

Impersonal and referential null pronouns: some thoughts

Elly van Gelderen
Arizona State University

Abstract

Johanna Wood has been fascinated by the history of the DP for an extended period (Wood 2003; 2007). For a Festschrift in her honor, it therefore seemed appropriate to look at a kind of DP, the impersonal. She also compiled a list of instances of *pro*-drop in the texts of the early 13th century Middle English Katerine-group using the Penn-Helsinki Corpus (cf. van Gelderen 2000: 139-145) and this article¹ will therefore look at the impersonal in the texts of the Katerine-group. Because the presence of referential *pro*-drop has been linked to null impersonal pronouns (e.g. in Weerman 2007:18), I decided to examine this particular relationship. I will do that in a non-quantitative way by looking at limited examples in selected texts. I conclude that there are null referential pronouns but no null impersonal pronouns in the Katerine-group and that there is also an overt impersonal subject *me*. This shows the correlation between the presence of null referential and impersonal pronouns does not hold. In the last section, I provide some observations on the changes affecting impersonal pronouns after Middle English.

1. Introduction

Impersonal pronouns refer to generic but human entities, and they typically occur only in subject position. Giacalone Ramat & Sansò (2007), Sigurðsson & Egerland (2009), Siewierska (2011), and Gast & van der Auwera (2013) have given definitions and typological descriptions of these constructions. The topic has also stimulated diachronic work over a prolonged period, for instance, Weerenbeck (1943), Fröhlich (1951), and Jud-Schmid (1956) to name a few.

¹ Thanks to Cynthia Allen for very helpful comments, suggesting references, commenting on scribal practices, and clarifying the arguments.

The impersonal pronoun has experienced many changes in the history of English. In Old and Middle English, variants of the noun *man* are used (*man(n)*, *men*, etc.) but by late Middle English *they*, *one*, *we*, *folk*, or the second person singular or plural pronouns get to be used (cf. Mustanoja 1960:219-227). Mustanoja notes that Middle English *man* can be used as subject, object, or attributive genitive but, especially in the latter use, retains a nominal character. The impersonal use of *man* and its variant forms “enjoys the greatest popularity” (220) in early Middle English but there is “a steady decrease” (221) throughout Middle English.

More recently, there has been work on the impersonal pronoun by van Gelderen (1997), van Bergen (1998), Los (2002), Cabredo Hofherr (2006), and Weerman (2007). These authors look at internal causes such as grammaticalization and paradigmatic reorderings. Van Gelderen focusses on the changes that seemingly go back and forth from the noun to the impersonal pronoun to the noun. She argues that this is because some texts use a more grammaticalized version of the impersonal pronoun. The internal grammar may get conflicting evidence and therefore the impersonal pronoun may have a different number feature for different speakers. Van Bergen shows that the Old English impersonal *man* patterns with the other pronouns in terms of word order and not with nouns. Los (2002) notes that this pronoun is lost in the 15th century and that it is similar to the Dutch impersonal cognate *men* in that it is only used as subject and only in the singular. She relates the loss of *man* in English to the loss of Verb-second. Weerman (2007) does not think this scenario is likely because in Dutch, *men* is losing ground although Verb-second is strong. He follows Cabredo Hofherr’s (2006) suggestion of a connection between *pro*-drop and the absence of impersonal, impersonal subjects: if referential subjects can be unexpressed so are impersonal ones. Like *pro*-drop, i.e. null referential subjects, impersonals appear only in subject position and only in finite clauses. That idiosyncrasy of only appearing as finite subject, however, is the reason according to Weerman for the frequent demise, e.g. in English and Dutch: it does not quite fit with the other pronouns.

Weerman (2007) does not look at English texts specifically and, in this paper, I would therefore like to examine his claim about the connection of *pro*-drop and null impersonals by looking at impersonals in Middle English texts that retain *pro*-drop, namely those of the Katherine-group. I first give a quick overview of the overt impersonal pronoun in Old and Middle English in section 2 and then, in section 3, provide some data on *pro*-drop and impersonal subjects in texts of the Katherine-group. In section 4, I discuss the reasons for the demise of certain impersonal pronouns.

2. Old and Middle English

In Old English, *man* and *mon* are used as impersonal pronouns and as full nouns. Very often, the impersonal pronoun will be used in cases where modern English would use a passive (Quirk & Wrenn 1955:73; 81). In *Beowulf*, there are 25 instances of a nominative singular *man* and *mon* and six of these are impersonal, as in (1), according to Klaeber (1941:376).

- (1) Swa sceal **man** don
so shall IMP do
 ‘One should act like that.’ (*Beowulf* 1172, Klaeber’s edition)

There are, of course, many instances of *man/mon* that occur with *ænig* ‘any’ and, although they have an impersonal meaning, they are clearly nouns. There are also genitive, dative, and accusative forms that are clearly nominal.

When the form is used in its impersonal meaning, the agreement on the verb is generally third person singular. Wülfing (1894:457) says that the impersonal use of *man* usually triggers singular agreement in Alfredian prose. Fröhlich (1951:30 ff) mentions some examples in Old English where *man* is used as a plural and Visser (1963:51) writes that *man* and *me(n)* “could have the verb in the singular and the plural”. However, Mitchell (1985:145) says that cases where *man* is “immediately followed by a plural verb are to be regarded with suspicion as possible scribal errors”. An instance of singular agreement in Old English with *man* is given in (2) and of plural agreement in relatively late Old English in (3).

- (2) swa georne swa **man** scolde
as eagerly as IMP should.S
 ‘as eagerly as one should.’ (Wulfstan Homilies, Bethurum edition, 261.16)
- (3) þæt igland þe **man** li nemn-að
that island REL IMP li call-P
 ‘the island which one calls Iona’. (*Parker Chronicle* an. 565, Thorpe edition)

Quirk & Wrenn (1955:142) and Bosworth & Toller (s.v. *man* and *mann*) claim that early scribes indicate the difference between the lexical noun and the impersonal pronoun orthographically, namely as *mann* and *man* (but neither Campbell 1959 nor the *OED* mentions this).

Turning to Middle English, the two versions of Layamon's early Middle English *Brut* differ considerably in the use of the impersonal pronoun and are representative of the changes in Middle English. The more archaic version is Caligula and the other is Otho. Both are from the second half of the thirteenth century but Otho is more modern in having lost some morphology and gained more function words (van Gelderen 1993). In Caligula, of the 363 occurrences of *men*, 19 are clearly impersonal and mainly show plural verbal agreement, as in (4) and (5); see van Gelderen (1997:163). The text is written by two scribes but both show plural, since (4) is from scribe A and (5) from B. The others are plural definites as in (6).

- (4) for **men** hit **sæid-en** wel iwhær
because IMP it said-P everywhere
 'because it was said everywhere'. (Caligula 6869, Brook & Leslie's edition)
- (5) þat **men ma3-en** tellen
which IMP may-P tell
 'which could be told'. (Caligula 9771)
- (6) Al his **men dud-en** swa þe king hehte
all his men did-P such the king commanded
 'All his men did what the king commanded'. (Caligula 545, Brook & Leslie's edition)

In the less archaic version, i.e. Otho, there are 277 instances of *men* of which 10 are impersonal. In Otho, however, the verb is always singular, as in (7) and (8), indicating loss of the number feature. As Cynthia Allen (p.c.) points out, verbs in Otho often lack number marking, so this needs to be considered as well. Although plural *-en* often occurs on *weren* 'were', I have not found impersonal *men* together with it, only the noun. This suggests that the plural was still marked on the verb some of the time and the complete absence of it with impersonal *men* is significant.

- (7) for **men** hit **saide** wel i-war.
because IMP it said everywhere
 'because it was said everywhere'. (Otho 6869, Brook & Leslie's edition)

- (8) þat **men mawe** telle
which IMP may tell
 ‘which could be told.’ (Otho 9771, Brook & Leslie’s edition)

So, in the Caligula version of Layamon’s *Brut*, *men* has plural features and therefore causes plural verbal agreement on the verb whereas, in the Otho version of Layamon’s *Brut*, *men* seems to cause singular agreement. The latter indicates the grammaticalization of *men* as an impersonal pronoun.

Jumping a few centuries to Chaucer, *men* “is mostly accompanied by a singular verb” (Kerkhof 1966:196). However, among the first 20 occurrences, three clearly cause the verbs to be plural as in (9) to (11).

- (9) Biside a toun **men clep-en** baldeswelle
Beside a town IMP call-P Baldeswelle
 ‘Next to a town that is called B.’ (*Canterbury Tales Prologue* 622, Benson’s edition)
- (10) Thurgh which **men might-en** any light discerne
Through which IMP might-P any light discern
 ‘Through which light could be seen.’ (*Knight’s Tale* 1989, Benson’s edition)
- (11) That yet **men wen-en** that no mannes wit ... ne koude
That yet IMP believe-P that no man’s wit ... not could
 amenden it
amend it
 ‘Yet, one believes that no man’s wit could amend it.’ (*Knight’s Tale* 2195-6, Benson’s edition)

The relevance of this data is that, despite an initial grammaticalization of *men* as an impersonal, the continued presence of lexical *man* and its plural *men* makes *men* not a ‘good’ impersonal pronoun and that is why it was lost later on.

As an interim summary, different texts vary greatly with respect to their use of an impersonal ‘man’, i.e. to how grammaticalized this form is. The grammaticalization of the noun *man* throughout the early history of English involves (a) a loss of lexical content (for example, maleness) and

(b) a fixing of the phi-features as third person singular nominative. In the Caligula version of Layamon's *Brut*, *men* is more lexical since it co-occurs with plural verbs whereas in the Otho version of the same text, *men* is more grammaticalized. Chaucer, on occasion, uses the lexical form of *men* and, on other occasions, the grammaticalized one. In section 4, I return to the issue of changes in the overt impersonals. Before looking at one early Middle English text in more detail, I sketch the situation concerning *pro*-drop (both referential and impersonal) in Old and Middle English in general and in the texts I have just looked at more specifically.

The consensus about Old English seems to be that (limited) referential *pro*-drop was possible (van Gelderen 2000; 2013, Walkden 2013). Some texts show this more than others. *Beowulf* is one of those that has considerable *pro*-drop, as in (12).

- (12) swylcum gifeþe bið þæt þone hilderæs hal gedigeð
such given be that that battle-storm unhurt endures
 'May it be that **he** will withstand unhurt the heat of the battle.' (*Beowulf* 299-300, Klaeber's edition)

As we saw in (1), this text has impersonal subjects of the *man/mon/me* kind. *Beowulf* also has one null impersonal, as pointed out by Klaeber (1941:376) and Mitchell (1985:147).

- (13) Þær mæg nihta gehwæm niðwundor seon, fyr on flode.
there may night every evil.wonder see fire on water
 'Every night, **one** can see a terrible wonder, fire on the water.' (*Beowulf* 1365, Klaeber's edition).

Is one impersonal enough to connect 'robust' *pro*-drop with null impersonals? Mitchell provides a few other examples from Old English. I will leave it to the reader to draw further conclusions on the connection between referential and impersonal *pro*-drop in *Beowulf*. The Middle English texts I have briefly considered, Layamon and Chaucer, show no *pro*-drop, neither of the referential or nor of the impersonal kind (see van Gelderen 2000 and Walkden 2014). Next will be a discussion of a Middle English text with *pro*-drop and the question will be if it has impersonal null subjects as well.

3. The Katerine-group: impersonals and *pro*-drop

In the texts comprising the Katerine-group in the Bodley manuscript, *Katerine*, *Margarete*, *Iuliene*, *Hali Meidhad*, and *Sawles Warde*, (d'Ardenne 1977), *pro*-drop is "quite frequent" (van Gelderen 2000:137), i.e. it is displayed "robustly" (Walkden 2014). In the light of what we saw in section 1, I will therefore look at impersonal subjects, both overt and null. This text is from the Southwest Midlands and from the early half of the 13th century.

As for the data on *pro*-drop, Walkden (2014) finds in *Katerine* 8.4 %, in *Margarete* 2.5 %, in *Iuliene* 5.1 %, and in *Hali Meidhad* 9.6 % *pro*-drop in main clauses (uncoordinated ones); no *pro*-drop occurs in *Sawles Warde*. Third person is most frequent, as the two cases in (14) show but first and second person also occur; a second person in a subordinate clause is shown in (15).

- (14) *Costentin walde efter ant warpen him þe onne. ah se wide him weox weorre on euche halue ant nomeliche in a lont yllirie hatte þ [tear] he etstutte þa maxence iherde þis þ he wes of him siker ant of his cunne carles. war king of þ lont þe lei into rome as duden meast alle þe oðre of þe weorlde. Bigon anan ase wed wulf to weorrin hali chirche ant dreaien cristenemen þe lut þt ter weren alle to heaðendom heaðene as he wes summe þurh muchele 3eouen ant misliche meden summe þurh fearlac.*

'Constantin wanted to follow and drive him out. But so wide (spread) became the war on every side and especially in a country called Illyria that he stopped there. Then Maxence heard this that he was secure and in his manner careless. **He** became king of the land which was subject to Rome as did most all other of the world. **He** began anon as a mad wolf to persecute the holy church and to draw Christians the few that there were all to heathenism, heathen as he was, some by large gifts and diverse rewards some through fear.' (Katerine, d'Ardenne 17-8, taken from van Gelderen 2000:140)

- (15) *do nu deaðliche on us al þt tu do maht. make us reue anan riht misliche pinen on tentd fur & feche hweol. greiðe al þ const grimliche bi þenchen.*

'Do now deadly to us all that you can. Make us, reeve, straightaway unpleasant pain. Kindle the fire and fetch the wheel. Prepare all that (you) can cruelly think of.' (Iuliene, d'Ardenne 121, van Gelderen 2000:143)

If Weerman's (2007) analysis is correct, one would also expect null impersonal subjects in texts with referential null subjects. There are instances of what could be null impersonal subjects, as in (16), (17), and (18). However, looking at them in more detail, one sees that the subject is a real addressee. Hence, this is regular *pro*-drop.

- (16) *þeos meiden lette lutel of þ he seide. ant smirkinde smeðeliche 3ef him bullich onswere. al ich iseo þine sahen sottliche isette. cleopest þeo þing godes þe nowðer sturien ne mahen.*
 'This maiden thought little of what he said and smilingly gave him a smooth answer. I see all your savings are foolishly put out. (You) call those things good that neither stir nor have power.' (Katerine, d'Ardenne 24)
- (17) *3euest þin beare bodi to tukin swa to wundre.*
 'and (you) give your bare body to maltreat so scandalously.' (Hali Meidhad, d'Ardenne 147)
- (18) *& fuleð þi flesh ec. gulteð o twa half. wreaðest þen al wealdent wið þt suti sunne. & dest woh to þe seolf.*
 'and also fouls your flesh; sins on both sides. (You) anger the almighty with that foul sin and harm yourself.' (Hali Meidhad, d'Ardenne 154)

I have not found any instances of an impersonal null subject. One could expect this because, if a 'normal' subject can be dropped, an impersonal should be as well. However, Cynthia Allen (p.c.) points out that the numbers may not be high enough. For instance, *Margarete* has 11 overt impersonals and, if 10% were dropped, one null impersonal would be expected, but it would not be strange if this should happen to not occur.

As to the impersonal pronouns of the *man/mon* kind in the Katerine-group, there are a few instances of *me*, as in (19) to (21). The agreement on the verb is singular. So just like referential pronouns can be overt, so can impersonal ones in this text.

- (19) þ **me** **mei** hire demen,
REL IMP may her judge
 'to which she may be doomed'. (Katerine, d'Ardenne 28)

- (20) **Me com** iþe marhen
IMP came in.the morning
 ‘They came in the morning’. (Katerine, d’Ardenne 48)
- (21) þe **me** seide hit upon
REL IMP said it on
 ‘who they accused of it’. (Katerine, d’Ardenne 48)

In the Katerine-group, *mon*, *monnes*, *men* and *monne* also appear. *Mon* is singular and *men* is plural and they are used in all cases except the genitive. In the genitive case, *monnes* is used for the singular and *monne* for the plural. Thus, *me* is an impersonal pronoun, in orthography and meaning quite different from the lexical *mon* and *men*. It is also different in causing singular agreement on the verb which means it is grammaticalized as an impersonal in this text.

So, Cabredo Hofherr’s (2006) and Weerman’s (2007) claims do not get support from the Middle English Katerine-group because null subjects appear but null impersonal subjects do not although this may be because the numbers are small. The reason for the later demise of the impersonal *man/men* is probably, as Weerman and others have argued, the difficulty for *man/mon* to fit into a paradigm or, as Jud-Schmid (1956:110-112) says, the lack of an unambiguous non-reduced variant. Once new forms arise, the preferred *one* is a regular pronoun, as I now show.

4. Register differences in the modern period

In this section, I turn to the changes in the overt forms of the impersonal. Various researchers have claimed that impersonals, because they only occur as subjects of finite clauses have a hard time fitting in. Currently, the use of a special impersonal occurs in formal registers. Using pronouns, such as *you*, and nouns, such as *people*, is preferred in less-formal registers.

In Old English, it is hard to judge if the *man* pronoun is formal or not. As mentioned, at the end of the Middle English period, many new forms appeared. *One* developed its impersonal use in the late Middle English period: There are no instances in Old English, it was first attested around 1420, and became common in early Modern English. The role of French influence is controversial (Jud-Schmid 1956; Mustanoja 1960:224; Rissanen 1967).

Apart from *one*, other impersonal expressions become more common in early Modern English, as well: *they*, *folk* and *people*: “The use of *they*

for the impersonal person gains ground rapidly” (Mustanoja 1960:226). The second person singular pronouns *thou* and *you* also increase in use; cf. Jud-Schmid (1956:84,95). Haas (2014) provides the data for *one*, *people*, *they*, and *you*. He shows that from 1650 to the present, these forms have been in stiff competition, with *people* always the lowest, probably because it does not fit into the pronominal paradigm. That is like *men/man* in Middle English. I will now discuss that competition in more detail.

I will show, using data from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), that *you* is preferred over *one* in a less-formal register and will then draw conclusions from that. To ensure an impersonal use of *one* and *you*, I look at the use of these pronouns before a modal because many of these are in fact impersonal. This is not a water-tight method but will give a good indication. In Figure 1 on the left, the total numbers of *one* followed by a modal are given and then the frequency per million words in five registers. On the right, the same is done for *you* and a modal. These numbers show almost a mirror image between spoken and academic, the most informal and formal, respectively.

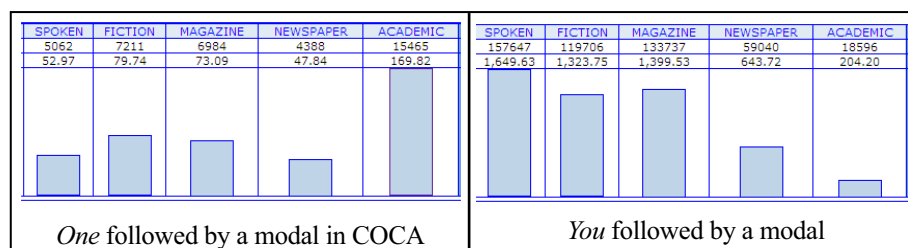


Figure 1: Register differences in COCA

Figure 2 shows the same two pronouns followed by a modal in the last 20 years in the COCA. Here no distinction in register is made but, in general, one can see a steady decline for *one* and a rise of *you*.

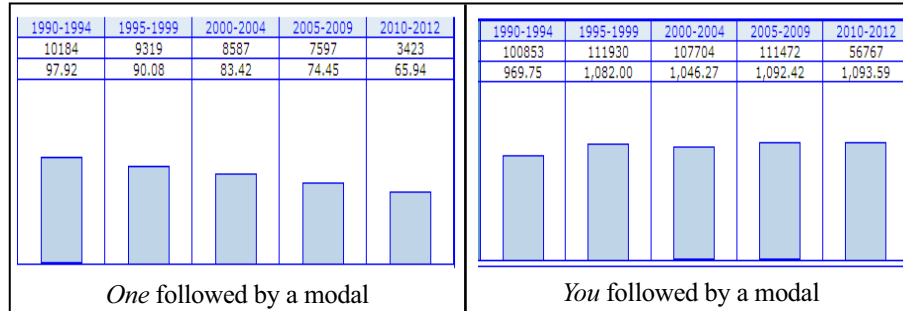


Figure 2: changes in the last 20 years.

The two figures taken together show that there is a steady decline of *one*. The reason is possibly that it is an extra pronoun that does not fit readily into the pronoun structure and is not learned early on.

5. Conclusion

Because the presence of *pro*-drop has been linked to null impersonal pronouns, this paper examined that link. After sketching the situation in Old and Middle English, I focussed on texts of the Katherine-group. These texts have *pro*-drop and are therefore possibly interesting for the relationship argued for in e.g. Weerman (2007). I concluded that there are null referential but no real null impersonal pronouns and there is an overt impersonal subject *me*. This shows that the correlation is not proven here. I also provided some thoughts on the changes affecting impersonal pronouns after Middle English and showed that the pronouns that are being using as personal pronouns, e.g. *you*, are on the increase as impersonal pronouns.

References

- d'Ardenne, Simonne. 1977. *The Katherine Group*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Benson, Larry. 1987. *The Riverside Chaucer*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Bergen, Linda van. 2003. *Pronouns and word order in Old English, with particular reference to the indefinite pronoun man*. New York: Routledge.
- Bethurum, Dorothy. 1957. *The Homilies of Wulfstan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Bosworth, Joseph & Thomas Northcote Toller. 1898. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brook, George L. & Roy F. Leslie, eds. 1963. *Layamon: Brut*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, EETS 250.
- Cabredo Hofherr, Patricia. 2006. 'Arbitrary' Pro and the theory of Pro-drop. In Peter Ackema, Patrick Brandt, Maaïke Schoorlemmer & Fred Weerman (eds), *Arguments and Agreement*, 230-260. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Campbell, Alistair. 1959. *Old English Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), <<http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>>.
- Fröhlich, Jürg. 1951. *Der indefinite Agens im Altenglischen, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Wortes 'man'*. Dissertation, University of Zurich.
- Gast, Volker & Johan van der Auwera. 2013. Towards a distributional typology of human impersonal pronouns, based on data from European languages. In *Languages across Boundaries: Studies in memory of Anna Siewierska*, edited by Dik Bakker and Martin Haspelmath, 119-158. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Giacalone Ramat, Anna & Andrea Sansò. 2007. The spread and decline of indefinite man-constructions in European languages: An areal perspective. In *Europe and the Mediterranean as Linguistic Areas: Convergencies from a historical and typological perspective*, edited by Paolo Ramat and Elisa Roma, 95-131. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Gelderen, Elly van. 1993. *The Rise of Functional Categories*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Gelderen, Elly van. 1997. *Verbal Agreement and the Grammar of its 'Breakdown'*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Gelderen, Elly van. 2000. *A History of English Reflexive Pronouns*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Gelderen, Elly van. 2013. The Diachrony of Pronouns and Demonstratives, In Terje Lohndal (ed.), *In Search of Universal Grammar: From Old Norse to Zoque*, 195-218. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Haas, Florian. 2014. The recent history of human impersonal pronouns: a corpus study. Ms., Dept. of English & American Studies, University of Jena.
- Jud-Schmid, Elisabeth. 1956. *Der indefinite Agens von Chaucer bis Shakespeare: Die Wörter für man*. Meisenheim am Glan: Anton Hain.
- Kerkhof, Jelle. 1966. *Studies in the language of Geoffrey Chaucer*. Leiden: Universitaire Pers.
- Klaeber, Frederick. (ed.) 1941. *Beowulf*. Boston: D.C. Heath. [Third edition]
- Los, Bettelou. 2002. The loss of the indefinite pronoun *man*. In Teresa Fanego, María José López-Couso & Javier Pérez-Guerra (eds.), *English historical syntax and morphology*, 181-202. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mitchell, Bruce. 1985. *Old English Syntax, Volume I*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Mustanoja, Tauno. 1960. *A Middle English Syntax*. Helsinki: Société Neophilologique.

- Quirk, Randolph & Charles L. Wrenn. 1955. *An Old English Grammar*. London: Methuen.
- Rissanen, Matti. 1967. *The Uses of One in Old and Early Middle English*. Helsinki: Société Neophilologique.
- Siewierska, Anna. 2011. Overlap and complementarity in reference impersonals. In *Impersonal Constructions: A cross-linguistic perspective*, edited by Andrej Malchukov and Anna Siewierska, 57-90. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sigurðsson, Halldór & Verner Egerland. 2009. Impersonal null-subjects in Icelandic and elsewhere. *Studia Linguistica* 63.1, 158-185.
- Thorpe, Benjamin. 1861. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle I and II*. London: Longman.
- Visser, Frans Th. 1963-1973. *An Historical Syntax of the English Grammar*, Vol I-IIIb. Leiden: Brill.
- Walkden, George. 2013. Null Subjects in Old English. *Language Variation and Change* 25, 155-178.
- Walkden, George. 2014. Null Subjects in Middle English. ICEHL talk. <http://personalpages.manchester.ac.uk/staff/george.walkden/Walkden_2014_ICEHL.pdf>
- Weerenbeck, Bernard H. J. 1943. *Le pronom an en français et en provençal*. Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche uitgevers maatschappij.
- Weerman, Fred. 2007. It's the economy, stupid! Een vergelijkende blik op 'men' en 'man'. In *Nederlands tussen Duits en Engels*, edited by M. Hüning, U. Vogel, T. van der Wouden & A. Verhagen, 19-47. Leiden: SNL.
- Wood, Johanna. 2003. Definiteness and number: Determiner phrase and number phrase in the history of English. Dissertation, Arizona State University.
- Wood, Johanna. 2007. Is there a DP in Old English? In *Historical Linguistics 2005*, edited by Joseph Salmons and Shannon Dubenion-Smith, 167-187. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Wülfing, Ernst. 1894-1901. *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen I & II*. Bonn: Hanstein.

Abbreviations

COCA	Corpus of Contemporary American English,
IMP	impersonal,
OED	Oxford English Dictionary,
P	plural,
REL	relative,
S	singular.