How impersonal does *one* get ?[*]
A study of *man*-pronouns in Germanic

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Abstract

This paper focuses on overt impersonal pronouns such as English *one* and Dutch *men* in eight Germanic languages (English, Frisian, Icelandic, Danish, Dutch, German, Norwegian and Swedish). Cinque (1988), Egerland (2003), a.o, assumed that there are two types of impersonal pronouns, one type that can occur in multiple syntactic positions but can only have a generic reading and a type that can have generic and existential readings but can only occur as an external argument. I show based on novel data from ECM constructions and passives and unaccusatives, that it is not the syntactic position which restricts the distribution of *men*-type pronouns, but it is case. English type pronouns can occur with multiple cases, but can only have a generic inclusive reading. All Dutch type pronouns can only occur with nominative case and can have multiple impersonal readings. Moreover, I show that Dutch and Swedish allow an existential reading when the pronoun is a derived subject (contra Cinque (1988), Egerland (2003)) I will account for this correlation between the different readings and case by assuming different feature make ups for the pronouns, following Egerland (2003), Hoekstra (2010), Ackema and Neeleman (2016): *one* has a phi features and therefore always needs to be obligatorily inclusive; *men* lacks this functional layer too and therefore has no restriction on its readings. Moreover, I propose that since *men* lacks a phi-layer, it is too deficient to project a KP, and therefore it can only occur with unmarked nominative case.

1   Introduction

Dedicated impersonal pronouns are found in many languages and are used to express generic and/or existential statements (Siewierska (2011), a.o.), such as Dutch *men* and English *one* in (1).

(1)   <u>Generic reading – subject position</u>

    a. Wanneer **men** in Italië is, eet men pasta.   [Dutch]
          When   IMP in Italy is, eat IMP pasta.

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[*]Acknowledgements to be added

    b.   When **one** is in Italy, one eats pasta   [English]
          When **people** are in Italy, they have the habit of eating pasta'

These pronouns can only have impersonal readings, and cannot be used with a personal reading[1], therefore they are *dedicated* impersonal pronouns. This paper will focus on the similarities and differences between English and Dutch type pronouns in Germanic languages and provide a new analysis for overt dedicated impersonal pronouns. First, I will show that the empirical picture is different and, in certain aspects, more complex than has been noted in the literature (Cinque (1988), Egerland (2003), a.o). This study presents data from eight Germanic languages: English, Frisian, Icelandic, Danish, Dutch, German, Norwegian and Swedish. Among these languages, the first three pattern together against the latter five. Traditionally it has been assumed there are two types of impersonal pronouns, one type that can occur in multiple syntactic positions but can only have a generic reading and a type that can have generic and existential readings but can only occur as an external argument (Cinque 1988, Egerland 2003). I show that the picture is more complex. First of all, I show that it is not the syntactic position which restricts the distribution of *men*-type pronouns, but it is case. English type pronouns can occur with multiple cases, but can only have a generic inclusive reading. All Dutch type pronouns can only occur with nominative case and can have multiple impersonal readings. Moreover, I show that Dutch and Swedish allow an existential reading when the pronoun is a derived subject (contra Cinque (1988), Egerland (2003)), i.e. not an external argument; the German and Danish pronoun does not.

I will account for this distribution by following the literature on the feature make-up of both pronoun types (Gelderen 1997, Egerland 2003, Hoekstra 2010, Ackema and Neeleman 2016). The difference in the feature make up can account for the differences in the readings and the syntactic distribution. It has been claimed that the feature make-up of the English type pronoun and the Dutch type is different. Both pronouns are deficient pronouns in the sense that they lack specific person or number features (and are therefore different from referential personal pronouns. Compare this with Longobardi (2008)'s idea that the D-head itself is [person] and gives rise to definite effects). The English type has (at least) an unspecified ϕ bundle, whereas the Dutch pronoun is underspecified for any functional information; the structures are given in (2).

(2)   a.   *one*   b.   *men*

$$\phi$$
$$\phi \quad N \qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad N$$

The feature-specification of *one* means that it will always yield an inclusive reading since the phi-features need to include the speaker and the addressee (different views on how this reading

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[1] Compare this with pronouns such as *they* or *you*, which can be used to express a referential second or third person or generic statements. Examples are given in (i).

(i)   a.   When you are in Italy, you eat pasta
          Intended: when people (including you or me) are in Italy, we eat pasta.
    b.   When they are in Italy, they eat pasta
          Intended: When a certain group of people/someone is in Italy, they eat pasta.

The usage of *you* as an impersonal pronoun is crosslinguistically very common Siewierska (2004). However, this will not be the focus of this paper, which will be 'decidated' impersonal pronouns.

comes about will be discussed in section 3.2). *Men* on the other hand lacks phi-features altogether and therefore is not obligatorily inclusive. I propose that the fact that it is defective means that it cannot be assigned case, and therefore can only appear in the context of unmarked (nominative) case . Moreover, I will show that German, which does not allow the existential reading when the pronoun is a derived subject, has other means of expressing an existential reading. Finally, I will provide evidence that, except for Dutch, all languages that have a Dutch-type impersonal pronoun also have an English-type impersonal pronoun.

The paper is organized as follows. In the next section I will provide the data that support the idea that case restricts the distribution of the Dutch-type impersonal pronoun. In section 3 the analysis will be given. Finally, I will show that an alternative, proposed by Egerland (2003) cannot capture all the data. Section 5 concludes.

2 The properties of dedicated impersonal pronouns

On the basis of the properties discussed in this section, a division can be made into two types of dedicated impersonal pronouns. A list is given in table 1. In the remainder of the paper imp-1 and imp-2 will be used to refer to the two types of impersonal pronouns. This terminology is taken over from Ackema and Neeleman (2016).

Table 1: Overview of impersonal pronouns

Language	Imp-1	Imp-2
Afrikaans (Van Olmen et al. 2015)	*(n) mens*	
English	*one*	
Frisian (Hoekstra 2010)	*men*	
Icelandic (Jónsson 1992, Sigurðsson and Egerland 2009)	*maður*	
Dutch (Weerman 2006, Ackema and Neeleman 2016)		*men*
Danish (Jensen 2009, Egerland 2003)	*en*	*man*
Flemish (De Belder, pc)	*'nmens*	*men*
German (Kratzer 1997, Zifonun 2001)	*ein*	*man*
Norwegian (Sigurðsson and Egerland 2009)	*en*	*man*
Swedish (Egerland 2003)	*en*	*man*

Note that this division in the literature has been made on the basis of the nominative forms of the pronouns. I will argue that all languages that have an imp-2 pronoun listed, also have an imp-1 pronoun, except for Dutch. Thus, the accusative forms in German, Danish, etc., are actually imp-1 pronouns and not an accusative form of one and the same underlying pronoun (as for example is the case in Icelandic and Frisian). This will be discussed in more detail in section 3.4.

Table 2, summarizes the distribution of the properties discussed in this paper.

The following section shows that both types of pronouns have some similarities, but that the imp-1 pronouns pattern together in that they allow only one type of impersonal reading, but can occur in multiple syntactic positions. Imp-2 pronouns on the other hand allow multiple impersonal readings, but are only grammatical in nominative position. Novel data from ECM/AcI constructions and sentences where the pronoun is a derived subject (e.g. passive and unaccusative sentences) show that the syntactic distribution of imp-2 pronouns cannot solely follow

Table 2: Summary of properties of impersonal pronouns — Final

Properties	Imp-1	Imp-2	
		A.	B.
(i) verbal agreement	3sg	3sg	3sg
(iia) generic inclusive reading	✓	✓	✓
(iib) existential reading, subject	*	✓	✓
(iic) existential reading, derived subject	*	*	✓
(iii) Object position	✓	*	*
(iv) ECM/AcI	✓	*	*

from (im)possible underlying positions (as proposed by Cinque (1988), Egerland (2003), Roberts (2015a,b)), but that there must be a surface restriction. I argue in section 3 that the correlation between the readings and the syntactic distribution follows from the feature make-up.

2.1 The data

First of all, both pronoun types have verbal agreement that is third person singular, shown in example (3) for a language with an imp-1 pronoun, English, and a language with an imp-2 pronoun, Dutch. As can be seen, the semantics of the pronoun is plural, since it refers to 'people in general'; this can be seen by the use of the plural reciprocal.[2] (Egerland (2003); Weerman (2006), a.o.).

(3) a. In dit land   geef-**t men elkaar**   cadeautjes met kerst   [Du]
         In this country give-s IMP each.other presents   with christmas
     b. In this country, **one** give-**s each other** presents at christmas.   [Eng]

As can be seen, the verb takes the third person *-t* for Dutch and *-s* for English, while the pronoun itself binds the reciprocal, which is plural.[3] Thus, there is no difference for imp-1 and imp-2 pronouns with regard to verbal agreement, which is summarized in table 3.

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[2]Borer (2005) observes that dedicated impersonal pronouns behave like mass nouns: they are semantically plural but trigger syntactic singular agreement.

[3]Sometimes, however, it is possible to have plural agreement on the adjective or participle in some languages. The plural agreement is grammatical when the reading of the pronoun is plural Egerland (2003). In example (i) a Swedish example is given.

(i)   Om man inte är gift   / gifta   måste man ha   skilda rum   på detta hotel   [Swe]
      If   IMP not is married.SG / married.PL must IMP have separate rooms in this   hotel
      'If one is not married, one should have separate rooms in this hotel'   (Egerland 2003)

As can be seen in the example, the pronoun needs to refer to more than one person; therefore plural agreement is also possible. This type of agreement is possible in several languages, such as Swedish, French and Italian. It is not visible, however in other languages, such as Dutch, because there is no number agreement on the participle. Egerland notes that it is not possible in Icelandic, a language with an imp-1 pronoun. He argues that this is because *maður* has phi-features, which block plural adjective agreement. However, it seems to me that whatever features the Icelandic pronoun has, it needs to encode that it is generic inclusive, e.g. plural and not singular. At this point, I will leave this issue for further research, also because I don't know if this is a restriction for imp-2 pronouns, or if other imp-1 pronouns can also trigger plural agreement if the language allows for it.

Table 3: Summary of properties of impersonal pronouns — Version I

Properties	Imp-1	Imp-2
(i) verbal agreement	3sg	3sg

Secondly, as already shown in (1), both pronoun types can occur in subject position. With regard to the possible readings in subject position, there are several possibilities: an inclusive generic reading and an existential reading.[4] Both pronoun types can have an inclusive generic reading, referring to 'people including you and me'. Cinque (1988) calls this the quasi-universal reading and this reading has the following properties: it is incompatible with specific/bounded time reference, it cannot occur with present perfect, and it is incompatible with the existence of a single individual satisfying the description.[5] This is shown in (4) for the eight languages. Note that I have given the (intended) translation above all examples, since all sentences have the same translation.

(4)   Intended: 'When **people** are in Italy, they have the habit of eating pasta'
       Imp-1, generic inclusive, subject
       a.   When **one** is in Italy, one eats pasta   [English]
       b.   Wannear't **men** yn Italië is, yt   men pasta.   [Frisian]
             When   IMP in Italy is, eat IMP pasta.
       c.   þegar **maður** er á Ítalíu, borðar maður pasta.   [Icelandic]
             When IMP   is in Italy, eat   IMP   pasta

       Imp-2, generic inclusive, subject
       d.   Wenn **man** in Italien ist, isst man Nudeln.   [German]
             When IMP in Italy   is, eat IMP pasta
       e.   Når   **man** er I Italien spiser man pasta.   [Danish]
             When IMP is in Italy   eat   IMP pasta
       f.   Når   **man** er i Italia, spiser man pizza   [Norwegian]
             When IMP is in Italy, eat   IMP pasta
       g.   När **man** är i Italien äter man pasta.   [Swedish]
             when IMP is in Italy   eats IMP pasta
       h.   Wanneer **men** in Italie is, eet men pasta   [Dutch]
             When   IMP in Italy is, eat IMP pasta.

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[4]Another type of reading that has been noted in the literature is a more 'personal' reading, where the pronoun refers to first person plural or first person singular. This reading however, seems to me not to be restricted to imp-1 or imp-2. It has been noted to occur with imp-1 pronouns such as Frisian *men* and English *one* and imp-2 pronouns such as French *on* and Swedish *man*. I will not focus on these readings in this paper. See for interesting discussion on these readings for the pronouns in different languages (Cinque 1988, Coveney 2000, Egerland 2003, Hoekstra 2010, Roberts 2015a,b).

[5]Sentences like (4)—unlike (5) below—are not true if just a single individual eats pasta, when in Italy. They imply a generic or quasi-universal quantification. Examples like (i) don't violate that - it is still generic in essence, even for anyone who happens to be God.

(i)   'One must learn to admit failure, even when one is God.' (Ellie Wiesel, *Twilight*)

Moreover, note that the impersonal pronoun has a bound variable interpretation (Moltmann 2006): all instances of the impersonal pronoun in the same sentence refer to the same x.

However, it is not always the case that generic readings are inclusive; there can be exceptions. Based on the literature (Hoekstra (2010); Egerland (2003), a.o.), it seems that imp-1 pronouns always need to be inclusive, whereas imp-2 pronouns allow exceptions. For the remainder of the paper, the division between inclusive and exclusive generic readings will not be discussed in much detail. However, the reader should keep in mind that this difference exists.[6]

This split arises not only with an exclusive generic reading, but also with an arbitrary or existential reading, referring to 'someone'.[7] According to Cinque (1988) this quasi-existential reading is compatible with a specific time reference, the present perfect and the existence of a single individual can satisfy the description.This is shown in the following example.

(5)   Intended: '**Someone** has called for you, but I don't know what it was about'
        Imp-1, existential, subject

    a. ***One** has called for you, but I don't know what it was about.   *[Eng]

    b. ***Men** hat foar Jo skille, mar ik wyt net wêr't it oer   gie.   *[Fr]
          IMP has for you called, but I know not where it about went

    c. ***Maður** hringdi í þig, en ég veit ekki hyvers vegna.   *[Ice]
          IMP   called for you, but I know not why

    Imp-2, existential, subject.

    d. **Man** hat für dich angerufen, aber ich weiss nicht, worum es ging.   [Ger]
          IMP has for you called,   but I   know not   what   it was

    e. **Man** har ringet til dig men jeg ved ikke hvad det drejer sig   om.   [Da]
          IMP has called to you but I   know not what it turn REFL about

    f. ?**Man** har ringt etter deg, men jeg vet   ikke hva det er om   ?[Nor]
          IMP has called after you, but I   know not what it is about

    g. **Man** har frågat efter dig, men jag vet   inte om   vad.   [Swe]
          IMP has asked for   you but I   know not about what

    h. **Men** heeft voor je   gebeld, maar ik weet niet waar het over ging.   [Du]
          IMP has   for you called, but I know not what it about went

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[6]Note that third person plural *they* seems, just as imp-2 to be ambiguous between generic and existential readings. However, the generic reading should always be exclusive and never be inclusive, compare (ia) and (ic).

(i)   a.   In the middle ages, they used to die of the bubonic plague.   [Generic Exclusive]
          =People, but not you or me used to die of the bubonic plague
    b.   They have called for you, but I don't know what it was about.   [Existential]
          = Someone has called for you,...
    c.   When they are in Italy, they eat pasta.   *[Generic Inclusive]
          ≠ When people, including you or me are in Italy, we eat pasta

Thus, even though there are pronouns that can have both generic and existential readings, only imp-2 can be ambiguous between generic inclusive and existential readings.

[7]In order to make sure that people did not reject existential or generic readings with the dedicated impersonal pronoun because they weren't able to use these readings, 3pl pronouns (*they*) were also tested.

The examples show that in English, Frisian and Icelandic (a.-c.) it is not possible to use the dedicated impersonal pronoun to express an existential meaning. To summarize, imp-1 pronouns such as *one* in English, *men* in Frisian and *maður* in Icelandic can only have a generic inclusive reading. The German, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish pronouns *man* and the Dutch *men* can have multiple impersonal readings. Thus, we can extend our summary of properties as in table 4. Imp-1 allows for only one reading, whereas imp-2 allows multiple readings.

Table 4: Summary of properties of impersonal pronouns — Version II

Properties	Imp-1	Imp-2
(i) verbal agreement	3sg	3sg
(iia) generic inclusive reading	✓	✓
(iib) existential reading	*	✓

Another difference between both pronoun types is the different syntactic positions they can occupy. Here we see the reverse pattern: imp-1 is less restricted and can occur with different cases, but imp-2 can only occur with nominative case. In the literature, it has been claimed that pronouns that allow existential readings are not allowed as an internal argument (Cinque 1988, Egerland 2003). First, as has been noted in the literature (Cinque (1988), Egerland (2003), Hoekstra (2010), Weerman (2006), a.o.), imp-2 pronouns cannot occur as a surface object, where imp-1 can. This is shown in (6).

(6)   a.   This reminds **one** of the war.   [Eng]
       b.   *Dit   herinnert **men** aan de   oorlog.   *[Du]
           This reminds   IMP   of   the war
           (Weerman 2006)

However, languages that have an imp-2 pronoun, except Dutch, have a pronoun that can occur in object position. This pronoun can only have a generic inclusive reading. In (7) an example is given for German, a language with an imp-2 pronoun which has an accusative form.

(7)   Es spielt gar   keine Rolle, wer **man** ist oder wie   man aussieht, solange **einen**   /
      It   plays completely no   role,   who IMP   is   or   how IMP out.look, as   IMP.ACC /
      *man nur jemand   liebt.   [Ger]
      IMP   now somebody loves
      'it doesn't matter who you are or what you look like, so long as somebody loves you.'
      (Roald Dahl, *The Witches*)

As can be seen, although *man* is not grammatical when used in object position, *einen* is. The same holds for Danish, Norwegian and Swedish *en*. Even though this seems like a suppletive accusative form (just as *jin* is the accusative form in Frisian), it will be shown that this latter form is an imp-1 pronoun and not an imp-2, since it can only be used with an inclusive generic reading. This issue will be discussed in more detail in section 3.4.

Second, if we look at ECM/AcI constructions, we can observe that imp-2 is truly restricted to nominative case. In this construction the pronoun can be put in a position where it starts out as an external argument but ends up receiving accusative case. In (8) and (9) two ECM constructions are given. The first sentence should provide a generic context and the second construction should

provide an existential context. Above all the sentences from the eight languages, the intended reading is given. First, take a look at the generic ECM sentence. There is a clear split visible with the possibility for impersonal pronouns to occur in ECM / AcI constructions: Imp-2 can never occur in this construction, whereas imp-1 can.

(8)   Context: He is a station master. Intended: 'Therefore he always sees **people** leave for the holidays'

Imp-1, generic, ECM.

a.   The station master always sees **one** leave for the holidays.   [Eng]

b.   (i)   *hy heart **men** altyd   praten.   *[Fr]
            He hears IMP always talk

        (ii)   hy heart **jin** altyd   praten   [Fr]
            He hears IMP always talk

c.   þess vegna   sér hann **mann** alltaf   fara í frí.   [Ice]
        That because see he   IMP   always leave in holiday

Imp-2, generic, ECM.

d.   (i)   *Der Bahnhofswärter sieht **man** immer in die Ferien   fahren.   *[Ger]
            The train.conductor sees IMP always in the holiday go

        (ii)   Der Bahnhofswärter sieht **einen** immer in die Ferien   fahren.   [Ger]
            The train.conductor sees IMP   always in the holiday go

e.   *Derfor   ser han at   **man** altid   tager afsted I ferierne.   *[Da]
        Therefore see he   that IMP always take leave in vacations

f.   (i)   Derfor   ser han **man** alltid   dra   på ferie   *[Nor]
            Therefore sees he   IMP always leave on holiday

        (ii)   ?Derfor   ser han **en** alltid   dra   på ferie   ?[Nor]
            Therefore sees he   IMP always leave on holiday

g.   (i)   *Därför   ser han **man** alltid   åka på semester.   *[Swe]
            Therefore see he   IMP always go on holidays.

        (ii)   ?Därför   ser han **en** alltid   åka på semester.   ?[Swe]
            Therefore see he   IMP always go on holidays.

h.   *Daarom   ziet hij **men** altijd   op vakantie gaan.   *[Du]
        Therefore sees he IMP always on vacation go

As can be seen in (8), the (a.-c.) examples are grammatical, whereas the (d.-h.) examples are not grammatical with *man* or *men*. A second observation that can be made has to do with the different forms of the pronoun. Even though German has a pronoun that makes the ECM construction in (8) grammatical, it is not *man*. German (e.) and Frisian (b.) seem to pattern together in this respect: They both do not allow *men* or *man* but they do allow *jin* and *einen* in (8). At this point they both seem to be the accusative form of *men* or *man*, just as *mann* is the accusative from of *maður* in Icelandic (c.). The next example, with an existential reading, will show that there is a difference between the accusative forms.

In (9) an ECM construction is given where an existential reading is triggered. As expected, the imp-1 pronouns are not grammatical, since they do not allow this reading at all. Crucially, there are also no grammatical examples with imp-2, as is shown in (d.-h.).

(9)   Context: I lay awake all night.
       Intended: 'I hear **someone** work on the road.'

       Imp-1, existential, ECM.
       a. *I hear **one** work on the road.   *[Eng]
       b. (i)   *Ik hearde **men** oan de dyk wurkjen.   *[Fr]
                 I   heard IMP on the road work
           (ii) *Ik hearde **jin** oan de dyk wurkjen.   *[Fr]
                 I   heard IMP on the road work
       c. *Ég heyrði **mann** vinna vegavinnu.   *[Ice]
           I   heard IMP   work road.construction

       Imp-2, existential, ECM.
       d. (i)   *Ich habe **man** auf/an der Strasse arbeiten hören.   *[Ger]
                 I   have IMP on   the road   work   hear
           (ii) *Ich habe **einen** auf/an der Strasse arbeiten hören.   *[Ger][8]
                 I   have IMP on   the road   work   hear
       e. *Jeg hørte **man** lavede vejarbejde.   *[Da]
           I   heard IMP made road.work
       f. (i)   *Jeg hører **man** arbeider på veien   *[Nor]
                 I   heard IMP works   on road
           (ii) *Jeg hører **en**   arbeider på veien   *[Nor]
                 I   heard IMP works   on road
       g. (i)   *Jag hörde **man** arbetade ute på gatan.   *[Swe]
                 I   heard IMP work   out in the.street
           (ii) *Jag hörde **en**   arbetade ute på gatan.   *[Swe]
                 I   heard IMP work   out in the.street
       h. *Ik hoorde **men** aan de weg werken   *[Du]
           I heard   IMP on the road work

Even the accusative pronoun in Frisian and German that was grammatical in (8) is not gram-
matical in this construction. Thus the accusative pronoun in German allows generic readings, but
not existential readings. The fact that an existential reading is not available for the Frisian pronoun
is not remarkable, since the nominative form does not allow this reading either; it is interesting
that the German pronoun does not have the same readings. In 3.4 it will be shown that German has
two pronouns, whereas Frisian only has one pronoun which has a suppletive form. Crucially, the
imp-2 pronouns are never grammatical in an ECM construction, whereas imp-1 pronouns can be,
if there is an appropriate context. The extended summary is given in table 5.

As can be seen in table 5, there is a clear asymmetry between imp-1 and imp-2 pronouns: Imp-1
pronouns only allow generic readings and can occur with different cases, whereas imp-2 pronouns
can have both generic and existential readings but are restricted to occur with nominative. Note that
this is a different generalization than the one noted in the literature: According to Egerland (2003)
imp-2 is restricted to occur as an external argument. However, he argues that imp-2 pronouns can

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[8]This sentence might be grammatical when there is an elliptical context with *einen* having a complement: *einen
Man* 'a man'. The same might hold for the *one* pronouns in the Scandinavian languages.

Table 5: Summary of properties of impersonal pronouns — Version III

Properties	Imp-1	Imp-2
(i) verbal agreement	3sg	3sg
(iia) generic inclusive reading	✓	✓
(iib) existential reading	*	✓
(iii) Object position	✓	*
(iv) ECM/AcI	✓	*

occur as an internal argument in passives and unaccusatives but only with a generic reading. The next set of data will show that this generalization is not true.

Another piece of evidence for the case-generalization comes from passive and unaccusative sentences. In these sentences a pronoun starts out as an internal argument, but ends up as a subject of the clause. Cinque (1988) and Egerland (2003) have argued that when the imp-2 pronoun is the subject of a passive or unaccusative, it is not able to have an existential reading, it can only have a generic (inclusive or exclusive) reading. A generic reading is given in (10), and as can be seen, the sentence is grammatical in every language.

(10)   Intended: '**People** are being forced to work until the age of 65 (by the government).'
        Imp-1, generic, passive

    a. **One** is being forced to work until the age of 65.   [Eng]

    b. **Men** wurdt twongen te wurkjen oant it   65e libbensjier   [Fr]
        IMP gets   forced   to work   until the 65 life.year

    c. **Maður** er neyddur til að vinna þar   til maður er orðinn 65 ára   gamall   [Ice]
        IMP   is forced   to to work there to man   is become 65 years old

    Imp-2, generic, passive.

    d. **Man** wird   dazu gezwungen, bis   65 zu arbeiten.   [Ger]
        IMP becomes to   forced,   until 65 to work

    e. **Man** er tvunget til at   arbejde til   man er 65.   [Da]
        IMP is forced to the work   until IMP is 65

    f. **Man** lir tvunget av myndighetene   til å   arbeide til 65   [Nor]
        IMP is forced by government.DEF to work to   65

    g. **Man** tvingas   att arbeta   tills man år   65.   [Swe]
        IMP forced.PASS by government.DEF to   work until IMP is 65

    h. **Men** wordt gedwongen te werken tot   het 65e levensjaar.   [Du]
        IMP gets   forced   to work   until the 65 life.year

Thus Cinque (1988) and Egerland (2003)'s predictions are borne out with regard to the generic reading. However, if we construct examples with an appropriate context, the existential reading will become available in some languages. As expected, the imp-1 pronouns do not allow an existential reading, as can be seen in (11a-c). Within the imp-2 pronouns there is a split visible: The Dutch and Swedish pronouns are allowed to have an existential reading, (11g-h). On the other hand, the German, Danish and Norwegian pronouns do not allow this reading, as can be seen in (11d-f). Again, the intended reading is given above the examples. Keep in mind that the sentences

by themselves might be grammatical, but not with the intended reading.

(11)   Context: you are the owner of a restaurant. You can see that there is one empty plate at one table and a big tip.
Intended: '**Someone** was served well here.'

Imp-1, existential, passive.
a.   *__One__ was served well here.   *[Eng]
b.   *__Men__ wurdt hjir goed behanelle.   *[Fr]
        IMP   was   here good served
c.   *__Maður__ var þjónað vel.   *[Ice]
        IMP   was served well

Imp-2, existential, passive.
d.   *__Man__ wurde hier gut   bedient.   *[Ger]
        IMP   was   here good served
e.   *__Man__ belv   godt betjent.   *[Da]
        IMP   became well served
f.   *__Man__ ble servert bra av kelneren   *[Nor]
        IMP   was served well by waitress.DEF
g.   __Man__ fick bra   service här, tydligen.   [Swe]
        IMP   had good service here apparantly
h.   __Men__ werd hier goed bediend.   [Du]
        IMP   was   here good served

The same pattern holds for unaccusatives, which is a second construction where the pronoun starts as an internal argument but ends up being the subject of the sentence. Again, the context is set up in such a way that the existential reading might be easier to get. However, for languages with an imp-1 pronoun as well as German, Danish and Norwegian this reading is not available. Crucially, in Dutch and Swedish it is.

(12)   Context: It has been freezing and the lake in the forest is frozen. However, there is a hole in the ice.
Intended: 'Apparently, yesterday **someone** has fallen through the ice here.'
Imp-1, existential, unaccusative.
a.   *Apparently, yesterday **one** has fallen through the ice here.   *[Eng]
b.   *Juster   is **men** hjir troch   it   iss sake   *[Fr]
        Yesterday is IMP here through the ice fallen
c.   *__Maður__ hefur dottið gegnum ísinn   hérna.   *[Ice]
        IMP   has   fallen through ice.DEF here
Imp-2, existential, unaccusative.
d.   *Letzte Woche is **man** hier eingebrochen   *[Ger]
        Last   week   is IMP   here fallen.through
e.   *I går   faldt **man** gennem isen her.   *[Da]
        in yesterday fell IMP   through ice here

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f. *I går   falt **man** tydeligvis gjennom isen   *[Nor]
    in yesterday fell IMP apparently through ice.DEF

g. **Man** har fallit genom isen.   [Swe]
    IMP   has fallen through ice.DEF

h. **Men** is hier gister   door   het ijs gezakt.   [Du]
    IMP   is here yesterday through the ice fallen

To summarize, there is a different split with regard to external-argumenthood. Both imp-1 and imp-2 pronouns can have a generic reading when the subject is derived from an internal argument. There is a split with regard to the existential reading: Dutch *men* and Swedish *man* allow this reading when the pronoun is a derived subject (group imp-2B. in the following table), but German, Danish and Norwegian seem to pattern with imp-1 in this respect (group imp-2A.). This observation is added to the summary and is now shown in table 6, point (iic).

Table 6: Summary of properties of impersonal pronouns — Final

Properties	**Imp-1**	**Imp-2**	
		A.	B.
(i) verbal agreement	3sg	3sg	3sg
(iia) generic inclusive reading	✓	✓	✓
(iib) existential reading, subject	*	✓	✓
(iic) existential reading, derived subject	*	*	✓
(iii) Object position	✓	*	*
(iv) ECM/AcI	✓	*	*

Note that now there is a split within the imp-2 pronouns, which is based on the data where the pronoun is a derived subject, (11) and (12): imp-2B (Dutch and Swedish *men*/*man*) always allows existential readings in the nominative. Imp-2A. (Danish, German and Norwegian) on the other hand only allows existential readings when it is an external argument and has nominative. All imp-2 pronouns do pattern together for all other properties – most importantly on points (iii) and (iv) in table 6. There are no grammatical ECM sentences or surface object positions for these pronouns, whereas the imp-1 pronouns are allowed in these constructions. Note that in this table the accusative forms German *einen*, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish *en* are not included. On the basis of the data presented in this paper, I conclude that these pronouns are imp-1 pronouns: they are allowed in positions where imp-2 is not grammatical, but they only allow generic readings. Moreover, in all three languages there are varieties where this pronoun is also grammatical in nominative position. This will be discussed in 3.4.

Thus, we can conclude the following, which is summarized in table 7.

There seems to be a three-way distinction with dedicated impersonal pronouns: English type pronouns can occur in multiple positions and can receive multiple cases, but can only receive generic inclusive readings; All imp-2 pronouns can only occur with nominative case. Imp-2B (Dutch *men* and Swedish *man*) can have all readings in the available positions; finally, imp-2A (Danish, Norwegian and German *man*) is allowed in the same positions as the Dutch and Swedish pronoun, but *man* is more restricted than in Dutch and Swedish since an existential reading is only possible when it has nominative case and is the external argument.

In the next section an account for this distribution will be offered.

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Table 7: Generalizations

| | Imp-1 | Imp-2 | |
		A.	B.
Case	NOM, ACC	NOM	NOM
Underived subject, ∃	*	✓	✓
Derived subject, ∃	*	*	✓

3   Accounting for the data

What needs to be accounted for is the generalization that imp-1 pronouns have only one reading and can occur in multiple syntactic positions. Imp-2 pronouns on the other hand can only occur with nominative case and can have different impersonal readings. There is an additional restriction in German, Danish and Norwegian in that this pronoun can only have an existential reading when it occurs as the external argument and has nominative case. However, the possible syntactic positions seem to be restricted by the surface and not the underlying position.[9] First, the structural make up of the pronouns will be discussed in 3.1. After that, I will explain how the different readings arise in section 3.2. In 3.3, the proposal for Case will be explained. Section 3.4 will provide some evidence for the existence of both pronouns in one language. In section 4 an alternative proposal, made by Egerland (2003) will be evaluated.

3.1   The feature make–up of dedicated impersonal pronouns

As pointed out in the introduction, several people have proposed different feature make-ups for imp-1 and imp-2 pronouns (Gelderen (1997) Egerland (2003); Hoekstra (2010); Ackema and Neeleman (2016);, a.o). These authors all agree that imp-2 does not have any phi-features, as shown in (13).
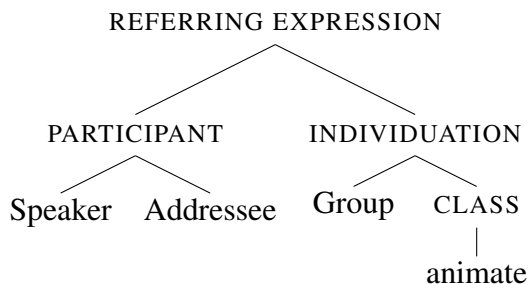
(13)   *imp-2*: [N]

Moreover, all these authors agree that imp-1 pronouns have more structure. But how much structure this pronoun type has and what features it has differs per proposal. The intuition behind all these proposals is that the structure needs to capture the fact that the pronoun needs to yield an inclusive meaning. Several proposals argue that [speaker] and [addressee] features are encoded in the syntax. For example, both Hoekstra (2010) and Nevins (2007) argue that imp-1 has a fully

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[9]For an alternative proposal that the syntactic restriction on *men* is a surface restriction, see Weerman (2006). According to Weerman, the restriction comes from agreement, rather than the underlying position. When a language has more inflection on the verb, but is not a pro–drop language anymore, some element is needed for an impersonal reading, such as *man*. He bases his generalization on the fact that English, German and Dutch all had or have *men/ man* at one point in history, and English now has *one*. Moreover, English does not have inflection on the verb anymore, whereas German and Dutch do. Therefore, he concludes that agreement and the occurrence of *men / man* are correlated.The question then is if agreement needs to be defined morphologically or syntactically. Danish, Norwegian and Swedish are all languages with the imp–2 pronoun (see table 1), but they do not have overt verbal agreement. Thus, if *man* and agreement are correlated, agreement should be syntactic. If we adopt some version of AGREE (Chomsky 2000, 2001), this licensing mechanism does not need to have an overt reflex. However, usually it is assumed that AGREE holds for both subjects and objects. if the agreement restriction is both syntactic and needs to hold for both subject and objects, then it cannot be explained that imp-2 does not occur in object position.

specified phi-bundle, including all features (both use a different feature geometry). As an example, Hoekstra's representation is given in (14). He adapts the feature geometry as proposed by Harley and Ritter (2002) to account for imp-1.

(14)   *Imp-1* (Hoekstra 2010)

REFERRING EXPRESSION
├── PARTICIPANT
│   ├── Speaker
│   └── Addressee
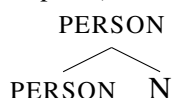└── INDIVIDUATION
    ├── Group
    └── CLASS
        └── animate

Hoekstra aims to give an explanation how pronouns can be both personal and impersonal. He argues that the difference between the impersonal and personal use of pronouns is specificity and not the feature make up of the different pronouns. I will not follow these approaches, since it is not immediately clear to me how these approaches would account for all the facts. First of all, if features such as [plural] or [group] are visible in the syntax, It is not clear why these pronouns always end up with 3sg agreement on the verb, in contrast to plural referential pronouns such as *we* or plural impersonal *they*. Moreover, if all features are present, it is not clear how a pronoun such as *one* is different from personal pronouns. For example, impersonal pronouns seem to be 'deficient' in that they for example cannot be modified whereas strong pronouns can (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999). In the (a.) examples a strong pronoun is given for Dutch (15) and English (16) and in the (b.) examples the impersonal pronouns are given. For Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) this means that impersonal pronouns have less syntactic structure.

(15)   a.   Wij, de studenten, werken hard   strong pronoun, Dutch
              we, the students,   work   hard
        b.   *Men, de studenten, werken hard   *impersonal pronoun, Dutch
              IMP, the students,   work   hard
(16)   a.   We the students, work hard.   strong pronoun, English
        b.   *One, the students, work hard.   *impersonal pronoun, English

To account for these data, approaches where imp-1 has a fully specified phi-bundle need extra assumptions.

Ackema and Neeleman (2016) capture this inclusiveness of imp-1 pronouns in a different way. In their proposal semantic and syntactic features are separated and syntactic phi-features pick out semantic features. If the person node is not specified for a specific feature, it picks out the complete semantic content, including [speaker] and [addressee]. This means that imp-1 pronouns always end up being semantically inclusive.

(17)   *Imp-1* (Ackema and Neeleman 2014)

PERSON
├── PERSON
└── N

This type of approach to imp-1 pronouns can account for the fact that impersonal pronouns are defective, differ from personal pronouns and trigger singular agreement on the verb (note that this is in line with Cardinaletti and Starke (1999)'s approach that less syntactic structure makes pronouns deficient). Therefore I will follow their idea in that imp-1 pronouns have some phi-features, which are not encoded in the morpho-syntactic structure. Since I do not necessarily want to commit to the specifics of Ackema and Neeleman's approach, I represent imp-1 as in (18).[10]

(18)　　a.　*imp-1*

ϕ

ϕ　N

　　　　b.　*imp-2*

N

Summarizing, for all approaches the result is that imp-1 ends up having a representation (syntactic or semantic) which includes speaker and addressee whereas imp-2 on the other hand does not bear any phi-features.

Let's turn to some evidence for the different structures of imp-1 and imp-2. Both pronouns always seem to trigger default agreement. As already discussed in section 2, the verb always triggers third person singular agreement. However, there is a difference between imp-1 and imp-2 pronouns if we look at possessives. In the following examples it is shown that even when the subject should be a female, you still get default agreement on the possessive for German in (19a) and for Dutch in (19b). Observe that this does not hold for English *one* or for a second person generic pronoun, such as *je* in Dutch, in (19d).

(19)　a.　Wenn man schwanger ist, muss　man **seinen/*ihren/*mans** Körper ...　　[German]
　　　　　When IMP pregnant　is,　should IMP his/her/IMP　　　　body

　　　b.　Wanneer men zwanger is, moet　men **zijn/*haar/*men** lichaam ...　　[Dutch]
　　　　　When　　IMP pregnant is, should IMP his/her/IMP　　body

　　　c.　When one is pregnant, one should take care of **one's** body　　[English]

　　　d.　Wanneer je　zwanger bent,　moet je　**je**　lichaam ...　　[Dutch]
　　　　　When　　you are　　pregnant, should you your body　　...
　　　　　'When people are pregnant, they should keep their body ...'

Moreover, a difference arises with the accusative forms of the pronouns in the languages with an imp-2 pronoun. As can be seen in (20) for the Scandinavian languages, *en* is the same as English *one* in that the possesive form is *en* too. Thus this form truly has different properties than *man*. However, the German *ein* always takes the *seinen* 'his' form and not the pronoun *ein* itself.

_____

[10]Holmberg (2005, 2010) in a series of papers, looked at impersonal constructions in different types of null subject languages. Interestingly, Holmberg and Phimsawat (2015) show that in Thai, a radical pro drop language without evidence for phi-features, there is an inclusive generic pronoun which is obligatorily zero. Following Phimsawat (2011), H&P argue that this generic pronoun lacks all phi-features and therefore needs to be null. Crucially, in Thai this impersonal pronoun does not always have to be [human], which impersonal pronouns cross-linguistically tend to be. They note that there seems to be a correlation with the absence of the obligatory [+human] interpretation and the absence of subject verb agreement. For them, the difference between an overt impersonal pronoun such as *one* and the Thai pronoun is not only the absence or presence of phi-features, but also the feature [+human]. I think the approach sketched in this paper is reconcilable with their approach. Imp-2 pronouns differ from the Thai pronoun in that they do include a [+human] feature and there is always (default) agreement on the verb. Moreover, P&H do not discuss the difference between imp-2 and imp-1. It is interesting to see if what the similarities and differences are between the Thai pronoun, imp-1 and imp-2. I leave this for futher research.

(20) a. In der erste Semesterwoche wiesen sie **einem seinen** vorläufigen Betreurer zu

In the first semester.week assign they IMP REFL provisional advisor to [Ger]

'In the first week of the seemster they assign people their advisor'

b. I slutningen af året giver de typisk **en** et kig i **en**'s studenterfil [Da]

At end of year give they typically IMP a look in REFL studentsfile

'At the end of the year they usually give people a look in their studentfile'

In the next section the different readings will be discussed.

3.2   Generic and existential readings

To account for the different readings, I will follow Krifka et al. (1995) in that generic readings are derived via the presence of a generic operator [GEN] (Egerland 2003, Moltmann 2006, Ackema and Neeleman 2016, Roberts 2015a,b). This generic operator can bind both imp-2 and imp-1. As for imp-1, its feature specification includes the speaker and the addressee, and this is not contradictory to the requirements of [GEN].[11] It does not mean that [GEN] always needs to have an element which necessarily includes [speaker] and [addressee], but the element cannot have features that are contradictory with [GEN]. Thus first person singular can never yield a generic reading, since it contains the features [person, singular] (cf. Ackema and Neeleman (2016) for a discussion). For imp-2, there is no feature specification and thus there are no conflicting features for merging it with the generic operator. Thus this will yield a grammatical result.

With respect to the existential reading, several options are possible. First of all, I will not follow Egerland in this respect. He argues that this reading is derived via the absence of any feature content. This means that imp-2 pronouns can have an existential reading, because there are no phi-features. However, this leads to a problem, since there are other pronouns that can receive this reading (as well as other readings). In (21) an example for German *wer* is given and for English third person plural *they* (the latter is already noted by (Cinque 1988, Cabredo Hofherr 2003, Jaeggli 1986).

(21) a. Ich habe die ganze Zeit **wen** auf/an der Strasse arbeiten hören. [Ger]

I have the whole time INDEF on the road work hear

'I heard someone work on the road.'

b. **They** have called for you, but I don't know what it was about. [Eng]

If pronouns such as *wer* and *they* can receive an existential reading, it must mean according to Egerland that these pronouns also do not express any features. However, these pronouns can occur as personal pronouns or *wh*-elements, expressing some type of (phi-)features. Thus this must mean that existential readings are derived in a different way. Another possibility would be that there is an existential operator in the DP (Ackema and Neeleman 2016) or that a pronoun can receive an existential reading because it is local to an aspect head, ASP. (D'Alessandro and Alexiadou 2003, Roberts 2015a,b).[12]. I do not commit to either of those approaches, but note that the latter

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[11] Roberts (2015a,b) argues that imp-1 pronouns must have a [+gen] feature, which forces them to always be generic.

[12]This means that existential readings do not arise when there are no features available, as Egerland proposes, but that the feature content of the pronoun should not include speaker and/or addressee features. This is for example the case with third person plural pronoun. See Ackema and Neeleman (2014) for an implementation of this idea.

might be problematic. Roberts explicitly tries to rule out the option that existential readings are possible when an element is an internal argument. Asp cannot license an internal argument, since an arbitrary external or an event argument will intervene. However, as we have seen that it is possible to get an existential when an imp-2 pronoun starts as an internal argument.

3.3 Case

I take the structures in (18) to be correct: imp-2 has less functional structure than imp-1. Recall that imp-1 has a structure that includes the speaker and addressee, and is therefore always inclusive. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that it can only be bound by a generic operator, to yield a generic inclusive reading. Imp-2 on the other hand does not have any functional structure and therefore is not restricted to occur with a generic reading, and can be bound by an existential operator too.

I will assume, following recent literature, that the feature make-up of pronouns in general consists of several functional projections (Cardinaletti and Starke 1999, Déchaine and Wiltschko 2002, Longobardi 2008). Thus non-deficient pronouns have an extended projection that consists of at least a K-layer, D layer, a phi-layer and at the bottom a noun (or a root). This is presented in (22).

(22)
```
        KP
       /  \
      K    DP
          /  \
         D    φP
             /  \
            φ    N
```
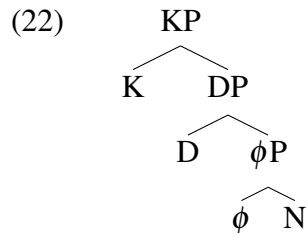
Now, recall that both imp-1 and imp-2 are deficient in that they lack a D layer and have a very minimal phi-specification. I will assume that since imp-2 does not have any extended projections, it cannot have the case-projection (KP). In order to get a KP layer, a pronoun needs to have at least some other functional projections; namely a phi-bundle. This is similar to the approach to clausal restructuring where higher projections are not active in the absence of intermediate active projections (Wurmbrand 2014, 2015). While truncated projections are possible (Wurmbrand 2014, 2015, Radkevich 2010), the presence of higher projections entails lower ones. Thus, if imp-2 has a KP, it entails that it has the lower projections in (22) too. However, in the last section we have argued (with regard to the phi-featuer) that this is note the case. Moreover, we have seen in section 2 that imp-2 pronouns are possible with nominative case. I will take nominative to be the non-case; it does not include a KP layer. Other cases, such as accusative and dative do include this projection (Jakobson 1936, Andrews 1982, Bittner and Hale 1996, Neeleman and Weerman 1999). A technical issue that arises is when exactly the KP layer is projected. A KP needs to project when any NP (not just an impersonal pronoun) is an object and receives accusative case. It does not have to project when a NP will get nominative case. More precisely, when an NP is local to T, KP will not project, even when the element starts as an object. Also, the KP will project in ECM constructions. It could be that the licensing mechanisms have a different reflex for T and v: licensing by T can end in agreement, at least in the Germanic languages, while licensing by v

needs to be done by Case and the argument itself will end up with a KP layer.[13]

If we now go back to the properties that need to be explained, we can see the following in table 8 (repeated from table 6 for convenience) .

Table 8: Summary of properties of impersonal pronouns — Final version

Properties	Imp-1	Imp-2	
		Da., Ger.	Du., Swe.
(i) verbal agreement	3sg	3sg	3sg
(iia) generic inclusive reading	✓	✓	✓
(iib) existential reading, subject	*	✓	✓
(iic) existential reading, derived subject	*	*	✓
(iii) Object position	✓	*	*
(iv) ECM/AcI	✓	*	*

With regard to (i), it can be assumed that since both types of pronouns are deficient and lack actual person or number features, they will occur with default agreement, which is third person singular. The second point is discussed in the previous section: since imp-2 has no phi-features, it is not blocked from being bound by a generic operator. Points (iii) and (iv) follow with the case proposal too: Imp-2 can only occur with nominative[14] and therefore it can occur both as a subject and as a derived subject, but it is not able to occur in object position or as an ECM-subject, since then it will project a KP layer. Imp-1 on the other hand has enough functional structure to have a KP and can thus occur in all environments.

Moreover, this means that the correlation between the readings and the syntactic positions of imp-1 and imp-2 follows to a large extent. Imp-1 has a structure that always includes the speaker and the addressee and therefore always needs to get a generic reading. Moreover, it has enough structure to get a case projection. The structure of imp-2 on the other hand does not give a restriction to a certain impersonal reading and can therefore have generic and existential readings. This structure also prevents it from occuring with any other case than nominative, since it is too defective to get a case layer.

The only problem that we are left with is point (iic), the fact that in German, Danish and Norwegian an existential reading is not possible when the pronoun is a derived subject. However, in German there is a pronoun that can be used with an existential reading, the wh-element *wer*. This pronoun can receive an existential reading, (23a), (23b). Crucially the same wh-element in Dutch or Swedish cannot be used for an indefinite reading, (23d) shows this for Dutch.

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[13]I leave open the question if it is truly agreement that restricts the distribution — even in languages where person agreement is not overtly spelled out on the verb. It would be interesting to look at languages with true object agreement to see if imp-2 like elements can occur in accusative. Moreover, it would also be interesting to see what happens in absolutive-ergative languages. I will leave this for further research

[14]Following this approach, a problem might arise how exactly arbitrary PRO comes about. This element is always null, and needs refer to [+human]. The only difference between imp-2 and PRO_{arb} is thus the overt spell out of the former. Sigurðsson and Egerland (2009) show that there is a whole range of different type of impersonal null elements, with different readings. They argue that some pronoun (i.e. a specific syntactic structure) may be expressed overtly in one language, while the same pronoun is expressed as a null element in a different language. At this point I recognize that this might be problematic for the approach sketched here and I do not have an answer, however it might be worthwhile to investigate which readings and positions are possible for the overt and the covert impersonal pronouns, as Sigurðsson and Egerland (2009) do. I will leave this for further research.

(23)   a.   Hier wurde **wer**   gut bedient.   [Ger]
              Here was   INDEF well served.
              'Here was someone served well.

        b.   Ich habe die ganze Zeit **wen**   auf/an der Strasse arbeiten hören.   [Ger]
              I   have the whole time INDEF on   the road   work   hear
              'I heard someone work on the road.'

        c.   Gestern   hat **wer / man**   für dich angerufen aber ich weiss nicht worum   es
              Yesterday had INDEF / IMP for you called,   but I   know not   about.what it
              ging.   [Ger]
              went
              'Yesterday someone called for you, but I don't know about what'

        d.   *Hier werd   **wie** goed bediend   *[Du]
              here   became WH good served
              Intended: 'Here was someone served well'

We could think of *wer* and *man* being in a blocking relation: *man* could in principle be grammatical in (23a), but there is a more specific pronoun that can be used in this case. This means that there is no syntactic difference between Dutch and German: The pronouns in both languages allow in principle both readings when imp-2 is a derived subject. However, in Dutch there is no *wer*-like pronoun, as shown in (23d), and therefore *men* can have an existential reading when it is a derived subject. German *man* on the other hand cannot get an existential reading when it is a derived subject. In (23b) *man* is not possible, because it is in a position where it should receive case, but there is another pronoun that can save the sentece. However, a question that might arise is why *wer* does not block an existential reading in a normal subject position, (23c). If *wer* is more specific, it should also block the existential reading of *man* in any position. However, it seems that *wer* and *man* are not completely the same. When *man* is used, it is preferablel to refer back to this pronoun with a third person plural form, (24c). For *wer*, it is fine to either use third person singular masculine or feminine pronouns, (24a).

(24)   a.   Gestern   hat wer   für dich angerufern, aber er/sie hat nicht gesagt, wie er/sie
              Yesterday hat INDEF for you called,   but he/she has not   said,   how he/she
              heisst
              called
              'Yesterday someone called for you, but he/she didn't say what his/her name was'

        b. ?*Gestern   hat man für dich angerufern, aber er hat nicht gesagt, wie er heisst
              Yesterday hat IMP for you called,   but he has not   said,   how he called
              'Yesterday someone called for you, but he/she didn't say what his/her name was'

        c.   ?Gestern hat man für dich angerufern, aber sie haben nicht gesagt, wie sie
              Yesterday hat IMP for you called,   but they has   not   said,   how they
              heissen
              called
              'Yesterday someone called for you, but they didn't say what their name was'

If *wer* is different from *man*, it means that imp-2 pronouns can only occur with nominative case and the fact that some readings are blocked is due to the availability of different pronouns.

Unfortunatly, Danish and Norwegian do not have a pronoun similar to German *wer*. Even though I do not have a full explanation for this, it has been noted in the literature that with regard to passives, Swedish patterns differently from Norwegian and Danish (Engdahl 1999, Heltoft and Falster Jakobsen 1996, Holmberg 2000). It might be that the absence of existential readings and the differences with passives in Danish and Norwegian versus Swedish have a similar explanation. Thus, even though Swedish has both a morphological passive (by adding -*s* to the verb) and a periphrastic passive (with *blev*), the latter type cannot form passives of intransitives, as is shown in (25).

(25)   *Det blev dansat på bryggan.   *[Swedish]
           It   was danced on jetty.DEF (Engdahl 1999)

However, Danish and Norwegian allow impersonal periphrastic passives, as is shown in (26) for Danish.

(26)   Der   bliver snydt   [Danish]
           there was   cheated
           'Actual cheating is going on.' (Heltoft and Falster Jakobsen 1996)

Thus, Swedish allows existential readings in passives with *man*, but it cannot form impersonal passives with the periphrastic construction. Danish and Norwegian on the other hand do not allow this reading with *man*, but can form impersonal passives with a periphrastic construction.

To summarize, I take the restriction to be case, and then we explain why imp-2 pronouns cannot occur in ECM constructions and as surface objects. The fact that in German an existential reading is not available when the pronoun is a derived subject comes from the fact that in those languages there are different pronouns that can be used to give an existential reading. In the next section we will turn to the observation that in most languages there is a nominative and an accusative form of the dedicated impersonal pronouns.

3.4   A note on different impersonal pronouns

As mentioned before, all imp-2 languages, except Dutch, have a pronoun that can only occur in nominative, namely *man* and a pronoun that occurs with other cases, such as German *einen*. The next subsection argues that these pronouns are not underlyingly the same, but that they represent different pronouns. In subsection 3.4.2, a brief comment will be made about the interaction between dedicated impersonal pronouns and the impersonal use of *they*.

3.4.1   Where *one* helps *man*

This section will argue that all languages with an imp-2 pronoun, except Dutch, also have an imp-1 pronoun. Thus, an imp-2 pronouns such as *man* that can only occur in nominative has a different feature make-up than the accusative pronoun, such as German *einen*. In table 9 an overview of the pronouns used in nominative and accusative in several Germanic languages is given.

Table 9: Pronouns in nominative and accusative

	nominative	accusative
Afrikaans	*(n)mens*	*(n)mens*
English	*one*	*one*
Frisian	*men*	*jin*
Icelandic	*maður*	*mann*
German	*man*	*ein*
Danish	*man*	*en*
Norwegian	*man*	*en*
Swedish	*man*	*en*
Dutch	*men*	—
Flemish	*men*	*'nmens*

As can be seen in this table, all the languages, except Dutch, that have an imp-2 pronoun have an accusative impersonal pronoun too. Even though Standard Dutch does not have a non-nominative form, certain Flemish dialects do (Marijke de Belder, pc.), namely *'nmens*. Recall from the discussion in section 2 that even though languages with an imp-2 pronoun have an impersonal pronoun in the accusative, it is different from an imp-2 pronoun, since it only allows a generic inclusive reading, just like the English pronoun *one*. Moreover, it is not always the case that the surface form of *man* is only restricted to nominative: in Icelandic and Flemish there is an accusative form. Moreover, in Old High German *man* patterns together with English/Frisian/Icelandic: The pronoun only expressed a generic reading and could occur with accusative case (see also (Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2007). The same holds for Gothic.[15] Thus, it seems that, on the surface, both Flemish and Icelandic pattern together, since they both have a nominative and accusative form of *man*; and German and all Scandinavian languages seem to pattern with Frisian, since all have *man* in the nominative and some form of *one* in the accusative.

I will account for the surface similiarities by arguing that there is a real underlying difference between Afrikaans, Frisian, Icelandic and English on the one hand and German, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian and Flemish on the other hand. In Frisian there is real suppletion: one structure for impersonal pronouns, namely [ɸ [N]]. This structure receives a different phonological form if it has case and when it occurs with the unmarked case. This follows a general pattern for suppletion, where the nominative is special (Smith et al. 2015).

(27) a. [ɸ, N] ↔ jin / __K
      b. [ɸ, N] ↔ men / __

In German, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish and Flemish there are in fact two different syntactic structures for impersonal pronouns, which are shown in (28) for the German vocabulary items.

(28) a. [N] ↔ man
      b. [ɸ, N] ↔ ein

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[15] The type of analysis pursued here might explain a diachronic path, an idea also pursued Egerland (2010). He looks at Old Italian *uomo* 'one' and argues that pronouns that have more readings available, have less functional structure. He only looks briefly at the difference between Swedish *man* and Icelandic *maður*. It might be fruitful to apply his analysis to the Germanic languages presented in this paper. I will leave this for future work.

A question that arises is why *ein* occurs in accusative and *man* in nominative. However, there are many dialects of all the languages with an imp-2 pronoun where both imp-1 and imp-2 are grammatical in the nominative. It has been reported in a corpus that there are speakers in West-Jutland (Denmark) that allow *en* in subject position Jensen (2009). Also, the (b.) example shows that Swedish allows *en* as a subject, but only with a generic reading. The same holds for the other Scandinavian languages.

(29)   a.   Skal **en** så i by   om æ after   sommetider så bliver der altså ikke
           shall IMP then in town in the evening sometimes then becomes there really not
           meget tid   til at til at lave   noget   [Da]
           much time to to to to make something
           'if one wants to go out in the night sometimes then there really isn't much time to do anything [to earn money by working].' (Jensen 2009:16)
   b.   När **en** är i Italien äter en pasta.   [Swe]
           When IMP is in Italy, eat IMP pasta
           'When you are in Italy, you eat pasta'

The fact that in the Standard language this *einen* or *en* form does not occur in nominative position might be due to some blocking rule. Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) propose that languages prefer to use the most deficient pronoun whenever possible. In this case, *ein* has more structure, namely a phi-bundle, and is therefore blocked in the nominative.

3.4.2 Impersonal *they* and dedicated impersonal pronouns

The same type of reasoning with regard to blocking can be applied if we look at the interaction between the dedicated impersonal pronouns and the third person plural *they* (Cabredo Hofherr 2003). This form is used to express exclusive generic readings or existential readings, as already mentioned briefly in section 3.2. If we now look at the usage of *they*, it turns out that it is used most frequently in languages that do not have a frequent usage of *man*. In English both *one* and *they* are used frequently, but they never have the same meaning. In all languages with an imp-2 pronoun, *they* and *man* can have the same meaning. It turns out that in German, Danish and Swedish *man* is used frequently (Jensen 2009, Ragnarsdóttir and Strömqvist 2005, Zifonun 2001) and *they* is less commonly used. Thirdly, in Dutch *men* is not used as frequently as in German (Weerman 2006) and both *men* and *they* can be used. However, it always needs to be the weak form (Gruber 2013, Weerman 2006).

We can explain this as follows. Recall that the structure of *one* inlcudes a phi bundle, whereas imp-2 pronouns are underspecified. *They* presumably also has some phi features, since it agrees at least in [number] on the verb in most languages. Thus, in English all pronouns — including *one* — have ɸ- features, which means that *one* and *they* can compete; it is not the case that one pronoun is structurally lacking functional layers. As mentioned, in German, Danish and Swedish *man* is used more frequently. This pronoun also has less features than *they*, since it does not have any phi-features and therefore is preferred. Dutch seems to be an exception, since it has an imp-2 pronoun and uses *they* frequently too. However, imp-2 is used much less frequently than in German, and therefore it is not unlikely that *they* is used too. Thus it seems that *they* is only used when there is no real competition from a pronoun with less structure.

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4 An alternative and its problems

An alternative proposal to account for dedicated impersonal pronouns in Scandinavian and Romance has been made by Egerland (2003). He follows the literature in that imp-2 pronouns do not have any phi-features. However, he is not very explicit about the structure of imp-1, but he argues that they do have phi-features. First we will go over his argument for why this difference in feature make-ups can account for the semantic difference and after that we will see how his account works for the syntactic difference.

Recall from the discussion in 3.2 that Egerland assumes that generic readings are derived via an operator [GEN] (Krifka et al. 1995) on top of the pronoun, whereas existential readings are crucially derived via the absence of any features. This predicts that, since imp-2 does not have any features it can receive a generic and an existential reading. On the other hand, imp-1 can only receive a generic reading, since there is always a feature present. Imp-1 cannot get an existential reading, because this reading is derived via the absence of features. Thus this means that only imp-2 pronouns can have existential readings. However, as mentioned in 3.2 it is possible to have existential readings with pronouns with a phi-feature content.

To account for the syntactic difference, Egerland assumes that only pronouns with feature content can occur as an internal argument. Following Marantz (1984), Tenny (1987), he argues that objects have a different semantic relation with the verb than the external argument: the internal argument is the "undergoer" of the event, or "delimits" the event. Therefore, the internal argument has a closer relation to the verb than the external argument. According to Egerland, this relation needs to be evaluated at LF, to see what the exact role is of the object. This can only happen if the object has some feature content. Imp-2 pronouns do not have any features and can therefore never be evaluated. This predicts that imp-1, having a phi-feature, can occur as object and subject. On the other hand, imp-2, lacking feature content can only occur as an external argument, because it has no features to be licensed as an internal argument. Imp-2 can occur as the subject of a passive with a generic reading (see section 2.1), because [GEN] counts as enough feature content to start as an internal argument. Existential readings are still not possible with imp-2 as a subject of a passive, because there is no feature content. This claim can account for the observations from table 8 that imp-2 pronouns cannot occur as an object. However, it is not immediately clear how this specific proposal accounts for the observation that imp-2 pronouns are never grammatical in an ECM construction: the pronoun is an external argument and should in principle be grammatical. Moreover, if *einen* were truly the accusative form, it is unexpected that existential readings are not possible with this pronoun - especially since existential readings are not ruled out in ECM constructions: In German, the pronoun *wer* can be used with an existential reading, as is shown in (30)

(30) Ich habe die ganze Zeit **wen**   auf/an der Strasse arbeiten hören.   [Ger]
      I   have the whole time INDEF on   the road   work   hear
      'I heard someone work on the road.'

Thus Egerland's proposal seems to have a problem with ECM constructions if his claim is that imp-2 pronouns are restricted to being the external argument. There are some other problems with this approach. First of all, as already noted in section 3.2, it is possible to have existential readings with elements that do have (phi-)feature content. If, alternatively, there is an existential operator, the

question arises why existential readings are not possible for derived subjects, since there would be feature content (e.g. the operator), which can license the internal argument. Note that if existential readings are derived via an operator, Dutch and Swedish would not be a problem anymore, since in those languages the impersonal pronoun can have all readings as a derived subject.

Related to this, there is another problem that has to do with the operators. Egerland (2003), Cinque (1988) claim that only a generic reading is possible if the internal argument is a derived subject, and for Egerland this means that the operator 'counts' as feature content in that case. However, imp-2 can never occur as a surface object (point (iii) in table 8). Both the surface object and a derived subject start as an internal argument to the verb. The question arises why [GEN] does not license the pronoun if it ends up being a surface object, but it does license the pronoun if it ends up as a derived subject. Thus, we would expect an impersonal pronoun to behave the same in both cases.

Based on these problems, it seems that Egerland's proposal is not sufficient to account for the data. However, the empirical generalizations presented in this paper follow more straightforwardly if imp-2 pronouns are restricted by case. The pronoun is too deficient and therefore it can never project a KP layer. This implies that, nominative being the unmarked case, imp-2 pronouns cannot occur as a surface object or in ECM constructions. Moreover, it is predicted that imp-2 pronoun can occur as a derived subject, both with a generic and an existential reading.

5 Conclusion

This paper has shown that the empirical picture with regard to dedicated impersonal pronouns is more complex than previously noted in the literature. For convenience, the table with all the properties is repeated as table 10.

Table 10: Summary of properties of impersonal pronouns — Final version

Properties	Imp-1	Imp-2	
		A.	B.
(i) verbal agreement	3sg	3sg	3sg
(iia) generic inclusive reading	✓	✓	✓
(iib) existential reading, subject	*	✓	✓
(iic) existential reading, derived subject	*	*	✓
(iii) Object position	✓	*	*
(iv) ECM/AcI	✓	*	*

Imp-1 pronouns can occur in multiple syntactic positions and can receive more than just nominative case. Imp-2 pronouns can only occur with nominative case, but can have more readings. However, Danish, Norwegian and German *man* can only have an existential reading when they are nominative and when they are occupying the external argument position. To account for this, I have argued that the defective nature of imp-2 pronouns allows different readings, but the structure in (18) is too defective to receive case and therefore needs to occur with the unmarked case (i.e. nominative). The structure of the imp-1 pronouns is less defective, which always gives rise to an inclusive reading. Moreover, this structure allows a KP and therefore it is grammatical with accusative case.

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