

Chapter 8: Pronouns

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Pages 181–207 of

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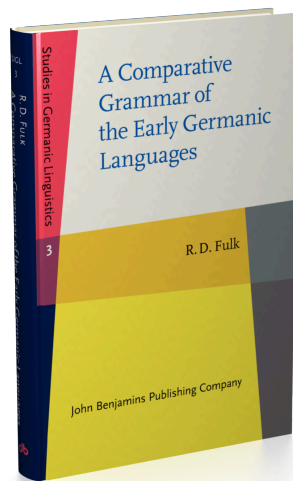
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Pronouns

8.1 Types of pronouns in Proto-Germanic

The Germanic protolanguage inherited from PIE a system of pronouns including personal pronouns for only the first and second persons, which were declined in three numbers (singular, dual, plural) and in the same cases as nouns (§7.1), though not all the case forms are securely reconstructible for all pronouns. Personal pronouns were declined without gender distinctions. The function of the personal pronoun for the third person was filled by demonstrative pronouns (which lacked dual forms), particularly the anaphoric pronoun **is*, and these were declined in three genders, though in some case forms no more than one gender can be distinguished. It should not be surprising that gender is not distinguished in the personal pronouns: the referents of pronouns of the first and second person are both present in dyadic interaction (or, in the dual and plural, at least one of each must be present), and so specification of gender would not under most circumstances contribute any useful information: for discussion, see Siewierska 2013.

In addition to these, interrogative, relative, possessive, and reflexive pronouns are reconstructible for PIE. Pronouns might be stressed or unstressed in PGmc., and with the usual changes affecting vowels in unstressed syllables there arose alternative forms of one and the same pronoun, and one or the other alternant might then be generalized, for example by extension of unstressed forms to stressed positions. Tonic and enclitic forms are likewise assumed to have been in alternation in PIE. The development of Gmc. pronouns has been particularly heavily influenced by analogical proportions.

I. Personal Pronouns

8.2 Personal pronouns of the first person

Reconstructing the pronouns of PIE is fraught with difficulties, but a comparison of personal pronouns in Vedic Sanskrit, Old Church Slavonic, Greek, Old Latin, Gothic, and Hittite suggests that the following is a plausible reconstruction of the first person pronoun in PIE, where the colon separates tonic and clitic forms, respectively:¹

	singular	dual	plural
nom.	*h ₁ ec̑oH : *h ₁ ec̑Hom	*ue	*ueἰ
acc.	*h ₁ mé : *h ₁ me	*ñh ₁ ue : *nōh ₁	*ñsmé : *nēs/nōs
gen.	*h ₁ méne : *meἰ/moἰ	*nōh ₁	*ñsóm : *nōs
abl.	*med	*nōh ₁	*ñsmed
dat.	*mebhi : *meἰ/moἰ,	*nōh ₁	*ñsmeἰ : *nōs

Germanic reflects only the tonic forms. The commonest corresponding forms attested in early Germanic are the following. Note that Old High German preserves no dual pronouns, with the exception mentioned below:²

singular				plural			
nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.
Go. ik	mik	mis	meina	weis	uns(is)	uns(is)	unsara
Olcel. ek	mik	mēr	mīn	vēr	oss, ós, øss	oss, ós, øss	vár
OE ic	mec, mē	mē	mīn	wē	ūs(ic)	ūs	ūser, ūre
OS ik	mi(k), me	mī, me	mīn	wī, we	ūs, unsik	ūs	ūser
OHG ih	mih	mir	mīn	wir	unsih	uns	unsēr

dual				
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.
Go.	wit	ugkis	ugkis	ugkara
Olcel.	vit	ok(k)r	ok(k)r	okkar
OE	wit	unc(it)	unc	uncer
OS	wit	unk	unk	unkero

In OE the acc. forms in *-c* are confined to the Anglian dialects and poetry; dat. and acc. are identical in WS. OS *mik* is rare but attested in the *Heliand*. In OHG, beside 1 sg. *ih* there occurs *ihha*, *ihcha*, semantically equivalent to Lat. *egomet*. The Germanic forms may be remarked upon as follows:

Nom. sg. The Gmc. forms *ik* and *ek* cannot be derived directly from either PIE **h₁eġHom* (as in Skt. *ahám*, Av. *azəm*, OCS (*j*)*azъ*) or **h₁eġoH* (as in Gk. *ἐγώ(v)*, Lat. *egō*), since there should not have been raising of **e* to *i* in either reflex, and neither will produce Runic **ek**,³ rather **eka* or **eku*. Thus, **h₁eġHom* adequately explains enclitic *-(e)ka*, attested in East Norse inscriptions after ca. 600 (Seebold 1984: 21–2). But Gmc. *ik* and *ek* are most plausibly to be derived from **h₁eġ* (or **eġh₂*: so Ringe 2017: 163), which must underlie OLith. *eš*, OPruss. *es*, Latvian *es* < **eġ*, presumably devoiced from **eġ* before a voiceless initial (Prokosch 1939: §98b). This **h₁eġ*, as opposed to **h₁eġHom*, explains the raising of the root vowel seen in all the East and West Germanic reflexes, since the monosyllable could be entirely unstressed and thus undergo raising of the vowel (see §5.5), whereas Olcel. *ek* must reflect **eka* < **h₁eġHom*. The coöccurrence of **h₁eġ* and **h₁eġHom* is paralleled in Slavic, where, e.g., OCS *azъ* beside infrequent *jazъ* indicates earlier **h₁eġ* beside **h₁eġHom*, with lengthening.

Acc. sg. Final *-k* has often been derived from a clitic particle reflected in Greek as *γε* ‘at least, for one’ (e.g. by Fortson 2010: 150), which is joined to pronouns, as in *ἐμέγε* ‘me’. This is not improbable, since the particle has an emphasizing function, and the PGmc. form may be assumed to have undergone the development **me-ke* > **meki* > **mik* (Hirt 1931–4: II, §69; Seebold 1984: 34). It is also possible, however, that *-k* has been extended from the nominative, with raising of **e* to **i* in the monosyllable under low stress. A similar explanation, at all events, seems to be required to account for Hittite acc. dat. loc. *amug* by comparison to nom. *ug* (Szemerényi 1996: §8.4.2) and for Venetic *meχo* beside nom. *eχo* (Sommer 1924: 130–1). See Shields 2001 for discussion and references. As for the alternative accusative forms of Ingvaemonic, OE *mē*, OFris. *mī*, OS *mī* (seldom *me*), it is difficult to explain why the distinction between acc. and dat. forms should have been eliminated. Seebold (1984: 35–6) argues, somewhat diffidently, that there was an oblique enclitic form **me/mi* used in PGmc. for acc. and dat. alike, with dedicated acc. **mik* and dat. **miz* reserved for use in contexts in which the distinction was important, and after dat. **miz* fell together with this dual-purpose **me* in

WGmc., the alternative acc. **mik* came to be regarded as superfluous in most of North Sea Germanic. Likelier perhaps is the possibility of confusion of the two cases in unstressed forms, a confusion then extended to stressed ones: see Howe 1996: 105–11, with discussion and references. See also H.F. Nielsen 2000: 250.

Gen sg. The Gmc. forms probably are to be derived from PGmc. **mīnē* < **meinē*, a remodeling of PIE **menē* by equation of **-nē* with the directional suffix reflected in Lat. *superne* ‘from above’ and Go. *ūtana* ‘from without’ (§1.4), leading to replacement of **me-* by locative (or enclitic: Szemerényi 1996: §8.4.4e) **mei*, the sense ‘mine’ thus deriving from ‘with me’ (Seebold 1984: 49–51). This **-nē* gives Go. *-na*, otherwise *-n* in Gmc. (§5.3). With reanalysis, the pronominal stem **mīn-* then became the basis for the possessive Go. *meins*, Olcel. *minn/mín-*, OE *mīn*, etc. To the contrary, Ringe (2017: 236) derives all genitive personal pronouns from possessive adjectives.

Dat. sg. PGmc. **miz*, tonic **mez* will account for all the attested forms; Olcel. *mér* shows lengthening before Proto-Norse **-R*, and OE *mē* (beside *me*) and OS *mī* show lengthening in the re-stressed pronoun (§2.5). The origin of *-z* in the PGmc. form is much disputed, since there is no obvious IE parallel: see G. Schmidt 1978: 135–6 and Seebold 1984: 45–6 for discussion of some proposals, and see below regarding the acc./dat. dual.

Nom. du. PGmc. **wīt* accounts for all the Gmc. forms. Its final **-t* is generally explained as derived from one or another form of ‘two’ (a construction with parallels: cf. Lith. *mùdu* (Samogitian *vėdų*) and Slovene *mī-dva*), perhaps PIE **de*, as in **de-kmt* ‘ten’ < ‘two hands’, as argued by Seebold (1984: 25–6, with references; cf. Cowgill 1985: 15, reconstructing **uē-dyo*). On the basis of modern dialect forms may be reconstructed OFris. **wīt* (Siebs 1901: 1353).

Acc./dat. du. The PGmc. stem is plainly **uŋk-*, in which *k* is unparalleled outside of Germanic, though *un-* regularly derives from PIE **ŋ-* (probably for earlier **ŋ̥-*: see the acc. pl. below), as in tonic Skt. *āvā-* < **ŋh-wé-*; cf. the unreduced grade in Skt. *naḥ*, Lat. *nōs*. The usual explanation of **-k-* is that it is borrowed from acc. sg. **mik* (so, e.g., Prokosch 1939: §98d). Seebold (1982) instead argues for the development of *g* (> PGmc. *k*) out of PIE *u* between a front diphthong and a syllabic liquid, though the evidence for such a change is hardly straightforward. Ringe (2017: 112, 233–4, following Katz 1998: 89–99, 212–17) reconstructs PIE **ŋh₃mé*, with subsequent substitution of *u* (borrowed from second-person forms) for *m* and a velar consonant as reflex of the laryngeal. Also difficult are the desinences, since Go. *-is* has no close IE parallel, and there is no umlaut of the root vowel in ON or OE. The standard explanation is that the ending is extended from dat. sg. Go. *m-is*, Olcel. *mé-r* to the dat. pl., with subsequent extension to the dual, along with elimination of the formal distinction between dat. and acc., as in the plural. Alternatively, *-is* in Go. may have been borrowed from nom. pl. *we-i-s* before *ei* developed to a diphthong and was monophthongized to *ī* (Hogg 1992: §3.3). Ringe (2017: 234–5, following Katz 1998: 118–21) supposes that the source of Go. *-is* is an analogical PIE instr. pl. **ŋs-mis*, which furnished the PGmc. dat. pl., and *-is* in the other datives (sg. and dual) is analogical to this, with a complex derivation. Anglian OE acc. *uncit* (beside *uncet*, WS and Kentish *unc*) must be dissimilated from **unk-ik* (so Stiles 1996; cf. A. Campbell 1977: §703 n. 1, deriving *-it* from the nom. dual, and similarly Bahnick 1973: 153, Seebold 1984: 32); cf. acc. pl. *ūsic* (OHG *unsih*) and second-person acc. pl. *ēowic*, and see the discussion of those forms as regards the origin of *-ic*. Umlaut (along with affrication of *c*) has thus been

analogically reversed in *uncit* (see Hogg & Fulk 2011: §5.26 n. 2). Note that OFris. **unk* may be reconstructed on the basis of North Frisian *unk* (Seebold 1984: 32).

Gen. du. Go. **ugkara* is unattested but may be inferred from the corresponding pronoun of the second person, *igqara*. The stem is derived from the PGmc. possessive adj. **uŋkera-*, which in turn was formed by the addition to the pronominal stem **uŋk-* (cf. the acc. and dat. du.) of a suffix **-er-* seen also in Go. *anþar* ‘other’, *hvaþar* ‘which of two’, a thematization of the PIE suffix **-er-* used to form locative adverbs,⁴ e.g. Go. *jáinar* ‘yonder’ (cf. *jáins* ‘yon’; so G. Schmidt 1978: 203; see the gen. sg. above on possessive meaning derived from locative). OS *unkero* shows the ending of the gen. plural. In OHG there is a dual pronoun *unkēr* attested twice in Otfrid, but only with the qualifier *zweio* ‘two’, showing that the dual meaning was no longer transparent; cf., however, OE *uncer twēga* (*Beowulf* 2532). See also §8.3 on MHG duals in the 2nd pers. pronoun.

Nom. pl. The Gmc. forms reflect the PIE stem **ue-* recoverable from Skt. *vayám*, OCS *vě*, Hitt. *wēš*, Tocharian B *wes*, Lith. du. *vė-du*. Go. *weis* and OEN *vī(r)* reflect PGmc. **wīz*, probably from **uei(e)s*, i.e. *ue-i-* plus the the nom. pl. inflection of athematic nouns, whereas the other Gmc. forms reflect **wez*, from **ues*, with raising to **wiz* when unstressed, and lengthening when re-stressed.⁵ There appears to be no very compelling basis for regarding either **wīz* or **wez* as more original. In the view of some (e.g. Krahe & Meid 1969: II, §32), the ODN and WGmc. forms may be derived from **wīz*, to be regarded as derived from PGmc. **wīz* by vowel shortening under low stress. How the vowel in **wiz* could have been lowered in OE, however, is difficult to explain, since lengthening would then have to have taken place after this lowering, even though such lowering can have occurred only in the historical period, as with acc. sg. *mec*, early *mic*. On the preservation of **-z > -r* in OHG *wir*, see §6.16.

Acc./dat. pl. The stem is PGmc. **uns-* < PIE **ns-*, with *ŋ* probably for earlier *ṇ* (cf. *m-* in the oblique cases of the sg.) by assimilation to the following coronal consonant. The ending Go. *-is* (probably originating in the dat.: see the discussion of the acc./dat. du.) is facultative, though Dickhoff (1913: 468) finds that *unsis* is commoner as dat. (50× : 44×) and *uns* as acc. (16× : 77×). Likewise variable is umlaut in OIcel. *oss* < **unsiz* beside *ós* < **ons* (§4.9) < **uns* (Noreen 1970: §112.1), though the usual form is *oss*.⁶ Anglian OE acc. *ūsic* parallels OHG *unsih*, with WGmc. **-ik* taken over from the acc. singular. OS acc. *unsik* (without NSGmc. loss of *n*, §4.11) occurs only in the 10th-cent. gospel glosses in the Essen manuscript.

Gen. pl. As in the dual, the Gmc. stem is usually thought to derive from the PGmc. possessive adj., here **unser-*, though there is no general agreement as to which case-form of the adj. it represents.⁷ The ending is probably PGmc. **-ē* (> Go. *-a*, elsewhere lost, §5.3), which can be explained as the same ending seen in the gen. sg. (Seebold 1984: 55).⁸ OS forms in *-o* have acquired this vowel by attraction to a following substantive with the gen. pl. suffix *-o*. In OHG *unsēr* the long vowel is usually assumed to have been lengthened by analogy to the nom. sg. of the pronominal inflection of adjectives, e.g. *blintēr* ‘blind’, though there is no consensus.⁹ This accounts for all the Gmc. forms except OIcel. *vár* and OE *ūre*. The former is usually taken to represent the borrowed stem of the possessive adj. *várr* (and see §8.5 on the derivation of the adj.), though there has also sometimes been posited a form PIE **uē-ro* (e.g. by Streitberg 1896: §183), derived from a variant of the dual stem.¹⁰ As for OE *ūre*, this cannot be derived from **unserē* by normal means. Perhaps when the NSGmc. possessive adj. stem **ūser-* was unstressed, *e* could be syncopeated, giving **ūs-* > **ūr-*, which was then

extended to the pronoun (so, tentatively, Hogg & Fulk 2011: §5.25), though this leaves final *-e* in the pronoun unexplained. Rather than *ūre*, the conservative Mercian dialect of the gloss on the Vespasian Psalter has the *ūr* expected on the basis of this explanation. The form *ūre* is also used as a possessive adj.—oddly, since it is thus inflected like a *ja*-stem, but without umlaut¹¹—whereas Northumbrian (and, frequently, poetry) has *ūser*, *ūsra*, with use of *ūser-*, *ūs-* (also *uss-* < *ūs-*) as the stem of the possessive adjective.

1. Here and throughout this chapter, posited paradigms represent an amalgam of a variety of reconstructions, especially those of Szemerényi 1996: §8.4.1–4, Sihler 1995: 372, and Beekes 2011: 15.3.1. Intensive studies are G. Schmidt 1978 and Katz 1998. The Indo-Iranian forms Skt. *ahām*, Av. *azəm* are here assumed to have developed **-ǵh-* from **-ǵh-*.
2. In OS, too, duals not infrequently have plural meaning, foreboding the loss of dual forms.
3. Just twice *ik*, which Krause (1971: 120) explains as due to WGmc. influence or aberrant orthography or (least plausibly) development in unstressed position, whereas Antonsen 1975: 71) perceives the influence of acc. **mik*.
4. Rather, Euler (2013: 110) regards it as a comp. suffix.
5. The cooccurrence of **ye-i-* (as in Skt. *vay-*) and **ye-s-* is due to alternate use of pronominal and nominal plural suffixes. The reason OWN *vér* cannot be derived from PGmc. **wīz* is that original *ī* appears not to have been lowered before *r*, as in *Glīru-Halli* ‘blinking (or squinting?) Halli’; cf. Faroese *glīsa* ‘large, staring eye’, *glīsa* ‘blink’.
6. Prokosch (1939: §98c, in reliance on Noreen: see Noreen 1970: §112.1) regards *oss* as a contamination of *ós* and *oßs*, but *oss* is the usual form in older texts, and so Heusler (1967: §143) is probably right to regard *oss* as comparable to Go. *unsara*, with *-sr-* (after syncope) developing to *-ss-*.
7. For a survey of views (ablative, loc./instr., nom./acc. pl. neut.), including some that divorce the form from the poss. adj., see Shields 1985.
8. Sometimes **-ō* is assumed, instead (e.g. by Prokosch 1939: §98c, Euler 2013: 110–11), but under Prokosch’s law (§2.5 *supra*) this should be reflected as final *-u/o* rather than lost in OE *ūser*. See further G. Schmidt 1978: 88.
9. Johansson (1890), with a summary of alternative views, argues strenuously against this analysis, assuming rather that *-ēr* reflects a PIE *r*-case of an instrumental stem with a long vowel comparable to Go. *hēr* ‘here’, OE *þær* ‘there’, *hwær* ‘where’ (1890: 133).
10. Seebold (1984: 52–4), rather than treating the pronoun as formed by analogy to the adj., derives it directly from PGmc. He posits a development in PGmc. **unser-* > **unsez-* > **ūsez-*, followed by assimilation to **ūzez-*, and then loss of *z* by dissimilation, producing **ūez-* > **ūer-* > **ūer-* > **ūar-* > *vár*. Although this series of changes is dubitable, assuming as it does the forces of noncontiguous assimilation and dissimilation applying to the same sequence of sounds, it accounts well for the parallel instance of **īsern-* > **īsezn-* > *járn* ‘iron’.
11. The most probable conclusion to be drawn from the lack of umlaut is that the possessive adj. *ūre* is simply a borrowing of the gen. pronoun, with adj. inflections added. The idea of Seebold (1984: 54) is that *ūre* derives from **ūzez* (derived by the same means as in the case of the Olcel. pronoun, as above, n. 10), which must have been uninflected, as otherwise **-z* would not have been lost. Naturally, this complicates the problem of explaining *ūser*. Cf. Ringe & Taylor 2014: 339, positing a sound change *ūser* > *ūre* without parallel in OE.

8.3 Personal pronouns of the second person

A comparison of personal pronouns in Vedic Sanskrit, Old Church Slavonic, Greek, Old Latin, Gothic, and Hittite suggests that the following is the most plausible reconstruction of the second person pronoun in PIE (Szemerényi 1996: §8.4.1–4, with some modifications; dual forms adapted from Sihler 1995: 373):

	singular	dual	plural
nom.	*tū/*ti	*iuh ₁	*iūs/*usmés (usūés?)
acc.	*tūé : *te	*uh ₁ u _é : *uōh ₁	*usmé : uōs
gen.	*teue : *t(u)ei/*t(u)oi	*uōh ₁	*uōsóm/*usóm : uōs
abl.	*tued	*uōh ₁	*usméd
dat.	*tēbhi : *t(u)ei/*t(u)oi	*uōh ₁	*usmēi : uōs

Once again, only the tonic forms are reflected in Gmc. The commonest corresponding forms attested in early Germanic are the following. Note that Old High German preserves no dual pronouns:

	singular				plural			
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.
Go.	þu	þuk	þus	þeina	jus	izwis	izwis	izwara
Oicel.	þú	þik	þér	þín	ér	yðr	yðr	yðvar
OE	þū	þec, þē	þē	þīn	gē	ēow(ic)	ēow	ēower
OS	thū	thi(k)	thī	thīn	gī, ge	eu	eu	euwar, iuwero
OHG	dū	dih	dir	dīn	ir	iuwih	iu	iuwēr

	dual			
	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.
Go.	*jut	igqis	igqis	igqara
Oicel.	it	ykkir	ykkir	ykkar
OE	git	inc(it)	inc	incer
OS	git	ink	ink	*inkero

There occur in MHG (Bavarian) some duals *ez*, *enc*, and possessive *enker*, with plural meaning, showing that dual forms existed in OHG (or at least Bavarian) but went unrecorded. These have reflexes in present-day Bavarian (Howe 1996: 244–5, with discussion). Some remarks may be offered on the Gmc. forms:

Nom. sg. Gmc. *þū* may be derived unproblematically from either **tu* or **tū*, the former undergoing lengthening as prescribed in §5.2.

Acc. sg. In their development the given forms are entirely parallel to those of the corresponding pronoun of the first person (§8.2), suggesting PGmc. **þik*, except for Go. *þuk*. This is usually explained as having borrowed the vowel of the nom. sg., though Seebold (1984: 36–7) argues that the Go. form is an archaism, and Prokosch (1939: §98b), in related fashion, tentatively derives Go. *þu-* from a PIE stem **tue-* (producing both **tu* and **te*): cf. Skt. nom. *tvám*, abl. *tvád*, loc. *tvé*, Gk. *σέ* < **tue* (and cf. parallel developments in the reflexive pronoun, §8.4).¹ If Go. *þuk* is not analogical to the nom., the other Gmc. forms must be analogical to the corresponding pronoun of the first person.

Dat. sg. Go. *þus* presents the same problem of vocalism as in the acc. singular. Otherwise, the attested forms are to be explained the same way as the dat. sg. of the first person pronoun.

Gen sg. The attested forms developed parallel to the corresponding pronoun of the first person.

Nom. du. Although the Go. form is unattested, the parallel with the nom. pl. (see below) suggests that the PIE stem **iu(h)-* might be expected to have been preserved here, too, as **jut*, since the other Gmc. forms can readily be explained as reformed by analogy to the nom. du. of the first person pronoun—i.e., **ju-t* (from **iu(h)-de*, with **-de* added as in the corresponding first person form, §8.2) became **ji-t* by analogy to **wi-t*. The form **jitt* may also be reconstructed for OFris. on the basis of modern dialect

forms (Siebs 1901: 1353). On NHG (Bavarian) evidence for **iz* in OHG, see Seebold 1984: 17.

Acc./dat. du. Go. *igqis* and Olcel. *ykk̃r* require PGmc. **iŋkwis* (the latter with **-iz*), as does OFris. **iunk* (§4.8), reconstructible on the basis of North Fris. *junk*. This reconstruction will also account for OE *inc* and OS *ink*, with loss of *w* (> *u*) after the heavy syllable (§5.6). That this stem contains *w*, whereas that of the corresponding pronoun of the first person does not, is most commonly explained as due to the analogical influence of the plural, on the proportion **unsiz* : **un̥kiz* = **izwiz* : *x* (so, e.g., Krahe & Meid 1969: II, §33; cf. Ringe & Taylor 2014: 519). Less convincing is the attempt of Seebold (1982) to derive **iŋkw-* from PIE **i-w_h₂-w-*. Anglian OE acc. *incit* is formed the same way as the corresponding pronoun of the first person. OHG **ink* and **inkiz* (= OE *inc*, *incit*) are reconstructible on the basis of Bavarian NHG *enk*, *enks* (Seebold 1984: 32).²

Gen du. The attested forms developed parallel to the corresponding pronoun of the first person.

Nom. pl. Possibly the final consonant, a plural inflection, was added after the PIE period. The quantity of the vowel in Go. *jus* cannot be determined, and the comparative IE evidence is inconclusive. The other Gmc. forms almost certainly show replacement of PGmc. **juz* by **jiz* (cf. developments in the first person pronoun), with lengthening before *r* in OEN to **jīr* (giving *ī(r)*). On the basis of the reasoning offered above in regard to the corresponding pronoun of the first person, OE *gē* must then be regarded as analogical to *wē*.

Acc./dat. pl. The Gmc. forms show wide discrepancies, and there is no consensus as to how they are to be accounted for. Probably the most plausible explanation is that of Krahe & Meid (1969: II, §33): the PIE form **ues* gave PGmc. **wiz*, which, to avoid homophony with the enclitic form of the first person plural (**wiz*), was reduplicated to **wiz-wiz*, with subsequent loss of initial *w* by dissimilation, producing Go. *izwis*.³ In the form **izwiz*, dissimilation further led to NGmc. **iðwiz* (so already Bugge 1855: 251–2), which regularly produces Olcel. *yðr*. In WGmc., on the other hand, **izwiz* results in **iuwiz*, either by change of **-zw-* to **-ww-* (so first Kluge 1908: 65; see Stiles 1985–6: 6.92 for further references) or with the prior change to **iðwiz* seen in NGmc., since Stiles shows that the change of PGmc. **feðwōr* ‘four’ to WGmc. **feubar* also requires the change **-ðw-* > **-ww-* (though Stiles does not assume NWGmc. **iðwiz*). It has also been proposed that WGmc. **izwiz* was reduced to **iwiz*, again by dissimilation, which accounts adequately for OS *eu*, OHG *iu*, but not (pace Krahe & Meid) OE *ēow* (Northumbrian *īow*), which would have to be assumed to have its *w* by analogy to gen. pl. *ēower*: cf. the discussion of OE *wa*-stems, §7.12. Alternatively, Prokosch (1939: §98c) suggests that the PGmc. form was **iwiz* (**ju* + *iz*, as in the corresponding pronoun of the first person, Go. *unsis*), with insertion of *s* (> *z* by Verner’s law) by analogy to the corresponding pronoun of the first person in East and North Germanic. But the structural parallel between **iwiz* and **unsiz* seems less compelling as a motive for the insertion of *s* in the former than does the structure of **izwiz* for development to **iuwiz* in West Germanic. A variety of less plausible solutions is summarized briefly by Seebold (1984: 41–4), whose own attempt to derive the attested forms from a supposed PIE honorific stem **sghw-* is less persuasive. Ringe (2017: 235, following Katz 1998: 102–5, 110–12), reconstructs PIE **usyé* (assuming that, by analogy to the pronoun of the first person, **-yé* was replaced by **-mé* in Greek and Indo-Iranian), from which initial *u* was lost in PGmc. under some sandhi conditions, with later addition of

prothetic **i-*, followed by a number of other changes. In Anglian OE there is addition of the suffix *-ic*, derived from *mic* (later *mec*), with a similar development in OHG (and cf. MLG *jük*).

Gen pl. The attested forms developed parallel to the corresponding pronoun of the first person, except that in OS and OHG the monophthongal root vowel has been replaced by the diphthong seen in the dat. plural.

1. Yet possibly **sye* is by analogy to **tue*: so, e.g., Pokorny 1959–69: I, 882.
2. There is some confusion in the discussion of these forms in Euler 2013: 110, where the pronouns of the first and second persons are both said to have *q* in Gothic.
3. For a different explanation, with references to earlier literature, see Kroonen 2008.

8.4 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns do not occur in the nominative, since, historically, they refer back to the subject of the clause. They are indifferent as regards gender and number;¹ in OHG, however, the gen. is used only with a sg. masc. or neut. subject, and the dat. has been replaced by anaphoric pronouns. In North Sea Germanic no reflexive pronouns are preserved (see H.F. Nielsen 2000: 250–1), having been replaced by anaphoric pronouns:

	acc.	dat.	gen.
Go.	sik	sis	seina
Oldcel.	sik	sér	sín
OHG	sih		sīn

In Old Gutnish there also appears a gen. *sīna*, another connection between Go. and that language (§1.14). Throughout early Gmc. there occur reflexive possessive adjectives to the same root, on which see below, §8.5. The development of these pronouns is entirely parallel to that of the sg. pronouns of the first and second persons. The ultimate source is the PIE reflexive pronoun **s(ye)* (acc.) seen also in Gk. *ἐ*, as a possessive adj. in Skt. *svá-*, Lat. *suus*, and extended in Go. *swēs*, OE *swæs* (etc.) ‘(one’s) own’.

1. An exception is that although the usual form of the pronoun in Old Low Franconian is *sig* (7×) regardless of case and number, there once appears a dat. pl. *sil* (Kyes 1983: 83), though this is almost certainly an error (so, e.g., Köbler 2014b s.v.).

8.5 Possessive adjectives

To the personal and reflexive pronouns were formed adjectives Go. *meins* ‘my’, *beins* ‘your (sg.)’, *seins* (reflexive), *unsar* ‘our’, *izwar* ‘your (pl.)’, **ugkar* ‘our (du.)’, **igqar* ‘your (du.)’ and cognates:

Go.	meins	beins	seins	unsar	izwar	ugkar	igqar
Oldcel.	minn	þinn	sinn	várr	yðvarr	okkarr	ykkarr
OE	mīn	þīn	sīn	ūre, ūser	ēower	uncer	incer
OS	mīn	thīn	sīn	ūsa	euwa	unka	inka
OHG	mīnēr	dīnēr	sīnēr	unserēr	iuwerēr		

These are inflected as strong adjectives. There are no dual possessives in OHG, and in Franconian OHG (as in OS, where they are used exclusively) there are shorter forms of the plural pronouns, with inflections added to the stem without the PGmc. suffix **-er-*, masc. *unsēr*, *iuwēr*, neut. *unsaz*, *iuwaz*, fem. *unsu*, *iuwu*.¹ Go. **igqar* is reconstructed on the basis of dat. sg. fem. *igqarai*, and **ugkar* on the basis of the pronoun *ugkis* and comparative evidence. The reflexive adjectives are infrequent in NSGmc., losing ground before anaphoric pronouns, and in OFris. and OS they are restricted to sg. masc. and neut. reference.

Go. *meins* probably contains the reflex of a PIE loc. **mej*, which is reflected with a further suffix in Skt. pron. *māyi*, and which is thematized in Lat. *meus* < **mej-os*. The affinity of the sense ‘at me’ to ‘in my possession’ is plain. The *n*-suffix in Gmc. is perhaps akin to that seen in directional forms like Go. *hindana* ‘behind’ (cf. *hindar* ‘behind’) and OE *norðerne* ‘northern’: see the discussion under **gen. sg.** in §8.2. The vowel *ī* was extended to *þeins* and *seins*, to which the locatives apparently would have been PIE **tey* and **sey*: see Seebold 1984: 49–51 for details. The most widely credited alternative explanation (originating with Bugge 1855: 244–5) is that the singular possessives are formed with a possessive suffix PIE **-īno-*, as in Lat. *asinīnus* ‘belonging to an ass’ (so, e.g., Prokosch 1939: §98e). The dual and plural possessives are formed from the oblique stem of the corresponding pronoun by the addition of a suffix **-ero-*, which G. Schmidt (1978: 203) analyzes as a thematization of the suffix *-er* used to form locative adverbs, e.g. Go. *undar*, *hindar*.

On OE *ūre*, *ūser*, see the discussion of the corresponding pronoun, §8.2.

Oícel. *várr* shows in the oldest texts some striking stem alternations within the paradigm by gender and number: commonest is the stem *vôr-*, *vár-*, but there also occur *ór-* and *oss-* (consult the handbooks identified in §1.14 for the precise distribution of the variants), the last occurring almost exclusively in archaic poetry, with (*vôr-* >) *vár-* replacing *ór-* gradually in the 13th century. Deceptively, then, the paradigm appears to show loss of **w-* before rounded vowels (§6.14), but the cognates show that this cannot have been the case. Of the stems *ór-* and *oss-*, the former is probably from **unrar-* > **unnar-* > **unnr-* > *ór-* (cf. **þunrar* > *Þórr*), the latter from **unsar-*, with *ó-* from **un-* before *s* (cf. §8.2): so Heusler 1967: §§143, 147 Anm. 2, 255.² Old Gutnish *ōar* and Modern Gutnish *ear* point to **ōar-* or **ūar-* as the source of ON *vár-*: cf. the shift of diphthongal nucleus, with lengthening, in PNorse **iulu* > Oícel. *jól* ‘Yule’ and **iužar-* > *júgr* ‘udder’. The most plausible explanation for **ōar-* is that it is the result of paradigm regularization, with extension of **ō-* (developed from **unn-* before *r*) to cases in which **unn-* remained before an unsyncope vowel (von Friesen 1901–6: I, 63–5); cf. Seebold’s attempt at a purely phonological explanation (above, §8.2).

1. The shorter stem originates in cases with *r*-inflections, e.g. nom. sg. masc. *unserēr*, gen. pl. *unserero*, by haplology (Baesecke 1918: 180).

2. Prokosch (1939: §98c) objects to Heusler’s explanation but misunderstands it. His own assumption is of the development **unsarō* > **ōs(a)ru* > *ór-*, but his explanation of the pronoun *oss* as the result of contamination (see §8.2 n. 6 *supra*) seems unlikely on chronological grounds, which means that **unsar-* likelier yields *oss-* than *ór-*.

II. Anaphoric Pronouns

8.6 Anaphoric pronouns in Proto-Indo-European

The PIE anaphoric pronoun that formed the basis for the Gmc. pronoun of the third person was perhaps declined as follows (cf. Szemerényi 1996: §8.2.2; Beekes 2011: 229; Sihler 1995: 391–2; Seebold 1984: 62–6):

	singular			plural		
	masc.	neut.	fem.	masc.	neut.	fem.
nom.	*is	*id	*ih ₂	*ejes	*ih ₂	*ih ₂ es
acc.	*im	*id	*ih ₂ m	*ins	*ih ₂	*ih ₂ ms
gen.	*h ₁ es(i)o	*h ₁ es(i)o	*h ₁ es(i)ch ₂ s	*h ₁ e(i)som	*h ₁ e(i)som	*h ₁ e(i)som
dat.	*h ₁ esmōi	*h ₁ esmōi	*h ₁ esjeh ₂ ei	*h ₁ eibhos	*h ₁ eibhos	*h ₁ eibhos
abl.	*h ₁ esmōd	*h ₁ esmōd	*h ₁ esjeh ₂ s	*h ₁ eibhos	*h ₁ eibhos	*h ₁ eibhos
loc.	*h ₁ esmi	*h ₁ esmi	*h ₁ esjeh ₂ i	*h ₁ eisu	*h ₁ eisu	*h ₁ eisu

It thus appears that the PIE paradigm was suppletive, with a stem **i-* (full grade **ei-*) in the nom./acc. and **h₁e-* elsewhere. In the dat./abl. pl., **-bh-* corresponds to *-m-* in Gmc. and Balto-Slavic, and some reconstruct PIE **-m-* for anaphoric/demonstrative pronouns: see §7.2.

8.7 Anaphoric pronouns in Germanic

In Gmc. the anaphoric pronouns inherited from PIE are used as personal pronouns of the third person. As in PIE, they are differentiated for gender, but they lack dual forms. Unlike pronouns of the first and second persons, they have no related possessive adjectives; instead, the genitive is used as a possessive except when the reference is to the subject of the clause (in which event a reflexive pronoun would be used, at least originally).

The pronoun of the third person was declined in early Germanic as follows:

		singular				plural			
		nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.
Go.	m.	is	ina	imma	is	eis	ins	im	izē
	n.	ita	ita	imma	is	ija	ija	im	izē
	f.	si	ija	izái	izōs	*ijōs	ijōs	im	izō
OIcel.	m.	hann	hann	honum	hans	þeir	þá	þeim	þeir(r)a
	n.	þat	þat	því, þí	þess	þau	þau	þeim	þeir(r)a
	f.	hon	hana	henni	hennar	þær	þær	þeim	þeir(r)a
OE	m.	hē	hine	him	his	hī, hie	hī, hie	him	hira, heora
	n.	hit	hit	him	his	hēo, hie	hēo, hie	him	hira, heora
	f.	hēo	hie	hire	hire	hī, hie	hī, hie	him	hira, heora
OS	m.	hē, hī, hie	ina(n)	im(u)	is, es	sia, sea, sie	sia	im	iro, ira, era
	n.	it, et	it, et	im(u)	is, es	siu	siu	im	iro, ira, era
	f.	siu, sie	sia, sea	iru, iro	ira, iru	sia, sea, siu	sia, sea	im	iro, era, ira
OHG	m.	er	in(an)	imu	sīn	sie, see, sia	sie, see	im	iro
	n.	iz	iz	imu	es	siu	siu	im	iro
	f.	siu, sī	sia, sī	iru	ira	sio	sio	im	iro

In Franconian there occur some forms in *h-* comparable to the OE forms, most commonly nom. sg. *her* (see Howe 1996: 241–2). After the early period in the Gmc. languages there occur enclitic forms of third person pronouns, and Seebold (1984: 60) argues that these were present in the earlier period but remained unrecorded because they did not belong to the standard languages. It seems likelier that they are later developments. Note that in no instance is the postconsonantal glide in forms like PIE fem. abl. sg. **h₂es₂ieh₂s* reflected in Gmc.

Gothic. In all but a few cases the stem has been regularized to *i-*, whether by analogical extension of the nom./acc. stem or by the regular development of PGmc. *e* to Go. *i*. To this stem are added endings on an analogical basis, for the most part the same pronominal endings found in the paradigm of the demonstrative *sa* ‘this, that’ (§8.10). Thus, to masc. acc., dat., gen. sg. *ina*, *imma*, *is* compare *þana*, *þamma*, *þis*; to fem. dat., gen. sg. *izái*, *izōs* compare *þizái*, *þizōs*, and so forth. Nom. pl. masc. *eis* is instead comparable to the ending *-eis* of *i*-stems, a borrowing perhaps motivated by the identity of acc., dat. *ins*, *im* to the corresponding *i*-stem endings *-ins*, *-im*. Nom. sg. fem. *si* probably shows extension of *s-* from the demonstrative, in the paradigm of which only nom. sg. masc. *sa* and fem. *sō* have initial *s*, making it a distinctive marker.¹ Acc. sg. fem. *ija* is comparable to Lat. *eam*, both with the analogical addition of the reflex of PIE **-ām* found in the PIE *ā*-stems (Go. *-a*). Likewise, nom./acc. pl. neut. *ija* is comparable to Lat. *ea*; in both languages, as in Greek, the nom./acc. pl. of neut. *i*-stems was in **-i-ā* (as in Gk. *τρία*, Lat. *tria*, Go. *þrija* ‘3’).

Old Icelandic. In ON the original anaphoric pronouns have been abandoned in favor of demonstrative pronouns (§8.10) in the neuter singular and throughout the plural. Remodeling in the rest of the paradigm has been extensive. Either nom. sg. masc. *hann* < **hānr* represents the PIE particle **ke* ‘here, there’ (cf. Lat. *cis* ‘on this side of’, Lith. *šis*, OCS *sb* ‘this’) plus the demonstrative **eno-s* ‘that’, a combination seen also in Epic Gk. *κεῖνος* ‘that (over there)’ < **ke-eno-s* (the usual older explanation: see, e.g., Prokosch 1939: §94), or the compound is (**ke* >) *x* + **ainar* (< PGmc. **jainaz*, as in Go. *jáins* ‘that’): see, e.g., Rosenfeld 1955a, b, Orel 2003: 205.² The Proto-Norse stem **hān-* then spread throughout the masc. and fem. singular, with shortening in most cases, though long vowels are in evidence in some early texts (see Noreen 1970: §466 Anm. 1). There are also the usual mutations of *a* in the stem, e.g. dat. sg. masc. *hánun* > *hónun* > *honun*, similarly nom. sg. fem *hon* < **hānu*, with front mutation in dat., gen. sg. fem. *henni*, *hennar* due to the desinences **-irai*, **-irōr* (cf. Go. demonstratives *þizái*, *þizōs*). Replacement of the original nom. sg. masc. pronoun may have been motivated by the need to differentiate the pronoun from **is/er* meaning ‘is’ and ‘who/which’.

West Germanic. All the WGmc. languages but OHG have a nom. sg. masc. pronoun in *h-* (including OFris. *hī*, OLF *he*, *hie*, *her*) derived, as in ON, from PIE **ke*, the reflex of which would still have been recoverable with deictic meaning from forms like OS *hiu-diga* ‘today’, *hēr* ‘here’, and *hinan(a)* ‘hence’. It was added to the nom sg. because PGmc. **iz* (Go. *is*) would have been reduced to WGmc. **ē*, which would have been difficult to distinguish from other forms reduced solely to vowels (see n. 1, and see below on remedies for this problem in other case forms in WGmc.), which prompted onset-strengthening by the addition of *h-*.³ OHG is the exception because final **-z* was not lost in monosyllables in that language (§6.16). In OE this *h-* was subsequently extended throughout the paradigm, and a new nom. sg. fem. form *hēo* was created either from the masc. stem **hi-* with addition of the nom. *ō*-stem ending **-u* < PGmc. **-ō* or

by analogy to the dem. *sēo*, formed in the same fashion (§8.10). Just as Go. nom. pl. masc. *eis* is analogical to the corresponding *i*-stem inflection, a new OE nom./acc. pl. pronoun *hie* was formed by the addition of the corresponding *i*-stem adj. inflection (OE *-e*) to the stem *hi-* found in nearly all other OE case-forms (cf. gen. pl. *heora* < *hiora* < *hira*), producing *hie*, alongside earlier *hī*, neuter *hēo* (cf. Go. masc. *eis*, neut. *ija*). This is a development rendered fairly certain by metrical and dialectal evidence (see Hogg & Fulk 2011: §5.17 n. 3). Like OE, OFris. has initial *h-* throughout the paradigm, except that originally reflexive *sīn* is used for the gen. sg. masc. and neut.

OHG *er* probably derives from PGmc. **iz*, but why the root vowel was lowered remains obscure; OHG *ir* is the sole form in use in *Isidor*.⁴ OHG nom. sg. fem. *sī* is comparable to Go. *si*, the form with long vowel due to stressed conditions (§5.2). To *si-* was added in OS and OHG the ending of the nom. sg. fem. demonstrative OS *thiu*, OHG *diu* (§8.10) (and cf. OLF *sia* = *thia*). This pattern of attaching demonstrative inflections to the stem *si-* was subsequently extended to all those forms which, as comparison to Gothic shows, would have been reduced solely to vowels in WGmc., and thus difficult to distinguish from one another, i.e. the acc. sg. fem. and the nom. and acc. pl. of all genders. Gen. sg. *es* < PIE **h₂e-s(i)o* is retained in the neut. in OHG, whereas the reflexive pronoun is adopted for the masculine. Acc. sg. masc. OS *ina*, OHG *in* represent the earlier forms; *inan* shows addition of the corresponding adj. inflection. The masc./neut. dat. sg. ending *-mu* in OHG (*-m* is the earlier form in OS) is generally traced to a PIE instr. ablaut variant in **-ō* (beside usual **-ē*), e.g. by Krahe & Meid (1969: II, §37); cf. Boutkan 1995b: 303–4 and the references in Howe 1996: 255. Spellings in OS are variable as usual, e.g. nom. pl. masc. *sia*, *sie*, *sea*, *se*. In OHG there occurs in the *Lex Salica* fragments of ca. 830 an alternative dat. sg. *emu*, which Euler (2013: 12), comparing Skt. *asmāi*, regards as archaic, though the earliest texts use exclusively *imu*. It is thus likelier to be analogical to the demonstrative *demu* (§8.10); see also Szemerényi 1996: §8.2.2 n. 1.

1. Seebold (1984: 64) speaks of PIE **iā/ī* (his notation) as needing “strengthening” because of its minimal phonological material (what Krahe & Meid 1969: II, §35 refer to as *Einlautigkeit*), an idea not infrequently appealed to in the literature. Seebold’s solution to the problem of Go. *si* is instead to reconstruct, on the basis of Celtic and Greek forms, an “archaic” **siā/sī*, of any gender, which replaced the original pronoun. See Ringe 2017: 233 for another suggestion.

2. Seebold (1984: 64–6) distinguishes **ke* ‘here’ from **ko* ‘there’ and identifies the latter as the source of Gmc. *h-* in pronouns, though usually the meaning ‘there’ is assumed to be a later development of **ke* (so, e.g., Pokorny 1959–69: I, 609).

3. This explanation, advocated by, e.g., H.F. Nielsen (2000: 249–50), is plainly at odds with that of Euler (2013: 112–13), who reconstructs PGmc. **xai* (cf. Klingenschmitt 1987: 173: **xaiz*) to account for OE OS *hē*.

4. Analogy to the gen. sg. neut. is sometimes invoked (e.g. by Prokosch 1939: §94, Krahe & Meid 1969: II, §35), but why the gen. sg. should have exerted such influence is not obvious. Seebold (1984: 66–9) argues for an etymological distinction of PIE origin between the vocalism of the OHG pronouns *mir*, *dir*, *wir* *ir*, with *i*, and *wer*, *der*, *er*, with *e*.

III. Demonstrative Pronouns

8.8 Demonstrative pronouns in Germanic

Germanic inherited a pronoun **so*, **tod*, **sā* from PIE, for which no definite deictic implication of relative distance from the speaker or hearer is reconstructible: it seems to have meant alternately ‘this, that, the’, alternative meanings which its reflex may take, for instance, in NHG.¹ PGmc. also had a distal deictic reflected in Go. *jāins*, PDE *yon*, NHG *jener* (§8.11), and apparently in NWGmc. the need was felt for a corresponding proximal demonstrative ‘this’ (§8.12). In addition, in NGmc. there arose a new deictic nom. sg. masc. *hinn*, neut. *hit*, fem. *hin*, on which see §8.11. Similar modifications of the system of deictics are observable in other IE languages, e.g. the ternary system of Lat. *hic* ‘this here’, *iste* ‘that of yours’, and *ille* ‘that (yonder)’, and of Gk. *οὗτος* ‘this (the aforementioned)’, *ὅδε* ‘this (in regard to forthcoming information)’, and *ἐκεῖνος* ‘that’.

1. Compare, e.g., *Das Ergebnis wäre das gleiche* ‘The result would be the same’ and *D a s E r b e b n i s w ä r e i d e a l = D i e s e s E r g e b n i s w ä r e i d e a l* ‘This/That result would be ideal’. The deictic import of the PIE pronoun thus probably pertained to information structure rather than location, i.e. old versus new information.

8.9 Demonstrative pronouns in Proto-Indo-European

On the basis of reflexes in Skt., OCS, Lith., Go., and Doric Gk., Szemerényi (1996: §8.2.1) reconstructs the paradigm of the PIE demonstrative ‘this, that, the’ more or less as follows (and note that he dispenses with laryngeal notation):

	singular			plural		
	masc.	neut.	fem.	masc.	neut.	fem.
nom.	<i>*so</i>	<i>*tod</i>	<i>*sā</i>	<i>*toḷ</i>	<i>*tā</i>	<i>*tās</i>
acc.	<i>*tom</i>	<i>*tod</i>	<i>*tām</i>	<i>*tōn(s)</i>	<i>*tā</i>	<i>*tā(n)s</i>
gen.	<i>*tosjo</i>	<i>*tosjo</i>	<i>*tosjās</i>	<i>*toisōm</i>	<i>*toisōm</i>	<i>*tāsōm</i>
dat.	<i>*tosmōi</i>	<i>*tosmōi</i>	<i>*tosjāi</i>	<i>*toḷbh(i)os</i>	<i>*toḷbh(i)os</i>	<i>*tābh(i)os</i>
abl.	<i>*tosmōd</i>	<i>*tosmōd</i>	<i>*tosjās</i>	<i>*toḷbh(i)os</i>	<i>*toḷbh(i)os</i>	<i>*tābh(i)os</i>
loc.	<i>*tosmi(n)</i>	<i>*tosmi(n)</i>		<i>*toḷsu</i>	<i>*toḷsu</i>	<i>*tāsu</i>
dual						
			masc.	neut.	fem.	
	nom.	<i>*tō</i>	<i>*toḷ</i>	<i>*toḷ</i>		
	acc.	<i>*tō</i>	<i>*toḷ</i>	<i>*toḷ</i>		

In the dat. abl. pl., **-bh-* corresponds to *-m-* in Gmc. and Balto-Slavic, and some reconstruct PIE **-m-* for anaphoric/demonstrative pronouns: see §7.2. The Gmc. dat. pl. derives from **toḷ-mis* > **paimiz*, with the same desinence seen in nominal inflection, though *-m-* probably originates in the masc. neut. sg. of forms like this.

There were thus two stems to the PIE paradigm, one in **s-* and one in **t-*, the former confined to the nom. sg. masc. and fem. The element **-sm-* in the oblique cases of the singular (probably related to PIE **sem-* ‘one’ and **som-* ‘same’) may have been an optional element lending emphasis (so Szemerényi 1996: §8.2.1), as it is missing from some forms, e.g. Go. *pei* ‘that’ (originally loc.: see below).

8.10 The inherited demonstrative pronoun in Germanic

The PIE demonstrative ‘this, that, the’ is reflected in Gmc. as follows (with a few alternative forms remarked below):

		singular					plural			
		nom.	acc.	dat.	instr.	gen.	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.
Go.	m.	sa	þana	þamma		þis	þái	þans	þáim	þizē
	n.	þata	þata	þamma	þē	þis	þō	þō	þáim	þizē
	f.	sō	þō	þizái		þizōs	þōs	þōs	þáim	þizō
Oícel.	m.	sá	þann	þeim		þess	þeir	þá	þeim	þeir(r)a
	n.	þat	þat	þí, því	þí, því	þess	þau	þau	þeim	þeir(r)a
	f.	sú	þá	þeir(r)i		þeirar	þær	þær	þeim	þeir(r)a
OE	m.	sē	þone	þāem	þȳ, þē	þæs	þā	þā	þāem	þāra
	n.	þæt	þæt	þāem	þȳ, þē	þæs	þā	þā	þāem	þāra
	f.	sēo	þā	þāere		þāere	þā	þā	þāem	þāra
OS	m.	thē	thēna	thēmu	thiu	thes	thea	thea	thēm	thero
	n.	that	that	thēmu	thiu	thes	thiu	thiu	thēm	thero
	f.	thiu	thia	theru		thera	thea	thea	thēm	thero
OHG	m.	der	den	demu		des	dē	dē	dēm	dero
	n.	daz	daz	demu	diu	des	diu	diu	dēm	dero
	f.	diu	dea	deru		dera	deo	deo	dēm	dero

Many alternative forms of individual pronouns are to be found in Gmc. outside of Gothic. The handbooks should be consulted for these; the following discussion is limited chiefly to the forms given in these paradigms.¹

Some Gmc. forms point to *e* rather than *o* in the pronominal stem (e.g. Go. *þis*, *þizē*, *þizōs*, OS *thes*, *thēmu*, etc.), and this has led some to posit alternation in the stem in PIE; it is likelier, however, that *e* is a Gmc. innovation, borrowed from the interrogative pronoun (§8.13; but see below on Go. *þei*), which, as assumed below, exerted other kinds of influence on this paradigm. After PIE acc. sg. masc. **tom* had developed to PGmc. **þan*, to this was added a particle, the reflex of PIE **-ō* or **-ōm*, producing **þanō* or **þanōn*.² Although the vowel is reduced finally in all the Gmc. languages, it can still be seen in Go. indef. acc. *hvanōh* ‘each, every’, formed from interrog. **h^wanō* (> Go. *hvana* ‘whom?’ parallel to *þana*) plus *-uh* (as in nom. *hva^zuh*). Although a masc./neut. gen. sg. containing PIE **i* is well attested in the IE languages (cf. masc. **-o-sjo* in the IE *o*-stems, as in Skt. *aśvaśya*, Homeric Gk. *ἵπποιο* < PIE **ék^w-o-sjo* ‘horse’), the Gmc. forms lack it (cf. Old Prussian *deiwas* < **deik^w-o-so* ‘of a god’); yet most of the Gmc. languages reflect **-e-so* rather than **-o-so*, again probably by analogy to the corresponding interrogative pronoun (PIE *k^wé-so* > OCS *česo*, Ionic Gk. *téo* ‘whose?’). The Gmc. dat. sg. is generally assumed to reflect the PIE instr., which is not securely reconstructible for PIE **so*; for the etymon of the Gmc. masc./neut. dat. is usually reconstructed **tosmē*, on the basis of forms like Go. indef. *h^wammēh* ‘each, every’ (cf. acc. *hvanōh*, above, and on **-zm-* > *-mm-* see §6.8) beside unsuffixed *h^wamma*, and the neut. instr. *þē* (in the phrase *ni þē haldis* ‘none the more’ (also OE *þē mā* ‘the more’) and some compound conjunctions, e.g. *bi-þē* ‘while’). This *þē* is probably old (cf. OCS instr. *tē-mě*, also Gk. (Thera) *τη-δε* ‘in this way’), in which event *þamma* may be explained as formed by the addition of instr. **-ē* to the dat. sg. stem inherited from PIE (so, e.g., Krause 1968: §180; cf. the discussion under **dat. sg.** in §7.8). Likewise, PIE loc. sg. **tosmi* appears to have borrowed the dat./abl. stem; Go. complementizer *þei* ‘that’ is formally a locative, and it is perhaps more plausible that it should be original

(cf. Doric Gk. *τεῖ-δε* 'here'), not based on an unattested corresponding interrogative pronoun.

With these general Gmc. conditions taken into account, the forms given in the Gmc. paradigms above may be regarded as regular developments of the PGmc. pronouns, with the exception of the forms in individual languages remarked in the following paragraphs.

Gothic. Nom./acc. sg. neut. *þata* shows extension of final *-a* from the acc. sg. masc. The alternation between PIE masc. neut. **-oi-* and fem. **-ā-* in the plural has led to some paradigm regularization: Go. gen. pl. fem. *þizō* has borrowed the vowel of the corresponding singular form, and the stem *þiz-* is then extended to the masc. and neuter. In their turn, fem. gen. and dat. sg. *þizōs*, *þizái* appear to be analogical to the corresponding interrogative pronouns (§8.13). On the alternation between *-ē* and *-ō* in the gen. pl., see §7.8.

Old Icelandic. There is lengthening in nom. sg. masc. *sá* under Prokosch's law (§2.5). The fem. nom. sg. either reflects **sō > *su* under unstressed conditions, with lengthening when the latter was extended to stressed positions (the usual assumption) or reflects unstressed **sō > *sū*, in which the vowel was never shortened (Ringe & Taylor 2014: 16). PGmc. acc. sg. masc. **þan* was altered to *þann* under the influence of *hann* (Prokosch 1939: §93). PGmc. acc. sg. fem. **þō* was shortened to *þa* when unstressed (presumably before *o* arose as an allophone of *u*, so that the shortening of *ō* was *a*; OE shows the same development) with lengthening to *þá* when re-stressed. Dat. sg. *þeim* (like OE *þē̄m*) shows extension of the dat. pl. form to the singular, by analogy to the *a*-stem adjectives, in which the two forms are identical. Dat. sg. fem. *þeiri* reflects **þaizjōi*, perhaps with extension of *ai* from the corresponding plural form (assuming the diphthong of the masc. and neut. pl. had earlier replaced the PIE monophthong of the fem.), as does OE *þē̄re* (with umlaut). But given the agreement of ON and OE on this point, perhaps **þaizjōi* or **þaizōi* was the PGmc. form.³ The alternative form *þeirri* shows analogical addition of the adj. inflection *-ri* (orig. pronominal) to the stem *þeir-*; gen. pl. *þeirra* beside *þeira* is to be explained similarly. Gen. sg. masc./neut. *þess* agrees with Go. *þis* < **þes*, except that *-s*, probably from nominal declension, has been added.⁴ Gen. sg. fem. *þeirar* reflects **þaiz(j)ōz* (as does OE *þē̄re*), which shows extension of the diphthong from the pl. to the singular. Neut. dat./instr. *þi* is well attested (also in the compound *þ(v)ilíkr* 'such') but is uncommon relative to *því*. The former probably reflects the same locative **tei* underlying Go. *þei*; the latter shows the analogical influence of interrogative *hvi*.⁵ Nom. pl. masc. *þeir* shows the addition of *-r* from nominal inflection, as in *steinar* 'stones'. There is no consensus about the derivation of nom./acc. pl. neut. *þau*: whereas some derive it directly from a PIE masc. dual **tōu* (beside **tō*: cf. Skt. *tāu* beside *tā*; so, e.g. Ross & Berns 1992: 563–4), others regard it as a Norse innovation, formed by the addition of *-u* from neuter nominal inflection (as in *þörn* 'children' < **barnu*) to the reflex of PIE neut. pl. *tā*.⁶ Nom./acc. pl. fem. *þær* derives from PGmc. **þōz*, with shortening to **þaz* under low stress (cf. the acc. sg., as above),⁷ a form reflected in OE, as well; when this form was extended to stressed positions there was lengthening to **þār* (reflected as OEN *þār*), which underwent *r*-mutation (§4.7) to *þær*. In PGmc. acc. pl. masc. **þans* the final two consonants were lost when the word was unstressed, as in the *a*-stem inflection; extension of the resulting **þa* to stressed positions induced lengthening to *þá*, and the same explanation will account for OE *þā*, if this is not simply analogical to the nom.

West Germanic. Despite the claim of some handbooks (e.g. Prokosch 1939: §93), OE nom. sg. masc. *sē* cannot be derived from PIE **so* with lengthening of the vowel, since the development of unstressed **sæ* to **se* would have taken place too late (on the date, see Fulk 1992: §§415–17) for *sē* rather than *†sæ* to have been the regular result of re-stressing; rather, it is best regarded as a reformation of the reflex of PGmc. **sa* by analogy to *hē* < **h-iz* (§8.7; so, tentatively, Girvan 1931: 279).⁸ Nom. sg. fem. *sēo* (as well as OS *thiu*, OHG *diu*, but with substitution of the usual onset found in the rest of the paradigm) is often said to be derived from a by-form of PIE **sā* of the form **sīā* (so, e.g., Prokosch 1939: §93, Krahe & Meid 1969: II, §37), an adjectival derivative of the nom. uter stem in **s-* (see Brugmann & Delbrück 1897–1916: II, 2, §322 for reflexes). Perhaps more plausible is that, like *hēo* (§8.7), it should be based on the masc. stem, in this instance **si-* (in **siz*) with the addition of the WGmc. nom. inflection of *ō*-stems, **-u* < PGmc. **-ō* < PIE **-ā* (Girvan 1931: 279).⁹ As noted above, quite a few OE forms parallel those of OIcel., but not of Go., OS, or OHG; OFris. agrees for the most part with OE in this respect. Acc. sg. fem. *pā* (< **paz* < **pōz*; cf. OFris. *thā*), dat. sg. masc./acc. *pēm* (later also *pām*, with the vowel found in all other pl. forms transferred to the dat. pl. and thence to the sg.; cf. OFris. *thā(m)*), dat. sg. fem. *pære* (< **paizjōi*; cf. OFris. *thēre*), dat. sg. fem. *pære* (< **paizjōz*; cf. OFris. *thēre*), nom./acc. pl. fem. *pā* (like acc. sg. fem. *pā*), and acc. pl. masc. *pā* (< **pa* < **pans*; cf. OFris. *thā*) all developed like the corresponding OIcel. forms, as discussed above.¹⁰ Also parallel to OIcel. instr. (orig. loc.) sg. neut. *því* appears to be OE *þf̥*. There is no consensual explanation for this form; perhaps the best rationale is that it is analogical to interrog. *hwȳ* (just as OIcel. *því* is analogical to *hví*),¹¹ if the explanation offered in §8.13 for the equally perplexing *hwȳ* is reliable. The alternative instr. *þē* is comparable to Go. *pē*. There is also an instr. *þon* which, in addition to its usual functions, is used in comparative constructions (e.g. *þon mā* ‘the more’) and in adverbial phrases, e.g. *for þon þe* ‘because’ and *siððan* ‘after(ward)’ < **sīþ þon*. It is of uncertain derivation,¹² but it is usually compared to Go. *þan*, used as a rel. particle, a demonstrative, and a conj.; and for the semantics cf. Go. *þana-māis* ‘still, further’ (= OE *þon mā*, OS *than mēr*, OHG *dana mēr*; so Girvan 1931: 279); cf. also Go. *hvan* (= OE *hwon*) with the meaning ‘how much’ when used with comparatives. Unlike the gen. sg. elsewhere in Gmc., OE *þæs* derives not from PIE **teso* but the ablaut variant **toso* (cf. Gk. *toû* < **tos(i)o*); OFris. *thes* is ambiguous.

OS *thē* and *thiu* are constructed the same way as OE *sē*, *sēo*, but initial *th-* has been generalized in the paradigm; OHG nom. sg. masc. *der* is analogical to *er* (§8.7) and (*h*)*wer* (§8.13), either directly or as an unstressed shortening of **pē-r* (see §9.2 on the origin of the adj. inflection *-ēr*), whereas fem. *diu* is formed as in OS. Acc. sg. masc. OS *thēna* and OHG *den* (: Go. *þana*, OIcel. *þann*, OE *þone*) have imported *e* from the rest of the masc. paradigm; likewise dat. sg. masc./neut. OS *themu*, OHG *demu* (Go. *þamma*), perhaps with degemination of *-mm-* under low stress, though Prokosch (1939: §93) suggests alternatively that these may be compared to inherited forms without *-s-*, e.g. Lith. dat. *tamui*, OCS *tomb*, OCS instr. *tēmъ*. Perhaps it is likelier still that **pemma* was reduced analogically to **pemmu* because in **pemma* it would appear, by comparison to, e.g., dat. sg. *imu* (to OHG *er*), that the stem was **pem-* rather than **pe-*, which would have been anomalous within the paradigm. Instr. sg. neut. OS *thiu*, OHG *diu* are sometimes derived from a by-form PIE **tjō-* (Krahe & Meid compare Skt. nom. sg. neut. *tya-t*, 1969: II, §37; similarly Ross & Berns 1992: 563 for the pl.), but it is perhaps likelier that these are constructed by analogy to *i*-stem instrumentals (§7.20), or, even

likelier, that the commonest *a*-stem instr. ending *-u* was added to the masc./neut. stem OS *the-*, OHG *de-*, and while the form remained disyllabic, *e* was raised to *i* before *u* in the next syllable (§4.4). For masc. nom./acc. pl. OS *thea* are also found *thia*, *thie*, and *thē*, the last equivalent to OHG *dē* (also diphthongized to *die*, *dea*, *dia*), both apparently representing unstressed developments of PGmc. **pai*. Unless PIE **t̥iō-* is to be invoked, the other OS forms can be explained as formed by the addition of the adj. endings *-e*, *-a* to the stem *the-*, with *i* in *thia* introduced from neut. nom./acc. pl. *thiu* (to which compare the instr. sg. above). There occurs an OHG nom./acc. pl. neut. *dei*, found only in the earliest UG texts, perhaps analogical to *zwei* ‘2’; cf. Ross & Berns 1992: 564. The gen. and dat. pl. forms of OS and OHG correspond to the Go. ones. There is much variation in the spelling of these pronouns, especially in OS, with the forms of one gender extended to another on an occasional basis.

1. For discussion of the pl. of this pronoun in Gmc., see Ross & Berns 1992: 562–5.
2. The source of this **-ō* or **-ō̃* is disputed. For example, Wright (1954: §261) compares it to the Skt. prep. *ā* ‘up to’, which takes the acc., whereas Krahe & Meid (1969: II, §37) analyze it as lengthened grade of the suffix seen in Skt. *id-am*, Lat. *id-em* ‘it’. There is discussion in Boutkan 1995b: 297–300 (with conclusions largely agreeing with those of A.W. Jones 1979), deriving the added ending from the fem. acc. sg. of PGmc. **is* (§8.7).
3. Thus, e.g., Ringe (2017: 232) assumes PGmc. gen. **paizōz* as a refashioning of the reflex of PIE **tósieh₂s* by metathesis of **-sṛ-* under the influence of the diphthong of the masc. neut. plural.
4. Without this change, *bes* would have been anomalous, as gen. *-s* otherwise never occurs after a stressed short vowel, and the alternative solution of lengthening the vowel would have increased paradigm allomorphy. The alternative form *bes* does occur, but it is generally regarded as a reduction of *þess*, like *þan* for *þann* (Noreen 1970: §469 Anm. 3). Prokosch (1939: §93) suggests instead that *þess* was formed by analogy to *þann*. Krahe & Meid (1969: II, §37) regard *þess* as analogical to *þessa* (§8.12 *infra*).
5. Krahe & Meid (1969: II, §37) distinguish dat. *því* from instr. *þvé*, the latter comparable to Go. instr. *þē*. This may be etymologically correct: Olcel. *hvé* does occasionally mean ‘why’, as normally does *hví*, but it usually means ‘how’. Paul (1879: 215) proposes that *þí* should be derived from **þē* (= Go. instr. *þē*): for further references, see Boutkan 1995b: 303, where it is proposed that *þí* is analogical to *hví*.
6. For discussion, with references, see Hiersche 1963. If the ON pronoun is dual in origin, so also may be Go. *þō* (as advocated by Hiersche). Cowgill (1985: 14–15) rejects both analyses, regarding *þau* as analogical to *tvau*.
7. For alternative analyses, see Schrijver 2004: 204–6.
8. Krahe & Meid (1969: II, §37; similarly Euler 2013: 114) derive *sē* from PIE **so* plus a deictic particle *i* seen in Gk. *οὗτος-ί* (beside *οὗτος* ‘this’). This seems conjectural.
9. As frequently in tracing the development of Gmc. pronouns, in choosing between alternatives like these it is necessary to weigh the probability of the preservation of archaisms of limited attestation elsewhere in IE against the degree of transparency of morphological structure *viz-à-viz* the posited analogical model, as well as the degree of relatedness of the model.
10. OE nom. pl. *þā* may be etymological, or it may be analogical to the acc. Neuter nom./acc. pl. *þā* is by analogy to this, since PGmc. **þō* would have developed to **þū* in NWGmc. and become indistinguishable from the second person pronoun (Cowgill 1985: 15).
11. This is perhaps what Lass (1994: 144) means when he says that there is probably some relation between the two. His idea that the alternative form *hwī* is somehow “legitimate,” however (a view shared with Krahe & Meid 1969: II, §42), is improbable, as *hwī* appears to represent an unrounding of *hwȳ* (so, e.g., A. Campbell 1977: §316), appearing rarely in Alfredian texts, and none earlier. A possible (but speculative) alternative explanation is that *þȳ* is developed from **þū* (parallel to *hū*) with the addition of the masc./neut. instr. adj. ending **-i* (§9.2): so Girvan 1931: 279. More plausibly, *þȳ* could be analogical to *hwȳ* formed of *hū* + *i*, though this would render the resemblance to Olcel. *hví* entirely happenstance.

12. The fullest study is Dal 1932, concluding that the form originates in a pronominal ‘prosecutive’ in PIE **-no* which assumed ablative function in PGmc., taking on other functions in time.

8.11 Distal demonstrative pronouns in Germanic

Already in PGmc. there was formed a distal deictic ‘that, yon’, reflected as Go. *jáins* (declined like an *a/ō*-stem adj.), OE **geon* (attested just once, EWS dat. sg. fem. *geonre*),¹ OFris. *iena*, MLG *jene*, OHG *jenēr*. The etymology is difficult to establish because these forms show notable disagreement: Go *jáins* would appear to reflect PGmc. **jainaz*; OE *geon* appears to reflect PGmc. **janaz*, or possibly PGmc. **jainaz* > **jān* with subsequent shortening to *o* under low stress;² the remainder would appear to reflect PGmc. **jenaz*, but possibly they, too, could reflect **jainaz* under low stress (with the addition of the usual adj. endings in MLG and OHG).³ Neither is there a consensus about how **jainaz* (assuming this is the correct reconstruction) was formed: the chiefly credited possibilities are that it represents a PIE demonstrative particle **ie-* plus the pronominal stem **eno-* (so, e.g., Prokosch 1939: §93d, assuming an ablaut difference between Go. and WGmc.) and that it represents PIE **i-* (reduced form of **ie-*) plus **oīno-* ‘one’ (so, e.g. Orel 2003: 205 for Go., but favoring the former explanation for WGmc.). The competing explanations thus parallel those for Olcel. *hann* (§8.7). The rarity of this pronoun in OE probably indicates that OE *þæt*, when it did not develop into an article, had acquired a distal dimension, as in PDE.

A consideration in favor of the assumption of PGmc. **jainaz* is that with the loss of initial *j* in PNorse, the word would have become indistinguishable from the word for ‘one’, and this explains why there arose a replacement in ON, a new distal pronoun nom. masc. *hinn*, neut. *hit*, fem. *hin*, inflected with all the same desinences as the possessive pronouns *minn*, *þinn* (§8.5, but with nom. acc. sg. neut. *hit* rather than *hitt*, a rare form) added to the particle *hi-* < PIE **ke* (§8.7). As a pronoun it means ‘that’ (emphatic) or ‘the other’; otherwise it is a def. article, in the earliest texts not yet postposed (as in all the modern NGmc. languages) with loss of initial *h*.

1. There is, however, an OE adverb, either (depending on an editorial decision) *geon* or *geonofer* ‘(over) yonder’, which appears in the legal text *Dunsæte*.

2. On unstressed *ai* > OE *o*, see §5.6. Under such an explanation it is unnecessary to assume that the form shows EWS *-on-* for *-an-*, as unstressed status is sufficient to explain *o* for *a*; no matter what the source of the vowel, PDE *yon* would be difficult to explain if the OE vowel were stressed.

3. Ingeniously, Pokorny (1959–69: I, 320) explains the WGmc. forms as derived from PIE **i-onjo-* (with initial **i-* derived from the rel. pron., though the lack of umlaut in OE *geon* would be anomalous, and the lack of any gemination of *n* in WGmc.), and Go. *jáins* as derived from PGmc. **janj-* with metathesis under the influence of *áins* ‘one’.

8.12 Proximal demonstrative pronouns

In Gothic there is a pronoun meaning ‘this’ which is found only in a few set expressions: *himma daga* ‘on this day, today’, *und hina dag* ‘to this day’, *und hita (nu)* ‘till now, hitherto’, *fram himma* ‘from now, henceforth’. These forms are transparently composed of *hi-*, reflecting the PIE particle **ke*, originally with *hic et nunc* reference (as above, §8.7), and the same endings found on the demonstrative *sa*. It is often supposed

that these are relics of a once complete PGmc. paradigm (so, e.g., Euler 2013: 116), but if that were the case it would be difficult to understand both why so few forms are attested in Gothic and why outside of Gothic there arose new pronouns meaning ‘this’, especially on the assumption that the paradigm of this supposed pronoun paralleled closely that of PGmc. **sa*. It seems likelier, then, that these developments are the result of an imbalance of deictics in PGmc., on the assumption that there was no pronoun to contrast specifically with **jainaz* ‘that’, and forms like *himma* are an innovation specific to East Germanic. The commonest forms of ‘this’ outside of Gothic are these:

		singular				plural				
		nom.	acc.	dat.	instr.	gen.	nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.
Oícel.	m.	sjá	þenna	þessum		þessa	þessir	þessa	þessum	þessa
	n.	þetta	þetta	þvísa, þessu		þessa	þessi	þessi	þessum	þessa
	f.	sjá	þessa	þessi		þessar	þessar	þessar	þessum	þessa
OE	m.	þēs	þisne	þissum	þȳs	þisses	þās	þās	þissum	þissa
	n.	þis	þis	þissum	þȳs	þisses	þās	þās	þissum	þissa
	f.	þēos	þās	þisse		þisse	þās	þās	þissum	þissa
OS	m.	*these	thesan	thesumu		theses	these	these	thesum	thesaro
	n.	thit(t)	thit(t)	thesumu	thius	theses	thius	thius	thesum	thesaro
	f.	thius	thesa	thesaru		thesara	thesa	thesa	thesum	thesero
OHG	m.	dese, -ēr	desan	desemu		desses	dese	dese	desēm	desero
	n.	diz	diz	desemu	desiu	desses	desiu	desiu	desēm	desero
	f.	desiu	desa	deseru		desera	deso	deso	desēm	desero

The differences between the OE forms and those of OS and OHG are remarkable, and those between NGmc. and WGmc. are so stark as to suggest polygenesis; nonetheless, almost certainly these forms all have a common origin. Runic inscriptions in the Younger Futhark (i.e., after ca. 750) frequently evince demonstratives from the paradigm of *sá* (§8.10) with what is usually regarded as a following emphatic particle *-si* (*-se*, *-s*) or *-a* attached, e.g. nom. sg. **sasi**, fem. **susi**, neut. **patsi** or **pita** (see Noreen 1970: §470 Anm. 1). This pattern of original inflection of the first component of the compound is observable also in OHG nom. sg. masc. *de-se*, gen. *des-se*, the latter an older form (*Muspilli* 103) to which a final inflection was added later (*desses*: Braune 2004a: §288 Anm. 3d). The earlier form of the deictic *s*-suffix is difficult to determine, in part because of the alternation between *-si* (WGmc. *-se*) and *-s*. Probably the most plausible explanation is that originally this pronoun was formed by iteration.¹ That is to say, nom. sg. masc. **sa* (§8.10) was iterated as **sa-sa*, perhaps with the later addition of the *hic et nunc* particle **-i* (cf. Lat. *quī, quae* < **k^wo-i*, **k^wā-i*). A significant advantage of the idea of iteration is thus that it explains the otherwise mysterious rise in NWGmc. of a new *s*-particle of which there is no trace in Gothic.² It also explains admirably the origin of the geminate *t* in the neuter forms Oícel. *þetta*, OS *thitt* (cf. OHG *diz*, where *-z* = *-tz* < **-tt*: Braune 2004a: §289 Anm. 3b), assuming original **pat-pat* > **patta*, with later change of root vowel by intraparadigmatic analogy. A similar course of development will also account for ON acc. sg. masc. *þenna*, assuming original **pan-pan*, since PGmc. **-np-* > ON *-nn-* (§6.14). With the reduction of final vowels, reanalysis of *-s-* in the nom. sg. masc. and fem. resulted in its extension as a suffix through most of the paradigm. This explanation may also account for the origin of the alternative particle *-a* in ON. Noreen (*loc. cit.*) compares it to Go. *-uh* (§8.10 *supra*), though more commonly it is related to the particle PIE **-ōm* added to Go. *þana*, *þata* (§8.10; so, e.g., Krahe &

Meid 1969: II, §38). Rather, if iteration is assumed, final *-a* in a form like *penna* may be regarded as etymological, starting from NWGmc. **pan-pan*.

The subsequent development of these forms is governed by thoroughgoing analogical restructuring, prompted in large part by the lexicalization of suffixed forms, so that non-final inflection in a form like acc. sg. masc. *pan-si* was no longer recognizable as such, and new inflections were, to a great extent, added to the end of the relevant forms, especially in WGmc. Given the assumption of these early changes, most of the forms given above are transparent refashionings, though a few require further comment.

Old Norse. Masc. and fem. nom. sg. *sjá* is most commonly explained as analogically induced, with *-a* borrowed from forms like *penna* and *petta* and lengthened under stress.³ This makes good sense, since the result is *-a* in the nom. and acc. of all genders (or perhaps all sg. forms before the addition of new endings, e.g. to gen. sg. fem. *þessar*, and later yet *þessar(r)ar*). Later there arose *þessi* and similar forms alongside *sjá*, thus reducing stem variation within the paradigm. Dat. sg. neut. *þvísa* and *þessu* both appear in early texts, though both are plainly analogical formations, the former by the addition of *-sa* to the corresponding form of *þat*, the latter by the addition of the usual dat. sg. neut. ending *-u* to the stem *þess-* that prevails in the paradigm.

West Germanic. The stems with initial *s* have exchanged it for *þ*, regularizing the paradigm. In OE, most forms have the stem *þiss-* (reduced to *þis-* when a vowel does not follow), with the same endings found on adjectives; gen. dat. sg. fem. *þisse* and gen. pl. *þissa* show assimilation of **-sr-* to *-ss-*, as in *lāssa* ‘less’ < **lāsra*. The exceptions are all plainly composed of the corresponding form of *sē* plus a suffix *-s* (though again with *þ-* for *s-* in the nom.). These exceptions resisted replacement by new analogical forms based on the stem *þiss-* probably because such replacement forms would have eliminated grammatical contrasts within the paradigm, reducing most forms to *þisse* or *þissa*. There are many analogical by-forms in OE, e.g. gen./dat. sg. fem. *þisre*, *þissere*, dat. pl. *þisum*. Old Frisian generally agrees with OE, with a stem *thiss-* in most case forms, but it also shows a notable agreement with OS and OHG in regard to nom./acc. sg. neut. *thit*.

The OS and OHG forms mostly represent the WGmc. stem **pes-* (as in ON) with the endings of adjectives or of the demonstrative OS *thē*, OHG *der* attached. Forms that depart from this pattern are older. Such is nom. sg. masc. OS **these* (to be assumed on the basis of MLG *dese*) and OHG *dese*, on which final *-e*, as a reflex of the vowel or diphthong of the iterated form posited above (**sa-sa-i?*), can hardly be explained as analogical. Likewise, neut. OS *thit(t)* and OHG *diz* reflect a geminate, due to original iteration (as explained above) comparable to that in ON *petta*, and OS instr. *thius* is comparable in structure to OE *þys*, whereas OHG *desiu* has substituted the stem in WGmc. **pes-*. OHG gen. sg. masc. neut. *deses* for earlier *desse* was explained above. As always in OHG and (esp.) OS, there is considerable spelling variation, e.g. dat. sg. fem. OS *thesaru*, *-aro*, *-oro*, *-ero*, *-ara*.

The reason for the discrepancy between Anglo-Frisian **þiss-* and, elsewhere in WGmc., **pes-* is not plain. The geminate in **þiss-* can be accounted for as resulting from **-sr-* (as explained above), but the reason for the raised vowel in **þiss-* and **þitt-* is not obvious, especially if WGmc. **þitt-* is to be derived (ultimately) from **þat-þat*. This could be a case of simple dissimilation to **þit-þat* (see §12.33 n. 6). Or it may be that **þitt-* is by analogy to the corresponding anaphoric pronoun, with subsequent spread of the vowel to **þiss-*. Cf. Klingenschmitt 1987: 184, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 102, with other proposals.

1. This is the proposal of Klingenschmitt (1987: 185–9), though the version of the idea presented here differs in some respects from his.
2. This is a weighty reason to prefer the idea of iteration to the otherwise attractive idea that the *s*-suffix should be compared to *-se* in Lat. *ipse* (so, e.g., Prokosch 1939: §93b).
3. Probably to be reconstructed is **se-a > sjá*. The stem **se-* is not paralleled in the paradigm of *sá*; perhaps *e* is introduced analogically, since it is the vowel that prevails in the paradigm of *sjá*.

IV. Remaining Types of Pronouns

8.13 Interrogative pronouns

In PIE there was an interrogative pronoun *uter* **k^wis* ‘who?’, neuter **k^wid* ‘what?’, with the same inflections (masc. and neut.) as **is* (§8.7), reflected as Lat. *quis*, *quid*, Hitt. *kwis*, *kwid*, Gk. *τίς*, *τί*. Beside this there was an adjective stem inflected in three genders in the nom. and acc. (otherwise undifferentiated for gender), masc. **k^wo*,¹ neut. **k^wod*, fem. **k^weh₂*, with the same inflections as **so* (§8.10), reflected as Skt. masc. *ká-h*, fem. *ká*, Lat. masc. *quī* (< *k^wo-i*), fem. *quae* (< *k^wā-i*), neut. *quod*. Although these were inflected in the sg. and pl., only sg. forms are reflected in Germanic. Accordingly, the PIE sg. forms were these (see Sihler 1995: 397, Szemerényi 1996: §8.3.1, Beekes 2011: 230):

	pronoun		adjective		
	uter	neuter	masc.	neuter	feminine
nom.	*k ^w is	*k ^w id	*k ^w o	*k ^w od	*k ^w oh ₂
acc.	*k ^w im	*k ^w id	*k ^w om	*k ^w od	*k ^w oh ₂ m
gen.		*k ^w es(i)o		*k ^w osjo	*k ^w osjch ₂ s
dat.		*k ^w esmei		*k ^w osmei	*k ^w osjch ₂ i
loc.		*k ^w esmi		*k ^w osmi	

The reflexes of these are often intermixed, as they are in Gmc., and in the various languages they serve different functions, which may include interrogative, indefinite, and relative use.² The Gmc. interrogative pronouns are generally derived from the PIE adjective stem, the gen. sg. masc./neut. being the most notable exception:

		nom.	acc.	dat.	gen.	instr.
Go.	m.	huas	huana	huamma	huis	
	n.	hwa	hwa	huamma	huis	huē
	f.	huō	huō	huizái	*huizōs	
OIcel.	mf.	hverr	hvern	hveim	hvess	
	n.	hvat	hvat	hví	hvess	
OE	mf.	hwā	hwone	hwæm	hwæs	
	n.	hwæt	hwæt	hwæm	hwæs	hwȳ, hwon
OS	mf.	hwē	hwena	hwem(u)	hwes	
	n.	hwat	hwat	hwem(u)	hwes	hwī
OHG	mf.	(h)wer	(h)wen(an)	(h)wemu	(h)wes	
	n.	(h)waz	(h)waz	(h)wemu	(h)wes	(h)wiu

Thus, only Gothic has separate fem. forms,³ which are probably not a Gothic innovation (as is often supposed, e.g. by Prokosch 1939: §97a and Euler 2013: 118), as the vowel of dat. *hwizai* appears to derive from the pronominal rather than the adjectival stem, serving as a model for the spread of the vowel to the paradigm of **so* (§8.10) and to the *ō*-stem inflection in adjectives (§9.2).⁴ The archaic nature of Go. with respect to these pronouns is also suggested by a relic of the plural preserved in a compound of this pronoun, *hwazuh* ‘each’ (§8.15): *insandida ins twans hwanzuh* ‘he sent them forth two and two’ (Luke 10:1, also Mark 6:7; cf. PIE acc. pl. masc. **k^wons*). The PIE gen. sg. was probably not **k^wesjo* but **k^weso* (cf. OCS *česo*), and this seems the likeliest source of the gen. sg. inflection Go. *-is*, OS OHG *-es* of *a*-stem nouns and adjectives (§§7.8, 9.2). In Go. and WGmc. these forms are also used as indefinite pronouns meaning ‘someone, anyone; something, anything’, whereas ON *hverr* can mean ‘any’ only when used as an adjective. A few forms in the individual languages invite comment:

Gothic. Endingless nom./acc. neut. *hwa* is possibly an archaism: final *-d* in the corresponding demonstrative PIE **tod* is probably from earlier *t*, assuming that **tod* reflects an iterated form **to-to* (Szemerényi 1996: §8.2.1; note that final **-t* developed to **-d* in PIE itself: Szemerényi 1996: §5.4.5), and if that is the case, the interrogative pronoun could have **-d* (as in Lat. *quod* = Oícel. *hvāt*) only by analogy to **tod*. Krahe & Meid (1969: II, §42), suggest, alternatively, that *hwa* reflects **x^wam*, with substitution of the usual nom./acc. ending on neuter *a*-stem nouns (cf. Skt. neut. *kim* beside masc. *káh*, fem. *kā́*); but a final nasal in a monosyllable was not generally lost except after a long vowel (§6.11).⁵ Otherwise, the Go. forms developed the same way as *sa* (§8.10), except with final *-s* in the nom. sg. masc. (probably not present in PIE, as explained above).

Old Norse. The nom. and acc. masc. forms fell out of use, perhaps due to coalescence with *hvar* ‘where?’ and **hvan* ‘when?’, with replacements supplied from the paradigm of the corresponding adj. *hverr* ‘which’ (§8.13). Dat. sg. *hveim* (= OE *hwām*) is parallel to *þeim* (explained in §8.10) There also occurs *hvé*, formally an instr., with the meaning ‘how?’.

West Germanic. OE *hwā* (OFris. *hwā*) can reflect PGmc. **x^waz*, with loss of **-z* and lengthening before *a* could be fronted in Anglo-Frisian.⁶ The OE forms are otherwise parallel to those of *sē* (§8.10). There is no consensus as to how OE *hwȳ* is to be explained. Perhaps the likeliest explanation is that it developed early from **hwī* (attested as such only in later texts, and so probably representing there an unrounding of *hwȳ*; cf. OS *hwī*, ON *hví*), formally a locative with PIE **-ei*. Such a change is to be contemplated under low stress only (which is why there is no early **hwȳl*, a LWS form only, for *hwīl* ‘while’ *et sim.*): cf. the change of **ni willan* to *nyllan* ‘will not’ in pre-historic times. Krahe & Meid (1969: §42) suggest instead a contamination of *hwī* and (formally instr.) *hū* ‘how’ < **hwō*.

OS *hwē* shows the influence of *hē*, and OHG (*h*)*wer* of *er* (§8.7). The influence of the anaphoric pronoun is in fact exerted throughout the paradigm, with substitution of the stem *hwe-* (: *þe-*) in most forms, along with other parallels, e.g. OHG instr. (*h*)*wiu*. OHG acc. sg. masc. *wenan* (for earlier (*h*)*wen*) shows the analogical influence of anaphoric *inan*. On OS OHG *-mu*, see the discussion of the anaphoric pronoun (§8.7), and cf. the demonstratives OS *themu*, OHG *demu*. For alternative spellings, the handbooks should be consulted.

Further interrogatives. Common to all the Gmc. languages is an interrogative ‘which (of two)?’, Go. *hwapar*, Oícel. *hvárr*, OE *hwæðer*, OS *hweðar*, OHG (*h*)*wedar*,

derived from **x^waz* ‘who’ by the addition of the same suffix seen in, e.g., Go. *anþar* ‘other’, Lat. *noster* ‘our’. This derives from PIE: cf. Skt. *katarāḥ*, Gk. *πότερος*, Lith. *katrās*. Apparently PGmc. in origin, but without a parallel in WGmc., is Go. *hvarjis* (inflected like a *ja*-stem adj., but always with nom. sg. neut. *-ata*), Olcel. *hverr* ‘which (of more than two)?’, probably a compound of **x^war* (Go. *hvar*, Olcel. *hvar*, but with lengthening in OE *hwær*, OS *hwār*, OHG (*h*)*wār*) and the reflex of the PIE rel. pron. **io-s* (§8.14; J. Schmidt 1889: 43). Go. *hvi-leiks*, Olcel. *hvílikr*, OE *hwelc*, *hwilc*, OFris. *hwelk*, *hwe-lik*, OS *hwi-lik*, OHG (*h*)*we-līh* ‘of what sort?’, ‘which?’ is a compound of the reflex of PIE **k^wi-* ‘who, what?’ (above) and PGmc. **līkaz* ‘similar’ (Go. *ga-leiks*, Olcel. *líkr*, etc.);⁷ on variation in the vowel of the first syllable, see the discussion of Go. *swa-leiks* (§8.15 and n. 3).

1. Although most reflexes point to **k^wos*, the parallel to **so* suggests masc. **k^wo*, as does Lat. *quī* < **k^wo-i*, with the *hic et nunc* particle *-i* added, as in *quae* < **k^wā-i* (cf. also *quoque* ‘also’).
2. Probably already in PIE, clitic forms of these were used as indefinites (Ringe 2017: 69).
3. In LWS there occur indef. gen. dat. fem. *gehwære*, *gehwäre* ‘each (one)’, which disrupts the meter of poetry at various places, showing that it is a late scribal substitution for (the equivalent of WS) *gehwēm*.
4. On syntactic constraints on the use of the fem. forms in Gothic, see Matzel 1982–3, favoring inheritance of the fem. from PIE.
5. Prokosch (1939: §97a; so also Orel 2003: 199, Euler 2013: 119) assumes, rather, that Go. *hva* reflects an unaccented form with final **-t* in PGmc. But the assumption that final consonants were lost in Go. in unstressed monosyllables after a short vowel is dubitable: see §6.11. Ringe (2017: 168) argues rather that *hva* is analogical to the neut. nom. acc. sg. of the strong adj.
6. There is a parallel in OE *swā* < PGmc. **swa* (§2.5); cf. the objections of Hollifield (1985). That there can be lengthening in OE *swā* is shown by the alternative forms *swā*, *swē*, with lengthening after the fronting of *a* in re-stressed **swa*. This seems to be the only likely explanation, as the alternatives (see A. Campbell 1977: §125 n. 1) cannot account for Northumbrian *swā*. Cf. Stiles 2004: 390 n. 7, and see further Ringe & Taylor 2014: 152.
7. More commonly it is said that **-līkaz* here is a derivative of PGmc. **līka* ‘body’, itself a derivative of **līkaz* (cf. Lith. *lyg*, *lygus* ‘like’): so, e.g., Krahe & Meid 1969: III, §168. That is, **līka* takes the meaning ‘shape, form’ → ‘kind’ and serves as the second constituent of exocentric compounds; hence, **x^wi-līkaz* originally meant ‘(of) what kind?’. The assumed formal and semantic development is simpler if it is supposed that **-līk-* was an adj. all along, and the original meaning of **x^wi-līkaz* was ‘like what?’. This also lends more transparent sense to forms like Go. *waira-leikō* ‘like a man, in manly fashion’ and OE *fēondlic* ‘hostile’, with semantic bleaching as the second constituent became widely productive, e.g. in Olcel. *hlægiligr* ‘laughable’, *harðliga* ‘forcibly’. See further §11.2 *infra*.

8.14 Relative pronouns

Although there was a relative pronoun in PIE, formed to the stem **je-* ~ **jo-* and declined like an *a/ō*-stem adj. (cf. Homeric Gk. *ὅς*, *ἣ*, *ὅ*, Skt. *yāh*, *yā*, *yad*), it is not reflected in Gmc., except probably as the initial of PGmc. distal **jainaz* (§8.11) and as the second constituent of PGmc. **x^war-jaz* ‘which (of more than two)?’ (§8.13). The Gmc. languages individually developed new relative constructions. In ON, uninflected *er* (early also *es*, variants under Verner’s law)¹ and *sem* were used as relatives, also *at* ‘that’ in a limited number of constructions, e.g. *þá at = þá er* ‘when’. Of these, *es*, *er* is perhaps identical to Go. *iz-ei* (see below); *sem* probably derives from *samr* ‘same’² and acquired independent status as a relative from reanalysis of constructions like *svá sem* ‘so as, just as’ and *slikt sem* ‘such as’; and *at* is a reduction of *þat*, identical to Go. *þat-ei* (see below), having lost initial *þ-* in constructions like **þeir vissu þat*, *þat* . . . ‘they

knew it that' (cf. OE *þætte* 'that' < *þat þe*). In OE, indeclinable *þe* was used as a relative particle; it is perhaps identical to Go. *þei* (§8.10), in origin a loc. of *sa*.³ More commonly, however, it follows a form of *sē*, the two words being treated metrically as a single, unstressed word.⁴ The demonstrative *sē* is also used alone as a fully declined relative pronoun, unless such constructions are simply paratactic. OS and OHG are like OE, with rel. particles OS *the*, OHG *de* used alone, or in combination with a demonstrative, or by use of a demonstrative alone.

Go. *ei* (cf. Gk. *εἰ* 'if', *εἰ-τα* 'then'), originally a loc. of anaphoric *is*,⁵ could be used alone as an indeclinable rel. particle, but usually it was combined with a preceding pronoun. For relatives of the first and second persons it was attached to the corresponding personal pronoun, e.g. *ikei* '(I) who', *þuei* '(you sg.) who', *þukei* '(you) whom', *izwizei* '(to you pl.) whom'. For the rel. of the third person it was attached to the corresponding form of *sa*, with elision from the end of the demonstrative of a final short unstressed vowel, but not a long vowel or an original diphthong (e.g. *þana* + *ei* > *þanei*, *þamma* + *ei* > *þammei*, but *saei*, *þizēei*, *þizáiei*). There is also voicing of *s* when it becomes nonfinal, hence *þis* + *ei* > *þizei*. There is as well a form *þēei*, neut. instr. in origin, used only as a conj. 'because, for) that', and a form *þatei*, neut. acc. in origin, used as a complementizer 'that' (= ON *at*, OE *þæt*, OS *that*, OHG *daz*).

1. Cf. Runic **SAR** (= Olcel. *sá er*) on the Björketorp stone (Sweden, 1st half of the 7th cent.).

2. So, e.g., Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon (1989: 804), who cites the corresponding forms Faroese *sum*, Old Danish *sem*, *sæm*, *sum*, *som*, Old Swedish *sum*, *som*.

3. Most handbooks regard the vowel of OE *þe* as short, but it is sometimes thought to have had an alternative form *þē* (so, e.g., Brunner 1965: §340) on the assumption that it could be stressed when its antecedent did not stand immediately before it.

4. For example, in *feorcȳþðe bēoð / sēlran gesōhte þām þe him selfa dēah* (Beowulf 1838b–9), *þām* is not clause-initial and so would be stressed, spoiling the meter, if it were not joined to the unstressed particle. Of course, that *þām* and *þe* are separate words, rather than a compound *þām-þe*, is merely the assumption of editors.

5. Cf. WGmc. unstressed rel. **þe* = Go. *þei*.

8.15 Indefinite pronouns

Common to all the Gmc. languages are certain indefinite adjectives that may be used as pronouns and are inflected as adjectives. One is Go. *sums*, Olcel. *sumr*, OE OS OHG *sum* 'some, a certain (one)', inflected as a strong adj. The word for 'one' (Go. *áins*, Olcel. *einn*, OE *ān*, OS *ēn*, OHG *ein*) may also be a pronoun 'one, a certain one'. Similar are 'other' (Go. *anþar*, Olcel. *annarr*, OE *ōðer*, OS *ōðar*, OHG *ander* = Skt. *ántara*- 'other'; likewise Go. *aljis* 'other';¹ cf. Lat. *alius* 'other'), 'all' (Go. *alls*, Olcel. *allr*, OE *eall*, OS OHG *al* < **al-n-az*), 'many' (Go. *manags*, OE *manig*, OS OHG *manag*; but ON *mangr* is late), 'few' (Go. **fāus*, masc. pl. *fawái*, Olcel. *fár*, OE *fēa*, OS *fao*, OHG *fō(h)*, *fao*), and 'self' (non-reflexive: Go. *silba*, Olcel. *sjálfr*, OE *self(a)*, OS *self*, *selb-*, OHG *selb*).² Parallel to Go. *hui-leiks* (etc., §8.13) is Go. *swa-leiks*, Olcel. *slikr*, OE *swelc*, *swilc*, OFris. *sulih*, *sulik*, *selik*, OS *sulik*, OHG *sulih* 'such', based on **swa* 'so, thus' (Go. *swa*, Olcel. *svá*, etc.).³ Compare also Olcel. *þvilíkr* 'such' (with dat./instr. of *þat* as first constituent), OE *pyslic* (cf. instr. *þȳs* to *þēs*) beside *puslic* (cf. *þus* 'thus'), also *þyllic*, *þullic* 'such'. On Go. *huas*, *hva* and cognates as indefinite pronouns, see §8.13. On 'both' (Go. *bái*, *bajōþs*, Olcel. *báðir*, etc.), see §10.1. Further

Gmc. indefinites, like some of the foregoing, are generally compounds of pronouns examined above, their morphology almost without exception varying by branch or language.

‘Each, every, any’. There is in Go. a particle *-uh*, cognate with Lat. *-que* ‘and’, though the source of *-u-* is disputed (see Lehmann 1986: 374, and cf. Mottausch 2001). It was added to the pronouns *has* (§8.13), *hvarjis* (above), and *hvaþar* (above) to form the distributives *hazuh* ‘each, every’, *hvarjizuh* ‘each, every’, and *hvaþaruh* ‘each of two’. In declination, the vowel of *-uh* is elided after a vowel or a diphthong, and *s* becomes *z* between vowels; and it may be seen from the datives *huammēh*, *hvarjammēh* (vs. unsuffixed *huamma*, *hvarjamma*) that suffixation took place early enough to prevent reduction of originally final *ē* to *a*. These pronouns are declined only in the sg., with the sole exception of acc. pl. *hvanzuh* (§8.13). To *hvarjizuh* could be prefixed *ain-* ‘one’ to form *ainhvarjizuh* ‘each one, everyone’.

In NWGmc. the collective prefix **za-*, **zi-* (as in OE *gebrōðor* ‘brethren’) was added to some pronouns to form indefinites; subsequently all pretonic syllables were lost in NGmc. (§5.7), with the result that some pronouns became indistinguishable from their derivatives. Thus, Olcel. *hverr* ‘each’ < **zi-x^warjaz* also means ‘which?’ (PGmc. **x^warjaz*), though occasionally poetic meter seems to demand the prefixed form.⁴ So also *hvárr* ‘each (of two)’ < **zi-x^waperaz* also means ‘which (of two)?’ (PGmc. **x^waperaz*). Comparable WGmc. formations are OE *ge-hwā*, OS *gi-hwē* ‘each (one), every (one)’; OE *ge-hwelc*, OS *gi-hwilik*, OHG *gi-(h)welih* ‘each (one), every (one)’; OE *ge-hwæðer*, OS *gi-hwedaðar*, OHG *gi-(h)wedar* ‘each (of two)’. For *ge-*, OE frequently has *æg-* (< **ā-zi-*) in these pronouns, *æghwā*, *æghwilc*, *æghwæðer* (and cf. OS *io-gi-hwē*, *io-gi-hwelik*, *io-hwedaðar*); also (*ge*)*welhwilc* ‘everyone’; cf. also *samhwilc* ‘some’.⁵ This same prefix appears in PGmc. **aiw-zi-līk-az* ‘each’, reflected as OE *ælc*,⁶ OFris. *ellik*, *e(l)k*, OHG *eo-gi-līh*. OE *ænig*, OFris. *ēnich*, OS *ēnig* ‘any’ (< PGmc. **ainīzaz*) derive from **ainaz* ‘one’.⁷

‘Either, one of two’. Olcel. uses the compound *hvár(r)tveggja* to mean ‘either’ and *annarr hvárr* to mean ‘one of two’ (with *hvárr* < **hvaðarr*). OE uses prefixed *ge-hwæðer* and *æg-hwæðer*⁸ indifferently to mean ‘either, one of two, each, both’; cf. OFris. *āhwedder* ‘one of two, someone’, *iāhweder* (and *āider*) ‘each (of two)’ < Anglo-Frisian **zi-ā-hwæðer-*; OS *ēn-di-hwedaðar* (cf. *ēn* ‘one’ and MHG *eintweder*; *-di-* is of uncertain derivation) and *ōðarhwedaðar* ‘one of two’.

Privative pronouns. Various strategies were devised to negate pronouns. In Gothic, the usual negative particle attached to pronouns is *-hun*, suffixed to *has* ‘who’, *manna* ‘person’, and *ains* ‘one’, always with the neg. particle *ni* preceding, to produce *ni hwasun* ‘no one’ (nom. sg. masc. only), *ni mannahun* ‘no one’ (sg. only), *ni ainshun*, *ni ainhun* ‘no one, nothing’ (inflected for three genders, in sg. only). Go. *-hun* appears to be cognate with Skt. *cana* ‘anyone, anything’, as in the closely comparable construction *ná kaś-caná* ‘no one’ (where *kaś-* = Go. *has*). Cognate with *-hun*, but with a different ablaut grade and voicing under Verner’s law, is **-zin*, a suffix that plays an important role in ON and is also observable in WGmc.⁹ It is detectable in Olcel. *engi* ‘no (one), none’ < PNorse **æin-gi(n)*, neut. *ekki* < **æint-gi(n)*, a word that developed like the proximal demonstrative pronoun (§8.12), i.e. with the suffix originally added to the inflected pronoun, and then later with final inflections added, e.g. dat. pl. *engum*; cf. gen. sg. *e(i)nskis* with double inflection. The suffix is also used to form *hvár(r)gi* ‘neither (of two)’ and *hver(r)gi* ‘each, every one’ (rarely ‘none’; neut. *hvatki*),¹⁰ with either internal or final inflection, e.g. dat. pl. *hvárungi*, *hverjungi* beside *hvár(i)gum*,

hverigum, as well as *man(n)gi* ‘no one’ (cf. Go. *ni mannahun*) and *vætiki* ‘nothing’ (from *vætr* ‘wight, being’ < **wext*-; cf. Go. *ni waihts*, OE *nāwiht*, *nāuht*, *nāht*, OS OHG *neo-wiht*, *ni-wiht* ‘nothing’). The suffix is used in WGmc. to form an adverb OE *hwergen* ‘elsewhere’, OS *hwergin*, OHG *io-wergin* (> NHG *irgend*) ‘somewhere, anywhere’ (cf. *io* ‘ever’). As the example of OE *nāwiht* (< **ne ā-wiht*) shows, privative pronouns were also formed by prefixation of the neg. particle *ne*, as in Olcel. *neinn*, OE *nān*, OS *nēn* ‘no, none’, derived from ‘one’. Similar are OE (non-WS) *nānig* ‘not any’; OE *nāwþer* ‘neither’, derived from *æghwæðer* ‘either, both’ (as above, and cf. OS *neweðar*); OS OHG *neo-*, *nio-man* ‘no one’ < **ne-aiw-mann-*. To Go. *nih* ‘and not, not even’ (= Lat. *neque*) there corresponds the OHG prefix *nih-* in *nih(h)ein* ‘no, none’, also *noh(h)ein* with an ablaut variant of the prefix, and the derivative adjectives *nihheinīg*, *nohheinīg*; OS *nigēn*, *negēn* probably does not contain the same prefix with voicing under Verner’s law (so Krahe & Meid 1969: II, §47) but reflects **ni zi-ain-* (so Holt-hausen 1921: §347).

Varia. Gothic uses the expressions (*sa*)*hwazuh saei* and *sahwazuh izei* (nom. sg. masc. only) to mean ‘who(so)ever’, and *þatahuh þei* (acc. sg. neut. only) to mean ‘what(so)ever’; the same idea is conveyed by prefixing *þis* to *hwazuh saei* (masc. *þishwazuh saei*, neut. *þishuh þei* or *þishuh þatei*), declined only in the singular.

North and West Gmc. use a negated form of the verb **wait* ‘know’ to form an indefinite pronoun: the Olcel. adj. *nekkverr*, *nökkverr* ‘some, a certain’ (also *nekkvarr*, *nökkvarr*), inflected early like *hverr*, derives from **net-k hverr* < PNorse (West Norse) **ne wæit ek hwerr*, and the pronoun and adj. *nekkvat*, *nökkvat* ‘something’ (also early *nakkvat*), inflected like *hvat*, from **ne wæit ek hwat*, with mixture of the two from early times. Similar are OE pron. *nāthwelc* ‘someone’ < **ne wāt ic hwelc* and *nāthwā*, *nāthwæt* ‘someone, something’; also MHG *neizwēr* ‘someone’.

In addition to *sumr* and *nekkverr*, ON uses the expression *einn hverr* (fem. *ein hver*, neut. *eitt hvert*) to mean ‘someone, each one’, already in the oldest manuscripts sometimes given as a compound with invariant *ein-*; there is also a pronoun *eithvat* ‘something’. Olcel. *hvat-vetna* ‘anything whatever, everything’ has an inflected first constituent and an invariant second, an irregular gen. pl. to *vætr* ‘wight, being’.

Throughout WGmc., *man* (from *mann* ‘person’) is used as an impersonal pronoun (as subject only) comparable to French *on*, forming clauses equivalent to agentless passive constructions. Another WGmc. construction is **aiw-wihtiz* ‘aught, anything’ in OE *āwiht*, *āuht*, *āht*, OS OHG *io-wiht* (cf. Olcel. *vætiki*, *hvat-vetna*, above); but OE OS OHG *wiht* could also be used alone to mean ‘anything’. Also WGmc. is the construction with ‘so . . . so’ and an intervening indefinite pronoun, e.g. OE *swā hwā swā* ‘whoever’, *swā hwilc swā* ‘whoever’, *swā hwæðer swā* ‘whichever’ (of two; not infrequently simply *swā hwæðer* or contracted *swæðer*), OS *sō hwē sō*, *sō hweðar sō*, OHG *sō welih sō* (= OE *swā hwilc swā*).

OE adds invariant *-hwugu* (*-hwegu*, *-hwigu*) to inflected *hwæt* (*hwæthwugu* ‘something’) and *hwilc* (*hwilchwugu* ‘someone’) to form indefinite pronouns. OE (*se*) *ilca* ‘(the) same’ derives from **iz-līk-az* (where *iz-* = Go. *is*, Lat. *is*). This **iz-* produces *ī-* ‘same’, as in OE *īdæges*, OFris. *īdiges* ‘on the same day’, OE *īsīðes* ‘immediately’. Possibly *ī-* was not shortened in *ilca* before the end of the OE period (so, e.g., Holthausen 1974: 187), though it may have been shortened earlier under low stress.

To Go. *aipþáu* ‘or, else’ there corresponds the OHG prefix *eddes-*, *ettes-* (later *et(t)e-*), used to form pron. *eddeswer* ‘someone, anyone’, adj. *eddeswelih* ‘some, any’, as well as adj. *eddeslih* (NHG *etlich*); probably late OE *ōðerhwile* ‘sometimes’

represents a folk etymologization of the same prefix (cf. the confusion of the reflexes of OE *oþþe* ‘or’ and *ōðer* ‘other’ in ME). There is also an OHG prefix *theh-*, *deh-* of unknown provenance from which is constructed a compound of *ein*: *deh(h)ein*, *theh(h)ein*, *thihhein*, *dohein*, *thohhein* ‘someone’, with derivative adj. *thihheinīg*, *dohheinīg*, apparently formed as a complement to *nih(h)ein*, *noh(h)ein* (above). The strong adj. *gilīh* ‘like’ is sometimes used with the gen. pl. of a substantive to mean ‘any, some’, as in *manno gilīh* ‘someone’.

1. Also in compounds: Runic **alja-**, OE *el-*, OS OHG *eli-*.
2. On the etymology, see Euler 2013: 118; on ‘self’ and reflexivity, see Markey 1982.
3. The variation *e ~ i* in OE *hwilc* and *swelc* may be due to the mutual influence of the two words upon each other, but *hwelc* can also be explained as etymological, since forms like OHG *walīh* beside *welīh* suggest a reconstruction parallel to Go. **hvaleiks*, with substitution of adjectival *hua-* for pronominal *hvi-* and umlaut (Braune 2004a: §292 Anm. 1).
4. A probable example is *er mér i heðin hvern* (*Hávamál* 73/3).
5. Perhaps *sam-* is a full-grade ablaut variant of *sum*; Holthausen (1974: 269), comparing PDE *somewhat*, thinks *sum-* is what is intended, which seems unlikely, but cf. OHG *sumilīh* ‘some’.
6. Cf. Mercian *ylc*, with obscure vocalism. The phrase *æfre ælc* (> PDE *every*) comes into use late in the period.
7. Etymologically distinct from Go. *áinaha* ‘only, sole’ (*pace* Orel 2003: 8), to which corresponds OE *ānga*.
8. From Anglo-Frisian **ā-zi-hwæðer-* > PDE *either*; **ā-* = OE *ā* ‘ever’ < **aiw-*; cf. Go. *áiws* ‘age, eternity’, Lat. *aevum* ‘age’.
9. Because of the back mutation in, e.g., gen. sg. fem. *ongrar* beside *engrar* ‘no, none’, the suffix must have contained PGmc. *x^w ~ z^w*, and so it is probably related to Lat. *-que* ‘and’.
10. The suffix did not originally have negative meaning but indefinite, as shown by Skt. *cana* and by the necessity of using *ni* with it in Gothic. But it was used in so many privative constructions that negative sense could be transferred to it, especially with the loss of pretonic **ni* in ON.