bo. und Mcp. steht, wenn imo von keiner praesposition abhängig ist, das pron. selb im nom.

d) Der gen. sing. fem. ıro wird in den Ps. verhältnissmässig wenig, in Bo. und Mcp. weit öfter zugesetzt.

e) Der gen. plur. ıro selbero findet sich in den Ps. verhältnissmässig mer (sic), als in Bo. und Mcp.

8. Im Org. wird die zusetzung von selb beim acc. sing. und plur., und gen. und dat. sing. vermieden. "1

In 1924 Bökenkruger made a study of the reflexive verb in Old High German: Das reflexive Verb im Althochdeutschen. This work is an extensive listing of the reflexive verbs in Old High German. It is limited to "die sogenannten echten Reflexiva, d.h. die Verben mit refl. Akkusativ, bei denen die Handlung des Subjekts unmittelbar auf das Subjekt zielt."2 Bökenkruger has divided the reflexive verbs into two main groups for his purposes:

"Die erste Gruppe der reflexiven Verben, bei denen der refl. Akkusativ unabhängig vom Vorhandensein
The first group is further subdivided into a) those verbs

"deren transitiver Bedeutung die entsprechende Verbindung mit dem refl. Akkusativ rechtfertigt (and) b) (those verbs) bei denen der refl. Akkusativ aus keiner entsprechenden transitiven Bedeutung des Verbs abgeleitet werden kann... (In the first sub-group are those verbs) bei denen das Subjekt der Handlung sich selbst in genau derselben Weise gegenübersteht wie einer gleichwertigen fremden Größe. (In the second sub-group)...stehen die refl. Verben, bei denen gegenüber dem entsprechenden transitiven Verb mit fremden Objektsakkusativ eine Differenzierung eingetreten ist. Diese Differenzierung kann sich rein äußerlich durch die Zahl der refl. Verben kenntlich machen, die gegenüber der Zahl der Verben mit fremden Objektsakkusativ überwiegt (1), oder die Differenzierung kann sich in der veränderten Bedeutung zeigen, die dem refl. Verb gegenüber dem transitiven Verb mit fremden Objektsakkusativ zukommt (2), oder die Differenzierung kann dadurch in Erscheinung treten, daß das refl. Objekt und das fremde Objekt nicht gleichartig sind, daß jenes persönlich, dieses aber unpersönlich ist (3)." 4

The second group of verbs is also subdivided into two sub-groups.

In the first sub-group are those verbs which appear with or without a reflexive accusative but retain the same meaning in either instance.

In the second sub-group are those verbs that only occur with a reflexive accusative. There are 86 pages of reflexive verbs listed for Old High German divided into the above mentioned groups and sub-groups.

References are listed following each entry. Hökenkruger draws no conclusions about the verbs or the way they are used in Old High German

In 1921 another such study was made on the reflexive pronoun, this time in Low German: Reichhelm, Das Reflexivpronomen im Niederdeutschen.
Like the two studies made in Old High German this study is largely an inventory of occurrences of the reflexive pronoun in Middle Low German. In Old Saxon there was no reflexive pronoun; the personal pronoun was used to express reflection. It is Reichhelm's thesis that "Die Frage nach dem Reflexionspronomen im Niederdeutschen ist eng verknüpft mit der nach dem Eindringen des Hochdeutschen in den niederdeutschen Sprachgebrauch." The body of this dissertation is a listing of the reflexive pronoun to show its ever increasing use in Middle Low German. In the earliest work, die sächsische Weltchronik, the form sic-sek, is used only as an accusative.

"Das erste große zusammenhängende Werk in mitteldeutscher Sprache - die sächsische Weltchronik, welche wahrscheinlich in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts abgefaßt worden ist - bietet folgendes Bild von den Akkusativ- und Dativformen des pronomen reflexivum:

241 sic 57 sich 9 ime 8 eme
8 in"6

Here, in the oldest document of Middle Low German just as in Old High German, there was a strict differentiation between dative and accusative: sic/ nich was only used as an accusative and the personal pronoun was used to express reflection in the dative. Later, the sic-form was used in the dative case also. Reichhelm explains the process as follows:

"Die Form sich, ohne Zweifel im mittelniederdeutschen Text als Wort mit hochdeutschem Laut stand ein Fremdling, wurde bald durch Rückverschiebung des ch-k seiner Umgebung angepasst. Zunächst gebrauchte man das Reflexivpronomen nur für den Akkusativ; und zwar in erster Linie in Abhängigkeit von Verben, deren Rektion wohl als sicher angenommen werden darf. - In unserem Material kommt sich nur einmal in Verbindung mit einer Präposition vor... Allmählich wurde man
in der Anwendung des wahrscheinlich vor dem Eindringen
des sich nicht vorhandenen oder vergessenen Reflexiv-
pronomens sicherer. Dies hatte wohl zur Folge, dass
die jetzt mehr oder mehr durchdringenden sic-Formen
auch für den Dativ angewandt wurden."7

First sic was used for the dative case of the reflexive pronoun in the
position following prepositions. Later it spread to all functions of
the dative.

"Die Halberstädter Urkunden des 14. und beginnenden
15. Jahrhunderts (1314–1420) zeigen, dass hier das
Pronomen reflexivum im mittelniederdeutschen
Dialekt sich schon vollständig eingebürgert hat.
Eine Scheidung in Akkusativ- und Dativformen gibt
es überhaupt nicht mehr, sic, sec, sick, seck
werden ebenso wie "sich" für den Dativ und
Akkusativ (sic) gebraucht."8

As is the case in Low German for the other nominal forms, the accusa-
tive and dative cases are expressed by one form: for the reflexive
pronoun the accusative form is used for both cases.

In addition to these three earlier studies of the occurrences of
reflexive pronouns in Old High German and Middle Low German, two
very comprehensive studies have been made which are concerned with
the morphology and semantics of the reflexive verb. In his work in the
area of semantics, Ausdrucksseite und Inhaltsseite der Sprache, Georg
Stötzel uses the Modern German reflexive verb to demonstrate the incon-
gruence between expression plane and content plane of a language. His
study includes a lengthy discussion of the principles of segmentation
for expression and content. On the basis of Tesnière's use of the word
valence, Stötzel worked out a new

"doppelseitige Typologie der Verben nach Valenzen...,
die durch die Unterscheidung von Inhalts- und Ausdrucks-
valenz die reflexiven Verben angemessen darstellt."9

It is Stötzel's thesis that
"die Valenztypologie durch Einbeziehung
klassematischer Selektionsbeschränkungen, d.h.
durch die Darstellung des syntaktischen und seman-
tischen Kontextes, den Wortschatz exakter, übersicht-
licher und besser darstellen kann als die Bedeutungs-
angaben in den bisherigen Wörterbüchern." 10

Stötzel presents a lengthy list of the German reflexive verbs,
divided and ordered in groups and sub-groups to demonstrate the
necessity of distinguishing between expression plane and content plane
for reflexive verbs. So, for instance, just as with the so-called
Witterungsinpersonalien, es regnet, es schneit etc. with es there is
one valence (the subject-place holder, es) on the expression plane and
zero-valence on the content plane, the "echte reflexive" verbs also
show a difference of valence between the expression plane and the con-
tent plane. The expression sich ausschlafen has, for instance, a
valence of 2 on the expression plane (a subject and an obligatory
reflexive object) and a valence of 1 on the content plane (only the sub-
ject is necessary for the understanding of the sentence; the object sich
has no real meaning, i.e. content for the sentence).

The other study which is concerned with the morphology and seman-
tics of the reflexive verb is Lars Hermodsson's Reflexive und intransi-
tive Verba im älteren Westgermanischen, which in spite of the title,
also deals with Gothic. Hermodsson's work begins with a detailed
presentation of definitions and a history of the terminology used in
his study. He has chosen for examination two forms which are used to
express the middle voice: the reflexive verb and the intransitive verb.
His study examines in detail the uses of the reflexive and those intransi-
tive verbs which also appear transitively (i.e. those verbs with "Dop-
polfunktion") in the early East and West Germanic languages.

Reflexive verbs which designate direct reflexive action to the ob-
ject and reflexives which express medial action are found in all the older
Germanic languages. The reflexives which express medial action are divided into Vorgangsreflexiva which express "ein psychisches Geschehen" and those which do not, "die einfachen Vorgangsreflexiva", which usually do not have a personal subject. In a very detailed analysis of the particular reflexive verbs of each language, Hermodsson found that

"Im Got. sind die Vorgangsreflexiva bzw. die nichtpers. Reflexiva noch verhältnismässig gering an Zahl. Im Übrigen ist für das Got. festzustellen, dass die Verwendung der refl. Verba von den Formen der griech. Vorlage unabhängig ist. Ferner wird das reflexivum im Got. nicht passivisch gebraucht...

Im Abd. und Mhd. haben sich die Vorgangsreflexiva bzw. die nichtpers. Reflexiva dagegen sehr stark entwickelt. Es ist jedoch verfehlt zu glauben... dass die Verbindung des Reflexivums mit sächlichem Subjekt an und für sich die Ursache des Aufkommens einer Vorgangsdiaithesis bei den refl. Verben gewesen sei. Der Bereich der Vorgangsreflexiva aller Arten hat sich auf analogischem Wege ausgedehnt und zwar war die Verbreitung der Analogie durch das Bestreben der Sprache bestimmt, einen eindeutigen Ausdruck für die mediale Diathese durchzuführen und eine formale Unterscheidung zwischen aktiven und medialen Ausdrücken zu schaffen...

In den nordwestgermanischen Sprachen (As., Ae., Afries., Mnl.), die kein besonderes Reflexivpronomen besitzen, sondern die pers. Pronomina der 3. Person auch reflexivisch verwenden, gestaltet sich der Gebrauch von reflexiven Verben wesentlich anders als im Hdd. In diesen Sprachen sind akkusativische Reflexivverbindungen überhaupt seltener als im gleichzeitigen Hdd.

Besonders bemerkenswert ist, dass Vorgangsreflexiva und nichtpers. Reflexiva im As. und Afries. vollständig fehlen und im Ae. und Mnl. äusserst selten sind...

Das Mnd. - in den das hd. refl. Pron. meistens in der Form sich, schon seit dem Anfang der Überlieferung völlig eingebürgert ist - zeigt alle Kategorien des verbum reflexivum in denselben Proportionen wie das Mnd."

In a similar very detailed analysis of the particular verbs of all the languages included in his study, it was found for the verbs with "Doppelfunktion" that
"Im Got. sind in doppelter Funktion belegt: a) einige Denominativa, vor allem der -Jan-Klasse
b) mehrere nichtdenom. Verba verschiedener Klassen.
Die meisten von diesen scheinen ursprünglich
nur transitiv gewesen zu sein,...

Über die im Ahd. und Mhd. zu findenden Verba
mit Doppelfunktion wurde Folgendes festgestellt.
a) Denominativa mit doppelter Funktion sind im
Ahd. selten. Infolge der lautgeschichtlichen
Entwicklung, die den formalen Unterschied zwischen
den schwachen Verbalklassen verwischt hat, wächst
die Zahl solcher Verba im Mhd. an. Jedoch hat
die Doppelfunktion auch im Mhd. nur eine beschränkte
Verbreitung gefunden... Das Ahd. hat ein System von
formaler Unterscheidung der Diathesen aufgebaut.
Mehrere Mittel wurden für diese Differenzierung
verwendet, nämlich verschiedene Ableitungssuffixe
und ferner die Bildung von refl. Verben. Als
infolge der eben erwähnten lautgeschichtlichen Entwicklung
das System ins Schwanken geriet, erhielt die
refl. Bildungsart noch größere Bedeutung, indem
das Mhd. durch die Bildung von neuen Reflexivten das
System wiederum ausgebaut hat. Bei der Verbreitung
der refl. Form hat - wie schon oben angedeutet wurde -
das Ahd. und Mhd. einen eindeutigen Ausdruck für
die mediale Diathese durchzuführen versucht und
eine Korrespondenz zwischen Form und Funktion
angestrebt.
b) Unter den ahd.-mhd. nichtdenominativen Verben mit
Doppelfunktion sind bestimmte Bedeutungsgruppen
zu unterscheiden... (Verba des Fortbewegens und
Zerbrechens usw.)... Neben mehreren der nichtdenom.
Verba mit Doppelfunktion bestehen refl. Verbindungen.
Einige von diesen haben eine andere begriffliche
Bedeutung als die entsprechenden Intransitiva...
andere zeigen dieselbe Bedeutung wie die entsprechenden
Intransitiva...; das refl. Pron. hat in diesen
Fällen nur die Aufgabe, die mediale Diathese zu
verdeutlichen...

Im Nordwestgerm. ist die Verbreitung der
Doppelfunktion der Verba überaupt größer
als im Hd.

Im As. sind a) allerdings nur wenige Denominativa
mit doppelter Funktion zu finden; dabei ist jedoch der
beschränkte Umfang der as. Überlieferung in Betracht
zu ziehen, b) Bei den nichtdenom. Verben des As.
zeigt sich deutlich, dass die Doppelfunktion auch
solche Bedeutungsgruppen erfasst, die in ahd.-mhd.
Verben dieser Art keine Entsprechung haben...

Im Ae. findet sich a) eine sehr grosse Anzahl
von Denominativen mit doppelter Funktion, sowohl der
-Jan- wie der -on-Klasse. b) Unter den ae. nichtdenom.
Verben mit Doppelfunktion finden sich mehrere Bedeutungs-
gruppen, die im Ahd.-Mhd. keine Entsprechung haben."
Im Afries, ist die Zahl der Belege, die für die Untersuchung von Belang sind, relativ beschränkt, Jedoch finden sich sowohl unter den denominativen wie unter den nichtdenominativen Verben charakteristische Fälle, die die gleiche Verwendung von Verben mit Doppelfunktion zeigen wie die anderen nordwestgerman. Sprachen...


This study of the morphology and semantics of the reflexive and intransitive verbs used to express the middle voice is detailed and comprehensive. It is an excellent and complete presentation of the forms used in the early Germanic languages to express the medium which was in Indo-European times expressed by a single and specific form, but which by Germanic times was lost. Hermodsson's work is an inventory and analysis of the verbs in the Germanic languages (except O.N.) which replaced the medium.

There has been little done to inventory the occurrences of the reflexive pronoun in the earliest recorded stages of the Germanic language family, i.e. in Gothic and Old Norse. Therefore, it will be the first task of this study to investigate the situation in these two languages. Furthermore, most of the works mentioned above are
studies concerning the relationship of the reflexive pronoun to the verb rather than to the subject of the sentence.

Most of the examples in this study to illustrate the various uses of the reflexive pronoun were taken directly from the primary sources. For the Gothic, examples were found by searching the sixth edition of Streitberg's *Götische Bibel* verse by verse. The examples were excerpted directly onto index cards and then sorted and listed according to syntactic category. In the presentation of the examples for the various syntactic uses, the reference for each example is given directly after its listing. When more than one occurrence of an example is listed the other references are given in the order in which they are found in the Gothic Bible. All the references found for the examples of each use of the reflexive pronoun are presented.

For the chapter on Old Norse, examples were found by searching through eight works page by page and excerpting the sentences in which reflexive pronouns were found onto index cards, as was the case in the Gothic. These cards were also sorted according to syntactic category. Because of the immense amount of material available in Old Norse, the examples presented can only be illustrative of the various uses of the reflexive pronoun. The reference for each example is given directly after its listing by the page number of the edition used. For the section on Old Norse, some examples are taken from Nygaard's *Norrøn Syntax*; in these instances, his work will be cited in footnotes and the references for his examples will be noted as they appear in his work.

The eight works used in the section on Old Norse are *Brennu-Njáls Saga*, *Snorra Edda*, *Grettis Saga*, *Laxdœla Saga*, *The North American Sagas*, *Eiriks Saga Hauba*, *Greenlendinga Saga*, *Heimsþingla*, and *Hrafnkels Saga*. 
Sagas and Völsunga-sage. These works were chosen because they are better known works and include a variety of authors and geographical areas.

In analyzing the uses of the reflexive pronoun in the two Germanic languages and in relating them to the later languages the framework of generative grammar will be used. In addition to the traditional approach of categorizing the examples of the uses of the reflexive pronouns, a system of rules will be formulated in order to accomplish the goals of this study as stated above. That is, a system of rules will be used to account for the various uses of the reflexive pronoun, and to explain what occurred to change the uses of the reflexive pronoun in the later languages which developed from a common, earlier language.

The theory of generative grammar was chosen for these tasks because

"...traditional grammars are deficient in that they leave unexpressed many of the basic regularities of the language with which they are concerned... no traditional or structuralist grammar goes beyond classification of particular examples to the stage of the formulation of generative rules on any significant scale. An analysis of the best existing grammars will quickly reveal that this is a defect of principle, not just a matter of empirical detail or logical preciseness. Nevertheless, it seems obvious that the attempt to explore this largely uncharted territory can most profitably begin with a study of the kind of structural information presented by traditional grammars and the kind of linguistic processes that have been exhibited, however informally, in these grammars...Although such grammars may contain full and explicit lists of exceptions and irregularities, they provide only examples and hints concerning the regular and productive syntactic processes. " 11

Since, as stated above, there was no inventory of the uses of the reflexive pronoun in Gothic and Old Norse, it was necessary to begin
this study in the more traditional manner of providing lists of examples, grouped in various syntactic categories. However, as was mentioned in Chomsky above, merely providing lists of categorized examples does not explain the process of the syntactic formulation of sentences. The examples will be used as the basis for the formulation of the system of rules using the concepts put forth in the theory of generative grammar in order to provide a structural description of the process of reflexivization.
FOOTNOTES


3 Ibid. p. 7.


6 Ibid. p. 3.

7 Ibid. p. 70.

8 Ibid. p. 3.


10 Ibid. p. 214.


12 Ibid. pp. 308-311.

CHAPTER TWO

THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY AND MODERN GERMAN

The Indo-European Family

The reflexive pronoun is found in several of the languages of the Indo-European language family. It was originally formed from the stem *se-, *swe-. Its syntactical use has developed differently within the various languages. In Old Church Slavonic the reflexive pronoun can refer to any subject, 1. 2. 3. person, singular, or plural or dual. In Latin it can refer to either a singular or a plural subject but only to a subject in the third person. A similar development has occurred in the Germanic languages. Both Latin and the Germanic languages which have kept the reflexive pronoun (OHG, NHG, Goth., CH) use the forms of the personal pronouns when the subject is in the first or second person.

"Auf diesem Standpunkt sind im weitesten Umfang das Arische, das Albanesische und das Baltisch-Slavische verblieben und er ist auch noch in der historischen Periode des Griechischen nicht ganz verlassen... Ohne wesentlichen Bedeutungsunterschied war es überall auch möglich Pronomina der 1. und 2. Person, die substantivischen Pronomina und die Possessiva, statt des Reflexivums zu verwenden, eine Ausdrucksweise, die namentlich dann leicht gewählt wurde, wenn mehrere Substantiva im Satz vorhanden waren, die als logisches Subjekt in Betracht kommen konnten. Es ressortierte dann nicht der eine pronomiale Begriff vom andern, sondern sie gingen einander parallel... Eine Folge der Konkurrenz der beiden Ausdrucksweisen war, daß bei den 1. und 2. Personen im Arm. Griech.
Alb. Ital. Germ. das Reflexivum in Wegfall kam, so daß man z.B. im Lat. nur noch *converto se*, *vendidi domum meam*, nicht mehr *suam* sagte. 3

There are, however, some dialects of modern German which use the *sich* form to refer to the first person plural. 4 This usage is also found in literary sources, especially Grimmelshausen. Paul suggests that this usage is analogical and the result of the fact that the verb forms for the first and third person plural are the same. 5 In Yiddish the reflexive is used to refer to all persons singular and plural.

In several of the Indo-European languages a new form has developed to show reflexivity, which is not based on an original *se-, *swe- stem. Although in older Greek there developed a pronoun from this stem, in Classical Greek a new form, *heauton*, was used to express reflexivity. In Old Indic reflexivity is shown by the use of *tanu-, "body", and *atman-, "soul". 6

In some of the IE languages the use of a special morphological form to express reflexivity is lacking entirely. In Celtic, Old English, Old Saxon and Old Frisian the personal pronoun is used for this purpose.

Originally the reflexive use of the pronoun of the *se-, *swe- stem was to refer to

"...eine Größe desselben Satzes und zwar auf die Größe, in deren syntaktischer Gefolgschaft es steht, also z.B. auf das Subjekt des Prädikats, dem es angehört: die Flämme reinigt sich von Rauch, oder auf das Substantiv, in dessen Attribut es sich befindet: die sich selbst verleugnende Liebe..." 7

The pronoun of the *se-, *swe- stem was not only used to express "direct reflection" that is, reference to the subject of the clause in which it stands. In Latin *sui*, *sibi*, *se* are also used to express
"indirect reflection" in which case the pronoun is found in a subordinate
case and refers not to the subject of that clause but rather to the
subject of the main clause of the sentence. In the Greek the pronoun
of the *se-, *swe- stem was not confined only to expressing a reflexive
relationship. Dyroff found that Homer uses this pronoun in only 38 cases
to express direct reflection; he uses it in 67 cases to express indirect
reflection, and in 966 cases it is used anaphorically, that is to say:
it refers to a previously mentioned noun other than the subject. Only
after prepositions is this pronoun used in a strictly reflexive sense in
Homer.8 It seems, therefore, that originally the pronoun of the *se-
*swe- stem could be used reflexively as well as anaphorically and pro-
bably had a meaning similar to "selbst, derselbe".9 Later the use of pro-
nouns of this stem became restricted to the reflexive meaning of the word.

"Für beide Neuerungen, den Übergang von anaphor-
ischer zu reflexiver und von reflexiver zu
anaphorischer Bedeutung, kommt mit der Umstand in
Betracht (sic), daß es oft ganz besonders in abhäng-
igen Sätzen und Satzgliedern, für das Ganze gleich-
gültig (sic) ist, ob man sich reflexivisch oder ana-
phorisch ausdrückt. Hierdurch konnte der Bedeutungs-
vardel erleichtert werden." 10

The Germanic Family

Within the Germanic group the development of the pronoun of the
stem *se-, *swe- differs according to dialect. As stated above,
in Old English as well as in Old Saxon the word has disappeared
totally from the language. Strangely enough, however, it reappears
in Middle Low German in the twelfth century. It is generally considered
a borrowing despite the fact that such a borrowing is highly unusual. 11

"Die Frage nach dem Reflexivpronomen im
Niederdeutschen ist eng verknüpft mit der nach
dem Eindringen des Hochdeutschen in den Nieder-
deutschen Sprachgebrauch. Denn im Altnieder-
deutschen - dem Altsächsischen - findet sich
das Pronomen reflexivum noch nicht. Erst in
dem seit dem 12. Jahrhundert als Mittelnieder-
deutsch bezeichneten Altsächsisch dringt das
Reflexivpronomien langsamer vor. 12

In Middle Low German sin becomes used for the Gen. Masc. Sg., the
Masc. Sg. pronominal adjective, and sic, sich, sec, seck are the forms
used for the accusative and later the dative as well.

"Während aber in den ältesten Teilen des Werkes
(die sächsische Weltchronik) entsprechend dem
hochdeutschen Vorbild Akkusativ- und Dativformen
streng geschieden sind, wird später sich auch für
den Dativ gebraucht, eine Erscheinung, die in Hin-
sicht auf das wechselseitige Eintreten der Akkusat-
ivform für die Dativform und umgekehrt der Dativ-
form für die Akkusativform echt niederdeutsch ist.

"Die Halberstädter Urkunden des 14. und
beginnenden 15. Jahrhunderts (1314 - 1420) zeigen,
daß hier das Pronomen reflexivum im mittelniederdeut-
schen Dialekt sich schon vollständig eingebürgert
hat. Eine Scheidung in Akkusativ- und Dativformen
gibt es überhaupt nicht mehr."13

It is also Behaghel’s opinion that just as there is only one
form for both dative and accusative in the first and second
persons, the use of sich for the dative as well as for the
accusative was a natural development for the third person as well. 14

Old High German remained alone as the only dialect of the
so-called West Germanic group to have a reflexive pronoun. In
Old High German the genitive of the reflexive stem *se-; *se-
broadened its meaning to include the masc. gen. sg., i.e. Lat.
ejus. Tatian 144, 21: furlougnia ih sin firi minco fater. In Notker
sin is also used to express Neut. gen. sg. Sin is, therefore, no
longer purely reflexive, but neither is it purely anaphorical. The
anaphorical (personal) forms of the Fem. gen. sg., the dative
singular of all genders and the genitive and dative plural forms of
all genders were used reflexively in OHG as well as anaphorically.
The only true reflexive form remaining syntactically reflexive as well as morphologically reflexive was sich. This form was used solely to express reflexivity in the accusative case, singular as well as plural and in all genders.

Only much later did the form sich become used as the dative reflexive in High German. This development began in Old High German in the post-prepositional position, where sich began to replace im, ir, in. This process began in combination with ze. In Middle High German other prepositions are found in combination with sich: Pz. 64, 6 der zucht im neben sich sein kein, Myst. II 375, 22, versteht in sich selber.

"Die Sonderstellung der Präp. ze entspringt sicher nicht daraus, daß diese früher mit dem Akk. verbunden gewesen wäre, eher dem Umstand, daß bei der Verwendung von im, ir die Formen zim, zir entstanden und diese zu körperlos, zu wenig deutlich waren."

As late as Early New High German there was no dative form of the reflexive; the personal pronoun was still used with reflexive meaning: Wer sich Knall und Fall, ihm selbst zu leben, nicht entschließen kann, der lebet anderer Sklav auf immer, Lessing, Nathan der Weise, 2,9.

Modern German

In Modern German the use of the reflexive has changed over time from the original usage. In NHG the reflexive usually refers to the subject of the sentence. The sich-form is used for the dative as well as the accusative, with the exception of dialectal use of the personal pronoun in this position: Sie hat sich ein Haus gekauft. Sie kam zu sich. In Modern German the use of indirect reflection does not occur. "If there is a reference in the subordinate clause to the subject of
the principal proposition, a personal pronoun should be used..." 16

Furthermore in participial, infinitival, and in certain
adjectival and prepositional constructions the reflexive refers
not to the subject of the main predicate but to the logical
subject of the construction which stands in an oblique case in the
main clause of the sentence: Soll ich diese an sich verständliche
Regel wiederholen? Sie baten ihn, sich anzuziehen. Er sah den
Mann sich entfernen. If there is a reference to the subject of
the main verb of the clause within the construction, a personal
pronoun is used: Sie trug ein ihr vollkommen ähnliches Kind auf
dem Arm. 17

Dal contends that this construction can lead to ambiguity:

"Wo das Reflexiv von einer Präposition regiert
wird, kann es auch in einer Fügung mit Akk. und
Infinitiv auf das Satzsubjekt bezogen werden;
er sah einen Freund neben sich stehen; hieraus
können Doppelmännigkeiten entstehen, wie z.B.
er ließ den Mann zu sich kommen. Früher konnte
ein Reflexivum neben einem Infinitiv sich auch
in anderen Fällen auf das Satzsubjekt beziehen;
md. ir gast si sich küszen bat (Wolfram). Just ist dies nur möglich, wo das Subjekt
des Infinitivs fehlt; sie ließ sich aus dem
Wagen heben." 18

In such cases where there is a complementary infinitive
without zu usage makes distinctions. If the dependent infinitive

"... has no subject or has passive force the
reflexive refers to the subject of the prin-
cipal proposition: Er hörte über sich
schnüren... Er hörte sich von seinem Freund
rufen.

"If the infinitive has a subject and is
active, it usually takes a personal pronoun
as a reflexive object referring to the subject
of the principal proposition: Es fühlt der
Mensch mit bleichem Leben den Tod ihm sitzen
im Genick (Lenau)." 19
With lassen, however, the reflexive form is common. Der Kanzler ließ sich das nicht anfechten. Furthermore, in these clauses with complementary infinitives without zu, if the object is not a direct object, but rather the object of a preposition, the reflexive form is often used to refer to the subject of the main clause:

Der Geist hieß die Frau freundlich mit sich gehn (Coll.). Der Hausherr ließ mich zu sich sitzen. Er hört die Winde pfeifen und stürmen um sich her (Körner)... Auf den Subjektsakkus, selbst bezogen; Sie ließen sie still für sich ihren Schmerz ausweinen (H. Kleist). Abweichungen kommen vor: im Dativ nach alther Weise: Amanda sieht die Königin sanft lächelnd vor ihr stehn. (Wiel.) Mich sendet unsere Königin und heißt mich dich jetzt zu ihr hinauf entbieten (Körn.). Sie hat mich zwei Monate nach ihr seufzen lassen (Zsch.). Bisweilen steht so ihnen statt sich zur Deutlichung des Plurals, z.B. Das Stillschweigen löste der junge Zeck, den Dankmar erst jetzt hinter ihnen erblickt (hinter sich beziege sich nur auf Dankmar. Gutzk.) Nachdem sie stillschweigend bis gegen Mittag gewandert waren, sah Christine einen Berg vor ihnen (Kurz). Zur Vermeidung einer Zweideutigkeit wird oft das Nichtreflexiv gebraucht, wenn eine Beziehung auf den Subjektsakkus. Möglicher wäre, z.B. Macbeth ließ die Hexen zu ihm sprechen (Shak.). Sie sieht ringsum im Waldeschlag die Wipfel ernst sich zu ihr neigen (Redw., zu sich wäre zweideutig.) Wird der Mann sie achtet, die auf Tod und Leben ihn um sie zu kämpfen hieß? (um sich könnte auf ihn bezogen werden.)

Still further distinctions are made when a pronoun referring to the main subject of the clause is used in an appositive construction modifying a noun other than the subject. Usually the reflexive form is used rather than the personal pronoun.
"Als aus Ilios Erz had der Held Aneas den alten Vater errettend trug, sich eine heilige Last, (sic) rief er den Griechen zu (hdr.) ... (also) Richard hofft Euch wirksam für ihn zu finden, die Krone zu gewinnen (Shak.)" 21

In absolute constructions
"...steht das Reflexiv mit Bezug auf das in dem vorschwebenden habend versteckten Subjekt. Der Herzog erscheint ein paar Diener hinter sich (habend = indem er hinter sich hatte.) Bald wird er im höchsten Kollegio sitzen, neben sich den Herrn von so und so (Immer.) Dort blieb er sitzen, den Leuchter vor sich auf den Tisch gestellt (habend). Dort sitzt das liebe Kind, ihr kleines Laternchen neben sich (Thürm)." 22

The personal pronoun is, however, also used in these absolute constructions:
"Fünf Männer saßen um einen Tisch, Aktenbündel vor ihnen, (Auerb.) So saßen die beiden Männer stumm neben einander, vor ihnen die Leiche. (ds.)." 23

In adjectival prepositional phrases, even when modifying the subject of the sentence, generally the personal pronoun is used. However, the use of the reflexive is not rare. 24

"Wie hat der Kapitän mein Vertrauen zu ihm gerechtfertigt?... Er sah ihre Liebe zu ihm. Dionys wollte die berühmtesten Männer vor ihm als Gesetzgeber verdunkeln. (Wiel.) Diethelm traf die beiden Brüder mitten im Gespräch über ihn (Auerb.).... Der Erzähler hatte die ganze Gesellschaft um sich her völlig vergessen. Thusnelda beschäfte strahlenden Blick die Menge unter sich (Redw.).... Oft sah sie auf den leeren Platz neben sich." 25

Reflexive verbs
The most frequent use of the accusative reflexive pronoun is in conjunction with a verb. The development and analysis of the reflexive verb have been the subjects of numerous articles and must be mentioned in a work on the reflexive pronoun.
Perhaps the best and most often mentioned descriptive analysis is given by Wilmanns in his *Deutsche Grammatik*. He divides the reflexive verb into four groups. In the first group he describes the syntactic situation of a transitive verb + object.

"1. Da die Formen des Pron. refl. dieselbe Bildung zeigen wie die Formen der persönlichen Pronomina ich und du, so konnten sie ursprünglich wohl auch nur in demselben Sinne gebraucht werden wie diese. Oft ist das auch jetzt noch der Fall. In Verbindungen wie sich töten, sich rühren, ... etc. bezieht sich das reflexive Pronomen auf eine Person, und seine Kasus empfinden wir ebenso wie andere Objekte, zumal wenn wir das Pronomen betonen oder durch Hinzufügung von selbst hervorheben. Auch in Verbindungen wie sich zum König aufwerfen, sich krank lachen, ... deren Prädikate nur ein reflexives Objekt gestatten, hat der Kasus doch keine andere Bedeutung als sonst." 20

In the second group Wilmanns describes the type of verb whose meaning when used with a reflexive is not the same as when used with another object.

"2. In vielen reflexiven Verbindungen aber erscheint sowohl die Bedeutung des Verbums als das Beziehungsverhältnis zwischen ihm und dem abhängigen Kasus wesentlich modifiziert und dadurch die Verbindung der beiden Glieder enger. Beim Genitiv zeigt sich diese eigenständige Entwicklung selten, noch weniger beim Dativ; sehr oft aber beim Akkusativ. In dem Satze: Ich setzte mich auf die Erde bezeichnet das Verbum setzen eine andere Anschauung als in: Ich setzte ihn auf die Erde; das Refl. erscheint nicht mehr als Objekt, sondern nur als ein Mittel um anzudeuten, dass das Subjekt unter dem Einfluss der Handlung steht; das Subjekt nicht sowohl als Subjekt einer Bewegung, die von ihm ausgeübt wird, sondern einer Bewegung, in der es sich selbst befindet; das Verbum nicht als transitiv, sondern zusammen mit seinem Objekt als intransitiv. Ebenso bei anderen Verben der
The third group is that group of reflexive verbs which designates feeling and emotion and expresses or implies a previous psychological event.


In the fourth group are those reflexive verbs which express some previous event of a type other than psychological and often occur with an impersonal subject.

Wilman's further divides and subdivides these verbs into the following categories: 1) those verbs which take personal subjects, 2) those verbs which have impersonal subjects, and 3) those verbs which cannot stand without a reflexive object.

Behagel in his monumental *Deutsche Syntax* has presented a comprehensive and extensive systematic scheme of grouping the reflexive verbs from Gothic to Modern German. This very detailed listing is too extensive to be presented here and can be found in Volume 2, pages 141 - 159.

The question of the use of reflexive verbs with impersonal subjects is a problem which has interested scholars who have studied reflexive verbs. Some (Wistrand, Reichenkron, Hatcher) have taken the position that this usage is a personification; others (Wilman, Hermodsson) feel that such constructions as *das Glas füllt sich, es handelt sich um, das Gerücht verbreitet sich*, could never have referred to persons and can, therefore, not be considered personifications.

Another problem is the question of the development from the plural reciprocal verb of a reciprocal construction where the subject is in the singular and a prepositional phrase complements the construction: *Sie schlagen sich, er schlägt sich mit ihr, sie versöhnen sich, er versöhnt sich mit ihr*, etc.

These uses of the reflexive verbs developed relatively late in the history of the use of the reflexive verb. E. Wellander in his article, "Zum Reflexivum im Deutschen" has presented a short but comprehensive history of the development of the use of
the reflexive verb. The development of the reflexive verb began according to Wellander when the reflexive pronoun was used as the object of the verb to express that the subject was identical with this object. The grammatical function of this pronoun was no different from that of any other object.

The second step in the development was the use of this group, verb + reflexive object, as a kind of medium. Wellander attributes the development of this usage to the fact that

"...bei vielen Verben grade das Reflexiv-pronomen besonders oft als Obj. zur Verwendung kommen muss. Das häufige Zusammentreten von Verbum und Pronomen hat eine Vereinheitlichung der Bedeutung herbeigeführt; das Pronomen wird nicht mehr als Obj. einer Handlung des Subjektes empfunden, sondern das Reflexivum drückt einen an dem Subj. sich vollziehenden Vorgang aus. Das Subj. wird also zugleich als tätig und leidend gefühlt; tätig, da die im Verbum enthaltene Handlung von ihm ausgeht; leidend, da diese Tätigkeit wieder auf das Subj. übergeht." 31

Hermodason disagrees with this hypothesis saying that nearly no verbs with medial meanings have their origins in a

"...weniger vereinheitlichte Bedeutung eines Objektreflexivum.

Ferner ist darauf hinzuweisen, daß die Bedeutung
und die Verwendung des zugrundeliegenden trans-
Verbums eine Rolle spielen kann. Das Transitivum
kann mehrfache Bedeutung aufweisen oder kann
durch Bedeutungswandel ganz oder zum Teil neue
Bedeutung erhalten haben. Wenn eine refl.
Verbindung besteht, die sich an die eine
dieser Bedeutungen anschliesst, kann analogisch
auch zur anderen Bedeutung des Transitivums
ein refl. Verbum gebildet werden...
Für eine frühe Stufe der Verbreitung der
Reflexiva kann man wohl auch annehmen, daß die
alte Medialform als vermittelndes Glied der
Analogien eine Rolle gespielt hat. Wenn
nämlich z.B. objektsanzeigende refl. Ver-
bindungen sich in der Bedeutung mit gewissen
Medialformen berührten, konnte - nach dem
klassischen Analogiemuster - auch in anderen
Fällen eine refl. Form in gleiche Verwendung
wie eine Medialform treten." 32

It is interesting to note that in IE the medial form of the
verb was used to express all reflexive action. Since the medium
could not take an object, the reflexive verb did not develop
from it but was probably formed analogous to sentences wherein
the action was directed toward an object other than the subject.
The combination of verb + reflexive pronoun was a parallel to
the combination, verb + object, which expressed action directed
toward the subject rather than another object. This "analytic"
means of expressing the kind of action directed back to the subject
spread in later IE times and eventually took over the uses
which had been earlier expressed by a medial verb form.

The use of the reflexive pronoun to express medial meaning
led to a further use. Originally only those subjects were used
that were capable of carrying out an action.
"Durch die bei häufigem Gebrauch eintretende begriffliche Verschmelzung verliert sich aber das sichere Gefühl für die richtige Anwendung, und eine historisch und logisch unberechtigte Erweiterung des Gebrauchs findet statt, indem gelegentlich auch ein anderes Wort, das nicht als Subjekt der im Verbum enthaltenen Handlung gedacht werden kann, zur Reflexiv-Verbindung als das Subjekt des durch die Verbindung ausgedrückten Vorgangs tritt. Diese Entwicklung wird durch das Vorhandensein solcher Fälle begünstigt, wo das Subjekt dem ursprünglichen Gebrauch entspricht, indem es bei der betreffenden Handlung als tätig gedacht werden kann, wo es aber eher als leidend denn als tätig aufgefasst wird...

Es ist noch kein reines Passivum, was wir hier sehen; der Gebrauch ist auch sehr beschränkt. Das Subjekt ist zwar leidend; es fehlt aber die Vorstellung von einem anderen, tätigen Gegenstande, dessen Tätigkeit als auf das Subj. hinwirkend vorgestellt und ausgedrückt werden kann. Diese Stufe könnte daher ihrer Zwischenstellung wegen recht gut als die medio-passive bezeichnet werden." 33

Such examples as er freut sich, er ärgert sich, die Augen füllen sich mit Tränen, die Tür öffnet sich etc. fall into this category. Wellander thinks of these verbs as expressing an action, such that it must be imagined that this action arises by itself without being instigated by a "doer" or an agent.

The last step in the development of the uses of the reflexive verb led to a new means of expressing the passive. This came about by means of analogy. The use of the medio-passive construction spread, and it began to be used also in those cases where an agent or a doer must be considered to be the instigator of the action; where, in other words, the action cannot take place by itself. e.g. Die Blumen winden sich zum Kranz. Although this
use of the reflexive verb is a commonly used means of expressing the passive in the Scandinavian languages (except Norwegian), especially in the literary languages, it is by comparison limited in German.  

From the nature of the reflexive pronoun, to refer back to the subject, there developed a reciprocal meaning as well. This use of the pronoun expresses a mutual action of the verb between two or more persons contained in the subject. Originally this usage required a plural subject and verb. When there is a question of clarity as to whether reflexive meaning or reciprocal meaning is meant, *einander* is used rather than *sich* to clarify that the reciprocal meaning is meant. *Sie lieben sich* could for example be ambiguous under certain circumstances; they love themselves, they love each other; whereas *sie lieben einander* is not. Furthermore, *einander* is used with prepositions rather than *sich*: *sie standen neben einander*, however, *unter* and *über* can be used with *sich*: *sie stritten lange unter sich*.

When a collective singular is used to express a plural meaning, e.g. *Der Senat versammelt sich*, the reflexive pronoun refers to the whole subject as a group. This sentence cannot be further divided and remain meaningful. Analogous sentences can be formed of the type: *die Gruppe nennt sich Lehrer*. This sentence can again be broken into several sentences: *A nennt sich Lehrer; B nennt sich Lehrer* etc. Or the sentence can be expressed: *A nennt sich und B Lehrer; B nennt sich und A Lehrer*. The reflexive nature of the verb is totally excluded, however, and only a reciprocal meaning can be expressed when "Lehrer" is
replaced in the original sentence by "du": die Gruppe nennt sich du. That is to say: A nennt B du and B nennt A du.

In this way the reflexive meaning has expanded to include the reciprocal meaning. The use of the reflexive pronoun to express reciprocal meaning can be found in some of the oldest documents of the Germanic languages. 35

In Modern German, however, a new use of the reciprocal is found. Although it was originally used only with a plural or collective subject, it is often found in the singular: man lernt sich gut kennen; man sah sich gegenseitig an etc.

"Das Bilden solcher Sätze wird durch den Umstand begünstigt, daß das Pronomen des Singulums mit dem des Plurals lautlich zusammenfällt...

In den nord. Sprachen liegt eine zur Einheit verschmolzene Form vor; diese steht dann einfach im Singular, nachw. de kyssas; han kyssas. Im Mhd, wo keine einheitliche Form vorliegt, ist die Sache komplizierter; hier kann die reziproke Singularform zunächst nur in der Person gebildet werden, wo das Pronomen das gleiche bleibt, in der dritten Person...

Daß es (das Pronomen) allgemein als reflexiv aufgefasst wird, beruht auf volksemyologischer Umdeutung; die seltene, semologisch schwer zu erfassende reziproke Form wird mit der gewöhnlichen, formell übereinstimmenden reflexiven Form verwechselt. Diese Umdeutung hat eine Erweiterung des Gebrauches zur Folge gehabt, indem man sich berechtigt fühlte, nach dem in der dritten Person gegebenen Muster (er küßt sich mit ihr) analogisch neue Formen zu bilden, wo auch im Pronomen der Numerusunterschied hervortritt: ich küsse mich, du küßest dich (mit ihr)." 36

This structure has spread and today such sentences are not uncommon:

Er schlägt sich mit ihr; er duzt sich mit ihr; der Wert deckt sich mit dem Preise; ich werde mich mit meinem Vater treffen.
Although only the original accusative form is left, the reflexive pronoun is used in a variety of ways in Modern German. In Modern German the reflexive pronoun can only express direct reflection. It is usually used to refer to the grammatical subject of the main, finite verb of the clause; it is, however, also used to refer to the logical subject of an infinite verb in participial, infinitival, adjectival, prepositional and absolute constructions. Most commonly the reflexive pronoun is used in conjunction with a verb to express reflexivity or reciprocity.

In the following two sections the uses of the reflexive pronoun in the two earliest dialects which retained a reflexive pronoun of the *se-, *swi- stem will be examined and analyzed. The peculiarities in the uses of this pronoun in these two Germanic dialects and its historical development will be discussed. The rules governing the use of this pronoun will be examined, and the development of and the changes in the earlier syntactic rules which led to the present rules governing the use of the reflexive in Modern German will be studied.
FOOTNOTES


2 Leskien, A. Grammatik der altbulgarischen Sprache. Heidelberg 1909. #100.


13 Ibid. p. 3.


15 Ibid. p. 298.

17 Ibid. Examples taken from p. 194.


21 Ibid. p. 268.

22 Ibid. p. 268.

23 Ibid. p. 268.


25 Ibid. p. 269.


27 Ibid. p. 496.

28 Ibid. p. 497.


31 Ibid. p. 127.


34 Ibid. p. 130.

35 Ibid. p. 139.

36 Ibid. p. 140.
CHAPTER THREE

GOTHIC

In Modern German the declension of the reflexive pronoun is incomplete, as it was in Middle High and Old High German. In Gothic, however, there was a complete declension:

Dat. sis
Acc. sik
Gen. seina

Originally the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun was the chief person of the sentence which was usually the subject. The subject could be in the first, second, or third person, singular or plural. This was the situation in Sanskrit; however, as early as Proto-Germanic times the reflexive pronoun could only be used to refer to a subject in the third person singular or plural of any of the three genders.

Sik, the accusative form, is explained as coming from Proto-Germanic *se + ke, the Germanic emphatic particle from PIE *ge, or another explanation is that it comes from the first person form. The origin of the final *s in sik is unknown. Perhaps it is an original genitive ending. Some scholars explain the 's' as an old ablative form in -ts, the zero grade of -tos, which under sandhi conditions becomes either -t, or -s. The genitive ending is -ina- which originally had adjectival function. 1
In Gothic the reflexive pronoun had the primary function of referring to the subject of its own sentence. The anaphorical pronoun, *is*, was usually used to refer to other nouns, either in the same sentence or in some preceding sentence. This usage probably developed out of a need for some clarity within the sentence in those circumstances when several pronouns in the third person occur.²

**Sis**

*Sis* is the reflexive pronoun in the dative case. It occurs least often of the three forms.

1) The most frequent use of the dative reflexive is as the object of a preposition dependent on a finite verb:

**du**

jah bahtedun du sis misso, Mk 11:31.

*i* eis slawaidepun; du sis misso andrunnun; hwarjis maists wesl. Mk. 9:34.

jah pata waurd habaidedun du sis misso sok-jandans... Mk. 9:10.

jah ohtedun sis agis nikil jah qepun du sis misso. Mk. 4:41.


panuh schun du sis misso pai sipjonjos... John 13:22.

jah warp afsiaubnan (ana) allans, jah rojidedun du sis misso qipandans... Luke 4:36.


**in**

paruh sumai *pize* bokarje qepun in sis silbarn. Math. 9:3.

qaphu auk in sis; jabai patainei atteka wastjai is ganisa. Math. 9:21 (qepun in sis, cf. also Luke 7:49, 16:3, 18:4.)

jabai nu gup hauhiph ist in imma, jah gup hauhelp ina in sis jah suhs hauhida ina. John 13:32.

fijavha ana leika seinamma wtpch anabusne garaideinim gatairands, el bans twans gaskopi in sis silbin du ainamma niujama mann, waurkjand sa gawairpi. Eph. 2:15,
panuh Jesus aftra inraughtips in sis silbin gaggip du

ip waurstw sein silbins kiusai hwarjizuh, jah pan

mip

(with the meaning among) jah afslau$ngedun allai
sildaleikjandans, swael sokidedun mip sis misso.
Mark 1:27.

panuh sokun mip sis misso Judai$is qipandans... John 6:52.
ip eis pahtedun mip sis misso qipandans paitei jabaal
gasaihwandans pan ina ḍal aurtjans pahtedun mip sis
misso qipandans. Luke 20:14. (see also Mark 8:16,
15:31).

(with the meaning 'together with') jah anaks insaihwand-
dans ni pànasei$p anochun gasewishu, alja Jesu
ainana mip sis, Mark 9:8.
jah ufarumnosedun niman hlaibans jah niba ainana
hlaif ni habaidededun mip sis in skipa. Mark 8:14.
ip is uswairpands allaim gani$p attan pis barnis
jah aipel jah pans mip sis... Mark 5:40.
swa lagga hweila swi mib sis haband brupfad, ni
magun fastan. Mark 2:19.

faura

ip Jesus gasaihwands ṭo miton haurtins ize,
jah insansi$a airun$ faura sis, jah gaggandans

af

swe sa weina$aines in mag akrar bairan af sis silbin
niba ist ana weina$riwa, swah nih jus, niba in mis

ip ḍan qim$i jains, ahma sunjos briggip izwis in
allai sunjaal nih ḍan rodei$p af sis silbin... John 16:13.
unte is ufa eisarnam bi fofuna gabugana$im jah nau$-
bandjons eisai$ni$a$ gabundans was jah galau$sida
af sis pos nau$bandjons... Mark 5:14.

fram

ainhwarjanoh sabbate hwarjizuh izwara fram sis silbin
lagjai hujjands paitei wili, ei ni, bipe qimau, paan
gabaur wairpai. I Cor. 16:12.

panyu nu hwarjizuh unsara fram sis rapsjon usgibi$p guda.
Rom. 14:12.

aftra

ṭata ṭągkja$ aftra af sis silbin. II Cor. 10:7.

2. The reflexive pronoun sis is also found carrying out the
function which is governed solely by the dative, that of the indirect
object:
3. The dative reflexive is also used directly dependent on the verb, carrying out the function of the ethical dative.

qępun ḫan Judaleis: nibai usqimai sis silbin...
  John 8:22.

jupan auk gaqępun sis Judaleis, ei, jabal
  hwas ina andhaihaiti Xristu, utana swagogals

jah sai, run gawaurchdun sis alla so hairda and
  driouson in marein jah gadaupnododun in watnam. Math. 8:32.

gasaithwande, ḫan sa Fareisaius, sael haihait ina,
  rodida sis ains... Luke 7:39.

qęp ḫan du susaim ḫalei silbans traualdedun sis

unte leik gaimeip wipra ahmen ḫp ahma wipra leik,
  ḫpo nu sis misso auстанdand. Gal. 5:17.

sa Fareisaius standands sis ḫpo ba... Luke 18:11.

 ḫp si gasaithwandeis gaplaha Henderson bi innatgahtai is jah

unte Herodis ohta sis Johannen... Mark 6:20
  (see also John 6:19, 19:8).

qęp ḫan sa mada mitodedun sis, qęp du im... Mark 2:8.

4. **Sis** is found in dependent infinitive phrases.

a. **Sis** is found as the object of a dependent infinitive:

  swa managai swe wileina samjan sis in leika, ḫai
  nauhpjand izwis bimaitai, ... Gal. 6:12.

b. **Sis** is also used as the indirect object of a dependent infinitive.

  qęp ḫan: menna sums godakunds gaggida landis

c. **Sis** also carries out the function of the object of a preposition
in a dependent infinitive construction:

jah ni fralailot aino hun ize mib sis afargaggan...
Mark 5:37.

jah gawurhita twalif du misan mib sis... Mark 3:14.
Abban sebua fi jands sein ans palei ni
wildedun miки piudan non ufar sis brigigip her jah
Qab paq du baim ataggandeim manageim daupjan

jah bedun ina allai gaujans bize Gaddarone galeıp
fairra sis... Luke 8:37.
gastandans paq Jesus haihait ina tiuhan du sis.

jah warp, biqs atwandida sik aftra, andnimands
piudangardja jah haihait wopjan du sis paq
skalkans paime atgaf pata silubr... Luke 19:15.

5. **Sis** is also found in present participial constructions.

a. The following are examples of the dative reflexive serving
the function of dative object of a present participle:

wosunuh paq sumai fize bokarje jainar sitandans
jah heqzjandans sis in hairtas seinaim. Mark 2:16.
gahsejands paq bata Jesus sildalekida ina jah
wandjands sik du fize afarlaistjandeim sis
manageim qab... Luke 7:19.
domjands paq fata heqai ains four allans gaswalt,
qantu allai gaswultun jah four allans gaswalt,
ei paq libandans ni panaseip sis silbam libaina,
ak paqma four sik gaswiltandin jah urreisandin. II Cor. 5:15.
qanuh qab Jesus du baim galoabjandam sis Judaium...
John 8:31 (see also Luke 9:15).

b. **Sis** can also serve as the indirect object of a present participle.

ip paq andstandandans silbans sis wargip
unte sebuaq gup was in Xristau manaseq gafripends
sis... II Cor. 5:19.

c. **Sis** also occurs as the object of a preposition within present
participial phrases:

Hwaita galeip in gard gudis uf Abalpara
gudjin jah haibans faurlageimais matida,
panzei ni skud ist matjan niba alnaim gudjam, jah
gaf jah paq mib sis wisandam? Mark 2:26
6. **Sis** is also found in past participial constructions as the object of a proposition.

\[ \text{ip eu du pus gaggaj jah pata rodja in manasedal ei habaina fahed meina usfullida in sis. John 17:13.} \]

7. **Sis** also serves the function of dative of respect.

   a. **Sis** is found as a dative of respect dependent on an adjective:

   \[ \text{panu nuhpanuh ainana sunu aigands liubana sis insindida jah pana du im spedistana... Mark 12:6.} \]

   \[ \text{ni waiht bi haifstai aipau lausai hauheinai, ak in allai hauneinal gahugdais anpar anparana munands sis auhuman. Phil. 2:3.} \]

   b. **Sis** is also used as a dative of respect dependent on a noun:

   \[ \text{ip jabai pugkeip hwas hwa wisan, ni waiht wisands sis silbin frapjamerzeins ist. Gal. 6:3.} \]
In all the above constructions the reflexive pronoun was used to refer to the subject of the main verb of the clause regardless of the construction in which it was found. There are also three instances where *sis* refers to a noun other than the subject:

Ţamna bidjianid ūbuk gibais, jah Ńamna wiljianid af puš leihvan sis ni uswandjaies. Math. 5:42.

Appan alla us guda, Ńamna gafrīponid uns sis pāirh Xristu jag-gibandin unsis andbahti gafrīponais. II Cor. 5:18.

Ni atsaihwandans judaiwiskaize spilli jah anabusne manne afwandjandane sis sunja. Titus 1:14.

In all three instances the reflexive pronoun refers to the logical subject of the present participle governing the phrase in which it occurs rather than the grammatical subject of the sentence.
I. Reflexive Verbs

A. By far the most frequent use of sik, the accusative reflexive pronoun, in Gothic is in verbal constructions. For the most part in Gothic the meaning of the verb has not changed when it is used with a reflexive pronoun. The Gothic use of the reflexive verb to translate various Greek constructions has been analyzed by Hermodsson as follows:


k 1,16 - ussatjan; L 17,6 - afskaidan; k 6,17 -
gaskaman; th 3,14 - gasleipjan; Mc 8,36 -
wagjan; th 2,2 - wandjan, af-, ga-: L 7,9 t 1,15
L 7,44 14,25 M 9,22 Mc 5,30 8,33 t 4,4.
f. In einem Fall steht im Griech. ein Adjektivum...
wofür in Got ungarahands sik auftritt ( t 3,3 ).
Diese Vielfalt der griech. Entsprechungen
stellt ein schönes Zeugnis der Selbständigkeit
Wulfilas als Übersetzer dar, ein Zeugnis, das in
dem lebhaften Meinungsaustausch über die Übersetzungsart Technik Wulfilas und den Grad seiner
Abhängigkeit von der griech. Vorlage zu beachten
ist.

In addition Hermodsson has also analyzed these verbs according to
their role in Gothic:

"1. Diejenigen got. Reflexiva, die einer griech. aktiven Form + refl. Pron. entsprechen-und auch
die, welche eine Medialform + refl. Pron. wiedergeben - bestehen in den aller meisten Fällen
aus Objektreflexiven z.B. Ullegwands sik stanam
Mc 5,5... In einigen seltenen Fällen entspricht ein
Objektreflexivum des Got. einer Medialform des
Griech...
2. Die meisten got. refl. Verba bezeichnen eine
mediale Tätigkeit im weiteren Sinne ein Medioaktivum.
Diese Diathese ist somit bei den meisten Verbindungen
vertreten, die eine griech. Medialform wiedergeben...
und ebenso bei den meisten got. Reflexivverbindungen,
die für eine "Passiv"-Form des Griech. stehen...
3. Selten ist der Fall zu finden, dass ein got.
Reflexivum einen Vorgang oder einen Zustand ausdrückt.
Ein paar Reflexiva bezeichnen psychische Vorgänge:
skänan sik, ga-, idreigon sik, "Reue empfinden."
Bemerkenswert ist, dass das Got. zur Wiedergabe
psychischer Vorgänge jedoch häufiger intr. Verba
gebraucht...
"

Also belonging in this group are such verbs as ataugida sik L 9:8,
and afar dagans saihs ganan Iesus Paitru jah Jakobu jah Iohannen jah
ustauh ins ana faisgun! hauh sundro ainans; jah inmaidida sik in
andwairpja ize, Mc. 9:12.
Hermodsson is also of the opinion that although Wulfila used the reflexive construction to translate Greek passives, it had a medial rather than a passive meaning in Gothic.

**Reflexive Verbs with Impersonal Subjects**

There is a small group of verbs in Gothic which have an impersonal subject:

haban sik — samaleiko þan jah waurstwa goda swikunþa sind jah þoei aljaleikos sik habandona fiðhan ni mahta sind.  
I Tim. 5:25.

fairra haban sik — hairto ize fairra habaþ sik mis.  
Mark 7:6.

gahweilan sik — gahweilaþ sik ana imma gawaiþi izwar.  

atnehwan sik — witeþ þatei atnehwida sik ana izwis þiudangardí gudis.  

qibands þatei usfullnoda þata mel jah atnehwida sik þiudangardí gudis.  
Mark 1:15.

The subjects of the above verbs are abstract nouns, and their use with reflexive verbs is not limited to Gothic. Hermodsson has found that in MHG and OHG "...sind abstrakte Subjekte zu refl. Verben äusserst gewöhnlich, ja sie bilden die Mehrzahl aller Sachsubjekte." 5

In the oldest Latin records, the reflexive verb is used only with personal subjects, and is used later in Classical Latin with impersonal subjects mainly to express personification. For verbs of action or movement, the Indo-European had the transitive and intransitive verbs; the following sentences express the same situation; the intransitive sentence shows the action from the aspect of the impersonal object:

the farmer falls a tree; a tree falls.

agricola caedit arborem; arbor cadit.
In later times the reflexive verb is used more and more often to express personification. Some linguists (Wistrand, Reichenkron) consider the metaphorical usage to be the origin of reflexive verbs with impersonal subjects. In some cases in Gothic e.g. hairto fairra haban sik, the verb depicts human behavior where the heart stands for the whole being (synecdoche).

"Bei den übrigen Subjekten gawairpi (gahveilan sik) Pludangardi gudis (atnehvjan sik) und waurstw (haban sik) kann ebenfalls von naher Beziehung zu einer menschlichen oder persönlichen Sphäre gesprochen werden."

Probably the original use of a reflexive verb plus an impersonal subject was a metaphorical use depicting personification. Later this usage spread analogically and the use of reflexive verbs with impersonal and abstract subjects became more widespread. As a further result the meanings of the reflexive verbs expanded also.

"Eine Bedeutungswandel dieser Art ist in der Semasiologie wohlbekannt und oft bezeugt... Hier ist sofort hinzuzufügen, dass die Bildhaftigkeit nur für die allererste Stufe des Gebrauches des Pron. refl. mit nichtpers. Beziehung anzunehmen wäre. Der metaphorische Charakter der Ausdrucksweise ist recht bald verschwunden und für die spätere, starke Verbreitung der nichtpers. Reflexivverbindungen hat die ursprüngliche Metapher überhaupt keine weitere Rolle gespielt... Die Personifikation wird aber ... nicht an und für sich durch den ganzen Satz in seinem Zusammenhang ausgedrückt. Es können bei Personifizierungen ebensogut andere Verbalformen als die refl. Ausdrucksweise gebraucht werden. Der wichtigste und zahlenmäßig größte Teil der germ. nicht pers. Reflexiva besteht aus Vorgangsreflexiven, die keine Personifizierung ausdrücken."
B. Tamara Buch analyzes the Gothic reflexive verb somewhat differently than Hermodisson does. She feels that in most cases the Gothic reflexive of transitive verbs has a direct reflexive meaning. It is formed by placing the reflexive pronoun in the position occupied by the object of the verb. In this case the reflexive sik denotes the object of the action of the subject. In Gothic most verbs when used with reflexive objects keep the same meaning as when used with other objects.

Both transitive as well as verbs which are otherwise intransitive are found in the Gothic Bible with the accusative reflexive pronoun. It is Tamara Buch's contention that "Die Funktion des refl. Pronomens ist bei den trans. und intrans. Verba verschieden. Die meisten refl. Konstruktionen trans. Verba haben eine direkt-refl. Bedeutung."

1. The following are examples of reflexive verbs which show direct-reflexive meaning:

jah nit sildaleik unte silba Satana gagaleikop sik aggillau liuhadis. II Cor. 11:14.

bidja izwis, brojbris, witup gard Staifanaus patei sindi anastodeins Akaije jah du anbahtja baim weiham gasatidedun sik. I Cor. 10:15.

unte jabai ni huljai sik qiño, skabaidau...
I Cor. 11:6.

2. The second group of verbs differentiated by Buch is the group which designates action taking place "im innern des Menschen." This use of reflexive verbs, Buch feels, is also a direct-reflexive usage because "... der Gebrauch der refl. Konstruktion im Got. deutlich von dem Gebrauch der Verba auf -nan und der intr. Konstruktion desselben Verbs geschieden ist."
a. qab pan ains bize siponje is, Judas Seizonis sa
Iskariotes izei skaftida sik du galewjan ina,
John 12:4,
jah jainai niba gatulqjand sik in ungalaubeinai...
Romans 11:23.
ni ainsun drauhtinonds fraujin dugawindib sik gawaurk-
jam bizos aldais. II Tim. 2:14.
afaru haq pans dagans inkilbo warq Aileisabaiq qens is
jah galaugnida sik menops fimf qibandei... Luke 1:24.
jah gaggands gahaftida sik, sumama bauryjana
ib jabai sa ungalaubjands skaidip sik, skaidai...
1 Cor. 7:15. (see also Luke 9:33, Gal. 2:12).

b. To this group belong the following verbs also although they
are not specifically mentioned by Buchi

jah inemida sik in andwairpja ize. Mark 9:12.
nist mikit jabai andbahtos is gaqailekond sik
swe andbahtos garaihteins. II Cor. 11:15.
unte kunnup anst fraujins unsariss Jesusis Kristaus,
patei in izwara gaunledida sik gabigs wisands.
II Cor. 8:19.
abpan jabai hwas gahrainjai sik bizei... II Tim. 2:21.
ib jabai ni gahabaina sik lugandau. I Cor. 7:9.
ni blandaiq izwai imia, ei gaskanai sik. II Thess. 3:14.
(see also Mark 8:38, II Tim. 1:16, Luke 9:26).
abaj roxida Jesus, jah galaib jah gafahl sik faura im.
John 12:36 (also John 8:59).

paruh stopun skalkos jah andbahtos haurja waurkjandans,
unte kald was, jah warmidedun sik; jah pan was mig
paruh bipe alle gakunnun sik faura ima, paruh-pan
is siiba sunus gakann sik faura bamma ufhnaivjandin
uf ina po alla. I Cor. 15:28.
jah atwairpands pain silubr (ein) am in ah aflaib
jah galejbands ushaihah sik. Math. 27:15.
jah galesun sik du iusa manageins filu. Mark 4:11.
(also Luke 14:37).
sufto auk dupe afgaf sik du hweilai el aiweinama
ina andnimais. Phil. 15.
hwa auk boteib mannan, jabai gageigaib bana faizhwi
allana jah gasleibeib sik saivalai seinai. Mark 8:36.
jah warq, bipe usfulilia Jesus anabrudans pain twaliq
siponjan seinam, ushof sik... Math. 11:1.

Gothic differentiates between meanings where Greek does not
always do so. The constructions with the reflexive in Gothic show
some kind of intent on the part of the subject, whereas the verbs
which are formed with -nan or are intransitive are used when the
subject is either not living or is being forced against its will
into the depicted action. Often the Greek uses a medial form which
does not make this differentiation.

3. Gothic also has a group of verbs "... die in der intr.
Konstruktion direkt-refl. Bedeutung haben können. Im Got. gibt
es auch solche trans. Verba, die die refl. und die intr. Konstruktion
mit direkt-refl. Bedeutung anwenden." 10 This group of verbs is
small and includes wasjan, haftjan, ḅwahan and their compounds.

nih Saulamun in allama wulbaw seinama gawasida

Silba is very often used in apposition to the reflexive
pronoun. It generally follows the reflexive object immediately and
emphasizes the "direkt-reflexiven Charakter der Handlung." 11 It
is also used "wenn die Rückbezüglichkeit der Handlung unerwartet
ist; in solchen Fällen bestätigt silba gleichsam, dass das
Subjekt zugleich Objekt der eigenen Handlung ist." 12

saei will afar mis laistjan, inwidaik sik silban.
Mark 6:34 (also Luke 9:23)
saei saelqy qen frjeb (jah) sik silban frjeb.
Eph. 5:28.
unte ni saei sik silban gaswikukheip, jains ist
gakus@d) s... II Cor. 10:18.
ak sik silban uslausida wlt skalkis nirands, in
galeikja maune waurbans. Thil. 2:17.
biwose saesai gaimjardais afairzei dai waurban
af galaubeonal yas-sik silbans gaihwaumedun
sairam managaim. I Tim. 6:10.
appban gaiusais sik silban manna... I Cor. 11:28.
unte hwaqeh saesai hauheib sik silba gahnjwadas, jah
(also Luke 18:14).
sahwazuh izei piudan sik silban taujip…John 19:12.
gahaunida sik silban. Phil. 2:8.
izei gaf sik silban faur frauaurhtins unsaros.
Gal. 1:4 (also Eph. 5:25, 5:2, 4:19, II Cor. 8:5).

4. Buch considers the reflexive construction of verbs of movement which have a medio-active meaning to be in a class which she calls constructions with 'indirect-reflexive meaning.' To this group belongs **wandjan** (sik), which can appear transitively, with a reflexive or intransitively without a change in meaning:


5. There is another group of verbs in the Gothic Bible which is called the mediopassive. In this group Buch places only the following two verbs: **laisjan** and **ataugjan**.

appan samana jah unwaurstwons laisjand sik
paibrugggan gardins. I Tim 5:13 (also I Tim. 2:11, 5:4)

sumai pan qejunj (patei) Helias ataugida sik.
Luke 9:8 (also I Cor. 15:7,8, Math. 27:53.).

6. The final group of verbs which Buch mentions is that group of intransitive verbs which occur with a reflexive accusative in Gothic. The meanings and the contexts show no differences whether the pronoun is present or not:

jah jabai sijai jainer sumus gawairjīs,
gahweilapi sik ana imma gawairpi izwar.
swepaun ūta witei̇ patei atnehwida sik ana
(also Mark 1:15).
Instead of using parallel verb constructions, when two verbs are called for in the sentence, both having the same subject, one of the verbs is translated in Gothic as a present participle modifying the subject of the sentence. A present participle is also used in forming a "progressive tense". These participial forms express the same ideas as the corresponding finite verb forms. When the participle of a reflexive verb is used, the reflexive pronoun usually follows the participle. The objects of the participles of reflexive verbs, the reflexive pronoun, according to Buch, stand in a direct reflexive relationship to the governing verbal in the following examples:

1. jah sinteino nahtan jah dagam in aurahjom jah in faigunjam was hropjands jah bliggwands sik in staizm. Mark 5:5.
   jah wairpand manannas sik frijondans, faihugairmal... II Tim. 3:2.
   ip Seimon Paltrus was standands jah warmjands sik. John 18:25, (also Mark 14:54),
   sa andstandanda jah ufarhafjands sik ufar all qib-anana gub... II Thess. 2:4.
   unte pai swaleikai galiuga-apaustauleis waurstwjan hindarwsei gaegaleikondans sik du apaustaulum Kristaus. II Cor. 11:13.
   samaleiko jah qinins in safeteinal hrajinjai mip gariud...n jah inahein fetjandeina sik. I Tim. 2:9 (also II Tim. 3:3).
Just as sik in the role of direct object of the main verb can be modified by silba to express emphasis so also is sik found together with silba in the position of object of the participle of a reflexive verb:

sagibands sik silban andabaucht faur allans, 
unte ni gadaursum donjan unsis silbans alppau 
gadonjan unsu þalm sik silbans anafulhandam; ak 
eis in sis silban sik (sik) silbans alrandans 
jah 
gadojandans sik silbans do sis silban ni fr€ Capjand 
II Cor. 10:12.

2. The reflexive verbs which have a medio-passive meaning are seldom found in present participial constructions:

sintelino laisjandona sik jan-ni aiw hwanhu in 
ufkunpja sunjex qiman mahteliga. II Tim. 3:7.

3. Similarly reflexive verbs with medio-active meaning occur seldom in present participial constructions:

ip is gawandjandans sik jah gasiwhands 
þans siponjans seinans and€it Faiu qipands...
Mark 8:13 (also Luke 7:19, 7:25, 7:44, 9:10, 14:25, 
Math. 9:22).

4. There is also only one occurrence of the participial construction of the reflexive of an otherwise intransitive verb of motion:

Wesunup-ban imma nehwi jandans sik allai notarjos 
5. Sik also occurs in another kind of present participial construction. Although sik is also the object of the verb in this construction, this is not exactly the same function it has as the object of the present participle of a reflexive verb. In the above examples sik referred to the same word modified by the adjectival present participle, i.e. the subject of the present participle and the subject of the sentence. In the examples below the present participle modifies a noun other than the subject of the participial phrase. Here sik refers to the subject of the main clause, which is a different word from the subject of the participle governing the phrase in which it occurs.

qabub-pan jah pamma haitandin sik. Luke 14:12,
saei frakann mis jah ni andnimip waurda reina,
habaid pana stojandan sik. John 12:48,
za sana auk frauja allaize gabigs in allans pans
bidjandans sik. Romans 10:12.
įp saei sokeip hauhipa bis sandjandins silk...
John 7:18 (also John 13:16).

II. Sik has other functions in Gothic besides that of the object of reflexive verbs.

1. The following are examples of the accusative reflexive pronoun as the object of certain prepositions:

ana įp Fareisaleis jah witodafastjos runa gudis
fraqedun ana sik ni daupidi fran imza. Luke 7:30,
jah jabai Satana usetop ana sik silban... Mark 3:26.

bi įp hawaiwa nu saiñcip ni witum, aippau hwas uslauk
imma po augona weis ni witum; silba uswaahsana ist,

Paah wait jag-gatrua in fraujin Jesua, patei ni waiht
gawam paim sik silbo, niba pama munandin
(hwa umhrain wisan) pama gamain ist. Romans 14:14.
2. **Sik** also occurs as the object of a preposition in present participial phrases:

**ana**


**bl**

gasaihwands ban Jesus managana hiuhaans bi sik. Math. 8:18.
jah bisaihwands bisunjane pans bi sik sitandans qab... Mark 3:34.

**faur**
domjandans pata patei ains faur allans gaswalt, \( \text{panmu allai gaswiltun jah faur allans gaswalt,} \) e \( \text{ei pai libandans ni panaseipu sis silbaam libaina)} \), ak \( \text{panmu faur sik gaswiltandin jah urreisandin.} \) II Cor. 5:15.

3. **Sik** also occurs as the object of an infinitive complement dependent on a verb:

anparana ganasida, \( \text{i} \)p sik silban ni mag ganasjan. Mark 15:31 (also II Tim. 2:13)

\( \text{i} \)p is wiljands uswauirhtana sik domjan qab du Jesua... Luke 10:29.


4. **Sik** occurs as the object of an infinitive used as a noun, the subject of the sentence, in one instance:


5. **Sik** is also found in accusative with infinitive constructions in the Gothic Bible:

saai in gudaskaunoins wisands ni wuwa rahnida wisan sik galeiko guda. Phil. 2:16.
jabai hwas gatraunai sih silban Xristaus wisan,
bata bagkai atra af sis silbin ei swaswe is
Xristaus swa jah weis. II Cor. 10:7.

ni manna auk in analaugmein hwa taujib jah sokeip

ip baiei us haifstai Xristu merjand, ni swiknaba,
munandans sik aglons urraisin banjom meinaim.
Phil. 1:17.

6. Sik is also found in three instances to refer to a noun
other than the subject of the main verb of the clause:

appan baiei nu liba in leika, in galaubeinai.
liba sunus gudis, bis frijondins sik jah

jah gasaihwandel Paitru warmjandan sik ...
Mark 14:67.

jah afeiipandans insandidedun ferjans, bans
us liutein taiknjandans sik garaihtans wisan.

In each of these instances sik refers to the logical subject of the
present participle governing the phrase in which it stands rather
than to the subject of the main verb in the clause.
Sein-

Sein- is by far the most used of the three reflexive pronouns. The genitive possessive reflexive pronominal adjective is found with antecedents of all genders, singular and plural and modifies nouns in all cases except the nominative. Just as there is no nominative form of the reflexive pronoun, there is no nominative form found for the reflexive pronominal adjective. It is impossible to say whether the original Gothic used sein- or ist in all nominative instances, or if the nature of the documents left in Gothic simply preclude this usage. It is also possible that Gothic under the influence of the Greek discarded this usage. Kiekers felt "Seins kann, weil es got. wie ur germ. nur in reflexiver Bedeutung vorkommt, im Nom. nicht vorkommen." The nominative case, however, also has the function in the sentence of predicate nominative in which case a nominative reflexive form of the adjective could conceivably occur referring back to the subject of the sentence. A sentence of the type "he is his own master" however, does not occur in the Gothic Bible. Therefore, one cannot draw the conclusion that seins could not occur in Gothic or PGmc. merely because it does not occur in the limited material available in Gothic.

In addition to using a possessive pronominal adjective to express possession, the Goth could also use the adjective swes, which is roughly equivalent to German eiser- in function, use and meaning, e.g. jah bo svesona lamba hait ip bi namin... John 10:3.
The types of words sein- modifies can be divided into five
categories.

1. The most numerous type of noun modified by sein- are nouns
naming people where the possessive adjective shows some kind of rela-
tionship between the modified noun and the subject of the sentence.

   a. The first sub-group in this category of people nouns are
those nouns which designate familial relationship:

   qenes seinaim abnam ushausjaina swaswe fraujin.
   Eph. 5:22 (also Mark 10:12, 1 Cor.7:11, Eph. 5:24).
   sahwazoh saei afletip qen seinai jah huqalp
   anbara, horinob du pijai. Mark 10:11 (also Luke
   16:18, Eph. 5:28).
   (also Mark 1:20, 7:10-12).
   jah atbar ūta haubib is ana resa...jah atgas ita
   abeijn seinai. Mark 6:28 (also Luke 1:15, 7:12,
   Mark 6:24, 10:17).
   jah ūta qipandei galip jah wopida Marjan, swistar
   seinai...John 11:28.
   ei nima brobar is po qen is jah ussatjai barna
   brobr seinamma. Mark 12:19 (also Luke 20:20, 20:
   5:17, I Thess. 4:6).
   insandida gub ahran sunaus seinis. Gal. 4:16 (also Luke
   2:7, Romans 8:13, Eph. 1:6, Gal. 4:14, Col. 1:13)
   lē skalkinob mēb seinaim barnam. Gal. 4:25

   b. The second sub-group of nouns in this category designate
relationships other than familial with the subject:

   ūphēigs frauja gub Israelis unte gawcsoda
   jah gawaurtha ualausein zanagein seinai. Luke
   1:68 (also Luke 7:16)
   lē gub nlu gawrikai ūna gawaldans seinans. Luke
   18:17 (also Mark 13:27).
   gamelid 1st atuk ūtai aggilum seinaim znabludib
   bi ṣuk du gafastan ṣuk. Luke 4:10 (also Mark 13:27)
   ūna qimip ushausman in ṣai welaam seinaim. II Thess.
   1:10 (also I Thess. 3:13).
   qab ūna sa atta du skalkam seinaim. Luke 15:22 (also
   ūnaqab qab pomas saei haitada Didius ūna
   maizein pijai fiaqwal saana ni habalp, ei hwas
2. The second largest category of nouns linked to the subject by the possessive modifier is made up of those nouns which designate parts of the person,

a. The first group in this category are the nouns which designate body parts:

wasub-pan Johannes gawasiphe taglam ulbandaus jah gairda filleina bi hup seinana... Mark 1:16.
jah bischwarh bei ina gafahip gawirip ina, jah hwahjip jah kriusjip tunßuns seinans... Mark 9:18.
jah afinamands ina af manegein sundro, lagida figgrens seinans in ausona imma... Mark 7:33.
jp si tagram seinaim garaatida seinans fotuns jah skufita seinana biswarb. Luke 7:44 (also John 11:2, 12:3).
b. The following nouns also refer to parts of the person or the personality but are different from the concrete body parts. These nouns are abstract nouns and are associated with the more ethereal aspects of the person.

In Icelandic:

Það nu í nílons ni haband bi frávurtht seinan, John 15:22 (also Mark 1:5, 1 Thess. 2:16),
soh framaldra dage nanagalze libandei mip abin jera sibun fram magabein seinai. Luke 2:36,
ei ataugjai in ald(a)la þaum anagaggandelm ufarassu gabeins anstails seinaiços in seinin bi uns in Xristau Jesu. Eph. 2:17 (also Eph. 1:6),
du þanmei jah bidjau sinteino bi izwis ei izwis wairþans briggaþ bízos labonais gub unsar jah fulljai alla leikain þiþeinais seinaiços. II Thess. 1:11,
unkunnandans auk gudis garaihtein jah seiña garaihtein sokjandans stiurjón, garaihtein gudis ni ufhusidéndun. Romans 10:3,
hwas izwara maurnanda mag anaaukan ana wahstu seinana aleina aina? Math. 6:27,
seel fram sia sibin rodeip, hauhiba seinan sokeip. John 7:18,
qibuh þan izwis patei nið Saulaucon in allamma wulbau seinanma ðawasida sik suo ains þíze. Math. 6:29 (also Luke 9:26, Romans 9:23, Phil. 1:31,)
wairþip mel þan haila laisein ni usþuland, ak du seiñaí lustum gadjragand sis laisajans, supjandans haisein. II Tim. 4:13,
fraléwändans, untilalamskaí ufbuuldíad frijondans wiljan seinana más þau gub. II Tim. 3:4 (also Eph. 1:2, 1:15, 1:19),
þabpan guda awiluiþ þamma sinteino ustalknjandin hrobelgans uns in Xristau jah daun kunþus seinis gaihrtjandin þain um uns in allaim stadim. II Cor. 2:14,
Pata nu qíba jah weitwojda in frajujín, ei þanaseipns ni gaggjip, swaswe jah anbaros þiudos gaggand in uswissjá hugis seinis. Eph. 4:17,
jah suns ufkuunundas Jesus ahmin seinanma patei swa þai mitodedun sis, qab du im. Mark 2:8 (also Mark 8:12, Eph. 3:15, 1 Thess. 4:8),
3. Another important category of nouns that is linked to the subject by the possessive reflexive pronominal adjective consists of those nouns which refer to places of living:

jah digunnum bidjan ina galeibern hindar markos seino, Mark 5:17.
(also Mark 6:14).
Jah uasstej jainpro jah qam in landa seinama, Mark 6:1.
saei lapoda izwis du seinai piudangardi jah mulbau.
I Thess. 2:12.
saei gatimrda razn sein ana staina, Math. 7:24.
(also Math. 7:26)
jah urrvisands galapi in gani seinana, Math. 9:7.

4. The fourth category of nouns consists of those nouns which refer to age and time:

jah waurpans days gatils, pan Herodis mela gabaurpals seinaitos nahtamat waurhta... Mark 6:21.
jah sai, Aileisarai pibjo peina, jah so inkilpo sunau in aldemin seinama, Luke 1:36.

5. The final category of nouns modified by sein- is that which probably most often springs to mind upon the mention of a possessive pronominal adjective, that is nouns which designate belongings and
possessions where the possessive designates ownership.

a. The following examples in this category are concrete nouns:

jah qap sa juhiza ise du attin, atta gif mis,
sei undrinnaik dail aiginie, jah disdallida
jah nanag gaplulandei fram nanagaim lekjam jah
fruqimantei allama seinama, Mark 5:26.
jah Johanna, gens Kusins, fauraggjins Herodes, jah
Susanna jah anparos managos, pozei andbahtedubun
baimuh. svalikeaim anabudam jah bidjam in fraujin
Jesua Kristau, ei mib rimisa waarkjandans seinina
blaif matjaina, II Thess. 3:12.
managi ban wastjou seinaim strawidewun ana wiga, Mark 11:8.
urrann salands du saitan fraiwa seinama. Luke 8:5
(also Mark 4:3).
jah suns afletandans po natja seinae laistidewun afar
jah hairdjouJessun in pamaie samain landa, pairhwaikandans
bijdip nu fraujin asanais ei ussandjai waurstwjuans in
habands winpiskauroin in handau seinai jah gahrainjep gahrapk
jah galagida ita in niujama seinama hlaiwa... Math. 27:60.
jah saei ni nimip galgan seinana jah laistjai afar mis, mist
em witi hvarjizuh izwarai gastedan sein kas (used
figuratively) in wehipai jah sweripai. I Thess. 4:4.

b. The following nouns also fall into the category of belongings;
they are, however, abstract nouns or nouns which designate intangibles
and the ownership designated by the possessive is somewhat removed:

andemnum wizdon seinai. Math. 6:2 (also Math.
bugkelp im auk ei in filuwaurecin seinai andhausjainda.
Math. 6:7 (also Luke 7:1, Titus 1:3).
(also Mark 4:2).
biq naqjandins uns jah labondins uns laponai weihai,
i bi waursuwam unsarim, ak bi seinai leikainai
jah anstai, II Tim. 1:9.
abpan hvarjizuh in seinai tewai. I Cor. 15:23.
jah galaip inn bi biuhtja seinama in daga
sabbato in swanogein... Luke 4:16.
tau jan armahartipa bi attam unsaraim jah
i pata barn wohs jah swinbndo aham jah was ana
aubidum und dag ustakneinai seinaizos du Israela.

Sein- usually follows the noun it modifies. If there is a
double object to be modified by sein-, it is handled in one of
two ways. Either both nouns are modified separately by sein-
with the respective, proper endings or sein- is found with only
the first:

saai ubil qipai attin seinamma aipbau aipbein
seinai daubau afdaupjaidad. Mark 7:10.

jabai qipai manna attin seinamma aipbau aipbein.
Mark 7:11.

jah weitwojandans du gaggan izwis wairbaba
gudis saei laboda izwis du seinai piaudangardjal
jah wulpau. 1 Thess. 2:12.

Sein- can also be found together with silb-. Silb- always
follows sein- whether sein- precedes or follows the noun which is
being modified:

i p wauratw sein silbins keusai hwarjizuh...
Gal. 6:14.

jabai hwaa gaggip du mis jah ni fiijaip attan
seinana jah aipein jah gen jah barna jah brophuns
jah swistruns, nauhu-p-pan seinai silbins saiwalu,

Antecedents
A. Although sein- occurs most often in the Gothic Bible with a
masculine (either singular or plural) antecedent, there are instances
where it refers either to a common plural or a feminine subject.
Sein- does not show the gender of the antecedent, only the case,
number and gender of the word being modified. Because of the nature of
the material, however, there are only a limited number of occurrences of the possessive pronominal adjective referring to a feminine subject. Most often the words modified in this instance are nouns designating familial relationships, body parts, and home.

jah jabai qino afelemb aban seinana...Mark 10:12 (also John 11:28, Luke 2:7, Mark 6:24, 6:28, I Cor. 7:11, Eph. 5:22, 5:24, Gal. 4:125)

B. In the following example sein- refers to a masculine and feminine plural subject and modifies a time-noun:

jah ni was im barno unte was Aileisabaib stairo jah ba framuldra dage seinaiize wesun. Luke 1:7.

C. However, there are a few occurrences where sein- referring to a feminine subject modifies a word designating possession:

jah manag gabulandei fraa managaim lekjam jah fraqimandei allama seinama. Mark 5:26 (also Luke 8:13, 8:43).

D. There are also several examples where the antecedent of sein- is not a person.

1) Where sein- refers to another living thing:

appan og, ibai aufto swaswe waurns Aiwian usltdo filludiseinai. II Cor. 11:3.
us pamai all leik gagatilop (jah) gagahatip baich allos gawissins anstaldis bi waurstwa in mitab ana ainkwarjoh fero, uswahst leikis taujib du tiareinai seinai in frijapwai. Eph. 4:16.

2) Where sein- refers to an inanimate object:


3) Where sein- refers to an abstract noun:
Functions of nouns modified by sein-

A. The majority of occurrences of sein- are in clauses, that is constructions with finite verbs. The possessive pronominal adjective can modify nouns in any of their functions in the sentence with the exception of that of subject.

1) As a direct object:

2) As the object of a preposition:
   jah galaib sunsaiw in skip mib siponjam seinaim.
   Mark 8:10.

3) As an indirect object:
   jah so mawi atgaf ita alpein seinai. Mark 6:28.

4) As a dative object of a verb:
   ibai afskauf gup arbja seinamma. Romans 11:1.

5) As a dative of comparison:

6) As a dative of means:
   jah biswarb fotuns is skufta seinamma. John 12:3.

7) As a possessive genitive:

8) As a partitive genitive:
9) As a genitive dependent on an adjective:


10) As a genitive object of a verb:


B. In addition to modifying is also found in infinitive phrases.

kannjan unsis runa wiljins seinis bi wiljin.
Eph. 1:9.

ip jabai hwas seinamama garda fauragaggan ni
mag. I Tim. 3:15.
saei allis will saiwała seiuna ganasjan. Mark 8:35.
taujan armahairtipa bi attam unsarain jah
nurrann saianda du salan fraiwa seinamama. Luke 8:5
(also Mark 4:3).
jah garunun hiuhans managai hausjon jah
jah auk sunus nana ni qam at anbahtjam, ak
anbahtjam jah giban saiwała sei... Mark 10:45.
jah dugunun bidjan ina galoipan hindar markos
seinos. Mark 5:17.
jah sai, qam wair pizei nami Jacirus, sah
faurampleisis swanogalis was, jah drilusands
faura fotum Jesuis, bad ina gaggan in gard

C. Sein- can also occur in participial phrases modifying
nouns having similar functions to those in clauses with finite
verbs:

1) As an accusative object of the present participle:

athaitands pan tahuin skalkans seinans... Luke
Mark 1:5, 1:18, 1:20, 1:41, 14:63, Romans 8:3,
II Tim. 3:14)

2) As a dative object of the present participle:

seinamama ganda waila fauragaggans... I Tim. 3:14.
(also Mark 2:8, 8:12, 10:50, Phil. 2:30,
I Tim. 3:12.)
3) As a genitive:

jah athaitands ainjwarjanoh faihuskulane fraujins seinis... Luke 16:5 (also Eph. 1:11, 4:18, Col. 2:18)

4) As the object of a preposition:

jah galagidedun allai pai hausjandans in hairtin seinamma... Luke 11:66 (also Math. 11:2, Luke 2:8, Mark 8:23.)

5) As the object of an infinitive dependent on the present participle governing the phrase:

unkunnandans auk gudis garaihtein jah seina garaihtein sokjandans stiurjan... Rom. 10:13.
mib ranaga usbloteinai bidjandans uns niman anst seina... II Cor. 8:4.
warjandans uns du piudom rodjan ei ganisaina, akei du usfulljan seinos frauaurhtins sinteino.
I Thess. 2:16.

Other uses of sein-

A. The possessive reflexive adjective can also stand alone with the modified noun ellipted:

ni po seina hwarjizuh mitondans, ak jah po anparaize hwarjizuh. Phil 2:14.

ni ainshun sein sokjai, ak anparis hwarjizuh.
I Cor. 10:24.
sai=qimib hweila jah nu qam, ei distahjada hwarjizuh du seinair... John 16:12.

B. There are several instances in the Gothic Bible where sein-

refers to a noun other than the subject of the sentence.

1. appan guda awiliub bamma sinteino ustaiknjandin hropeigans uns in Xristau jah daun kunbjis seinis gabihihtjandin paih uns in allaim stadm. II Cor. 2:14.

2. jah ni fraletiub ina ni waiht taujan attin seinamma aippau ai plein seinai. Mark 7:12.


3. jah usagagandin imma jainbro mip siponjam seinaim
jah managein ganohai, sunus Teimalius Bartemalaius
blinda sat faur wig du aihtron. Mark 10:46.

at wenjandein ban allai managein jah pagkjadam
allaim in hairtam seinaim bi Johannein, niu

In the first example the possessive reflexive pronoun refers to the
logical subject of the participle. In the next three examples
sein- refers to the logical subject of the infinitive which governs
the phrase in which it is found rather than the grammatical
subject of the sentence. In the last two examples the reflexive
possessive is found in dative absolute phrases and refers to the
noun or pronoun which is the logical subject of the governing present
participle of the absolute phrase rather than the grammatical subject
of the main verb of the sentence.

Seina, The Genitive Case of the Reflexive Pronoun Declension

There is only one instance in the Gothic Bible where seina
serves a function other than the possessive reflexive adjective:
galeikai sind barman baim in garsnai sitandam
jah wopjaniam seina misso... Luke 7:32.

Here it functions in the genitive case of the declension of the
reflexive and is the plural object of the present participle of
the verb wopjan. It refers to barman baim rather than the subject
'they' which is ellipted but implicit in the verb and has the
function of showing reciprocal meaning together with the adverb misso.
The reflexive pronoun is usually an unstressed member of the sentence as are other pronominal objects. Most object pronouns follow the verb and generally that is the case with the reflexive pronominal objects. However, it is not always the case and the exceptions must be noted. In the case of transposition or inversion the reflexive pronoun precedes the verb, perhaps because in that case the normal position following the verb is one of too great emphasis. 14

Fourquet has examined the placement of the pronoun in Gothic with respect to the nominal complements in the sentence. If there are nominal complements in the sentence, and if they follow the verb, the pronoun is placed between the verb and its complements.

"en oncle neutre, le pronom-object suivait immédiatement le verbe, s'il n'y avait pas d'autre compléments. Sinon, il se plaçait entre le verbe et les compléments." 15

If the nominal complements precede the verb, the pronoun also precedes the verb and takes the position immediately preceding the verb.

"Le pronom apparaît ainsi non comme un 'mot de phrase' mais comme une annexe du verbe, qui fait partie du 'groupe verbal.' Sa place n'est pas déterminée mais dépend de la position des autres déterminations du verbe: il est après si elles sont après, avant si elles sont avant. S'il n'y en a pas, l'ordre neutre serait verbe-pronom." 16

In the case of infinitive phrases

"le pronom à la fois complément d'un verbe personnel et 'sujet' d'un infinitif. Il en résulte des flottements. Le pronom peut être en tête de cette 'proposition' mais aussi à l'intérieur,
selon la règle générale."

A prepositional phrase can either precede or follow a verb under the same conditions as a nominal complement. The pronominal object follows the preposition.

The positioning of the reflexive pronoun as stated above generally follows the rules of placement for all pronominal objects. Nevertheless, Fourquet finds the placement of this pronoun as opposed to pronouns in general of particular interest, because it points out a fact about Old Germanic word order.

"la comparaison s'impose avec le réfléchi - passif du scandinave: kallask < kalla sik. La phonétique de ces contractions en scandinave, les nivelllements analogiques montrent qu'il s'agit d'un fait ancien, non d'une formation récente qui remonterait seulement à l'époque où le verbe s'est fixé à la seconde place, ce qui a rejeté les pronoms après lui; aussi bien à la date des textes poétiques, le pronom restait avant le verbe dans la subordonnée. On ne peut comparer cette formation à all. mod. er legt sich. (mais wenn er sich legt).

L'accord de ces deux rameaux du germanique montre qu'à date ancienne, le pronom personnel objet n'était pas 'particule de phrase,' et n'obéissant pas à la loi de Wackernagel.

Il n'y a pas lieu de s'en étonner, puisque les pronoms du germanique correspondent aux formes autonomes, toniques, de l'allemand, non aux formes 'accessoires,' atones, qui relèvent de la loi de Wackernagel. Le pronom réfléchi, qui formait avec le verbe une 'location' est invariablement fixé à la suite du verbe."

Furthermore, Fourquet concludes that pronouns are, because of their meaning and function, not part of the verbal group and are not an

"élément de composition puisque c'est une forme vide. Seul le réfléchi peut avoir exceptionnellement un sens plein comme dans lat. suí-cidium. On a un exemple correspondant en gotique dans sik friondans. (t III.2)."
When the reflexive pronoun takes on the function of indirect object, it generally follows the verb and if the direct object follows the verb, it is placed after the reflexive indirect object. When the direct object precedes the verb, it has no effect on the position of the reflexive pronominal object. There was only one example of the verb being transposed to final position. (bai auk waila andbahtjandans grid goda sis fairwaurkjand... I Tim. 3:13.) In this example the direct object preceded the indirect object reflexive pronoun which immediately preceded the verb.

The possessive reflexive pronominal adjective generally follows the noun it modifies. This is also the case with the other possessive pronominal adjectives as well. If the possessive reflexive pronominal adjective precedes the noun, this indicates emphasis or stress and has roughly the meaning "his own". As stated earlier, when silb- is found modifying the noun, it is placed directly after sein- whether sein- precedes or follows the noun it modifies. If the group sein--silb- precedes the noun, the expression has increased emphasis and the meaning is roughly "his very own".
Analysis and Discussion

As can be seen from the data presented on the preceding pages, the general rule for the reflexive pronoun can be stated as follows: The reflexive pronoun is used when the antecedent is the subject of the main verb of the clause in the third person singular or plural. And there are two corollaries to this rule which can be stated as follows: 1) When a pronoun is used to refer to the subject of the main clause, and that subject is in the third person, a reflexive pronoun is used; and 2) When the antecedent for the pronoun is a noun other than the subject of the main verb of the clause, the anaphorical pronoun is used.

There are two major exceptions to this rule and its corollaries. The first exception involves present participial phrases and can be expressed as follows: If there is a present participial phrase embedded in the sentence the pronouns within that phrase which refer to the logical subject of the present participle will be reflexive pronouns.

The second major exception to this rule involves infinitives, which are not found as often as present participles in Gothic. If there is an infinitive phrase embedded in the sentence, the pronouns used to refer to the logical subject of the infinitive will be reflexive pronouns.

These circumstances could easily lead to confusion. In the sentence, *gasaihwandel Païtru warmjan* dan *sik*, taken out of context, the *sik* could potentially refer to 'her', the subject of *saihwan*, or to Peter, the logical subject of *warmjan*. It is, therefore, not
surprising that these latter two rules which could lead to this
type of confusion were lost in later stages of the languages derived
from Proto-Germanic.

As we have seen, the rules governing the use and function of
the reflexive pronoun in Gothic are quite rigid. The use of reflexive
pronouns and anaphorical pronouns are in direct contrast as stated
above in the general rules governing reflexive pronouns.

In the lexicon of the grammar the reflexive pronoun must
be defined:

se, +Pron., III, +refl., Ø gender, Ø number

In a more complete grammar Case would be defined in detail.
Here it will not be discussed further except to point out the case
marking rule:

\[
\left\{ \begin{array}{c}
V \\
\text{Prep.}
\end{array} \right. \quad \text{Pronoun} = \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
V \\
\text{Prep.}
\end{array} \right. \quad \text{Pronoun} \sim k
\]

where \( V \) stands for verb, \( \text{Prep.} \) for preposition and \( k \) for case.

In order to explain the differences between the following
sentences it is necessary to develop the rules for reflexivization
as they occur in Gothic:

\( \text{pel m} \text{ip} \text{ im 1st brupfaps. Math. 9:15.} \)

\( \text{niba ainana hlafi ni habaidedun m} \text{i} \text{p sis in skipa. Mark 8:14.} \)

\( \text{jah pahtedun m} \text{i} \text{p sis misso. Mark 8:16.} \)

The general rule must state that a nominal which repeats the
subject of the main verb of the clause must be replaced by a pronoun
of the se-declension.
\[ X = \text{Nom} + k_0 \quad Y = \text{Nom'} + k_1 \quad Z = X = \text{Nom} + k_0 \quad Y = \text{se} + k_1 \quad Z \]

\( X, Y, Z \) are cover symbols which stand for strings which are irrelevant to the transformation under discussion. \( \text{Nom} \) and \( \text{Nom'} \) are nominals. \( Y \) cannot contain a subordinating conjunction. Furthermore, \( \text{Nom'} \) exactly repeats \( \text{Nom} + k_0 \) in every way except for case marking. \( k \) stands for case, where \( k_0 = \text{nominative}, k_1 = \text{accusative}, k_2 = \text{dative}, k_3 = \text{genitive}, k_4 = \text{unspecified, oblique case} \).

This rule is obligatory in Gothic and without exception. (This is not the case in English: The boy had the ball with him. But not *The boy had the ball with himself. cf. The boy was at peace with himself. But not the boy was at peace with him ("meaning the same boy").)

The rules must be ordered such that the rule for Passive precedes the rule for Reflexivization. Furthermore, the reflexivization rule would precede the rules for anaphorical pronominalization which would not always be obligatory and would probably in some way be dependent on the amount of repetition allowed, based to some extent on style.
Reflexive Verbs

There are three groups of verbs which are found with reflexive objects in Gothic. The first group includes the "echte reflexive Verben" also called "obligatorisch reflexive Verben", those verbs which are always found with a reflexive object. The second group consists of the "partireflexive Verben" or "fakultativ reflexive Verben," those verbs which are transitive and can occur with a reflexive object or another object. The third group consists of those verbs which are intransitive usually, but are found in Gothic with a reflexive pronoun object.

All verbs in the first group will be those verbs which have undergone "an obligatory transformation which inserts a replica of the subject after the verb, and this obligatory 'object' is then pronominalized in the usual way: being part of the same simplex as its subject, which it repeats, it yields the appropriate reflexive pronoun. The obligatory insertion of the reflexivizable object follows, in the grammar, the optional rules for WH-questions and, hence, these objects are not questionable like regular verbal objects." 20

In this group of verbs the following verbs would be found:

blandan sik, anadrigkan sik, afhaban sik, ufarhafjan sik, ushahan sik, andhamon sik, skaftjan sik, gaskanan sik, andpajgkan sik, afgiban sik.

The second group of verbs are transitive verbs which have a reflexive pronoun inserted when the action of the verb is by chance directed towards the subject, although this action could just as easily be directed at another object. When the action is directed toward the subject, i.e., when the subject is repeated in the objective case as the object of one of these verbs, it becomes subject to the reflexivization
rule. These verbs can also occur with the reflexive pronoun ellipted.
The following verbs are included in this group:
afaikan, ataugjan, ba'irhtjan, bliggwan, donjan, fastan, fetjian, ana-, gafilhan, fragan, fraisan, frijon, draibjan, giban, gahaban, hailjan, haftjan, ushafjan, gahamon, at-, ushauhjan, ga-, haunjan, gahnaiwjan, hrainjan, huljan, gahweilan, ga-, uskannjan, kausjan, gakiusan, galaugnjan, uslausjan, galeikan, galisan, inzaidjan, merjan, nasjan, laisjan, ga-, andsaihwjan, gasandjan, at-, ga-, ussatjan, af-, skaidan, gaskeipjan, uusskarjan, uossokjan, gaswikutjan, inswipjan, uslaiknjan, gatulgjan, uspanjan, gahbarban, gahiwan, pra'fstjan, propjan, dwahan, inwagjan, gawandjan, warmjan, wasjan, weihan, gawrikjan.

The verbs in the third group are usually intransitive, but they occur with **mik** in Gothic with no change in meaning. There must have been an optional transformation which inserted a replica of the subject after the verb which was pronominalized in the usual way. The following intransitive verbs are found with reflexive pronoun objects in Gothic: gagaggan, gahweilan, idreigon, atnehwan, gai'man, gahbarban.

The reciprocal use of the reflexive pronoun

In Gothic reciprocity is expressed by the reflexive pronoun plus **misco**. An example of the reciprocal in Gothic is the following sentence:


There are several restrictions on the use of the reflexive pronoun plus **misco** to give a reciprocal meaning: The subject must be plural and the object must repeat the subject, that is, it must be identical with the subject in order to permit the use of **mico**. In addition, the verb must express the type of action which permits one subject of
the plural subject to act upon another subject and vice versa. The following diagram shows the difference between reciprocal action and reflexive action:

\[
\begin{align*}
A & \iff B \quad \text{reciprocal} \\
A & \leftrightarrow B \quad \text{plural reflexive}
\end{align*}
\]

The sentence, jah warmedun silk. John 18:18 is of the second type; they warmed themselves, that is, each individual warmed himself and there were more than one engaged in this activity.

Reciprocal action requires that one perform the activity to or with respect to another. In Gothic this reciprocal action is made clear by the use of *misso*, meaning "alternately" or "in turn".

The reciprocal construction is understood as the reduction of two sentences of the type Child (A) calls child (B) ((and)) child (B) calls child (A). By joining these two underlying strings the following string is derived: Child (A) and child(B) call child (A) and child (B). Since in this case "child (A) and child(B)" are both singular, of the same nominal, and have the same roles in the sentence, they are expressed as a single plural noun and the verb is also expressed in the plural according to the rules of concord: (the) children (A&B) call (the) children (A&B), i.e., A vb. B & B vb. A = (A + B) vb. +pl.+recip. (A + B).

"it seems that the best course is to extend the conjunction rules to permit conjoining the members of reciprocal pairs in (this) way and then have only one reciprocal pronominalization rule afterward," 21

Therefore, in addition to the rule for reflexivization there is another rule to form the reciprocal construction:

\[
X - \text{Nom} + k_0 + \text{Pl} - Y - \text{Nom'} + k_1 + \text{Pl} - Z = X - \text{Nom} + k_0 + \text{Pl} - Y - \text{se} + k_1 + \text{Recip.} - Z
\]
Where Nom = Nom', Y does not contain a subordinating conjunction and Nom is a noun and Pl stands for the plural morpheme and Recip, is the reciprocal morpheme, in this case *maeso*. The group *sek* + Recip, however, can also yield *anbar anparis* in Gothic:

```
Galeik ist barnam sitandam in garunsim jah wopjandam
    anbar anparis. Math. 11:16.
```

The reciprocal construction in Gothic is subject to the constraint that it be formed from sentences conjoined in the manner described above. The lexicon must specify the types of verbs which can yield these types of construction. Furthermore, the lexicon will specify another type of reciprocal construction, types b and c below.

"Es handelt sich grundsätzlich um inhaltlich zwei- oder mehrwertige Verben, die in mehrere Gruppen unterteilt werden.

a) schlagen, grüßen, helfen usw.

Es handelt sich um Verben, die nach Naes und Bierwisch asymmetrische Relationen zwischen den Klassen von Ergänzungen darstellen.

Der Terminus *asymetrisch* bedeutet, daß bei Umkehrung der Ergänzungsbestimmungen (Konversion) ein semantisch von dem Ausgangssatz abweichender Satz entsteht: so ist A schlägt B nicht synonim zu setzen mit B schlägt A. Das gleiche gilt für grüßen, helfen, bestellen usw.

Soweit diese Verben passivfähig sind, kann ein synonimer Satz mit Umkehrung der Ergänzungsbestimmungen nur mithilfe des grammatischen Passivs (Konverse mit Konversion) erzeugt werden:

A grüßt B ist synonim B wird von A gegrüßt.

Die reciproke Konstruktion ist in diesem Fall als Kopplung zweier Sätze interpretierbar:

```
A schlägt B

A und B schlagen sich
```

B schlägt A
Aufgrund der oben angeführten distributionellen kriterien können wir die Ambiguität in A und B schlagen sich unerörtert lassen, da die Konstruktion z.B. durch Fakultative Erweiterung (A und B schlagen sich gegenseitig) leicht explizit zu machen ist. Auch ist diese Ambiguität bei irreflexiven Verben wie begrüßen, umarmen, küssen usw. ausgeschlossen und damit auf partireflexive Verbe beschränkt.

b) Ähneln, gleichen, treffen usw.

c) sich vergleichen mit, sich treffen mit sich einigen mit usw.
Dies sind reflexive Verben, die symmetrische Relationen bezeichnen. Sie verhalten sich aber bei einem durch Junktions verbundenen Subjekt im Plural (A und B einigen sich untereinander/ miteinander) ebenso wie die Klassen a) und b)." 22

The Possessive

In the grammar of the Gothic language there must also be a rule which will substitute the possessive reflexive pronominal adjective sein- for a noun in the genitive case which repeats the subject of the sentence in the third person and which indicates possession of another noun. This rule is again a substitution rule or a recovery rule and follows the rules for the derivation of the possessive genitive.
\[ X = \text{Nom} + k_0 \quad Y = \text{Nom}' + k_1 \quad \text{Nom}'' + k_3 = Z \]

Where \( \text{Nom} = \text{Nom}' \)

A more complete grammar would include transformations replacing \( k_0, k_1, \text{etc.} \) with phonologically appropriate segments.

**Constituent Structures**

By the above rules the reflexive pronoun can be accounted for:

Paitrus ... was ... warmjandans sik. Mark 14:54.

The diagram represents the Phrase-Marker for the above sentence:

```
   S
  /   \
NP   Predicate Phrase
     /   \   \
   Paitrus Aux     VP
       /   \   / \
   past   V   NP
     /   \
   warmjan Paitrus
```

After various operations including those discussed above are performed, the correct surface structure will be derived and the second occurrence of Paitrus will have been replaced by sik. This string can serve as a constituent structure in another sentence string. Below the verb is in the present participial form and the entire phrase is a present participial phrase:

The diagram of the Phrase-Marker for this sentence is below:

```
S
   NP  Predicate Phrase
       andbahts
     Aux    VP
       past  saihwan
```

The operation of reflexivization is an obligatory transformation which is applied cyclically to the constituent sentence (lower branch) first. This rule will allow for the generation of sentences of the type in Mark 14:67. jah gasaihwandel Paitrus warmjandan sik.

Transformational rules would delete the second occurrence of Paitrus and render the verb in the present participial form which would give the surface structure in the sentence above.

There is, furthermore, no rule in Gothic which requires that the sik be deleted and replaced by an anaphorical pronoun, even though it no longer refers to the grammatical subject of the main verb of the sentence.

The rule for reflexivization applies to the lower branch first and then to the matrix sentence. As a result nouns in the constituent
string which repeated the subject of the matrix sentence would be replaced by the appropriate reflexive pronoun of the se- declension.

The diagram below is a Phrase Marker for the following sentence:


When these two strings are joined, the following string is derived:

Jesus qāḇ baim Judaism #Judaeis galaubjand Jesus#

The subject noun, Jesus, is found to be repeated in the constituent sentence by the application of the obligatory rule governing reflexivization in the constituent string with respect to the subject of the matrix sentence it is replaced by seeq in this case sis. To obtain the correct surface structure, the subject, Judaeis, is deleted (since it repeats the object in the matrix sentence and is, therefore, redundant) and operations are performed on the verb to render it in the present participial form with correct endings and placement in the string.
The same operation as described above for reflexivization in present participial phrases is performed in infinitive constructions. Since there is no indirect reflection in Gothic, these rules must have the constraint that they do not apply in subordinate clauses. That is they do not apply if there is a subordinate conjunction in $Y$.

Other Operations Involving the Reflexive Pronoun

The discussion below will concern itself with two other operations which also involve phrases which include reflexive pronouns. Unfortunately there are very few examples available and, therefore, the conclusions are based on only a minimum of evidence.

Adjecitivization

In the following sentence, the reflexive pronoun is dependent on an adjective:

$$\text{ainana sunu algands liubana sis insandida jah pana du im Mark 12:16.}$$

This sentence is derived from several underlying strings:

1. (a) man had (a) son.
2. the son was dear to the man.
3. (the) man sent (the) son to them.

Because Gothic prefers a subordinate participial construction to a coordinate, parallel construction, the first part of the sentence is rendered as a participial phrase. The adjective phrase is found within the participial construction, and, therefore, the third string is irrelevant to the discussion here. In the first two strings
listed above 'the son' is repeated for each of the two strings. In joining these two strings, in order to obtain the correct surface structure of the above sentence, one occurrence of 'the son' is deleted by transformational rules. One of the functions of transformational rules is to reduce redundancy in complex sentences by the deletion of unnecessary repetitions of the same item. In this case the second occurrence of 'the son' is deleted. The following course is indicative of the process of the rules which operate on this sentence:

1. manna aih sunu. sunus ist mann liuf.
2. manna aih sunu, #sunus ist mann liufs#

The string is placed in the appropriate position by a transformational rule.

3. manna aih sunu, ist mann liufs.
One redundant occurrence is deleted.

4. manna aih sunu saei ist mann liufs.
A relative pronoun is inserted in the correct place.

5. manna aih sunu mann liufs.
Further reduction results in the deletion of the irrelevant parts of the constituent string.

6. manna aih sunu liubana mann.
Finally the adjective is shifted to the correct position in the new string and given the appropriate ending. And since the subject is repeated in the adjective modifier, it must be replaced by a reflexive pronoun.
Nominalizations

Nominalization is a process which renders a string a nominal form which can be used within another string as a NP. In Gothic complete clauses (often beginning with saei) and infinitive phrases can often serve as NP's. The use of the reflexive pronoun in infinitive phrases and in complete clauses with finite verbs has been discussed above.

There is, however, another kind of nominalization productive in Gothic. This was the derivation of nouns from verbal roots. Gothic could produce nominal forms by adding any of several suffixes to verbal roots. Similar to English -tion, -ment, -ing, -ence, -ity, etc., and German -ung, Gothic had -opu-, -ubni, -pha, -eini- for this purpose.

A NP is derived by the nominalization process from some underlying string. The nominalization process associated with the types of suffixes listed above results in so-called action nominals or abstract nominals. In the sentence below there are several constituent constructions, but the discussion here will center around the least obvious such construction, the last one.

ib jabai þugkelþ hwas hwa wisan, ni waikt wisands sis silbin frapjamarzeins ist. Cal. 6:3.

The word, frapjamarzeins, is such an action nominal and is the NP in the above sentence in the phrase in which it occurs and is derived from the string:

hwas frapjamarzib sis silbin.
(this verb as such does not occur in the Gothic Bible; it is a compound form of frapja-marzjan).

The clause retains the reflexive pronoun which refers to the 'logical' subject of the clause in which it occurs, hmas, the indefinite pronoun. It does not refer to the subject of the sentence which is the entire clause. (The reflexive pronoun, therefore, which has replaced an indefinite object of still another underlying string is itself indefinite and is translated as 'oneself'.)

The nominalization rule for action nominals can be stated as follows:

\[
X = \text{Nom} + k_0 - \text{Aux} - \left[ \frac{\text{V intr.}}{V + NP} \right] - \text{Adv} - Z =
\]

\[
X = \left[ \frac{\text{Nom} + k_3}{\emptyset} \right] - \text{Nml} - \left[ \frac{\text{V intr.}}{V + NP} \right] - \text{Adj.} - Z
\]

The genitive reflex of the original subject replaces the subject or, as in the case of the sentence above can be deleted. Any adverbs modifying the original verb in the underlying string must be replaced by their respective adjective forms. The nominalizing morpheme, Nml, will later produce the derived nominals, in this case in -cin-. The reflexive pronoun which in the sentence above has replaced NP in the equation would remain unchanged.
The infinitive is also productive as a nominal in Gothic and can be chosen as well as a Nal suffix:

jah pata du frijon nehwundan swe sik silban managizo ist allaim paim alabrunsttim jah saudim. Mark 12:33.

This construction is derived from other underlying strings:

is frijip nehwundan.

is frijip sik silban.

The sik in the second string above remains unchanged after the nominalization process. The rule for nominalizing a verb to form an infinitive noun is as follows:

\[
X = \text{Nom}^+k_0 - \text{Aux} - \left[ \frac{\text{V}_{\text{intr}}}{V + NP} \right] - \text{Adv} - Z = \\
X = \emptyset - \text{an} \left[ \frac{\text{V}_{\text{intr}}}{V + NP} \right] - \text{Adv} - Z
\]

Absolute Constructions

An absolute construction is defined by Metlen as a phrase in which as a rule a noun or pronoun is accompanied by a participle (present or past), the phrase having no grammatical albeit a logical, connection with the rest of the sentence (sic). The noun or pronoun of the absolute construction functions as the subject or the object with reference to the participle, the latter being the predicate...”

The absolute phrase is dependent on no part of the sentence; it is a phrase derived from a complete sentence and merely tacked onto another sentence. The two absolute constructions in which reflexives occur are dative absolutes and the pronouns in question are reflexive
possessives. To form a dative absolute the subject of the main verb is placed in the dative case and the verb is transformed into a present participle agreeing with the subject in the dative case. In the case where the original sentence had a pronominal subject, that pronoun remains an anaphorical pronoun after it has been transformed from a nominative to a dative. The possessive pronouns of the original string which refer to the subject are reflexives, and after the transformation to the absolute construction they remain reflexive, referring to the subject in the dative case of the absolute construction.

jah usgaggandin imma jainbro mib siponjam seinaim jah managein ganohai, sumus Teimaius, BarTeimaius blinda sat faur wig du aihtron. Mark 10:46 (also Luke 3:15)

Since by definition the absolute construction is a transformed sentence merely tacked onto another sentence and attached to it by no grammatical function, it is to be expected that if a pronoun is used to refer to the subject of the sentence onto which the absolute construction is attached, that pronoun will be an anaphorical pronoun rather than a reflexive pronoun:

swa filu imma taikne gataujandin in andwairpja ize, ni galaubidedun imma, John 12:37.

The rule for absolute constructions is as follows:

\[
X - \text{Nom}+k_0 - \text{Aux} - \begin{cases} \text{V intr.} \\ V + \text{NP} \end{cases} - Z = \\
X - \text{Nom}+k_2 - \text{and} - \begin{cases} \text{V intr.} \\ V + \text{NP} \end{cases} - Z
\]
This rule would follow all rules for pronominalization and would have no effect on them except to change a subject pronoun from the nominative case to the dative. Since a reflexive pronoun in Gothic by definition can never appear in the nominative case, this rule would have no effect on reflexives and they would remain intact in the newly formed absolute construction. The rules governing concord would render the correct reflex of the present participle to agree with the dative 'subject' of the absolute phrase.

The Use of the Anaphorical Pronoun in Reflexive Positions

A study of the use of the reflexive pronoun would not be complete without a discussion of the instances where the anaphorical pronoun is used where one would expect a reflexive pronoun.


2. panuh bible alla gakunnun sik faura imma, panuh-pan is silba sumus gakann sik faura panza ufhnaiw jandin uf ina bo alla. I Cor. 15:28. (from the context of the previous verse the sense is that the ina refers to Christ, the Son.)

3. riqizeinai gahugdai wisandana frama jja libainais gudis in unwitj jis pis wisandins in im, iz daubijes bairtane seinaize, Eph. 4:18. (the anaphorical pronoun im refers to the same antecedent, 'they', the Gentiles, anbaros piudos, as the reflexive pronoun, seinaizos.)

4. ip nu gafri bioda in leika mammons is baix daju du asatjan izwis weihans jah unwamans jah usfairinans faura imma. I Col. 1:22 (the anaphorical pronoun could be interpreted as
referring to Christ, where God is the subject).

5. Weitwodja in andwairja gudis jah fraujins xristaus Jesuís, saei skal stojaq qiwañs jah daupans bi qum ies (jah) piudinassu iis. II Tim. 4:1.


cf. also: sa aukt ritits Herodes insandjando gahabaida Johannen jah gaband ina in karkarai in Hairodiadins genais Filippaus brobres seinis...

Mark 6:17.

Streitberg in his grammar of the Gothic language only mentions the first example, I Tim. 5:18, and explains this usage of the anaphorical pronoun as an error.

L. Hermodsson discusses the use of the anaphorical pronoun in oblique participial phrases briefly in his work on reflexive verbs in the Westgermanic dialects. He takes issue with Grimm about the interpretation of the following verse:

jah suns ugaægands us pamma watin gasahw usulknans hizinans jah ahuan swe ahak atgægandan ana ina.

Mark 1:10.

Where Grimm feels that the subject of gasahw is John the Baptist and, therefore, the pronoun ina which refers to Christ is correctly anaphorical, Hermodsson believes Christ is the subject of this verb:

"Es liegt hier ein Missverständnis von Grimm vor. Das sehende Subjekt in diesem Satze ist eben Christus." 2
There is, of course, no definite proof as to which interpretation is correct for this verse in the context in which it is found in Mark 1:10. However, the verse John 1:32 gives credence to the interpretation made by Grimm:

And John bore witness: "I saw the Spirit descend as a dove from heaven and it remained on him."

The possibility exists, at least, that this verse influenced Wulfila in his interpretation of the meaning of the verse and, therefore, in his choice of pronouns.

It is Hermisson's contention that the reflexive pronouns and the anaphorical pronouns were competing forms in participial constructions. This is a plausible explanation but the possibility of simple error cannot be disregarded. In taking on the translation of such a work, there is bound to be error in grammar as well as interpretation. Although we cannot know how many scribes copied and recopied the Gothic text, each time such a task is undertaken more errors may be made.

The Latin text was probably not much help to Wulfila in his choice of pronouns; he probably did consult it, however, since there seems to be evidence of Latin influence. In most of the cases mentioned, the Latin avoids the issue of choosing between the anaphorical declension, is, ea, id, and the reflexive declension, sui, sibi, se, se, but instead uses pronouns of the ipse or ille declension.

An argument against Hermisson would be the fact that there are such erroneous uses of the anaphorical pronoun in phrases without
participles as well as in participial phrases. Furthermore, the number of such participial constructions which contain reflexive pronouns referring to the subject of the main verb of the clause far exceeds the number of cases where the anaphorical pronoun is used. Although this usage of the reflexive pronoun gradually disappeared in the later stages of the languages derived from Proto-Germanic, it was at this stage the normal and preferred usage.
FOOTNOTES


5 Ibid. p. 92.

6 Ibid. p. 92.

7 Ibid. p. 93.


9 Ibid. p. 339.

10 Ibid. p. 341.

11 Ibid. p. 342.

12 Ibid. p. 342.


14 McKnight, George H. "Word Order in Gothic" in Journal for English and German Philology I (1897). pp 146 - 160.


16 Ibid. p. 273.

17 Ibid. p. 274.

18 Ibid. p. 275.
19 Ibid. p. 275.


21 Ibid. p. 27.


CHAPTER FOUR

OLD NORSE

The reflexive pronoun in Old Norse has three cases:

Acc. sík
Dat. sér
Gen. sín

It is a third person pronoun and does not show gender or number. Generally the antecedent is the subject of the main verb of the clause, although this is not always the case.

There is also in ON a reflexive possessive pronominal adjective, sínn, which is declined in the strong declension. It is also used usually to refer to the subject of the main clause. The exceptions to this rule are, however, more numerous than those to this general rule concerning the other reflexive pronouns in Old Norse.

The phonological development of the pronominal forms is similar to that in Gothic with the Nordic modifications. The genitive is an original adjective form in -ina-; the -k, in the accusative form, could originate from an emphatic particle or from the first person nominative form, the dative ending in -r from an original -s, perhaps an original genitive or an ablative form.

When a pronoun is used to refer to the subject of the sentence, a reflexive pronoun is chosen. There are, however, two circumstances which occur relatively frequently and under which an anaphorical pronoun is always chosen rather than a reflexive pronoun. When there are two subjects and the second subject is modified by a
possessive form referring to the first named subject, an anaphorical pronoun is used:

Njáll var úti ok synir hans ok gengu í møti ok fógnuðu þeim vel. Njáll. 160.

An anaphorical pronoun is also used when there are two antecedents and only one is named in the subject of the sentence:

Gaf Eyvindr þrándi arf allan eptir fópur þeira.
Grettissaga, 14.
Hann tekur svæþit Gram ok leggr í meðal þeira...
Völsungasaga, 48161.

The study of the reflexive pronoun in Old Norse will because of the volume of material not include as complete an inventory as that in the Gothic section of this study. The works from which the examples were selected were chosen from better known pieces and include a variety of authors and, therefore, also geographical areas. The abbreviations of the works cited are as follows:


Edda - Snorra Edda Edda Snorria Sturlusonar, Edited by Guðni Jónsson, Íslendingasagnaygðsafn, 1954.

G - Grettis Saga Edited by Guðni Jónsson, Íslenska Fornritafelag, 1936.


H - Heimskringla, Noregs Konunga Sæt, Snorri Sturluson, Edited by Samfund til Útgivelse af Gammel Nordisklitteratur, Finnur Jónsson, 1893 - 1900. (the Roman numeral preceding the H refers to volume number).


V - Völsungasaga², Edited by Wilhelm Ransch, 1908.
Reflexive Verbs in Old Norse

The reflexive verb form which is formed by a verb plus a reflexive pronoun is often written as one word in Old Norse in contrast to the other Germanic languages which do not have this type of contraction. This contracted form came about as a result of the placement of the reflexive pronoun in the position immediately following the verb. Therefore, this unusual reflexive verb-form is merely the result of a mechanical joining of verb and enclitic pronoun. This contraction spread also to the first person forms. The forms ending in a contraction with slik are exclusively reflexive while the forms ending in contractions of nik are not necessarily reflexive.

Because of the great amount of use of this form "...ved analogi udvidet i forskjellige retninger, og hvad der oprindelig ver en mekanisk sammenslutning er gaet over til en organisk forbindelse." 1

According to Nygaard the development of this form was as follows:

"a) Former med end. -mk er i lighed med dem paa -sk kommer til alene at anvendes med reflexiv betydning (altc aa kun, hvor subj er 1ste pers.).
b) Former med -mk anvendes i lighed med dem paa -sk ogsaa, hvor subjektet er dualis eller pluralis.
c) Former med -sk bruges ogsaa, hvor subj. er 2den person (sing., dual, plural.).
d) Alle reflexive former bruges uden forskjel i de nedenfor anførte reflexive betydninger." 2

The original meanings of these new forms is often changed to a new, sometimes very different meaning and the original meaning is then lost.
Nygaard is of the opinion that with the expansion in meaning and because the reflexive meaning lies so close to the passive meaning, a new means of expressing the passive by means of this new verbal form developed quite naturally and can be compared with the Latin agglutinative passive. Nevertheless, because of other competing forms and means of expressing the passive (with vera and verba), the development of this usage, mainly by analogy, was incomplete.

1. In most cases the reflexive pronoun is joined to the verb as an accusative object:

"Pa fekk Haraldr auki gek, svat hinn lagpist í rekkju (Hkr. 553, 30) er börp varn uppi, þa bjoð ðar konungi til farar (Hkr. 525, 14) kálf klaedist skjót (Hkr. 525, 18) skryðdist allr fryði kenni-manna (Hkr. 554, 15) hengþisk hann í snórri (laqueo se suspendit Hom. 47, 3) reisstisk hann upp (Hym. 150, 10) hvart skip er hann tengðist víþ þá hraub hann (Hkr. 595, 20) þeir Gubleikr vörðust (Öh. 50, 30) ingi konung þreisaþist með flótta (Hkr. 651, 29) marir hristust (H. Hj. 28) þá sýndist (viðe sig) honum hinn helgi Olafr konungur (Hkr. 556, 24) eflísti hann þá at liggj (Hkr. 541, 1) er Olafr Tryggvason kon í Noreg ok kallaðist konungur, þá leðu vör honum þat eigi hlýða (Öh. 57, 39) hétuak Grímur (Grímn. 46) þær a sævarstrjónd settust at hvílast (Vv. 1) vipp hvat foeddist körin (naðrade sig Sk. 4, 37) þeir brugðu þegar fjöldum ok brjóggjum ok heintust frá landi (Öh 137, 5) spurði hvart hann gerþist (Hkr. 589, 34) margir bábu gripa, ok fengu þat allir, er upp gáfst (Hkr. 551, 30) fálusk a hendi guði (Hym. 162, 29) setjast þá nibr bápir (Hkr. 563, 19) fyllisk fjörvi felgra manna (Völ. 41) bjóðaþ marþir, menn til þess (Hkr. 561, 4) hefðast upp með úfriði (reise sig) móti rettum konungum (Öh. 45, 21) sakast eigi þú (H. Hj. 33) venisk unár mahr hreinlif (Hym. 32, 3) vagnist menn nú (Öh. 38, 28) hinn helgi Olafr hafþi þá vitrað hegni (aabenaðst sig Hkr. 557, 1) hafþir laugast í því vatni (Hkr. 690, 24) hann skyldi halda saett ok friþ vipp þá menn
alla, er í þessi rápager þöfpu vafizt (indviklet
sig í, indlaðt sig paa OH. 89, 37) nú þöfpu
flúsk sjúkkr menn III til helgu grafar (havde
begivet sig Hon. 166,7) mér er aldaþl Magnús
konungr fáðir aðinn, ef ek skal giptast benda
einn (Hkr. 582, 28) ek vil foerast undan þraelkan
hans (OH. 61, 17) í engum heitun vil ek bindast
(OH. 33,3; cfr. bindast ein a höndum); cfr.
brjótast "kaste sig, tumle sig, anstrengja sig,
kjaempe for ngt. " í myndir þú látu vera kyrt at
kalla til Nóregs, en brjótast heldr í Austveg
(OH 58, 27) ólafr brýz í móti miklu ofræli
(OH. 31, 12) brutust til lands (OH 9, 32);
tólf menn eru þeir, er fyrir beitað um blót-
veiðilummar (spaende, sig for, staa í spíðsen
for OH. 104, 20) Víkverjar þöfpust ok mjök
í kaupferþum (vaere, faerdes i OH. 49, 38) 3

2. The contracted form of verb and sig is often found with verbs of
speech and thinking (hyggja, kalla, kveba, láta, segja, telja, þekja)
where the reflexive pronoun is the logical subject of the infinitive
in an accusative with infinitive construction.

on sagðisk hann bústað vilja reisa seg. Hrafn. 60.
Gunnarr..., lézk fara verpa fyrst til Íslands. Njáll 82.
Hrafnkell kvæzk eigi mann hafa ráðit til smáfarþar,
en lézk mikils víb þurfa. Hrafn. 61.

3. The contracted reflexive verb form can also be used in cases
where the verb is followed by a dative.

ok tyndusk þar þessir grípir. Hrafn. 59.
hann veltisk mökkurum toll sinnum. Hrafn. 63.
en (þeir) treystusk eigi. Njáll. 66.
Gunnarr skýsk at honum. Njáll. 176.
þeir kómisk hvergi í nánd honum. Njáll. 216.

4. And in rare cases the contracted verb form includes a genitive
object.

Mátt þú svá hefnask víb Skarphefin þess? Njáll. 275.
Hvírt mun Gunnari aldri hefnask þessi Ólafnár? Njáll. 67.
5. The contracted verb form is sometimes used to include a dative in the role of indirect object.

Ek vil beibask, herra, sagði Hrótr, at þér gefiþ
mér orlof til Íslands. Njáll. 20.
ek hraeþum þá. Njáll. 177.
Um vírít beiddusk þeir Njálssynir at fara til
Nóregs. Njáll. 208.
Mun ek þat á hennr takask. Njáll. 372.
Hallr af Sípu stöð upp ok kvætti ser hljóps ok
fékksk þegar. Njáll. 408.
en jari þekktist þat. Njáll. 448.

6. And furthermore, the reflexive verb form can include the reflexive object of the preposition which is found immediately following the contraction.

mér þeotti vís þaðn bezt at eiga, er allir
hrökjask fyrir ábr. Hrafn. 72.
ok báð Flósi alla megn kona til kirkju ok
þipjask fyrir. Njáll. 322.
þeir... sjásk þaban um. Njáll. 366.
Skul úr þér ... látu þá sjálfa ú sjásk. Njáll. 406.
Hann spurti, hvat kari aetlapisk þá fyrir. Njáll. 437.

7. The reflexive form is also used to express reciprocal action where several subjects are engaged in activity affecting each other. Just as the reflexive verbs can be written in contracted form, so also can the reciprocal forms; and the contracted form can contain a dative object, an indirect object, the object of a preposition or an accusative direct object.

a) with accusative direct objects:

þeir... eggjupusk fast. Njáll. 403.
spurþusk þeir þá típenda. Njáll. 373.
Opt fundusk þeir Sáar ok Hrafnkell. Hrafn. 80.
ok skiljask þeir meþ lítilli bliðu. Hrafn. 66.
8. Sometimes a reflexive form is used to designate a position or condition; e.g. gerast (be), gefast vel (illa) (turn out), hvilast (rest), haldast (to stay), kveljast (be tormented), lukast (to be shut), minnast (to bear in mind), skammast (to be ashamed), skapast (be forced), pokkast (to be liked), ðypast (to be associated with). 5

Nygaard catagorizes the reflexive verbs according to meaning as follows: 5

1. Those verbs which are derived from adjectives and denote a characterist or a quality:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>augpast</td>
<td>grow wealthy</td>
<td>rotfestast</td>
<td>to take root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitast</td>
<td>appear (become bright)</td>
<td>fremjast</td>
<td>to gain distinction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dirfast</td>
<td>to dare (become bold)</td>
<td>forytast</td>
<td>to enquire about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eypast</td>
<td>to come to naught</td>
<td>frjovast</td>
<td>to be fertile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>festast</td>
<td>to grow to, to stick to (also hugfestast, to make up one's mind, stapfestast, be firm)</td>
<td>fyllast</td>
<td>to be filled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fynast</td>
<td>to desire</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gleþjast</td>
<td>to be glad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
hallaest to lean
hryggast become sad
kaetast to be gladden
leipast to loathe
lengjast become longer
letjast to become unwilling
likjast to resemble
miklast to acquire fame
minkast to decrease
mykast to be softened
moetast to become tired
prypast to become beautiful
reipast to get angry
rettast to put straight
sannast to prove true
sekjast to be liable to a penalty
sepjast to eat one's fill
semjast to be settled on
sljofast to grow dull
spokjast to be calmed
treytast to dare
varast to beware
villast to go astray
vjetast to be wet
yfast to get angry
pymnast to grow thin
pyngast to grow heavy
oepast to become angry
oarast to run mad

b) Those verbs which designate or show a cause of a state of mind:

hraepast to fear
faaelast to be frightened at
ottast fear
huggast to be comforted
undrast to wonder at
saettast to come to terms

(c) Those verbs which have the meanings to begin, to end, to restrain, to stop:

hefjast to begin
lukast to come to an end
takast to begin
dveljast to make a stay
leggjast nipr to cease
frestast to delay
setjast nipr to cease
stopvast to stop oneself

(d) Those verbs which mean to destroy, to damage, to fortify, to improve:

farast to perish
gleipjast to be confounded
fyrrifarast to come to naught
laitast to die
tynast to perish
aukast to increase
tapast to be lost
magnast to grow strong
spillast to be spoiled
noerast to recover
melpast to be hurt
boetast to get better, to restore
one's health

(e) Those verbs which designate a setting into motion:

steypast to tumble down
geysast to dash or rush furiously
komonast to come into a position
ausast to pour
or condition
dreifast to be scattered about
samnast to gather together
dragast to move
leggjast to arise
skljaast to separate
rjufast to break
rekjast to unwind or unfold
svarfast to be turned upside down
bervast við to be prevented
bervast at to happen
spíkarvast to sink down
bregjast við to make a certain
motion with the body

Sometimes the reflexive form is used instead of a paraphrastic
passive also. Verbs with the meanings to note, to understand,
to comprehend, to experience, to evaluate etc. are often used
reflexively to express a near passive meaning.

"at det dog ikke ganske opfattes som passiv,
viser sig deri, at personen tilføjes som
hensyns betegnelse i dativ (ikke med af),
e.g. Hanum fannst þat brätt, at kristní haldit
var því minna, er hann sótti meir á landit upp." 6

Also

Nú mun þat sannask. Njáll. 14
ok efnisk þill. Njáll 413.

In addition these verbs and verbs with similar meanings are found
in the reflexive form with a passive meaning but without an expressed
subject:

hann ... kvap illa gefask mundu. Njáll. 48.

The use of the reflexive form in Old Norse is patterned

"efter latinsk forbilledede i stor udstrekning
reflexivformene met udpræget passiv betydning,
hvored subjektet betegnes som udsat for en
paavirkning, og saaledes at det logiske subjekt
tilføjes med praep. af." 7

The reflexive form of some verbs can be used either reflexively
or passively.

ok epnafisk hann. Njáll. 346
aúkisk hafa helðr vandraepun. Njáll. 436.
Silpan lauksk aþtr haugrinn, Njáll 194.
(Porariinn) þótti vandask málit. Njáll. 51.
Some examples of the reflexive form used with passive meaning
follow:

hann fannsk hvárki lífs né daupr. Njáll. 46.
her skal alt félit upp gjaldaok. Njáll. 311.
vit munun aldri sjások sípan. Njáll. 332.
Sjások þær aldri sípan. Njáll. 459.
opt rjúfask þat. Njáll. 427.
þér aukisk erfiþ. Hrafns. 81.

Although sik occurs most often in the contracted form with verbs, it also occurs in the longer form, separated from the verb. The following are examples of sik occurring separated from the verb on which it is dependent:

Svá drap hann sik or Drósa. Edda 46.
sípan las hann sik upp í gognum glugginn... 2 H 331,
Magnús... gaf sik í klaustr. 3 H 339.
Hann leysti sik út með 111... 3 H 375.
Hon signíði sik. G. 211.
Aesir hervæpa sik. Edda 88.
Hann spennir sik meginjörðum. Edda 66.
Sörlí... studdi sik með hendinni. Edda 164.
pá hafþi hon klaedda sik. Njáll 282.
þær menn munu veþsetja baþpi sik ok fé sitt. L. 32.
Hann kom jafnan til Helgafells ok bæþ weðrik til
Bolli hafþi fjölment ok hélt sik ríkamali. L. 164.
þær fóru í skógana fyrir austan Hanga ok fálu
sík þar. Njáll. 250.
bær hon sik kurtelísí. L. 161.
hafþi hann sik af þinginu. G. 269.
hafþi hann eigi meira af nafni sínu en kallabí
sík Ola. 1 H 309.
Porseinn nefndi sik. G. 275.
Sámar var þar víku ok hvíldi sík. Hrafn. 85.
Hallgerbr festi sík sjálfl. Njáll. 44.
Hann bjó sík vel at våpnum ok klaþum. L. 50.
Grettir... gyþþr sík með saxinu. G. 67.
Girir hon sík nú blíþa í orþun. V. 71-17.
ok draga sík margir mjók frá í möt oss. Njáll. 299.
Grettir lá kýrr ok hroþþi sík hvergi. G. 120.
engi meþr skapar sík sjálfr. G. 137.
Var þá líðið af annarri viku síþan Grettir skeindi sík. G. 255.
menn miklaki síð af... L. 221.
hann minnkabi síð í engu. L. 164.
För hann þá út til Jordarók ok laugabi síð. 3 H 93.
Eptir þat laugi Brynhildr síð sverpli. Edda 161.
var konungri inni í stofu ok bakaði síð við eld. 3 H 489.
hann ... gretti síð. N.A. I 4.
sá er svinnr, er síð kann. Hrafn, 65.
pá hrísti úlfrinn síð. Edda 48.
pá feldi þorkell síð mjoð við umroebuna. L. 223.
ok hafði hann þar folgiti síð ábr. Njáll. 216.
hyvorei síð undan at taka upp vandann. 2 H 480.
Nú skulu vér taka þat ráð at tiu menn fari fram á
ness Þetta ok syni síð þar. N.A. II 263.
pá býpr hon til ollum sínum vinum ok fraendum ok
setti síð til. G. 282.

From these examples it can be seen in which instances síð does
not appear in the contracted form. Síð often stands by itself when
there is another object present and it is to receive equal stress.
Síð is also separated from the verb when it, the direct object, is
to be emphasized by giving it extra stress by intonation which is
lost when it is in its contracted form and has no true stress of
its own. When the reflexive verb has passive meaning, the separated
form is also often used.

Other uses of Síð

1. Síð is used after the following prepositions with a variety of
meanings:

Yfir
þeir taka hann til hofþingja yfír síð. 1 H 77.
Taka boendr hann til konungs yfír síð. 1 H 353.
Kjartan varða at ok klaðdiz ok steyði yfír síð
skarlatskyrtli raðum. L. 143.
pá heyrar þeir máli í eikina upp yfír síð. Edda 98.

Um
Gisli ... gerði um síð miklot. G. 183.
Grettir var eptir þá þórunni ok létt lítið um síð. G. 56.
grap fé varð urígrí ok ferði miklot um síð. N.A. II 261.
en þeir váru á njósni ok hófpu svá bútt um síð. Njáll. 429.
Grettir var vitr mæðr ok varr um sík. G. 180.
Eiríkr konungr hafði fjölmanni mikit um sík, 1 H 170.
Þorvaldr hafði mært manna um sík. Ñjáll. 264.
Gunnarr var í raðum kyrtili ok hafði um sík breitt
silfrbelti, Ñjáll 150.
Hon hafði knytt um sík blaeju. L. 171.

Undir
En þegar Gisli kom fótum undir sík, G. 193.
Skrarhefnum kom fótum undir sík. Ñjáll. 333.
Hákon konungur laði þá land alt undir sík. 3 H 426.
Pá fór hann í Fjönn ok laði undir sík allar
eyjar. 3 H 45.
Þann vetr laði hann undir sík alt Dana-veldi. 3 H 119.
Hann gismask þess at halda Nóreg-veldi undir sík. 2 H 143.
Hann veitti þeim meizlur, en tók undir sík ríki
þeira. 2 H 476-7.
Haraldr konungur hafði tekkt undir sík eignir hans...
G. 17.
hann vann allan Nóreg undir sík... 1 H 231.
hefri hann þó nú undir sík brott í skinni hluta
Skotlandi. 2 H 285.
honum þótti þar vera alt megin landéns, ef
hann fengi þar undir sök komiti... 2 H 78.
Rak Grettir hann þá níbr undir sök. G. 192.
björninn hafði drept undir sök kápu. G. 75.
Nú þekr hann hestinn ok slaer vís bæðli, lætr
þófa á bak hestinum undir sök... Hrafn. 63.
jarl skaut undir sök hælinum ok huukkanum... 1 H 354.
gekk Flosa þat til, at hann þöttisk svá rápa
undir sök trúnað hans ok fjólmanni. Ñjáll. 294.

Fyrir
hann hljóp meir en haep sína mæp allum herkaðum
ok eigi skæmra apr en fram fyrir sík. Ñjáll. 53.
þess synupu þeir fyrir sík. 3 H 428.
ok hafði hverr þeira mann fyrir sík eða 11 eði
sumir fleiri. 2 H 485.
ok fær hverrhann fyrir sík. G. 228.
hon veiti til Leifs sveðrum fyrir sík, N.A. II 261.
Aesir bjópa fyrir sík fjórlausi. Ódda 155.
hann baup fyrir sík skírslur. 3 H 370.
hann fnysti eitrí alla leip fyrir sík fram. V. 2922.
Hann gerði svá, en sá skaut skildinum fyrir sík. 3 H 335.
pörðum tók skjoldinn ok setti fyrir sík. G. 154.
hann kom fyrir sík skildinum. Ñjáll 403.
Gunnarr..., tektr orvarrar ok steypir níbr fyrir
sík. Ñjáll 175.
Grettir kon at ý þvi ok tók til klaepsekk, er
Gisli hafði fyrir aytan sík við spúl sinn. G. 191.

þeir
Laetr hann nú réa til lands þeir sík. Ñjáll. 219.
Gunnarr brá ní sverþinu ok hafþi hann eigi sett á sik hjálminn. Ñjáll. 77.
hon brá á sik krákuham. V. 3166.
Kjartan var hverjum þanní betr að sik kominn. L. 80.
Hann byrðabí ferþ sína til Æsgáps ok fór með leynd ok brá á sik gasals þanns líki. Edda 10.
ok hafþi hon brugðit á sík þessu líki fyrir trollskapar sakir ok fjólkynni. V. 8184.
þetta lét Kjartan á sík bera. L. 145.
hann sjálfr droegi sverþit á sík. 3 H 479.
þeir álu í kerlingarþal ok tóku þar þá sík svefn mikinn, Ñjáll. 415.
Leitþu þeir sér leyins ok reyttu á sík mosa. Ñjáll. 438.

hann hafþi fengti þann mann til fylgbár víþ þíu sík. G. 104.
hann bakkaði henni ok gaf henni allt hálft sík. Ñjáll. 19.
festi konungr svá trúnað mann víþ sík. 2 H 396.
Knútr konungr ... batt hann í kaerleikum miklum víþ sík. 2 H 396.
Gunnarr sér annan mann kominn á hæggjér víþ sík. Ñjáll. 176.
eigi kann víta hverr sá er, er eigi sparið þapp víþ sík. 3 H 417.
Konungr ... taláði hann sannan at landraþum víþ sík. 2 H 142.
Pangbræðr sagði Ólafur konungi frá meingerþum Íslendinga víþ sík. Ñjáll. 269.
(Hann) bar sakar á hendr þeim um landrát víþ sík. 1 H 116.
Hann helmti til tals víþ sík Íslendinga. L. 125.
Síþan bar elkbyskup þetta málf fyrir legátann ok fekk að því því legátann til samþykkið víþ sík. 3 H 464.

2. Sik is used in infinitive constructions.

a. Following a verb which takes an infinitive complement:
Hann baub pó Sveini konungi at berjask á skipum við sik. 3 H 126.
Njáll hafpi ávatxat féit ok greiddi pó
fram allt, ok stózk þat á endum ok þat, er
"Nú er at verja síki" Njáll. 137.
Var honum því óhaegt at foera lögvörn fram
fyrir sik. Hrafn. 74.

b. In infinitive constructions dependent on a noun:

þá þók hann þann kost, at leggja alt á vald
konungs baði sík ok riði sitt. 2 H 208.
ok var þat ráð manna þeirra, er eptir váru, at geða
upp Kastala ok sjálfa sík í vald helpinna manna. 3 H 337.

Sík is used very commonly in accusative with infinitive constructions.

Jarl bap hana fela sík um nökkurra nátta sakir... 1 H 351.
Sámar kvezk ekki því nenna, segisk vilja helmi aprtr
ok bap þá skipa hestum við sík. Hrafn. 85–6.
... Svásl... kvap sík vera þán Finninn, er konungr
hafpi játat at setja gamma sinn annan veg. 1 H 133.
Finnr kvap þess sjáldan hafa þyrft við sík. 2 H 317.
... sagbi hann sík mundu fara í Göpmíra og fagna
þar vinnum mínus. 1 H 21.
Hrappr... kvap þá vera allt mál at reynu sík. L. 194–5.
Porðjorn... lét ekki sjá sík. G. 145.
Lét þá konungr leipþa Haub fyrir sík ... 1 H 400.
Þá lét hann jarð kalla til tals við sík. 1 H 346.
Þá þóttisk hann sjá mannh gøfuðið koðe til sin
ok mæla við sík. 3 H 384.
ok þóttisk varla geta klaett sík fyrir kulda. G. 225.
þótt Ingjaldð Hallr lítte viðja sík semja í síþ
duvgandi manna... L. 29.
gekk Flóða þat til, at hann þóttisk svá ráða undir
sík trúnaþ hans ok fjöldenni. Njáll. 294.

The following examples are cases in which sík occurs referring to
a noun other than the subject of the clause.

1. En er hann sá, at piltrinn var kominn í huggsøeri
við sík. G. 155.

2. En er konungr sá, hvár þeir Eyvindr foru, bap hann
sína menn vápna sík. 1 H 377.
Geck Kári þar í fram ok bap Bjorn standa at baki
ser ok hafa sík allinjök í frammi, en gera ser
gagn sílikt, er hann maett. Njáll. 430.
In the first example **sík** is used in indirect reflection; that is to say a reflexive pronoun is used in a subordinate clause to refer to the subject of the main clause rather than an anaphorical pronoun. The anaphorical pronoun is by far the more common in this position, but it must be noted that indirect reflection did occur in Old Norse.

The next group of examples are examples of the accusative reflexive pronoun being used to refer to the logical subject of the infinitive rather than the grammatical subject of the main verb.

The final group of examples are those in which the main verb is *pykkja* and the reflexive pronoun refers to the person expressed in the dative case and dependent on the verb.
Sér

1. The most common use of the dative reflexive pronoun is that of the object of a preposition. The following are examples of this function of the dative reflexive pronoun with a variety of prepositions and a wide variety of meanings:

Fyrir

Sigmundr var svá mikill fyrir sér. V. 10149.
Ágiðr var mikill raþr fyrir sér. L. 119.
Práinn hugsaþ fyrir sér. Njáll. 217
En er Harald konungr inn hárfragri ruddi riki
fyrir sér... 1 H 184.
han hitti fyrir sér ðepurbana... edda 167.
Óláfr konungr fór um haustit ín í Ykina ok
gerþ ord fyrir sér til Uplanda... 2 H 279.
ðeir sá nu skipin fyrir sér. Njáll. 77.
Síban er Óláfr konungr háþfi ráþit fyrir sér...
2 H 438.
Gunnarr háþfi fyrir sér skjöldinn. G. 83.
ðeir rípa upp þórisdalshelpt ok ráku fyrir sér
sextán klýfjþpa hesta. Hrafn. 80.
Hana fyrir sér sánn dauðan. N.A. II 11.
...vakið hún longum ok bab til eubis fyrir sér
ok líþi sínu... 2 H 462-3,
ðeir) gerþu fyrir sér eða stóra. 2 H 334.

at

hon var vaen kona ok kurteis ok vel at sér... Njáll. 1.
þorþr var vaenn mapr ok vasklígr, görr at sér. L. 91.
Síþan fór Harald konungr suþr á Moeri ok dró at
sér líþ. 3 H 139.
Eþtir þöl um vetríinn safnar Kjartan at sér mǫnnnum. L.148.
hann kippþ at sér sverþina. G. 12.
hann klaufl ofan hérbarblapt ok hnukkir at sér
þóminni. Njáll. 119.
Margr er dulinn at sér... G. 222.
hann... uggþ ekki at sér... G. 167.
Hon háþfi haldit honum svá fast at sér... G. 212.

af

Gunnarr là mjök langa hrip ok varp síþan af sér
ðeir toppu af sér vúpmnnum. Njáll. 38.
Práinn ferr af káþuþni ok tekr af sér hjaðminn.
Njáll 233.
Sýrðorþr þat brátt at sér at hon er enn
mest skörumr. L. 16.
hann... sveþþi af sér flugþnun. Edda 150.
Ray konungr af sér þann vetr vikinga ok uthlautsmenn.
L. 50.
Ráku menn þat týjld af sér... 2 H 361.
Hestrinn bar hann skjót yfir ok vípa, því at hestrinn var góðr af sér. Hrafn. 63.
Hann gerir nokkura övíssu af sér. G. 106.
Gubrunu bótta mikjó fráfall pörkels, en bar þó skgrulliga af sér. L. 226.
...ok hjó hann pat alt af sér. 2 H 405.
hann hratt af sér moepsinni. 2 H 212.
eigi vildi hann ok kaupa af sér. G. 50.

yfir

...þá hétir jarl vöku yfir sér. 1 H 354.
Þeir... taldubu þar yfir sér. G. 78.
Fór hon eptir þat heim ok lét vel yfir sér. G. 282.
Nú sat Grettir í Drangey... ok þeir allir félagar...
ok létu vel yfir sér. G. 250.
hann hefur hekluk flokkotta yfir sér. V. 419.
Bjorn hafþ yfir sér skjöldinn. G. 75.
hann hafþ yfir sér felllikdu grá. L. 192.
Halldor hafþ yfir sér sama skikku. L. 222.

hjá

Grettir grunabi hann ok hafþ vápn sín hjá sér. G. 179.
Festu þeir skjöldu sina í ligrar en bundu
hestana ok settu hjá sér vápnin. Njáll. 179.
...hann leiði í hásaeti hjá sér Hlrpaknut, son sinn. 2 H 396.
Þeir hofþu ljós hjá sér. 1 H 353.
Bjarni skaut hjá sér skildinum. Njáll. 404.
Leiði þorgils hjá sér miklir. G. 64.
Þorgils sagbi honuþ þar vist til relþu hjá sér. G. 91.

frá

Óláfkr konungur kastaþ frá sér sverpinu. 3 H 427.
Því naest heyrþi Gangleri dyni mikla hvorm veg
frá sér... Edda 95-6.
Erlingr gerþi þá njosn frá sér... 3 H 449.
hann rak frá sér sönu sina. 1 H 135.
Hann sér jafnt nöt sem dag hundrep rasta frá sér... Edda 43.
hann hratt þýmin frá sér. G. 103.
Hann þrýfr þá nepal hlusta dyrinu ok helt því frá sér. G. 76.

víp

... hann hafþ vip sír Óláf Tryggvason til Nóregs. 1 H 261.

undir

Hákon jarl hafþ xvi jarla undir sér. 1 H 342.
hyat hann átti undir sér fyrir afls sakar. G. 55.
Pá eigu þér allan kost undir oss, en þeir ekki
undir sér. N.A. II 253.

i

...váru þeir svá hrusostir menn í sér. G. 84.

eptir

þeir synir Njáls leiðu hann eptir sér. Njáll. 237.
hann hafþ drekið us gölfir eptir sér lbr. 3 H 490.
þeir dregu eða bár lípmin eptir sér allí vatnamma. 3 H 447.
Hallgerðr sat mjökk á sér um vetrinn. Njáll. 45.
Hér er Hóskuldr, son Þinn, Njáll, ok hefr fengit á sér sár nýgr. Njáll. 291.
Grettir... hafði engi varþöld á sér. G. 166.
ok kendu þeir engan vind a sér. 1 H 399.
mjökk hefði hann ötrs líki á sér. V. 231:10.
þat bragð hafði hann á sér sem mundi líkari verða þópurfræendum sumnum. L. 19.
Sigrurð slemhr hafði hafi hafi á sér eldþ-virkj. 3 H 364.
eigi skortir hafi gull ok sélfir á sér... 2 H 232.

undan
Flosi gekk inn í stofuna ok settisk níþr ok kastapí í pallinn hásaetinu undan sér. Njáll. 290.

í móti
sumu sendi hann til vatzens at taka róþrar-skip þau, er þeir fengi, ok hafa í móti sér. 2 H 129.
En Ólafr sáng langskipin eptir firþinum fara ok róð í móti sér. 1 H 352.

naer
Austmaþrinn kveik vilja fyrir hafa land ok þó naer sér. Njáll. 426.

mep
Þetta bundu þau eþrum mep sér. V. 381:32.
kvadi suþpaþþ þá til fjár mep sér. G. 224-5.
...þá gáfu þeir nóþin mep njálfun sér eþlum hlutum. Edda 3.
þeir hefði reynt mep sér. L. 111.
Jarlarmir þreyttu þetta mep sér. 1 H 114.
Eptir þetta skipty þeir þorgríþr ok þórkeirr
breþþ þó mep sér. G. 33.
þeir skiptu nöþtinu mep sér til vökui. 3 H 428.
Gerþu þeir mep sér ína kaþratu vinatnu. Njáll.168.
ok senja þeir þat mep sér at fara at Gunnari. Njáll. 169.
þeir áttu stefnulag mep sér. 1 H 241.
ok þetta staþfestu þeir mep sér Halldorok Barþi. L. 167.
Eptir þat snykt allr fjóldi líþins til þess,
sambandž, er Upþya hafþingjar töku mep sér. 2 H 193.
ok logþu konungar stefnu mep sér... 1 H 70.
þóþar synir ok Halldorr mágþ þeirra töku nú tal
mep sér. G. 234.
Fara þeir til Stiganda ok roþa uz mep sér. L. 114.
Glúar kvaddi menn til ferþar mep sér. Njáll. 49.
Spjóþ sitt hafþi Hrafnið mep sér... Hrafni. 77.
Ok teygir hann þundinn braut mep sér í geißar
nøkkurþar. Njáll. 186.
Gunnarr Lambason kom heimok flutti lík þráins
Litliu þíþar hafþu þeir heimþob mep sér, Hóskuldr ok Njálsynir.
Njáll. 276.
2. As in Gothic, the dative of the reflexive pronoun plays an important role in the sentence in carrying out the function reserved only for the dative case, i.e., the indirect object.

pórófr fekk sér flutning inn til réginlands. L. 31.
Hann fekk sér svartan kufn. G. 148.
Þeir fraenfr fá sér lip ok skipa... V. 13:128.

Tók hann sér fari mep Högna inum hvíta. Njáll. 181
Tók Haraldr sér hírp. 2 H 316.
Óþinn tók sér bustaþ við Loginn. 1 H 16.
En þeir Grettir tônú sér hrósu. G. 197.

Grettir gerþi sér gróf undir bátinum. G. 50.
Bárnu nú ut fang ok gerþu sér skala. N.A. II 265.
hann... gerþi sér þá handgengna. G. 125.
allir gerþu sér kaerra við Hákon konung. 1 H 168.
En er Ísjafla háfpi þar dvalisk nókkura hírp ok
 gótt sér mennu kunna. 2 H 112.

ok háfpi hann sér kaupeyri. 2 H 290.
þau tóku við gestum en hafðu varla sér natþyrgr. 2 H 233.
Hof háfpi átt sér ný systr. N.A. II 4.
Egill a sér dottur þa. L. 64.

þau gátu sér son. Njáll. 70.

váru þeir sunir í flokkinum, er sér leitubu gripa
á laun til Efllings. 3 H 448.
par leitubu þeir sér náttbóls. Ëdda 66.
þa leitubl Sigurnr konungr sér rápa. 3 H 274.

Réþ Hallgerþr sér hjón. Njáll. 46.
It iði sunar répu þeir sér skipa... 3 H 483.
Réþu þeir sér þá þar meþ bárþi svarta. Njáll 181.

þa kraþpi hann sér hljóps. 2 H 457


porfinnr jarl baþ þá konung sér brautfarar-leyfis.
2 H 211.
hann hljóp í hús nókkut ok baþ sér gripa...
3 H 489.

þa ferð Sölvi til Sigtuna ok beþþir sér konungs-nafn
ok viþtökú... 1 H 58.
Sípan samnâbi hann sér liði... 2 H 446.
ok kauss (Öðinn) sér þar borgstap. Edda 7.
Magnús fór til Uplanda ok vaentí sér þar
mikils líps. 3 H 350.
ok tölpu þeir sér fé hálft víp þorkel. L. 43.
þeg því fé kæpty Erlingr sér annat man. 2 H 31.
Naer røttum um hausit fór Grettir ofan í Flysjuþverfí
ok sötti sér saupi. G. 190.
Sípan fastnâbi Glúmar sér Hallgerði. Njáll. 45.
pá afir Sveinn sér herskipa... 1 H 318.
Eyjólfr nefndi sér vátta. Njáll. 393.
... en get ek, at hann berl sér sjálfir vitni um.
2 H 306.
Grettir glotti víp ok gaf sér fátt um. G. 190.
hon gaf sér ýmis heiti. Edda 51.
þeir ætluþu sér helming fjárá þess. L. 37.
Eptir þát fór hon um alla Breiðafjárþárdali
ok nám sér lønd... L. 9.
hann... eignabi sér ríki Trakla. Edda 4.
hann vinni sér þá ok hofþubana. L. 97.
þeir kollþu sér allt fé hans. G. 267.
útlendir hofþingjar... hofþu slíkan skatt af
landi sem þeir skilþu sér. 2 H 52.
þeir... drápu sér þar eld. 2 H 334.
ok er þess þat fáset, at þeir menn fari til úrrustu,
er ekki megu sér. G. 11.
kunni hann sér þann hagnâp. 2 H 115.

3. Sér is also used to serve another function closely related to that
of indirect object. The following are examples of sér used as a
dative of respect.

Setti Erlingr hann it naesta sér. 2 H 246,
Hann... unni þengum at njóta fjá rerins nema sér... V. 25; 59,
hann ætlapi sér at sökja kirkjuvibinn. L. 208,
hann ætlar sér um veþrinn at fára um Uplând. 2 H 279,
ok þar kon at þeir váru tveir sér Glúmar ok
Þjóstólfur. Njáll. 49
Sometimes sér is used with hváir or hverr and the pronoun takes on a
distributive meaning.

Eptir þetta varð hvíld á ðurrustu ok greiddusk sér
hvár skipin. 3 H 44.
Optliga fóru þeir broprar allir saman, en stundum sér hverr.
1 H 229.
Þeir létu gera at drekkja skyldi á kveldum tvíminnig
hvár sér karlmaþr ok kona svá sem ynnisk, en þeir
sér er fleiri vaeri saman. 1 H 67.

4. The dative case is also used to designate possession in Old Norse,
and sér is found frequently functioning as a dative of possession.

Þau gáfu sik aupajúkíla undir þyliðkar skriptir
sér til yfirbótar. G. 288.
Grettir... velðdi fiska til maþar sér. G. 178.
Haraldr herjap til fraðgar sér. 3 H 222.
Þeir skyldu honum bóta til árs sér. 1 H 30.
Sigurðr jarl... bætt hofub hans vîb skagalar sér. 1 H 130.
pá heitr hon honum þessu til útlausnar sér. 1 H 360.
aetla boendr elgi svá hept til jólavelli sér. 2 H 221.
Flosi tók þá fósiþ ab belti sér. Njáll. 350.
hjóp sá innar undir loptit ok kallar til hjálpar sér,
2 H 335.
En Karkr varð hraeddr ok felmsfullr ok greip kníf
mikinn af sinda sér. 1 H 354.
Eptir um daginn tóku þeir póróddr gill klaði sín
ok vápn ok legiþu sér til handar-gagns. 2 H 330.

The dative of possession is used more often with body parts than the
possessive adjective in Old Norse, although this form also occurs and
will be exemplified in the section on þinn.

Pa kom Hildigunnr í stofuna ok gekk fyrir Flosa ok
greiddi hárit frá augum sér ok greit. Njáll. 290.
kostubu þeir skjöludunn a bak sér. 3 H 264.
hann hafði a bakl sér leprþísku ok í drykk. G. 27.
bar Andreás krossinn í fapsi sér. 3 H 338.
Hon tok eyena í fapsa sér. L. 85.
sveinninn tók vîb gullimnu ok leit á ok dró á fíngr
sér. Njáll. 236.
Njáll kipti skótt a foetr sér. Njáll. 114.
hann greip skaptit milli fota sér. 3 H 265.
pá skaut Heungrir skildinum undir foetr sér. Edda 130.
súmir spentu gullringun um féleli sér. 3 H 227.
Hrútr dró fingrgull af hendi ñér... Njáll. 29.
Sigurðr drap hann ok bar hofup hans á hendi ñér. 3 H 357.
lýsti Skarphéðinn vígi Sigurðar á hendi ñér. Njáll. 117.
þá tek konungr af herpum ñér skikktu gópa... L. 123.
... báru hirþmenn hann á herþum ñér. 1 H 183.
þá tók hjálminn af hofþi ñér. 2 H 26.
Svanr tók getskinn eitt ok veifbi um hofup ñér. Njáll. 37.
Hafþi hann þat í hug ñér at leiba þáttumnum at
sокja mál á hendi honum. Hrafn. 74.
konunginn setti á kné sér Guthorrs, bróbur sinn... 2 H 132.
þá kvap hann þatta fyrir munni ñér. 1 H 135.
hann tók hornit af munni ñér. Edda 72.
hann ... bar upp fiska með munni ñér. V. 2318.
grettir hafþi kastat hettí sinum á xl ñér. G. 227.
"hann ók elgi í skegg ñér..." Njáll. 113.
ok sleikir andilít hans alt með tunra ñér. V. 8176.
þá gerði Lóki þat, at hann bratt út skegg geltar
nokkurrað ok óþrum enda um hreþlar ñér. Edda 23.
hann hafþi misat konu sinnar, barði á brýjost ñér... 3 H 16.
pjóstólfr Álason hafþi lítga konungr í Killingu ñér. 3 H 350.
þá tók konungur braup ok braut ok laði í kross í
lófa ñér. 2 H 437.
Lóki ... hafþi í klóð sér. Edda 99.
hann líggja í miðju hafinu af öllum ok bitr í
sporð ñér. Edda 46.

5. Ñér can also serve as the sole object of a verb in Old Norse.
The following are examples of reflexive verbs which take a dative
reflexive object.

Hon lék sér á golfinn vís aprar meyjar. Njáll. 6.
þau sátu í gjávarloiptinu ok skérsta sér. G. 279.
þeir trúða þér elgi verry en sér... Njáll. 275.
hann treysti sér. G. 191.
en konungsmenn þeir, er foerir váru, forþupu sér...
2 H 499.
hann hlífþi sér mep skildi. G. 221.
síðan dráp hann sér víg stolþupir. G. 58.
Kjartan fleygir sér nú út á ána. L. 122.
Gunnarr gekk út... ok varp sér í svarljinn. Njáll. 136.
hann steypir sér út af þekjunn. ... Njáll. 332.
ok segja þat allir menn at hann braut sér hvarki. Njáll. 189.
hann braut sér hvergi. G. 179.
er hann skipti sér af um mál manna. L. 71.
þar þá þeir sér. Hrafn. 68.
... þá strauk hann sér á miðjum. 3 H 167.
hann ... klóðaði sér. N.A. II 8.
póðr Ingunnarson gerði sér dát þau pórvald ok
Gyðrunni... L. 98.
Hallgerðr gat á palli ok sámp sér vel. Njáll, 45,
on helt sér mjok til vinsælda. G. 276.
Fór þá Magnus konungr til Danmerkr aprtr, bjó sér
þar til vetrsetu... 3 H 44.
Óláfur konungr æfnaði sér til vetrsetu í Sarpsborg.
2 H 289.
Um varit rét, Haraldr konungr sér til skipa, 1 H 107.
Síðan kom þórir sér í tal vís Álra. 1 H 345.
ok kom þóristeinn sér í vinattu vís hann. G. 276.

6. Sér is also used in infinitive constructions.

a. Sér is used in infinitive constructions which are dependent on
verbs.

vilia
hann vill kaupa sér korn. 2 H 245.
þá gekk Sigurfr á loptit eitt ok vildi beipa sér
hljóps. 3 H 389.
hann vill eigi helpna menn hafa í orrostu meþ sér.
2 H 453.
hann... vildi forpa sér sem skjótað. G. 27.

megu
Innþröendir mundu sér sjálfrir beru vitni. 2 H 220.
hon mundi vera vitr ok vel at sér. L. 16.
Óláfur konungr myndi steyp hafa af sér brynjanni í
kafi. 1 H 455.

skulu
Maeltu þat sumir, at þeir skyldu leita sér trausts
til Nóreg-konungs. 2 H 183.
þeir skyldu norðr sigla í land ok fá sér líf. 2 H 75.
ekkju skal hon faldís sér meþ motri. L. 144.
þá spurrð Halldór hvart þeir skyldi hafa hófup
Grettis meþ sér til alþingis. G. 267.

látu
þá létt hann gefa sér konungs nafn. 3 H 45.
En um morguninn létt hann taka sér hest... Hrafn. 64.
Fjosi létt smíma veita sér típar dróttinsdaginn. Njáll, 322.
Pórmóðr létt sér vel fara. G. 159.
Haraldr konungr... létt búa sér til jólaveizlu. 1 H 132-3.
Hákon jarl... létt fa menn vera í husinu hjá sér. 1 H 271.
Magnus konungr létt beru fyrir sér krossinn helga í
orrostu. 3 H 319.

aetla
þeir ... ætluðu at gera sér skip ór skipbrotunum. G. 28.
Porkell lýsir því, at hann aetlar at socki sér
kirkjuvíð ... L. 219.
fara...beir sóru at skemta sér. 1 H 390.
  fór hann út á Snaefellsnos at fá sér skrip. G. 139.

fljúga... (beir) flugu á skog um daga at taka sér mat. 3 H 83.

ingga... beir gengu til árinnar saman at þvá sér. V. 48:1.

riða... Bolli reið til Lauga at skemta sér. L. 132.

hlaupa... Geirrórðr hljóp undir jörnsúlu at forpa sér. Edda 123.

hugsa... Hann ... hugsar at höndla sér hroes nokkur til 
  reiðar. Hrafn. 62.

físa... Gislafyisti jafnan at snúa séir undan. G. 193.

leyfa... Engum manni leypði hon at soökja rúp at sér. L. 12.

verpa... Urpu beir at leita sér verma. Njáll. 438.

bjópa... Einarr baup Grettir með sér at vera um jólin. G. 135.
  Skapti baup honum at sitja hjá sér. Njáll. 298.

senda... Dána-konungur haþði sent þá at leita sér vináttu 
  til þeira. 3 H 468.
  Hann sendi son sinn, Randvö, at bíþja hennar sér til 
  handa. Edda 163.

þykkja... beir svörþpu, at þeim þótti slíkr maðr mikinn rétt á 
  sér eiga. Njáll. 172.
  engi sekð maðr þykkir honum jafnþkíll fyrir sér hafa 
  verit sec Grettir sterki. G. 289.
  þótti oss þe Haraldr konungr Gormsson vera minni 
  fyrir sér en Uppsala-konungar... 2 H 118.

b. Infinitive complements that include sér can be adjectival and 
  adverbial as well as nominal and can, therefore, complete or modify 
  nominal, adjectival and adverbial phrases.

The following examples of sér in infinitive constructions 
  comprise that group of infinitives that are adjectival in function 
  and are dependent on nouns:

Hann ... gaf þeim rúm at sitja hjá sér. Njáll 371.
  en þó gera þeir pat ráð, at fara um sumarit fyrst 
  í Austreleg í hernæg ok fá sér fjár. 2 H 79.
c. The following two examples of sér in infinitive phrases are examples of adverbial infinitive complements dependent on adjectives.

ok var landz mpnum betr viljat at hafa samlenda konunga yfir sér. 2 H 35.
pat segja menn, at bau aevilok Flosa, at hann foeri utan, þa er hann var orðinn gamall, at soekja sér húsavip... Ñjáll. 463.

d. Sér is also found in accusative with infinitive constructions:

kvepa
Geirmundr ... kvesk heldr mundu leita sér annarra forrápa. G. 7.
Grettir kvap sér þat betr þykja en bakeldagarþin. G. 39.
Grettir kvap sér þat allvel líka. G. 78.
Grettir kvap þá til hafa orðit at gera sér þfundarbrýgð. G. 79.
Kjartann ... kvaz sér þá eina vist aetla at hafa á Íslandi. L. 137.
Porkell kvaz ekki mundu sér frípar bibja. L. 176.
Pórgerðr kvap sér lítil vera um þat. L. 81.
Grettir kvap hana engar ónabir af sér skyldu hafa. G. 222.
Grettir kvazk gjarna vilja af sér koma þessu ámael. G. 132.
þa kvaz hann allt vildu eiga undir sér. L. 160.

segja
Grettir sagði sér, þat eigi mundu vera vel hent. G. 37.
Gunnarr segir sér þat vera naer skapi. Ñjáll. 83.
sagðisk hann bastað vilja reisa sér. Hrafnt. 60.

heyra
Hann heyrði marga menn ámaela sér. 3 H 18.

sjá
þa sá hon draug standa fyrir sér. L. 226.
þa sjá þeir tvá menn fara í moti sér. L. 34.

þykja
Bólli þöttiz þurfa at kaupa sér staþfestu. L. 133.
Eiga þykkisk hann nekkut undir sér. G. 150.
þa þöttiz hann sjá á höltinu fyrir sér ku... L. 115.
(Grettir) þykkisk munu þurfa at fá sér eittvert plagg af þessum. G. 191.
Nóttina eptir þa þöttisk hann sjá í svefní mann einn ekki hávan standa þar þt næsta sér. 3 H 310.
hon þöttisk vera stóði í grasgarþi sinum ok taka þorn einn or þerki sér. 1 H 93.
bípa

hann férr til jarphuss brópur síns ok bípr hann veita sér herbergi. V. 919.
Hon tók ekki kveþjunn, en bæ hann þó út ganga meyp sér. Ñjáll. 318.
konungr bæð Eystein eigi koma í augsyn sér. 3 H 392.
Stéinn bæð hann fá sér hest. 3 H 312.
Póðir bæð Karla selja sér mení. 2 H 296.
Grettir bæð hann fá sér váðn nökkt. G. 49.
hann bæð þá flyta sér at landi. G. 71.
Flosi bæð hann þípa til alþingis meyp sér. Ñjáll. 288.
þeir bæðu hann fara heim meyp sér. N.A. 118.
þá fer hann til þannug ok var allfjölmenn ok bæð menn veita sér líþ. 3 H 417.

beita

hann beiddi boendr at gefa sér konungsnaðin ok þat með, at veita sér fullting ok stýrk. 1 H 166.
Óláfr beiddiz at flytja þostru Melkorku á brott meyp sér. L. 61.

The following are examples of the use of sér referring to a noun other than the subject of the main verb of the sentence.


2. "Þat er hverjum manni bopít at leita sér lifs..." Ñjáll. 332.
ok var landz mönum betr viljat, at hafa samlenda konunga yfir sér. 2 H 35.
þá er sá kostr, at leita sér trausts til Nóregs-konungs. 2 H 183.
"skomm mikil er at fara til þess heimann frá þuum sínum dugandi mônum at drauga hér knapa upp jarinhát sér." 3 H 386.

3. þá leysti Knustr konungur leifangrinn ok gaf leyfl óllum mônum at búa sér til vetrvisor. 2 H 301.
hann... gaf mönum þar toptir til at gera sér þar hús. 1 H 386.
Konungr játapi honum því ok bæð hann hafa Cuprðp heim meyp sér. 1 H 136.
Porhallr... bæð hann forpa sér. G. 119.
Hymir bæð hann fá ser sjálfan beitrur. Edda 77.
Konungr bæð þá hlifa sér. 2 H 12.
þeir kvápu hann skuldu taka gjöld ú sjálfum sér fyrir nib sitt. G. 51.
Óspakr... kváð hann eigi mundu vilja þá skýmm optir sér... L. 157.
4. þótti þeim sér nú lítit mundu fyrir verpa at veipa Gunnar. Njáll. 184,
þá þótti honum renna fískr í lauginni hjá sér. 3 H 295.
...
en þonnun þótti sér illa gegna dvæl í einum stáp...
2 H 348.
Guþrun maelti nú við Bolla, at henni þótti hann eigi
hafa sér allt sætt til sagt um utkvámu kjartans. L. 139.
en úlfínum þótti sér þat ekki ofrefli. Edda 47.
honum þótti sér ekki ofoert. G. 95,
þótti Bimn hann lítils verbr hjá sér,... G. 74,
slíkum þonnun þykkj allt lagt hjá sér... L. 152,
þótti þeim í hónd falla at taka upp land þetta hjá
sér sjálfaum ... L. 149.
Margar menn eggjubu konung er stynd var í milli
at naubga þeim kjartani til trijarinnar ok þótti
órablítat at hafa svá marga helpta menn naer sér.
L. 126.

The first example is another example of the comparatively rare
use of indirect reflection in Old Norse.

The second group of examples are infinitive phrases used as
nominals; sér often has impersonal meaning in these examples.

The third group of examples show the dative reflexive pronoun
used to refer to the logical subject of the infinitive in the
infinitive phrase in which it occurs rather than the subject of
the main verb.

The last set of examples of sér referring to a noun other than
the subject of the main verb are those in which bykja is the main
verb and sér refers to the noun in the dative case which functions
as a dative of reference dependent on the main verb (þykkjá).
Síðn is the genitive of the reflexive pronoun. It is found in the sagas as the object of verbs which take the genitive and as the object of prepositions which take the genitive.

A. The following are examples of síðn used as the object of a verb:

Eiríkr gat eigi hefnt síðn. G. 19.
jarí hefpi hefnt síðn. 3 H 381.
sá er banasár fyr, hefnir síðn sjálfr. V. 31:77.

gáta hvern síð ok sinna sveitba. 3 H 409.
gaeti nú hvern síð at eigi flyi eða fálaí fyrir ekki fyrri en ek. 3 H 452.

1) Síðn is also used as the object of a complementary infinitive:
menn urpú at gaeta síðn. Njáll. 164.
Hallmundr bab hann síð vitja. G. 185.
er, Logi heitir, skal gagna á gólf fram ok freista síð í nóti Loka. Edda 70.

2) The following are examples of síðn in accusative with infinitive constructions referring not to the subject of the main verb, but to the subject of the infinitive.

Porgil bab pá fara varliga ok gaeta síðn vipp lýslum.
L. 195.
Eptir þat leipir ygdís hann í utibúr eitt ok bjpri hann þar bjpís sin. L. 32.

B. There are also very few prepositions which take genitive objects in Old Norse. However, one of the most frequently used prepositions, til, is one of them, and it is found relatively frequently in adverbial phrases modifying a small group of verbs and having the genitive reflexive pronoun as its object.

Taka
Tok Eiríkr hana til síðn. M.A. I. 217.
Tok hon hana til síðn. G. 276.
Þorkell tók hana til síðn. G. 205.

Bjóta
Baup Þóskuldr Ólafí til síðn. L. 62.
Pá baup Hjalti Kára til síðn. Njáll 341.
Atli konungr baup til síðn Gunnari ok Höguna... Edda. 161.
stefna

Hann spurni fall Ottars ok stefndi til sín bóna-lípi. 3 H 37.
Eptir pat stefndi Morfr til sín nú búum. Njáll 356.

kalla

Hon kallar til sín Ólaf feilan. L.11.
Síðan kallar Purfr dottir hans til sín húskarla. L. 85.
Pá kallar Útgarð-Loki til sín sveinstaula nökkum.
Edda 70.

segja

Hrunr sagði til sín. Njáll. 17.
Grettir sagði til sín. G. 153.

1. **Sín** is also found as the object of **til** in infinitive phrases. The prepositional phrase in the following examples modifies the dependent infinitive.

   pá lét konungr kalla til sín Sigvat. 2 H 267.
   pá lét Nýrðr kalla til sín Skírní. Edda 54.
   Hon...báþ kalla, menn til sín með alvaepni. 1 H 265.
   jart lét taka ríkra manna doetr ok flyta heim til sín. 1 H 343.
   pá var þar Sveinn konungr ok baþ Sigvatí at fara til sín. 3 H 17.
   drótning hafþi þigi minni hirþ, en konungr, ok kepbusk þau mjök um ágaetis-menn vildi hvártveggja til sín hafa. 1 H 293.
   hann sendi þar menn til hennar ok lét hana hafa til sín... 1 H 126.
   Ekkí lét bóndi heyra til sín. G. 120.
   sendi hann þar orþ Sigurþj jarli at koma til sín. 1 H 195-6.

2. The reflexive expression **til sín** is also found in accusative with infinitive constructions.

   þá kallar hann þenn til sín, sendir suma í buðhina, 
   báþ þá stefna til sín reiðskjótum... 2 H 129.
   Nu segir Burjítlafr konungr jarli, at hann vill heinta þann máldaga ok báþ jarli fara til Danmerkr ok hafa þyri drótningu til sín. 1 H 420.
   Grettir kvap Þórstein opt hafa vel til sín gort. G. 158.
   Konungr báþ þá koma til sín eptir um daginn. 2 H 84.
   þá þottisk hann sjá mann gefuglían koma til sín. 3 H 384.
   ...báþ Þórinr hann til sín fara. G. 73.

The genitive of the reflexive pronoun is also found relatively frequently as the object of the preposition **míli** which occurs in various forms.
milli sín ok tölubu þeir mágar marga hluti milli síñ. G. 44.
En þeir knjápu þetta máli milli síñ... 2 H 277.
Eptir þat eigu Norblendingar stefnu milli síñ...
2 H 274.
þeir stefnudu orrostu milli síñ. Edda 169.
konungar gerði saett ok fríþ milli síñ. 2 H 102.
þeir kaerbí þetta um hríþ milli síñ. 2 H 58.
Síðan taka þau tal milli síñ. L. 67.
(þeir) baru milli síñ mikla mungástbyttu á skipit
1 H 391.
þeir skipið Þørgsveið milli síñ. 1 H 458.
Pá dregu þeir hann milli síñ til skógar. 3 H 383.

síñ á milli Tala þau optílpja þetta síñ á milli. 1 H 241.
Urpu þeir a allað roeþur sáttir síñ á milli. 2 H 516.
Pá maeltu þeir síñ á milli. 2 H 460.
ok bundu þeir þat svarðgum síñ á milli. 2 H 43.
hon hiþpir a elþa manna ok einkamál, er veita síñ á
milli konur ok karla. Edda 51.

síñ í milli Pá maeltu þeir konungarnir síñ í milli. 2 H 195.
Hann menn tölubu opt um þetta síñ í milli. 2 H 392.
þeir höfðingjar tóku roeþur síñ í milli. 2 H 276.
(þeir) bundu þat viþ hann einkamálum síñ í milli
2 H 231.
gerðu þeir síñ í milli stefnulað. 2 H 300.
margir várnu þar rangsáttir síñ í milli ... 2 H 263.
Pá áttu Gautar þing síñ í milli ... 2 H 183.

í milli síñ (þeir) leiddu hann í milli síñ í stufu. Njáll. 421.
þeir...baru í milli síñ manlikan mikít. 2 H 233.
ristu nú í milli síñ helluna. V. 13:100.

millum síñ ok lögðu konungar stefnu mæþ sór ok hittusk ok
gerðu fríþ millum síñ. 1 H 70.

síñ á millum En þó heldu þeir illviljanum ok dœmpu þat síñ
á millum. 2 H 505.
þeir...tóku kaupstefni síñ á millum. N.A. II. 11.

síñ í millum þau astríþr höfðu maelt síñ í millum. 2 H 178.
ok tölubu þeir mætar síñ í millum í einkamálum. 2 H 92.
ok hjólubu þau Yngvi síñ í millum. 1 H 39.

í millum síñ þau... lögðu sveininn í millum síñ. Njáll. 331.
(þeir) kippþu nu í sundri feildinum í millum síñ.
G. 120.
The expressions with milli are always in the plural and are most often found with verbs and expressions denoting speaking or deciding. Here the meaning is 'among themselves'. This expression is used to avoid monotonous repetition of the expression með ser with verbs of speaking. Expressions with milli are found far more frequently than those with millum. The expressions imilli sin and imillum sin were not found with verbs and/or expressions of speaking or deciding in the sagas used in this study, and the meaning is slightly different. These two expressions are found with verbs denoting physical action and the translation varies; either phrase can mean 'together', 'between them' (or 'in between them'). Neither expresses 'among themselves' or 'with each other'; rather these meanings are expressed by the other six phrases.

The preposition meðal has a meaning similar to that of milli and is also found with the genitive reflexive pronoun as its object.

Farandkonurnar təlubu sín í meðal... Njáll, 114, ok kaerðu peir meðal sín optliga. 2 H 183.

These were the only two examples found in the works used for this study. They are found here in conjunction with verbs of speaking and have the same meaning as með ser, as did the six phrases above with milli in conjunction with verbs of speaking.
Sinn

Sinn is the possessive reflexive pronominal adjective and is declined in the strong declension.

Because of the vast amount of material a chart has been made to show the types of words modified and the frequency of occurrence in the eight sagas chosen for this study. Of the reflexive pronouns in Old Norse, sinn, the reflexive possessive adjective, is the most frequently used. It is found modifying nouns in all four cases, both singular and plural. Because Old Norse allows the use of the reflexive pronoun to include 'indirect reflection', sinn is also found in the nominative case.

I. Sinn is used to modify words designating familial relationships:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>bróður</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>systur</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móðurbróður</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fóðurbróður</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonr</td>
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<tr>
<td>dottur</td>
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</table>

II. Although ner is most often used with body parts to designate possession, sinn also occurs, although far less frequently.

<table>
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III. Sinn is also used to designate other person to person relationships.

<table>
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<tr>
<td>konungr</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

IV. Sinn also designates possession of concrete items.

| ættleifp | 4 | klæpi | 18 |
| bop | 13 | knifr | 3 |
| böll | 3 | land | 25 |
| bör | 10 | megin | 2 |
| börli | 2 | merki | 9 |
| börli | 7 | ópal | 12 |
| bu | 82 | ox | 6 |
| bub | 28 | pungr | 3 |
| hústabr | 2 | rekka | 8 |
| brjóta | 3 | rekkr | 2 |
| eign | 27 | ríki | 73 |
| epil | 3 | rími | 12 |
| erfp | 2 | sdr | 13 |
| fæ | 33 | sæti | 13 |
| fældar | 2 | segl | 11 |
| færi | 4 | skali | 3 |
| færr | 5 | skikkja | 4 |
| förtleifp | 6 | skip | 261 |
| gau | 2 | skjöldr | 17 |
| gær | 2 | sgbull | 5 |
| grep | 6 | spjøt | 4 |
| haukar | 2 | sverð | 6 |
| hestr | 72 | tjald | 4 |
| her | 2 | vápn | 49 |
| hundr | 3 | varma-pr | 4 |
| húfæt | 3 | varningr | 7 |
| húla | 6 | veîbr | 6 |
| jör | 7 | veizla | 9 |
| kista | 2 |  |  |
V. Sinn is also used to modify abstract nouns to designate a relationship with the subject of the sentence; in this instance the antecedent, usually the subject, is always human.

| afl  | 4  |
| mál | 58 |
| ætlan | 11 |
| nafn | 8  |
| ætt | 3  |
| orb | 36 |
| en | 7  |
| grendis-lok | 5 |
| athöfn | 3 |
| deatt | 2 |
| bani | 2  |
| partr | 4 |
| boon | 7  |
| rág | 35 |
| bônorb | 4 |
| rágagôp | 8 |
| bûnapr | 6 |
| retrr | 2 |
| dagr | 4  |
| rëpa | 12 |
| dæubi | 2 |
| sætt | 9 |
| domr | 6  |
| sekt | 2 |
| draða | 2 |
| skapl | 3 |
| draunr | 5 |
| skap | 5 |
| eibr | 3  |
| skemma | 3 |
| elbpsjall | 7 |
| spk | 10 |
| ell | 2 |
| stabl | 4 |
| onindi, onindi | 52 |
| stefna | 4 |
| fdr | 6  |
| styrkr | 5 |
| forþ | 117 |
| tal | 11 |
| forlög | 4 |
| trautb | 3 |
| fröndsem | 4 |
| trj | 10 |
| fæls | 3 |
| trinapr | 4 |
| fundr | 5 |
| bjonosta | 3 |
| hagr | 2 |
| vald | 14 |
| harmr | 13 |
| vandi | 4 |
| hellill | 10 |
| vandraði | 8 |
| hlutr | 28 |
| vegr | 13 |
| kaup | 2  |
| vork | 5 |
| kóstnar | 5 |
| vinatta | 18 |
| kostr | 12 |
| vinsæld | 2 |
| leib | 61 |
| virþing | 3 |
| lîbsemd | 2 |
| vist | 3 |
| lif | 21 |
| vizka | 2 |
| lýg | 3 |
Antecedents

The majority of the antecedents of the possessive reflexive pronominal adjective are nouns naming persons. Although the majority of these nouns are masculine, there are, of course, in the sagas a great many instances where the antecedents are feminine.

There are very few cases in the sagas chosen for this study where the antecedent for sinn is an animal:

Mókolla misatí dílks síns. G. 200.
mikinn gny’ gerpi Grani þá, er hann sé sáran
sinn lamar uróttinn. V. 60: 12.
Ok er inn mikli orar kendi síns bañásárs. V. 29:27.
ejn napra mikil...gróf inn sínum rána. V. 70:65.
hipbjorn einn grímar hljóp ór hípi sínu. G. 74.

There are also very few instances in the eight works chosen for this study where the antecedents of sinn are inanimate nouns:

þapar týnír sól skini sínu. Edda 23.
Danavirki, er svá hattat, at fírþir li ganga í
landi sínum þegn landa hvárir. 1 H 300.
þá lét Ólafr konungr brjóta stíflumará ok hleypa
ánni í veg sinn. 2 H 362.
þeir gengu inn í krosskirkju ok raentu hana at ñllu
skrúði sínu. 3 H 337.

There were also very few instances in the works studied where sinn was found to have a neuter antecedent:

Sínnar stundar bíþr hvat. G. 237.
þá hljóp fólkit alt ofan í byinn til fjár síns. 3 H 332.

There are several instances where the reflexive possessive pronominal adjective occurs by itself in the sentence. The noun it modifies has either been mentioned previously and not repeated, or it has been ellipted entirely. In the latter case the meaning "his (her, their) own" refers either to one's family or to one's possessions in general and the possessive pronominal adjective is neuter in gender.
höfpu þeir litinn mat ok engi klaebi nema sín. 2 H 331.
menn munu eigi þora at halda á sínu fyrir yfr. G. 46.
hann átti eptir sínu at sja. G. 152.
en þó misstu þa margir sínar fyrir honum. G. 188.
þeir hafi at sínu gengit. L. 147.

With hvárr and hvert the reflexive possessive pronoun is used
in a distributive sense:

skýldu sitt haust hvárir aþra heim sökkja. L. 139.
þeir skýldu vera þáþr samst á veizlunum ok sín
sinni at hvárs buum. 3 H 291.

There are many more occurrences of sinn, the reflexive possessive
pronominal adjective, not referring to the grammatical subject of
the sentence than of the other reflexives. The examples cited above
of other reflexive pronouns referring to a noun other than the
subject were limited to the impersonal use of the reflexive in nominal
phrases, indirect reflection, and infinitival constructions. Although
a good many of the occurrences of the reflexive possessive pronominal
adjective are found in these constructions also, there are many
instances where this is not the case.

The following are examples of the reflexive possessive
pronominal adjective which has as its antecedent a noun other than
the subject of the main verb.

þótti þópur minum betr sá kostr, at falla í
þar dagg á konungdómi sínun. 1 H 111.
at þeim þókkir þú þar raumþyk þar sitja yfir
sínna hlut, ok son þinn Óláfr. L. 48.
aldri hafði honum þott aevi sin jafngóð. G. 181.

ok er þeir Grétórius sá líþ Hákonar, þá syndisk
þeim líþ þeira Hákonar miklu minna sitt líþ. 3 H 419.
Again, as with the other reflexives, sín is used in the first group of expressions with þykkja (and here also gýna) to refer to the noun in the dative case dependent on the verb. The second group includes those examples of the possessive reflexive adjective which refer to the logical subject of the infinitive in the phrase in which it occurs rather than the grammatical subject of the main verb of the sentence.

The following are examples of the possessive reflexive pronominal adjective used in a rather unusual way. The reflexive does not refer to the subject of the main verb, but instead to an indirect or direct object of the main verb within the same simplex and not in an embedded phrase.

er honum svá mikill hæmr eptir Brynhildi fóstru sína. V. 7615,

hann... fagnar henni vel ok baup henni til sin meþ ollu liði sínu. L- 9,

Engar bostr váru Atli bøþnar fyrir húskaði sínu. G. 104.
hvát vill hann þá bjópa Haraldi konungi
Sigurðarsonyni fyrir sitt starf? 3 H 205.
þeir búpu konungi til fópur síns at taka þar
ili nátta veizlu neð gillu líþi sínu. 2 H 385,
Gunnarr segir, kveð vilja gefa henni gull, ok
bóta henni svá harna sína. V. 60:28.

Porkell spurði, hversu Asmundi segði hugr um
sonu sína. G. 44.
smálanap... sagði henni víg sonar síns. Njal. 250.
Hann sagði henni ok um sína hagi... N.A. I. 216.

Hann þakkabi henni sí tillop. L. 84.
Crettir þakkabi honum fyrir boð sitt... G. 80.
Asgrímar þakkabi honum orð sínu. Njal. 301.
Pókkuð þeir vel sendimenni sitt erendi... Edda 48.
Grínhildr þakkar Sigurði sína fylg. V. 48:77.

Frá honum er þat sagt at hann gaf einni farandi
kona at launum skeskurunar sinnar eitt plogsland
í ríki sínum. Edda 9.
Konungr gerði sva, gaf jarlari stund at rápa um
þetta kór víp menn sína, 2 H 209.

en þær getip eigi launat sí tillop sílikum
mannfylum. L. 164.

Konungr takt Kjartan um frað allra menn fyrir
sakir aettar sinnar. L. 128.

Þá farið heljar öspakliga ok griðpir fyrir mannum
góz sitt. G. 177.

Hann skylldi fá henni eigur sína. 1 H 422.
fá Haraldi hring sínu! 3 H 304.
þeir gengu inn í krosskirku ok raentu hana at
gillu skrúði sínu. 3 H 337.

Vinir hans... logðu þar í konung neð alveþni sitt
ok inn bezta búnab sínn. 1 H 219.

Margir logðu illt til hans fyrir sína ódygb. G. 259.
þeir aetluðu at festa hann á gálga fyrir öskþaðir
sínar. G. 169.

hann..., skipði bótaum hverjum eptir sínum borg. 1 H 95.
hann setti ína yngri í kné mörur sinnar. G. 211.

Magnús konungr Ólafsson...miðti þá á orð sín... 3 H 35.

fann hann þat, at þeir féðgar váru menn forvirrir
ok spurði þá eptir í bróttum sínnum. 2 H 386.

siglbu þá austan um Eyrarsund, svá nógrar til
Vikrinnar á fund Ólafs konungs, fórus þeim honum
skip sín. 2 H 399.

skal ek fara í Nóreg ok eypa þat land oddi
ok eggju ok brenda alt ok gjálda þeim svá ótrúleik
sinn. 2 H 120.

þeir... mæltu sín á milli at þat myndi vera
sjálfræði, at fara til konungs ok fylgja honum
til landið sínns... 2 H 448.
Discussion

As in Gothic the general rule for the use of reflexives can be stated as follows: The reflexive pronoun is used when the antecedent is the subject of the main verb in the third person singular or plural. And the two corollaries which are valid for Gothic are also valid for Old Norse: 1) when a pronoun is used to refer to the subject of the main verb and that subject is in the third person, a reflexive pronoun will be used. 2) When the antecedent for the pronoun is a noun other than the subject of the main verb of the clause the anaphorical pronoun is used.

As well as having the same general rules for the use of the reflexive pronoun as Gothic, Old Norse had the same general exception to this rule. However, the participles are not used to the same extent in ON as in Gothic; the finite verb forms are preferred to the participial phrases. However, unlike Gothic, infinitive phrases, especially accusative with infinitive phrases, as well as infinitive complements are used widely. The same rule as found in Gothic involving infinitive phrases is also valid for Old Norse. If there is an infinitive phrase embedded in the sentence, the pronouns used to refer to the logical subject of the infinitive are expressed as reflexive pronouns.

The same kind of confusion as was noted for Gothic can result in Old Norse as a result of these circumstances:

Níkolás konungr sendi orb Sigurði konungí Jóralafara ok báð hann veita sér líþ ok styrik allan af sínu ríki. J H 297.
Hon mei til hans djarliga ok bæð hann segja sér frá ferðum sínum. Njáll, 85.

Gekk karj þar í fram ok bæð Björn standa at baki sér ok hafa siki allmæki í frammi, en gera sér gagn síkt, er hann mei til. Njáll, 430.

Again one can see that this situation could very possibly lead to confusion and call for explanation making communication clumsy.

Position

The reflexive pronoun stands in an unstressed position in the sentence. The reflexive direct object, whether it is expressed as an accusative, a genitive, or a dative immediately follows the verb which is highly stressed; in this position, the reflexive object is unstressed. The reflexive possessive adjective usually follows the noun it modifies. The dative reflexive pronoun when designating a dative of possession usually follows the noun it modifies. Propositional phrases involving reflexives usually follow the verb. When the dative reflexive pronoun serves as the indirect object, it follows the verb immediately (in cases of inversion, it follows the subject) and is placed before the direct object.

Under conditions where the reflexive pronoun must be stressed, changes in sentence position occur. Because of the meaning of the reflexive pronoun, these changes usually involve the possessive reflexive adjective. When the indefinite pronoun is the subject of the sentence, the possessive reflexive precedes the noun it modifies and indicates a distributive meaning. In other cases of stress or emphasis, the possessive reflexive adjective also precedes the noun it modifies; this is especially true in cases of contrast. The following
paragraph will help to illustrate this usage of position to emphasize the pronoun and its antecedent contrasting two individuals and their actions:

Þorkell kvæði þat vilja mundu at hann vissi þat brátt; hann mælti til þinna manna, at þeir skyldu handtaka hann. Æn Guðrun sat innar á þverpallí ok þar konur hja henni ok hófðu, lin á hófði, en þegar hon verðr vör við, stíg hon af þríðbuðum ok heitr á sínna menn at veita Gunnari líð; hon báð ok engum manni eira, þeim er vildu óvissu lysa. L. 206

While Þorkell was telling his men one thing on the one hand, Guðrun was telling her men something else on the other hand.

The reflexive pronominal adjective is also placed before the noun for emphasis as in Gothic to stress ownership and is again roughly similar in meaning to English 'his own'.
Rules

The rules governing the reflexive pronoun replacement in Old Norse are very similar to those in Gothic (pp. 69-86). For this reason it will not be necessary to duplicate the entire derivation.

The definition of the reflexive pronoun is the same for Old Norse as it was for Gothic:

se, +Pronoun, III, +refl., Ø number, Ø gender.

For Old Norse there must also be a case-marking rule as in Gothic. In a more complete grammar of Old Norse, Case would be defined in detail.

\[
\begin{align*}
\{V\} \text{ Pronoun} & \rightarrow \{V\} \\
\{\text{Prep.}\} & \text{ Pronoun} \quad \rightarrow \quad \{\text{Prep.}\} \quad \text{Pronoun} \quad k
\end{align*}
\]

The general rule for Old Norse states as in Gothic that a Nominal which repeats the subject of the main verb of the clause must be replaced by a reflexive pronoun.

\[
X - \text{Nom+}k_0 \quad - \quad Y - \text{Nom'}+k_1 \quad - \quad Z = \quad X - \text{Nom}+k_0 \quad - \quad Y - \text{set}+k_1 \quad - \quad Z.
\]

Where the symbols are the same for Old Norse as for Gothic, where Nom = Nom', and X, Y, Z are cover symbols. This rule is obligatory in Old Norse and without exception as it was in Gothic.

As in Gothic this rule will follow the rule governing \(\text{wh-}\) questions, and will apply after the Passive transformation. The reflexivization rule which, as we have stated, is obligatory in Old Norse would precede the pronominalization rules for the anaphorical pronouns which, as in Gothic would probably not be obligatory in all instances.
Reflexive Verbs

As in Gothic there are three types of verbs which have reflexive pronouns as objects. There are those verbs which are always found with a reflexive object, the "echte reflexive Verben." These are verbs which have undergone "an obligatory transformation which inserts a replica of the subject after the verb, and this obligatory 'object' is then pronominalized in the usual way." The second group of verbs which are found in ON with reflexive objects includes those transitive verbs which can occur with reflexive objects as well as with other objects. The third group of verbs found in ON with reflexive objects consists of those intransitive verbs which in spite of their being usually intransitive occur with a reflexive object.

The replica of the subject which is placed after the verb by an obligatory or an optional transformation, or which occurs as the object of a transitive verb will be pronominalized by the above rule.

Old Norse, unlike Gothic, had no adverbials which were added to the sentence to show reciprocity. The reflexive pronoun sufficed. There were, however, similar restrictions to those in Gothic on the use of the reflexive pronoun to give reciprocal meaning. The subject had to be plural, and the object had to repeat the subject and be exactly identical to it. In addition the verb had to express the type of action which permitted one subject of the plural subject to act upon another subject and vice versa.

Since there is no phrase or specific form in Old Norse to designate reciprocal action, the idea of reciprocity must be communicated entirely by the verb and the context of the sentence. An isolated sentence in the plural with any one of a certain class
of verbs which designate an action that could be performed either with respect to the self or to another subject could be confusing.

\[ \text{Heir treystusk eigi} \]

could mean: 'they didn't trust themselves' as well as 'they didn't trust each other'. In other cases, however, this confusion because of constraints on the verb would not occur:

\[ \text{cf. ok skiljask heir; Opt fundusk heir; spurbusk heir pÅ tîpendi.} \]

The derivation of reciprocal constructions in Old Norse is the same as in Gothic. The underlying strings,

\[
\begin{align*}
A & \text{ meets } B \\
B & \text{ meets } A
\end{align*}
\]

are conjoined as in Gothic:

\[ A \& B \text{ meet } A \& B. \]

The rule for reciprocal pronominalization is as follows in Old Norse:

\[
\begin{align*}
X - \text{Nom} + k_0 + \text{Pl} & - Y - \text{Nom}' + k_1 + \text{Pl} - Z \\
& = \\
X - \text{Nom} + k_0 + \text{Pl} & - Y - \text{se} + k_1 - Z
\end{align*}
\]

where Nom = Nom' and X, Y, and Z are cover symbols and where Nom is a noun and Pl stands for the plural morpheme. As in Gothic the reciprocal construction is restricted to sentences with plural subjects and in which the object repeats the subject. By this rule the appropriate reflexive pronoun replaces the object which is identical with the subject:

\[ A \& B \text{ fundu sik.} \]

As in Gothic the reciprocal construction is subject to the
constraint that it can only be formed from sentences conjoined in
the manner described above.

Also, as in Gothic, the lexicon must specify the types of
verbs which can yield reciprocal constructions (see pp. 74–76).

By these rules the reflexive pronoun in the following sentence
can be accounted for:

Hallgerpr festi sik. Njâll. 44.

The diagram below represents the Phrase-Marker of the above sentence:

```
S
  NP
  | Predicate Phrase
   Hallgerpr
     Aux
      pros.
       V
        NP
         festa Hallgerpr
```

After the appropriate transformations have been performed, the
surface structure will show the sentence as stated above, and the
second occurrence of Hallgerpr will have been replaced by sik.
The Possessive

As in Gothic, a rule must be included which will substitute the possessive reflexive pronominal adjective, *sinn*, for a noun in the genitive case which repeats the subject of the sentence and which shows a possessive relationship with another noun in the sentence. As in Gothic this is a substitution rule:

\[ X \rightarrow \text{Nom} \cdot k_0 \quad Y \rightarrow \text{Nom}' \quad \text{Nom}'' \cdot k_3 \quad Z \rightarrow X \rightarrow \text{Nom} \cdot k_0 \quad Y \rightarrow \text{Nom}' \quad \text{set} \cdot k_3 \cdot Z. \]

A more complete grammar of Old Norse would include transformations replacing \( k_0, k_1 \) etc. with phonologically appropriate segments. For the above rule *Nom = Nom*' and \( X, Y, \) and \( Z \) are cover symbols.

Constituent Structures

In Gothic the constituent strings were often in the form of participial constructions rather than infinitive constructions. In Old Norse the opposite is true: the infinitive construction is far more common than the participial construction and, therefore, an infinitive construction will be used to illustrate the use of the reflexive pronoun in constituent constructions in Old Norse.

The first sentence will include an infinitive phrase whose logical subject is identical with the grammatical subject of the sentence:

\[ \text{þórr hugði ... at verja sik. Edda 66,} \]

The Phrase-Marker is below:
Reflexivization will occur replacing the second occurrence of pórr in the constituent sentence by sik first. After reflexivization has taken place, the following string is derived:

$$pórr \text{ hugði} \# \text{ pórr verja sik} \#$$

After the operations have been performed on the constituent sentence, the second occurrence of pórr will be deleted (since it is unnecessary repetition and, therefore, redundant) and the verb will be transformed to the infinitive form, and the surface structure will be obtained in the form quoted above.

The operation of reflexivization is an obligatory, cyclic transformation which must be performed in Old Norse on the constituent sentence first.

In the following example the logical subject of the infinitive is different from the subject of the main verb of the clause:

Konungr bað menn vápna sik. 1 H 89.
The Phrase-Marker diagram for this sentence is below:

```
S
   NP Predicate Phrase
      konungr Aux past V NP
      bipja menn NP S
                         NP Predicate Phrase
                                Aux VP
                                       V NP
                                             vápna menn
```

The rule for reflexivization is performed on the constituent sentence first. After this rule is applied, the following string is derived:

```
konungr bab menn #menn vápna sik#
```

In order to form an infinitive construction, the verb is put in the infinitive form; since the first occurrence of menn is repeated in the constituent string, one of these two occurrences is redundant and is deleted by redundancy rules.

As is the case in Gothic, there is no rule in Old Norse which requires that the sik, a reflexive pronoun be deleted and replaced by an anaphorical pronoun even though it no longer refers to the subject of the main verb of the clause.

In Old Norse as well as in Gothic if there occurred a noun in the constituent sentence which repeated the subject of the main verb of the clause, that noun would have to be replaced by a reflexive pronoun. The diagram below will illustrate the Phrase-Marker for the
Following sentence:

Grímr báð hann (Grettí) vitja sin. G. 152.

Since there is no repetition of the subject of the constituent string within the string, reflexivization does not take place upon the first application of the rule. The reflexivization rule is then applied to the entire string. By the second application of the rule the second occurrence of Grímr is replaced by sin because it repeats the subject of the matrix string. The rules for forming an infinitive phrase would transform the verb of the constituent string into an infinitive form and the second occurrence of Grettír would be deleted by redundancy rules.
The Reflexive Pronoun in Factive Expressions

The verb, bykkja is the factive form of the verb pekkja. It is accompanied by a noun in the dative case which names the perceiver of the action which is expressed by an infinitive. The pronoun used in the infinitive construction to refer back to the perceiver of the action, which is in the dative case is a reflexive pronoun rather than an anaphorical pronoun.

This construction is similar to the Latin construction with the deponent verb videri. The Latin deponent verb developed from the medio-passive, and the Old Norse verb in the factive construction, bykkja, is generally considered to have medial meaning.

The transformation involved here has been called the 'second passive' by Lees because the transformation involved is very similar to the passive transformation. The following sentence will be used to illustrate what sort of operation is involved and how it affects the use of the reflexive pronoun:

Pótti honum (Hrafn) djølfar vilja draga sik til.

Njáll. 452.

In order to arrive at the surface structure as stated above, several transformations must take place. The following diagram gives the Phrase-Marker for the above sentence.
The following string is derived:

\( \text{Hrafn} - \text{þatti} # \text{djölfar} - \text{vilja} - \text{draga} - \text{til} - \text{Hrafn} # \)

The constituent sentence is transformed into an infinitive phrase according to the rules governing infinitive constructions: \text{djölfar} is transformed into an accusative and the verb \text{vilja} becomes an infinitive form, \text{vilja}. By the rules stated earlier there is now an obligatory transformation replacing the second occurrence of \text{Hrafn} by \text{þik} since it is identical with the subject. After the reflexivization rule has been applied, the factive transformation can be performed. The rule for the factive transformation is stated as follows:

\[
X - \text{Nom} + k_0 - \text{þekkja} - \text{Nom}^t + k_1 - \text{V} + \text{inf} - Z \quad = \\
X - \text{Nom}^t + k_1 - \text{þekkja} + \text{fact.} - \text{Nom} + k_2 - \text{V} + \text{inf} - Z
\]

\( \text{þekkja} + \text{fact.} \) must be defined as \( \text{þykkja} \).

There is an optional rule also in Old Norse which transforms the logical subject of the infinitive to a nominative case:

\[
X - \text{Nom}^t + k_1 - \text{þekkja} + \text{fact.} - \text{Nom} + k_2 - \text{V} + \text{inf} - Z \quad = \\
X - \text{Nom}^t + k_0 - \text{þekkja} + \text{fact.} - \text{Nom} + k_2 - \text{V} + \text{inf} - Z
\]

This rule states that the 'logical subject' of the infinitive can become a nominative or can remain an accusative if the option is not taken. If it becomes a nominative the rules for concord would change the verb to agree with the new 'subject', otherwise the entire infinitive phrase acts as the 'subject'. The subject of the main verb becomes a dative and the verb is transformed to the factive form. The reflexive pronoun is not affected by this rule; it will not be changed to an anaphorical pronoun because there were no rules for such a pro-
cess in Old Norse even though the original subject of the underlying string is not the subject of the sentence in the surface structure.

Other Nominal and Some Adverbial Infinitive Constructions

The only nominals that were found which involved reflexive pronouns were infinitives. Infinitive complements have already been discussed, and the syntax of infinitives as appositives of or adjectives modifying other nominals is very similar. The following are examples of infinitive phrases used in apposition to other nominals:

1) þá tok hann þann kost, at leggja alt á vald konungs baepi sik ok ríki sitt. 2 H 208 (is derived from hann legr alt á vald konungs baepi sik ok ríki sitt.)
2) ok var þat ráþ manna þeira, er eptir váru at gefa upp kastala ok sjálfa sik í vald helbinni manna. 3 H 337. (is derived from þeir gefa upp kastala ok sjálfa sik í vald helbinni manna.)
3) þa er kostr, at leita sér trausts til Nóregs-konungs. 2 H 183 (is derived from þeir leita sér trausts til Nóregs-konungs.)
4) en þó gera þeir þat ráþ, at fara um sumarit fyrst í Austrevg í hernab ok fá sér fjár. 2 H 79. (is derived from þeir fara um sumarit fyrst í Austrevg í hernab ok fá sér fjár.)

In the above examples all the reflexive pronouns refer to the logical subjects of the infinitive phrases which have been deleted. The rule for the operation for forming a nominal infinitive from an underlying string is as follows:

\[
X \rightarrow \text{Nom+k} \rightarrow \left\{ V_{\text{intr.}} \right\} - Z = X - \emptyset - \text{inf.} \rightarrow \left\{ V_{\text{intr.}} \right\} - Z
\]

Reflexivization has taken place in the constituent sentence before this rule is applied and the reflexive pronoun remains intact, although it no longer necessarily refers to the subject of the matrix sentence.
and the subject of the constituent sentence has been deleted. (In the case where the subject of the matrix sentence is identical to the subject of the infinitive phrase, the underlying subject of the constituent sentence, it will refer to the subject of the matrix sentence.) The above rule states that the subject is deleted and the verb becomes an infinitive form; nothing else is changed. This rule which forms infinitive appositives from complete sentence strings can only operate when the infinitive phrase stands in apposition to verbal nouns whose original verb belongs to the class of verbs which takes infinitive complements.

Similarly adverbial infinitive phrases are formed:

1) ok var landz mónnum betr viljat at hafa samlenda konunga yfir sér. 2 H 35 (is derived from þeir vilja hafa samlenda konunga yfir sér.)
2) hann var orþinn gæsall at soekja sér húsavíp. Njáll 463. (is derived from hann sotti sér húsavíp).

As is the case with infinitive complements, the reflexivization rule will be reapplied replacing any noun in the constituent string which repeats the subject of the matrix sentence by a reflexive pronoun.

Adjective infinitive phrases are formed in like manner:

Hann gaf þeim rúm at sitja hjá sér. Njáll 371.

is derived from the following string:

Snorri gaf þeim rúm # þeir sitja hjá Snorri #

The second occurrence of Snorri must be replaced by a reflexive pronoun according to the reflexivization rule because the second occurrence is a repetition of the subject of the matrix sentence and, therefore, subject to the reflexivization rule.
Indirect reflection

Indirect reflection is the use of a reflexive pronoun in a subordinate clause to refer to the subject of the independent main clause rather than the subject of the verb of the clause in which it occurs. In Old Norse this usage occurs in both subjunctive and indicative clauses. Although it is not a common usage of the reflexive pronoun, the anaphorical pronoun being far more common in this usage, it does occasionally occur. It would seem that the authors of the sagas were not completely at ease with this usage and it is probably for this reason that it occurs so rarely.

Indirect reflection was a reasonably common use of the reflexive pronoun in Latin. In Latin the reflexive pronoun could be used

"to refer to the Subject of the main clause though themselves standing in a subordinate clause.
This is possible only where the subordinate clause expresses the thought of the Subject of the main clause.

his mandavit ut ad quae diceret Ariovistus ad se referrent,
he charged them to report to him what Ariovistus should say; B.C. 1, 47, 5," 10

"hunc mandat ut ad se quam primum revertatur, 4, 21, 2,
he instructs him to come back to himself as soon as possible... excruciat me erus, quia sibi non dixerim. Pl. MG. 859. my master'll torture me because I have not told him... Faetus omnis libros, quos frater suus reliquisset, mihi donavit. Att. 2, 1, 12,
Faetus made me a present of all the books which (he said) his brother left." 11

("Pompeius a me petivit) ut secum et apud se esset cotidie (Cic. Att. V. 6)
Pompey asked me to visit him and to be daily with him at his home.
Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso quo id adversum se dux potissimum lectus esset praestantem virum credebant. (Liv. XXI, 39)
Hannibal based his reason for considering Scipio an outstanding man on the very fact that he had been singled out to be commander-in-chief against him. Decima legio Caesaris gratias egit, quod de se optimum judicium fecisset,... (Caes. B.G. I, 41) The tenth legion thanked Caesar because he had formed the highest opinion of them..."12

From the examples cited above, it would appear that indirect reflection in Old Norse had a similar restriction to that in Latin, i.e. the subordinate clause must express the thought or purpose of the subject of the main clause. Nygaard lists three more examples of indirect reflection, all of which comply with this restriction.

"a) þá huggaþ þóþ þat- ef hann kvaemi svá í
foerl at slá hann it þrípar harfus - at aldri skyldi
hann sjá síc sipan, (Sk. 36,9) þá raelti
Útgargarolki til þórs ok spyrð, hverning honum
þikkir ferþ sín orþin, eða hvárt hann hefir
hitt ríkarra mánn nökkurn en síc (Sk. 33, 36)
Sigmundr býr þá, at þeir mundu þjálpser
(ø: han flá). I 554, 32)" 13

This usage in Latin was restricted to subjunctive clauses 14 but because the rules for the use of the subjunctive are different in Latin from those in Old Norse, that restriction was not valid for Old Norse. In Latin such clauses as those expressing purpose or indirect question were expressed in the subjunctive mood; this was not the case in Old Norse, and the use of indirect reflection was not restricted to subjunctive clauses although it was restricted to those clauses which expressed the thought, desire or purpose of the subject of the main clause.

Because the use of indirect reflection was so rare in Old Norse and because it was limited to the same restriction as it was in Latin, i.e. the clauses in which this usage is possible express the thought of the subject of the main clause, it is possibly a syntactic borrowing
from Latin at the time when the monks brought Christianity and the
Latin alphabet to Iceland.

A Case where the Anaphorical Pronoun is Used Exclusively

When there are more than one subjects present in the sentence,
if a relationship between them is to be expressed by means of a
possessive pronoun, the anaphorical pronoun is chosen rather than
the reflexive sín.

E.g., fór Porkell at leita ok húskarl hans (meb
honum) L., 115.
Porkell sótti þegar á fund Ólafs konungs ok

The rule states that in order to replace a noun with the reflexive
pronoun, that noun must be exactly identical to the subject. That
both nouns are subjects of the same verb, although the verb has
a singular form, is due to the rule governing conjunction reduction
in ON. This rule states that when a string is derived from two
underlying strings having the same (singular) verb, the singular
verb is retained and the conjunction follows the verb. 15

\[ A + Vb_{SG} \& B + Vb_{SG} = A + Vb_{SG} \& B \]

This is unlike the rule in Modern English which states that
the two subjects are joined by a conjunction and the verb is plural:

\[ A + Vb_{SG} \& B + Vb_{SG} = A \& B + Vb_{PL} \]

In the examples of Old Norse above, however, there is a double
subject but because of the conjunction reduction rule a singular verb;
the possessive (and the pronoun object of the preposition) refers to
only part of the subject; therefore, since the noun in question does not
exactly repeat the entire subject, the reflexive cannot be chosen.
The Non-reflexive use of the Reflexive Pronoun

As indicated above, the reflexive possessive pronoun adjective is sometimes used to refer to a direct object or an indirect object in the same simplex sentence. This usage is not a very common one in Old Norse, however, it is more common than the use of indirect reflection. It is the feeling of this author that this usage was not inherent in the Germanic languages, but was also a borrowing from the Latin.

In Latin when it is clear from the context,

"1. Suus is often used to refer to the subject of an act involved in the thought, though not distinctly stated. Caesar Fabium cum sua legione remittet in hiberna, Caesar sends Fabius back with his (Fabius's) legion to his winter quarters (Fabius went back with his legion); B.C. 5, 53, 3.
2. Suus is occasionally used to refer to the person most prominent in the thought of the sentence, even though that person is neither the grammatical nor the real ("logical") subject. desinat insidiari domi suae consul, let them cease to set an ambuscade for the consul in his own house; Cat. 1,13, 32. "10

Neither this use of the reflexive pronoun, nor the use of indirect reflection was permissible in Gothic. Gothic did not fall under the influence of Latin to the same extent as did Old Norse. Syntactic borrowing, although not common, is found in language. Perhaps the most profound example also involves reflexives: that is the reincorporation of reflexives into the Middle Low-German language which is documented in the study done by Reichhelm. Because of the similarity in usage of the reflexive pronoun in Old Norse to that in Latin
with regard to the non-reflexive use of the reflexive pronoun and
the use of indirect reflection, both of which are not found in
Gothic, it would appear that this is a possible case of syntactic
borrowing on the part of Old Norse from Latin.

The Anaphorical Pronoun Used Reflexively

As in Gothic, there are examples in Old Norse of anaphorical
pronouns used where one would expect a reflexive pronoun:

Konungr baþ hann segja skaplóst hans. 2 H 386.

En Eyvindr tekur því vel ok þibr Sárn ríba heim
fyrir, en senda hesta á móti varningi hans. Hrafn. 80.

The fact that these occurrences are few and far between would seem
to indicate that these forms were probably not really in competition
yet, that the reflexive pronoun is in Old Norse, as in Gothic, the
preferred form; but possibly the anaphorical pronoun could be used
for clarity. Or perhaps, as indicated above, these could be errors
on the part of the original author or on the part of the scribes
who copied and recopied the material.
FOOTNOTES


2 Ibid. p. 155.


4 Ibid. examples taken from p. 164.

5 Ibid. examples taken from p. 165.

6 Ibid. p. 171.

7 Ibid. p. 172.


CHAPTER FIVE
THE OTHER OLD GERMANIC LANGUAGES AND
MODERN STANDARD GERMAN

Old High German

As has been shown, the use of the reflexive pronoun is very similar in Old Norse and Gothic barring minor differences very possibly due to outside influences. The absolute phrases found in Gothic are very rare in Old Norse, and indirect reflection and the use of the reflexive possessive pronominal adjective to refer to direct and indirect objects, common in Old Norse, do not occur in Gothic. Other than these divergences, the syntactic rules in Gothic and Old Norse are the same. The situation is quite different in Old High German.

In Old High German there is only one case remaining of the declension of the reflexive pronoun, the accusative, *sih*. The dative has completely disappeared; the genitive *sin* remains morphologically part of the language but is no longer strictly a reflexive. The possessive has become the masculine singular possessive pronominal adjective, and its use does not differ from that of the possessive personal (anaphorical) pronominal adjectives of the other genders and numbers. These possessive pronominal adjectives are used both reflexively, that is, to refer to the subject of the main verb and also anaphorically, that is to refer to any other noun in the sentence or in previous sentences. To avoid confusion all third person possessive pronominal adjectives show gender and number of the antecedent noun as well as the
case, number and gender of the word being modified. The former are shown by the stem and the latter by the endings.

The anaphorical pronoun became used exclusively in the dative; it was used reflexively to refer to the subject of the main verb as well as anaphorically to refer to any other noun in the sentence in which it occurs or in a previous sentence. However, as early as Old High German times, the accusative reflexive pronoun is sometimes found representing the dative case when referring to the subject of the main verb after the prepositions _foma_ and especially _ze_

This use of the reflexive pronoun after certain dative prepositions is, however, not found in either infinitive or in participial constructions, e.g. _quementan ze /mo_, Tatian 17.4.

The form which remained reflexive in Old High German from the old reflexive declension, _sib_, the accusative, was used for all genders and all numbers. It was governed by the same general rule as all the reflexives were in Gothic and Old Norse; it was used to refer to the subject of the main verb of the clause in which it occurred. The corollaries of this rule were also valid in Old High German with slight modification, when a pronoun in the accusative case is used to refer to a subject in the third person of the sentence, the reflexive pronoun is used. And, furthermore, if a word other than the subject is the antecedent, a personal (anaphorical) pronoun is used.
As in Gothic and Old Norse, in infinitive phrases a reflexive pronoun was used to refer to the logical subject of the infinitive or to the subject of the main verb.

a) daz man Marcholfum saget sих ellenon N. ps 4\[\text{35}^{b}\]; er ne wolte filios dei sих miscelon N. ps. 5\[\text{16}^{b}\]; thesan fundum es quedan sих Crist wesan T 19\[4^{u}\], 2; nu behennest tu daz analutte des sих pergenten trugetievels N. Bth. 47\[b\]. 1

b) bat er sих ketrencan daz uuip. S 17, 5, taz er (Croesus) sahe iouem sих (Croesum) uuaxer anagichez. Nb. 61, 16, -- in spiegels uuis uuider uuerfen die an sих kekozenen skimen. Nc\[2^{2}\]. 2

There were very few participial constructions found containing reflexive pronouns. In the following example the reflexive pronoun refers to the logical subject of the participle which is identical to the subject of the clause:

Bidiu uuarlicho meer suchtun inan Judel zi arslahanne, uuanta eccorodo ni zilocta sambaztag, auch sinan fater quad got, ebanlichan sих tuanti gote. Tatian 88, 6.

In one instance the anaphorical pronoun is used to refer to the subject of the main verb of the clause; the subject of the main clause and the subject of the participial phrase are not identical:

\[\text{вио mihhiles mer iuwer fater gibet guot inan piteten.} \text{ T. 40, 7.}^{3}\]

even though the Latin has a reflexive in this position:

\[\text{quanto magis pater vester dabit bona petentibus se.} \text{ Math. 7,1.}^{4}\]

However, in another instance, a reflexive pronoun is used to refer to the subject of the main verb of the clause under the same circumstances; i.e. the subject of the main clause and the subject of the participial phrase are not identical:
inti gisah gotes geist nidarstigant an lichamlichero
gisiuni samaso tubun, quementan ubar sih. Tatian 14,4.

cf. Mathew 3, 16;

et vidit spiritum dei descendentes corporale
specie ut columbam, venientem super se.

It is possible that at this time there was an option as to whether a
reflexive or an anaphorical pronoun would be used to refer to the sub-
ject of the main clause when it was not identical to the subject of the
participial phrase; that is, either was acceptable. It is also possible
that one of the two examples is an error (but which?). Because there
are only two examples and because a different pronoun occurs in each,
no conclusions can be drawn from this evidence about the use of the
reflexive pronoun in participial phrases to refer to the subject of
the main verb.

Although the rules have undergone the limitations of having
only an accusative reflexive in Old High German, nevertheless, there
is not a great deal of difference between these rules and those noted
above for Gothic and Old Norse, even though there is some divergence
as noted below. The following rule is the general rule for the use
of the reflexive pronoun in Old High German:

\[ X - \text{Nom} + k_o - Y - \text{Nom}' + k_1 - Z = X - \text{Nom} + k_o - Y - \text{s}ih - Z \]

Where the symbols are all the same as above except that the
reflexive is defined as being only \(+k_1\), that is only \text{s}ih
can occur. The rule states that if the noun in the nominative
case, the subject, is repeated in the accusative case it must
be replaced by \text{s}ih. This rule is obligatory in Old High German.
It was applied cyclically as in Gothic and Old Norse; first all nouns in the constituent sentence in the accusative case which repeated the subject of the constituent sentence were replaced by *sīh*. The rule was then applied to the entire sentence, rendering any noun in the sentence which repeated the subject of the main verb and which occurred in the accusative case as *sīh*. This rule was also subject to the constraint that it would not apply to relative clauses, indirect questions and all other dependent clauses where a finite verb is needed. Indirect reflection did not occur in Old High German.

Tho quad her themo ther inan ladota; Tatian 110, 4.

Dicebat autem et ei qui se invitaverat. Luke 14:12.

This rule led to the same kind of confusion in Old High German as was noted in Gothic and Old Norse: the reflexive pronoun in the constituent strings could refer to either the subject of the constituent sentence or the subject of the matrix sentence.

In Old Norse and Gothic a rule was needed which made obligatory the replacement of nouns in the genitive case following other nouns by reflexive pronominal adjectives if these nouns repeated the subject of the sentence. In Old High German this rule is lost entirely. The possessive pronominal adjective, *sīn*, will be defined as the masculine pronominal adjective of the third person.
What caused the loss of the dative reflexive pronoun in Old High German is a mystery which because of a lack of data can only be speculated about. In Old French lui was also replacing sol especially in the position following prepositions. In the Latin of the Middle Ages sibi was used to refer not only to the subject of the sentence but also to any other noun in the sentence, thereby losing its reflexive distinction. It is possible that Latin influence on the Old High German language precipitated the loss of the dative reflexive pronoun.

As was noted in the chapter on Old Norse, the possessive reflexive adjective in Latin was also beginning to lose its reflexive distinction and was even in very early times used when an anaphorical pronoun would have been expected to refer to a noun other than the subject of the sentence. By the Middle Ages, this became an even more common usage than in Classical times, and it could also have had an effect on the use of the reflexive possessive adjective in Old High German. Before rhotacization there were five pronominal forms in Old High German which were very similar phonologically: the masculine nominative singular,*17; the masculine genitive singular,*12; the neuter nominative singular, *13; the neuter genitive singular, ës and the neuter accusative singular, *15. It is easy to see where this situation may have led to confusion. Perhaps this confusing situation as well as the influences of the Latin led to the loss of the reflexive meaning of sin. Because of the types of relationships shown by the possessive, it is logical that it was used first as the masculine possessive pronoun; the feminine had a distinctive pronoun
to use when referring to any feminine noun when sin became limited to the masculine. From the earliest times there were very likely from the evidence of the other two old Germanic dialects studied very few instances where a neuter noun was the antecedent of a possessive pronominal adjective, and, therefore, this form at least very early did not occur very often. After the number of neuter nouns increased and especially when the use of diminutives increased (two in particular, das Mädchen and das Fräulein), the older form es, ie caused confusion and was replaced by sin. The use of sin as the neuter possessive pronominal adjective is found first in Notker. Since Alemannic is very rich in the use of diminutives, this would lend support to the hypothesis that the increased use of diminutives influenced the use of sin as a neuter possessive as well as a masculine possessive. These nouns were well suited as antecedents for the possessive pronoun; and the form of the older possessive was too confusing, i.e. phonologically similar to the neuter nominative and accusative singular.
Middle High German

In Middle High German the situation is much the same as in Old High German with very few new developments. One of these developments is the spread of the use of *sin* to include the neuter gender as well as the masculine as the possessive pronominal adjective. In Old High German times *sin* was used in Notker, as noted above, for antecedent nouns of neuter gender, but *is* was more common. By Middle High German times, *sin* was commonly used as the possessive pronominal adjective for antecedents of either masculine or neuter gender.

Another change is the spread of the use of *sib* to more positions governed by the dative case and which were in Old High German times occupied by anaphorical (personal) pronouns in the dative case. Although the spread of this use of *sib* was not completed until well into Modern German times, *sib* had begun to replace the dative anaphorical pronoun when it referred to the subject of the main verb of a clause:

> von dem liechten schine der zuct im neben sich
> sin bein. Parz. 64, 6.
> alle sine recken der wirt zuo sich gewan. Nib. 729, 2.
> sine vriunt er alle zuo sich nam. Trist. 233, 13.

With respect to constituent strings the situation has not changed since Old High German times. A reflexive pronoun in an infinitive phrase refers either to the logical subject of the infinitive or to the subject of the main verb.
a) der wirt in sich uz sloufen bat. Parz. 166,12; lat sich den hæz verenden. Guðr. 522, 4

b) ir gast (acc.) si (nom.) sich küssen bat. Parz. 23, 30;
er bat sich wisen zuo ir grabe, Trist. 18652, 7

The rules governing the use of the reflexive in Middle High German are the same as those in Old High German, and the ordering is also the same.
Old English and Old Saxon

As stated in Chapter One, the reflexive pronoun was lost in Old Saxon and Old English. That there once existed a reflexive pronoun in these dialects can be inferred by the sporadic occurrence of the reflexive possessive pronominal adjective, sin. (Beowulf: 2160, 1236, 1507, 1960, 1984, 2283, 2789. The Heliand: 3832, 109, 1022, 1320, 3197, 786, 1316, 992, 1128, 3242, 1664, 3042, 839, 980, 1838, 1382, 3830).

It is the opinion of J.M. Farr that

"Its loss was due, no doubt, to the extension of the reflexive use of the third personal pronoun in accordance with the first and second persons in which the personal and reflexive pronouns were already identical." 8

It is very possible that the loss of the true reflexive pronoun and the assumption of its function by the personal pronoun was aided by the process of analogical spread. The loss of the reflexive pronoun was very possibly precipitated by the influence of the Celtic dialects on the Ingwaesonic languages. It is probably not a coincidence that the Anglo-Saxons, the Low Saxons, the Frisians and the Celts, all of whom did not have a reflexive pronoun in their language, occupied the same geographic territory. Because it was often necessary to communicate with speakers of a different linguistic background, particularly in the earliest stages of communication, it is the natural tendency to choose words easily translatable and whose functions are the same or most similar in both languages. The reflexive pronoun as a low level syntactic entity was easily susceptible to being dropped (there
are relatively very few reflexive verbs in the dialects which have no reflexive pronoun. Hermodsson, L. Reflexive und Intransitive Verba im Älteren Westgermanischen, pages 184-5.) or replaced by another word with similar function, the personal pronoun, which in Celtic had both anaphorical and reflexive functions. The fact that the personal pronouns already had assumed reflexive meaning in addition to anaphorical meaning in the first and second persons simply aided this process.

The Low German dialects re-incorporated the reflexive pronoun into the language at a later date, well after Celtic had died out, and the relationship with the speakers of Old High German had increased.

The English dialects, however, developed a new form to express reflexivity. A compound was formed made up of the personal pronoun and the word self. How and why this form developed is a question to which various grammarians have addressed themselves.

"Grimm (Gram., IV, 360 f., ed. 1837) explains the forms of the first and second person as survivals of the Anglo-Saxon emphatic Genitives min selfes, bin selfes with the weakening of min, bin to my-, thy- as in the possessive. He further sees in the -cs termination of the plural a survival of the original Gen. singular termination which has been transferred to the plural. The third person Masc. sg. has preserved the Dative form under the combined influence of its preponderating frequency of occurrence and of French lui-même. Itself may represent either the Nom. or Acc., and herself the Gen. or Dat.

A second view, held by Koch (Gram., I 470 f., II, 255 f.), is that the compound form of the oblique cases was extended by analogy to the Nom., i.e., that he self under the influence of him selfum became he himself. This has already
happened in Anglo-Saxon in such expressions as - he com him sylf to eow. The possessive forms result from the substantival use of self.

Mätzer (Gram., I, 308 f.; II, 67 f.) holds a third view... This view accepts the substantival use of self to account for the possessive forms; but considers the Dative forms of the third person as a result of the hardening of the construction, the reflexive Dative and the Nominative self (he com him self to eow) into a compound Nom., caused by the loss of the feeling for the reflexive Dative with certain verbs...

Kellner (#296) adds a third view as to the possessive forms, suggesting 'that this construction was brought into existence by some change in the pronunciation of the -e- in me self, the self, so that it was confounded with the -i- in my self, thy self.'

Each of these theories is open to serious, if not fatal, objections in light of the facts considered below. The derivations of the possessive forms from the Ags., emphatic Gen. min selves, etc., is rendered improbable by the fact that this construction, while tolerably frequent in the poetry, is very rare in the prose, a construction dying out in favor of agen. The evidence for the substantival use of self is slight, even if any exists. The change in the pronunciation of the -e- in me self, etc., is too vague to be seriously considered. Further, every theory which fails to explain the differentiation between the forms of the first and second person, and those of the third and which fails to take into consideration the facts that the el-, el-forms exist for over a century before the possessive forms arise in their plurals, that they occur along with the es-, bos- forms during this time, and that they are excluded from certain texts, must be considered inadequate.

The theories for the Dative forms are also unacceptable. The forms occur before the Dative has become the dominant objective pronominal form. They occur while the reflexive Dative is still an active construction in all the categories of verbs established for Ags., and further they show no tendency to originate with these classes of verbs. Finally, the facts that these forms do originate in the non-juxtaposed positions of the pronoun and
self (he hit self dide), while the older form persists in the juxtaposed (he self hit dide), and that a parallel construction is found in him one (Ags. ana = alone), must be taken into consideration.

...The view (which Farr advances is) that the first step in the formation of the compound was the establishment of the Dative form for all persons. It arose in the non-juxtaposed positions of the nom, self under the combined influences of the juxtaposed positions of the Nom. and oblique cases, and of the weakening of inflectional ending and the consequent necessity for position to determine relation. The Dative form was added as a disjunctive pronominal reinforcement, an office which it seems to fill elsewhere. The pi-, bi- forms are originally natives and the -i- is used as the orthographic means of indicating the pronunciation of re and be- in unaccented syllables, parallel to the spelling before (before), bi ench (be ench) etc. This began in the Nom. where me-, be- were disjunctive repetitions of an already expressed pronoun. It was extended to the oblique cases and then, from its similarity in sound, became identified with the unaccented possessive, especially in expressions like "I saved my goods and myself."

The changes after 1250 are simpler. The possessive forms of the first and second persons singular are extended to their plurals. The Dative persists in the third person Masc. and fem. sg. and the plural. Itself does not occur in Early Mid. Eng., but is a new formation where it- is an added objective pronoun, analogous to him, her, them, now felt as the objective case. Selves is made according to the noun declension from its substantial use with possessives. 9

The above mentioned theories all attempt to explain under what conditions the compound arose and what the origin of the first element is. W. Preussler feels that this compound was precipitated as a result of the Celtic influence on the English language.
The Parent Language

Using the evidence available in Gothic, Old Norse, and Old High German, it is possible to make some speculative remarks about the syntax of the reflexive pronoun in the parent language, Proto-Germanic. Proto-Germanic probably had the reflexive pronoun in the following forms:

*sina, *sia, *sik.

The uses of the reflexive pronoun were probably more similar to those found in Gothic than to the other two dialects in which this pronoun is found. This assumption is to be expected considering the facts that the Gothic documents are a good deal older than those of the other two dialects and that Gothic did not come under the influence of Latin to the great extent that both Old Norse and Old High German did, an influence easily exerted since the original pronoun developed along similar lines in the Germanic languages. Also Fourquet's analysis of the Gothic translation gives evidence that Wulfila was not influenced by the Greek with respect to the use of the reflexive pronoun.

In Proto-Germanic this declension was very probably strictly reflexive. The rules governing the uses of this pronoun were basically the same rules as those found in the dialects which had reflexive pronouns: Whenever a pronoun is used to refer to a third person subject of the main verb, that pronoun will be a reflexive pronoun. The reflexive pronoun is used only to refer to the subject of the sentence; and whenever a pronoun is used
to refer to another noun in the sentence, an anaphorical pronoun is used.

The transformational rules governing this usage were the same as those in Gothic and Old Norse. The reflexivization rule required that whenever the subject of the sentence was repeated within the same sentence, it was to be replaced by a reflexive pronoun. This rule was obligatory. The cyclic application of the reflexivization rule allowed for the major exception to the rule stated above: a reflexive pronoun in infinitive and participial phrases could refer to either the subject of the main verb of the sentence or to the "logical" subject of the infinitive or participle. As in Gothic and Old Norse the reflexivization rule was applied to the constituent string first, rendering any noun in that string which repeats the subject of the constituent sentence a reflexive pronoun. The rule is then applied to the entire sentence rendering any noun in that sentence which repeats the subject of the main verb a reflexive pronoun. If the subject of the main verb is repeated by a noun in the constituent string, that noun is replaced by a reflexive pronoun. This rule was also subject to the constraint that it would not apply to relative clauses, indirect questions and all other dependent clauses where a finite verb is needed. That is, Y could not contain a subordinate conjunction. Restrictions on verbs which could take reflexive and/or reciprocal objects were the same as those noted for Gothic and Old Norse.
The use of the reflexive pronoun in Modern Standard German is described in Chapter Two of this study: it developed out of the earlier uses of the reflexive pronoun. In Old High German there was no dative reflexive pronoun; the anaphorical pronoun assumed this additional function. The reflexivization rule applied only to the accusative and was applied cyclically. In Modern German, sich, the accusative reflexive pronoun gradually assumed the dative reflexive function as well. In addition, in Modern German the reflexivization rule was further modified: A constraint was placed on the reflexivization rule limiting its application to simplex sentences; that is, Nom and Nom' must be in the same simplex. As a result of this modification of the reflexivization rule, reflexive pronouns which occur in infinitive phrases and participial phrases refer to the logical subject of the infinitive or participle, and anaphorical pronouns are used to refer to the subject of the main verb. There is, therefore, as a result of this modification no longer any question concerning the noun to which the reflexive pronoun refers: if it occurs in the matrix sentence, it refers to the subject of the main verb, and if it occurs in an infinitive phrase or a participial phrase, it refers to the logical subject of the infinite verb form.

There are, nevertheless, syntactic "relics" of the earlier state of the reflexive pronoun still present in Modern German. Such examples as the following were noted in the second chapter of this study:
Er sah einen Fremden neben sich stehen, der Offizier hörte die Thür hinter sich ins Schloß fallen. (Auerb.) Die Fürstin läßt mich schnell zu sich kommen. Er sah den weißen Wanderstab neben sich liegen. (Cham.) Der Geist ließ die Frau freundlich mit sich gehn. (Gell.) Der Hausherr ließ mich zu sich sitzen. Er hörte die Winde pfeifen und stürmen um sich her. (Körner) Sie sahen gegen sich her den Göttlichen wandeln. (Klop.) Er hörte jemand die Treppe zu sich heraufsteigen. (Tieck.) Die schöne Königen von Ithaka ließ eine ganze Freierköhorte vergeblich nach sich seufzen (Mus.) Die Fürstin ließ den Arzt neben sich sitzen. Menelaus zieht den Pfeil aus seiner Wunde und läßt seinen Bruder um sich seufzen...11

These relic forms are not common but are evidence that there was a different rule governing reflexive usage in an earlier stage of the language.

Another problem raised in Chapter two concerned the use of pronouns in absolute phrases in Modern German (p. 22). Although absolute phrases are not frequently used in modern times, the question of whether to use a reflexive pronoun or an anaphorical pronoun when referring to the subject of the main clause has been discussed by various grammarians. Unlike the absolute phrases in earlier dialects the verb is often ellipted in Modern German. In Gothic (p. 84), as was pointed out, the reflexive pronoun was used when referring to the subject of the absolute phrase, and the anaphorical pronoun was used when referring to the subject of the main verb. The absolute phrases in these earlier languages consisted of a subject, a verb and various possible objects and/or modifiers. When the original, underlying sentence is transformed into an absolute phrase, the verb is transformed into a participle modifying the subject and, therefore, a nominal (an adjective); then all the nominal components of the subject are rendered in the same case, in Latin usually the ablative, in Gothic usually the dative. There is no rule requiring the replacement
of reflexives referring to the original subject by anaphorical pronouns or the replacement of anaphorical pronouns referring to the subject of the main verb by reflexives.

In the absolute phrases in Modern German of the type mentioned in Chapter Two, only an object and a prepositional phrase make up the absolute construction; the object has been transformed from an original subject or an original object of the underlying string from which the absolute phrase is derived. The choice of whether to use a reflexive or an anaphorical pronoun when referring to the subject of the main verb is dependent upon the subject in the underlying string which made up the absolute phrase: if that subject was identical with the subject of the main verb, a reflexive is used as the object of the preposition; otherwise an anaphorical pronoun is used. Thus, the sentence (p. 22) "Dort sitzt das liebe Kind, ihr kleines Laternchen neben sich," is made up of two underlying strings with identical subjects: "Dort sitzt das liebe Kind; sie hat das Laternchen neben sich," where the second string has been transformed into an absolute phrase. In like manner the following sentences with absolute phrases are formed:

Dort blieb er sitzen, den Leuchter vor sich auf den Tisch gestellt. (Immer.) er hat den Leuchter vor sich auf den Tisch gestellt."
Da schließ Herr Tristan, die Hände vor sich ausgebreitet. (Immer.) er hatte die Hände vor sich ausgebreitet. 12

In the case of the sentence (p. 22), "Fünf Männer saßen um einen Tisch; die Aktenbündel vor ihnen," the underlying strings which make up this sentence have different subjects: "Fünf Männer saßen um einen Tisch; die Aktenbündel lagen vor ihnen." Similar are the following sentences:
So saßen die beiden Männer stumm neben einander, 
vor ihnen die Leiche. (Auer.) vor ihnen lag 
die Leiche. In menschlichen Herzen thront der 
Richter und wägt, vor ihm das offene Buch (Höhr): 
vor ihm liegt das offene Buch. 13

Similarly in adjectival constructions, which come from other 
underlying strings, the reflexive pronoun is used to refer to the 
subject of the clause in the underlying string (the 'logical' subject 
as opposed to the grammatical subject) and an anaphorical pronoun is 
used to refer to the subject of the main clause. Thus, the sentence 
(p. 20) Sie trug ein ihr vollkommen ähnliches kind, is derived from 
the two underlying strings, Sie trug ein kind; das Kind war ihr voll-
kommen ähnlich. Similarly the sentence, Soll ich diese an sich ver-
ständliche Regel wiederholen?, is derived from the two strings, Soll 
ich diese Regel wiederholen; diese Regel ist an sich verständlich. In 
like manner the following adjectival constructions are derived:

Der Mann legte eine von ihm selbst geschälte 
Kartoffel vor seine Frau, from Der Mann legte 
eine Kartoffel vor seine Frau; die Kartoffel 
wurde von ihm selbst geschält, 
Wozu bedurftest du noch der sich selbst 
verzehrenden Fackel? from Du bedurftest der 
Fackel; die Fackel verzehrt sich selbst, etc. 14

In addition Modern German also has nominal constructions which 
involve pronouns:

Wie hat der Kapitän mein Vertrauen zu ihm 
gerecht fertigt?
Er sah ihre Liebe zu ihm.
Johann hat Wilhelms Einwendung gegen ihn gelesen.
Der Grundtrieb wird erfaßt als die Liebe des einzelnen 
zusammen mit sich selbst (Fichte).
Alle Unzufriedenheit des Mensch ist Frucht seines 
Widerspruchs mit sich selbst (Thüm). 15
The above are all examples of action nominals which are derived from the underlying strings by the following rule:

\[ X - \text{Nom}^+_k_0 \ + \ V_t \ - \ (\text{Adv}) \ - \ Z = \]

\[ X - \text{Nom}^+_k_3 \ - \ (+\text{Adj}) \ + \begin{cases} -\text{en} \\ -\text{Nml} \end{cases} \ V_t \ + \begin{cases} \text{zu} \\ \text{gegen} \\ \text{mit} \end{cases} \ + \text{Nom'} \ - \ Z \]

Thus, the examples cited above are formed from the following underlying strings:

Wie hat der Kapitän mein Vertrauen zu ihm gerechtfertigt?

Wie hat der Kapitän #ich vertraue ihm# gerechtfertigt

Er sah ihre Liebe zu ihm.

Er sah #sie liebt ihn#

Johann hat Wilhelms Einwendung gegen ihn gelesen.

Johann hat #Wilhelm hat sich gegen Johann gewendet # gelesen.

Der Grundtrieb wird erfaßt als die Liebe des einzelnen zu sich selbst.

Der Grundtrieb wird erfaßt als #der einzelne liebt sich selbst #

Alle Unzufriedenheit des Menschen ist Frucht seines Widerspruchs mit sich selbst.

Alle Unzufriedenheit des Menschen ist Frucht # der Mensch widerspricht sich selbst #

This rule in no way affects the use of the reflexive pronouns in the underlying strings. As a result of the change in the reflexivization rule, all pronouns which refer to the subject of the matrix sentence are anaphorical pronouns.
In addition to the change in the reflexivization rule in Modern German, the pronoun itself underwent a change as has been mentioned above. Gradually since Old High German times, sich rather than the anaphorical pronoun was being used in increasingly more situations to replace a noun in the dative case which repeated the subject. This process had not been completed even in Early New High German times. By the nineteenth century, however, the process was completed and sich is used to replace a noun in either the dative or the accusative case which repeats the subject of the main verb and is in the same simplex.
Summary

In the earliest dialects of the Germanic family, there was a complete declension of the reflexive pronoun which did not include a nominative form, but which had forms for all the oblique cases. This declension did not distinguish number or gender because its function was to replace a noun which repeated the subject, and as such it was not necessary to give this additional information which was already present in the sentence in the representation of the subject.

In the earliest forms of the language the use of this pronoun was determined by a general rule which made obligatory the replacement of the nouns which repeated a subject noun in the third person by a reflexive pronoun of the correct case. This reflexivization rule was applied to the constituent string first, rendering any noun in that string which repeated the subject of the constituent sentence a reflexive pronoun. The rule was then applied to the entire sentence, rendering any noun in the entire string which repeated the subject of the main verb a reflexive pronoun. If the subject of the main verb of the sentence was repeated by a noun in the constituent string, that noun was replaced by a reflexive pronoun. This rule was subject to the constraint that it would not apply to relative clauses, indirect questions and all other dependent clauses where a finite verb is needed. That is, Y could not contain a subordinate conjunction. This rule made possible the occurrence of several reflexive pronouns within infinitive and participial phrases referring respectively to two different nouns, the subject of the main verb and the logical
subject of the infinite verb.

In Old High German the language underwent a change; the dative reflexive pronoun was lost entirely and there was a change in the use of the possessive reflexive adjective. The dative anaphorical (personal) pronoun was used to refer to the subject and the possessive reflexive adjective was used as the masculine possessive pronominal adjective and could refer back to any masculine noun in the sentence, thereby losing its reflexive distinction. The rule governing reflexivization, therefore, was limited to accusative replacement.

In Modern German, sich gradually came to be used to replace nouns in the dative case as well as the accusative case which repeat the subject of the sentence. In addition to this change in the use of the reflexive pronoun, a constraint was placed on the reflexivization rule, stating that Nom and Nom' must be in the same simplex. As a result of this modification of the reflexivization rule, reflexive pronouns which occur in infinitive phrases and participial phrases refer to the logical subject of the infinitive or participle, and anaphorical pronouns are used to refer to the subject of the main verb. There is, therefore, no question concerning the noun to which the reflexive pronoun refers; if it occurs in the matrix sentence it refers to the subject of the main verb, and if it occurs in an infinitive or participial phrase, it refers to the logical subject of the infinitive or participle.
FOOTNOTES


4 Ibid. example taken from p. 386.

5 Ibid. examples taken from p. 387.

6 Ibid. examples taken from p. 387.


9 Ibid. pp. 4 - 7.


12 Ibid. examples taken from p. 268.

13 Ibid. examples taken from p. 268.

14 Ibid. examples taken from p. 267.

15 Ibid. examples taken from p. 269.
Primary sources

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Old High German:


Old Norse:


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