

## On impersonals in Kashubian, Polish, and Silesian: Generic modals and [3SG] in null subject languages

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ABSTRACT

In this paper I offer data showing that Kashubian, Polish, and Silesian have a largely parallel system of impersonals with a syntactically projected subject. In the structures with agreeing verbal morphology such as (most) modal impersonals in Kashubian, the subject is nominative, implying that in these structures [CASE] is present in its projection. In the structures with default verbal morphology such as modal impersonals in Polish and Silesian, the subject is not nominative, which follows from the lack of verbal [ $\varphi$ ] in the clausal spine (and [CASE] in the projection of the subject). The discussion has implications for developing defining characterisations of null subject languages.

**KEYWORDS** impersonal constructions · modal impersonals · generic interpretation · null subject languages

### 1 INTRODUCTION

While Slavic languages in general manifest a similarly rich array of impersonal constructions (see, a.m.o., Lavine 2005, 2017; Rivero & Milojević Sheppard 2003; Kibort 2008; Siewierska 2008; Krzek 2013; Fehrmann et al. 2010; Willim 2020, 2023; Tsedryk 2022; and references therein), they show interesting points of microvariation in this respect. In this paper I investigate impersonals in the highly understudied West Slavic, Lechitic languages Kashubian (henceforth K) and Silesian (henceforth S), the former of which is used mostly in Northern Poland (Pomeranian Voivodeship) and the latter in Southern Poland (Silesian and Opole Voivodeships) and Northern Czech Republic (Moravian-Silesian Region), against the background of Polish (henceforth P).<sup>1</sup> Even though there is a significant overlap in the K, P, and S systems of impersonals, there are also some differences, as revealed by corpus and native speaker judgment data.<sup>2</sup>

As summarised in Table 1 on the next page, all three systems have the generic structures with SE, 1PL and 2SG subjects, the *człowiek* ‘human’ NP subject, arbitrary PRO infinitivals, as well as inflectionally defective modal generic impersonals, though, importantly, the K equivalents of most P and S defective modals are rendered with inflected 3SG forms. All systems also have the 3PL arbitrary impersonals and P and S,

<sup>1</sup>In the Polish 2021 Census, 87 600 and 457 900 speakers declared K and S respectively as the main language used at home (although some research shows a much bigger number for K, see Rogowska-Cybulska & Cybulska 2011 and references therein; I have not been able to find information on the number of speakers in the Czech Republic). K is classified as severely endangered in the *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (Salminen 2010) and has the official status of a regional language, while S is excluded from consideration in the *Atlas* and lacks an official status of its own (it is usually considered a Polish dialect).

<sup>2</sup>Small K and S corpora of authentic native speaker texts of different genres (blog, newspaper column, news, literary fiction, Facebook entries), consisting of 80 Kashubian and 80 Silesian texts of approximately 300 words each have been assembled by Ruda et al. (2022a) and Ruda et al. (2022b). When corpus examples are provided below, the file name refers to the corpus file from which the example has been extracted, available on the OSF platform (<https://osf.io/q49y6> and <https://osf.io/ypw4v>).

The native speaker judgments were offered by Marika Jocz (K) and Bartłomiej Wanot (S).

but not K, have the so-called *-no/to* impersonals (see Jocz et al. 2022 for some additional descriptive remarks and corpus examples).<sup>3</sup>

SUBJ		NOM	NON-NOM
<i>arb</i>	3PL	K, P, S	
	<i>-no/to</i>		P, S
<i>gen</i>	SE		K, P, S
	1PL	K, P, S	
	2SG	K, P, S	
	<i>człowiek</i> ‘human’	K, P, S	
	PRO <sub>arb</sub>		K, P, S
	defective modals		K, P, S
	3SG modals	K	

Table 1: Kashubian, Polish, and Silesian impersonals

Evidence for the subject-based and [CASE]-based classifications shown in Table 1 is provided in Appendix A. Against this background, the main analytical focus of this paper is on impersonals built around defective/3SG modals (see section 2), which have received little attention in the existing theoretical literature and which pose some intriguing questions in the context of generalisations made in relation to the consistent vs. partial null subject language distinctions, as I point out in section 3. §4 concludes the main part of this paper, which is followed by two appendices offering data which support the theoretical conclusions and which seem important to include here due to the poverty of relevant previous discussions of K and S (see Treder 2006, 27, 97–98, 128, Makurat 2014, 123–125 and Treder 2014, 201 for K and the examples of S impersonals in Wyderka 2019, 408). Accordingly, the focus here is largely empirical, though the data have some clear implications for theoretical approaches to null subjects, the treatment of generic impersonals forming an important component of this research area (see Holmberg 2005, 2010; Barbosa 2011a,b, 2019; Cognola & Casalicchio 2018; Roberts 2019; Willim 2023; and references therein).

## 2 CLOSER LOOK AT MODAL IMPERSONALS

In P and S, modals such as *można* ‘allowed.to/can’, *należy* ‘should’, and *trzeba* ‘ought.to’ do not inflect for the subject [ $\varphi$ ]:

- (1) Tu nie można palić.  
 here not may smoke  
 ‘One may not smoke here.’ [P]
- (2) Sam ńy można kurzić.  
 here not may smoke  
 ‘One may not smoke here.’ [S]

Their past tense forms (in some cases expressed directly on the modal and in some requiring an auxiliary) bear (default) 3 person singular neuter agreement:

- (3) Tu nie należało palić.  
 here not should.3SG.N smoke  
 ‘One was not allowed to smoke here.’ [P]

<sup>3</sup>The reasons for the absence of *-no/to* impersonals in K remain to be explored, with one possible lead suggested by a reviewer being the development of a compound tense with the auxiliary *have* and the *n/t*-participle in K (see Migdalski 2006).

- (4) Sam *ńy* *noleżało* (*buło*) *kurzić*.  
 here not should.3SG.N be.3SG.N smoke  
 ‘One was not allowed to smoke here.’ [S]
- (5) Tu *nie można było* *palić*.  
 here not may be.3SG.N smoke  
 ‘One could not smoke here.’ [P]
- (6) Sam *ńy* *można buło* *kurzić*.  
 here not may be.3SG.N smoke  
 ‘One could not smoke here.’ [S]

Most equivalent modals in K surface in 3SG in the present (where gender is in general not reflected on V in K/P/S), and in 3SG.M in the past, as in (7).<sup>4</sup> This is not unexpected, as K has been noted to make the generic reading available with 3SG subjects more broadly (e.g. *Jak przez las jidze, to wiele grzębów może znaleźć* ‘when through forest walks.3SG then many mushrooms can.3SG find’ ‘When one walks..., one can find...’, based on Lorentz 1927–1937, 1165), though this use with non-modals is reported to be archaic by native speakers (Marika Jocz, personal communication).

- (7) a. Tu *ni może* *palęc*.  
 here not may.3SG smoke  
 ‘One may not smoke here.’  
 b. Tu *ni mógł* *palęc*.  
 here not may.3SG.M smoke  
 ‘One could not smoke here.’ [K]

As the examples in (8)–(10) illustrate, reflexive binding is available in these structures, implying that the subject is syntactically projected here.<sup>5</sup>

- (8) *Trzeba szanować swoich współpracowników*.  
 ought.to respect self’s collaborators  
 ‘One ought to respect one’s collaborators.’ [P]
- (9) *Trza mjęc zoca do swoich spółrobotników*.  
 ought.to have respect to self’s collaborators  
 ‘One ought to respect one’s collaborators.’ [S]
- (10) *Muszi szónowac swòjich sąsódów*.  
 ought.to.3SG respect self’s neighbours  
 ‘One ought to respect one’s neighbours.’ [K]

Furthermore, as Witkoś (2010) shows for P, the value of [CASE] of the subject can be tested with predicative adjectives and the semi-predicate *sam* ‘alone’, both of which agree in [CASE] with the subject, or otherwise bear default instrumental or dative [CASE] respectively:

- (11) a. Jan *jest teraz pijany* / ??*pijanym*.  
 Jan.NOM is now drunk.NOM drunk.INSTR  
 ‘Jan is drunk now’  
 b. Jan *jest w pokoju sam* / ??*samemu*.  
 Jan.NOM is in room alone.NOM alone.DAT

<sup>4</sup>See Migdalski (2006) for some discussion of K modal structures in personal contexts.

<sup>5</sup>A parallel modal structure exists in K (see (i)), but it needs to be noted that defective modals are much less natural and much less common than inflected modals in the language (Marika Jocz, personal communication).

- (i) *Trzeba szónowac swòjich wespółrobotników*.  
 ought.to respect self’s collaborators  
 ‘One ought to respect one’s collaborators.’ [K]

'Jan is alone in the room.' [P]

Unsurprisingly, subjects of infinitival clauses are diagnosed as non-nominative (see (12)), suggesting that they bear unvalued [CASE] or lack this feature entirely (Witkoś 2010).

- (12) a. [PRO Wracać trzeźwym / \*trzeźwy w urodziny szefa] to wielka  
return sober.INSTR sober.NOM on birthday boss TO great  
sztuka.  
skill  
'To come back home sober on boss's birthday is a great skill'
- b. [PRO Zreperować radio samemu / \*sam] to żadna sztuka.  
repair radio alone.DAT alone.NOM TO no problem  
'To repair a radio alone is no problem.' [P]

Applying these tests to modal impersonals in K/P/S yields the [NOM] result for the inflected modals in K, but not for the defective modals in P and S:<sup>6</sup>

- (13) a. Za kierownicę trzeba siadać \*trzeźwy / \*trzeźwi.  
behind wheel ought.to sit sober.SG.M.NOM sober.PL.M.NOM  
*Intended:* 'One ought to sit behind the wheel sober.'
- b. Taki sprzęt trzeba naprawiać \*sam / \*sami.  
such equipment ought.to fix alone.SG.M.NOM alone.PL.M.NOM  
*Intended:* 'One ought to fix such equipment on one's own.' [P]
- (14) a. Za linkera trza sódac \*trzeźwy / \*trzeźwi.  
behind wheel ought.to sit sober.SG.M.NOM sober.PL.M.NOM  
*Intended:* 'One ought to sit behind the wheel sober.'
- b. Taki werkcojg trza bajstlować \*sùm / \*sami.  
such equipment ought.to fix alone.SG.M.NOM alone.PL.M.NOM  
*Intended:* 'One ought to fix such equipment on one's own.' [S]
- (15) a. Za czerownicã mùszi sadac trzézwi.  
behind wheel must.3SG sit sober.SG.M.NOM  
'One must/ought to sit behind the wheel sober.'

<sup>6</sup>To the extent that it is available (see footnote 5), the K defective modal structure parallels the P and S data, as in (i).

- (i) a. Za czerownicã trzeba sadac \*trzézwi.  
behind wheel ought.to sit sober.SG/PL.M.NOM  
*Intended:* 'One ought to sit behind the wheel sober.'
- b. Taczì sprzãt trzeba naprawiac \*sóm / \*sami.  
such equipment ought.to fix alone.SG.M.NOM alone.PL.M.NOM  
*Intended:* 'One ought to fix such equipment on one's own.' [K]

In this connection, a reviewer points out an interesting difference between the impersonal subject and non-nominative subjects such as dative experiencers in P: while the former requires a reflexive possessive in structures such as (8) in the main text, the latter are compatible both with reflexive and with pronominal possessives (also marginally acceptable to some native speakers even with nominative subjects, according to the reviewer):

- (ii) \*Trzeba szanować jego / ich współpracowników.  
ought.to respect his their collaborators  
*Intended:* 'One ought to respect one's collaborators.'  
*The only possible interpretation:* 'One ought to respect his/their collaborators.' [P]
- (iii) Tomkowi było żal swoich / jego współpracowników.  
Tomek.DAT was.3SG.N pity self's his collaborators  
'Tomek felt pity for his (own) collaborators.' [P]

While beyond the present scope, this pattern has potential to inform future research on the nature of binding in Slavic languages.

- b. Taczi sprzāt m̀szi ùprawiac s̀m.  
 such equipment must.3SG fix alone.SG.M.NOM  
 ‘One must/ought to fix such equipment on one’s own.’ [K]

Adopting the analysis on which the impersonal subject is represented as a minimal *nP* pronoun (cf. Ruda 2014 for the Polish *-no/to* impersonal, Tsedryk 2022 for some of the East Slavic impersonals, and Willim 2023 for the Polish *SE* and *-no/to* impersonals; see also Barbosa 2019 for some relevant discussion), I suggest that the difference between P and S on the one hand and K on the other lies first and foremost in the absence vs. presence of  $\varphi$ -features on verbal heads in the clausal spine, resulting in defective (non-agreeing) vs. inflected (agreeing) forms. In other words, the defectiveness of the relevant modals in P and S lies in the defectiveness of T which selects them (as well as the defectiveness of Asp on the assumption that subject-verb agreement features in K/P/S are split into {[PERSON, NUMBER]} on T and {[NUMBER, GENDER]} on Asp, as suggested by verbal morphology, realising person/number and number/gender features as separate fusional morphemes, as in *przyszł-a-m* ‘came-SG.F-1SG’).

As far as the feature content of *n* is concerned, the agreement features observed on the 3SG(.M) modals in K suggest that *n* in this case contains number and gender features in addition to [CASE], that is [NUM:SG] and [GEN:M] (though see Willim’s 2023 analysis of P for an alternative). Diagnosing the presence and values of these features in the defective modal structures turns out to be a complex matter. In principle, a way to diagnose the features of the subject could be by reference to the features of the reflexive bound by the subject. While the morphological shape of the reflexive itself does not change in reference to the features of the subject, its  $\varphi$ -features are manifested on an adjectival intensifier modifying the reflexive, as in (16), where the feminine subject enforces a feminine intensifier and the masculine subject enforces a masculine intensifier.

- (16) a. Anna powinna szanować siebie samą / \*samego.  
 Anna.SG.F.NOM should respect self alone.SG.F alone.SG.M  
 ‘Anna should respect herself.’  
 b. Robert powinien szanować siebie \*samą / samego.  
 Robert.SG.M.NOM should respect self alone.SG.F alone.SG.M  
 ‘Robert should respect himself.’ [P]

In the maximally inclusive, context-neutral generic reading, the intensifier modifying the reflexive bound by the impersonal subject in P and S is masculine (see (17)). Using a feminine form of the intensifier is possible in the modal structures when only female individuals are included in the interpretation of the impersonal subject (see (18)).

- (17) a. Trzeba szanować siebie samego.  
 ought.to respect self alone.SG.M  
 ‘One ought to respect oneself.’ [P]  
 b. Trza mjeć zoca do samego śebje.  
 ought.to have respect to alone.SG.M self  
 ‘One ought to respect oneself.’ [S]  
 (18) a. Trzeba szanować siebie samą.  
 ought.to respect self alone.SG.F  
 ‘One ought to respect herself.’ [P]  
 b. Trza mjeć zoca do samyj śebje.  
 ought.to have respect to alone.SG.M self  
 ‘One ought to respect herself.’ [S]

The data thus seem to suggest that the impersonal subject also in P and S (usually) bears the features [NUM:SG, GEN:M], this feature set being reflected on the intensifiers in the maximally inclusive reading in (17). However, an interesting complication here is that the features of the reflexive can in principle be valued independently of the features of the

impersonal subject, as revealed by data from K. Namely, even when the set of referents is clearly restricted to female individuals (see (19)) and the intensifier of the reflexive is feminine (see (20)), the modal still needs to surface in the masculine form, suggesting that the impersonal subject is masculine regardless of the broader context. The example in (20) thus shows that the reflexive does not need to share the grammatical  $\phi$ -features of the subject.<sup>7</sup>

- (19) Tuwò ni mógl karmic piersą.  
 here not could.SG.M feed breast  
 ‘One could not breastfeed here.’ [K]
- (20) (Jò sã wczora dowiedza), że na mammografiã mógl zapisac le  
 I SE yesterday found.out that on mammography could.SG.M sign.up PRT  
 samą siebie.  
 alone.SG.F self  
 ‘(I found out yesterday) that one could sign up only herself for  
 mammography.’ [K]

The conclusion that the  $\phi$ -features of the reflexive can in some cases mismatch the grammatical features of the subject is also supported by data from Polish, in which some nouns denoting female individuals are grammatically masculine or neuter (see Willim 2012 for discussion). When such nouns are used in contexts parallel to (20), the intensifier can also surface with feminine inflection, as in (21).

- (21) a. Ten babsztyl mógl na mammografię zapisać siebie  
 this horrid.woman.SG.M could.SG.M on mammography sign.up self  
 samą.  
 alone.SG.F
- b. To babsko mogło na mammografię zapisać siebie  
 this horrid.woman.SG.N could.SG.N on mammography sign.up self  
 samą.  
 alone.SG.F  
 ‘This horrid woman/old cow could sign herself up for mammography.’ [P]

On the one hand, this shows that the features of the reflexive are not a bulletproof diagnostic for the grammatical features of the subject.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, it indicates that the impersonal pronoun can always be masculine, and, just as the masculine and neuter on the female-denoting nouns are uninterpretable in (21), masculine on the impersonal pronoun can be taken to be uninterpretable, which explains its gender-neutrality and compatibility with the most inclusive generic reading.<sup>9</sup> This is in line with what is observed in general with respect to gender marking in K/P/S, where masculine forms do not necessarily restrict sets of referents to male individuals, in contrast to feminine forms, which pick out sets of females, as the examples in (22)–(23) illustrate.

- (22) Anna jest nauczycielem/ nauczycielką.  
 Anna.SG.F is teacher.SG.M teacher.SG.F  
 ‘Anna is a teacher/female teacher.’ [P]
- (23) a. Szanujemy tylko jednego nauczyciela w tej szkole i jest nim  
 respect.1PL only one.SG.M teacher.SG.M in this school and is him

<sup>7</sup>I am grateful to Professor Wayles Browne for raising this issue.

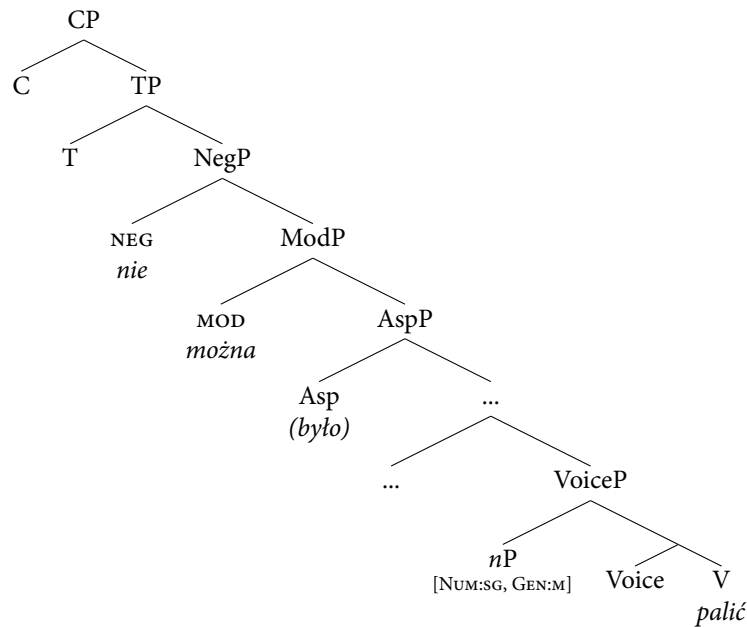
<sup>8</sup>I leave it for future research to determine the exact mechanics of [ $\phi$ ] valuation on the reflexive.

<sup>9</sup>Another possibility is that the impersonal subject in P and S (though not in K, where verbal agreement marking reflects its features) could have unspecified or missing not only [CASE], but also [NUMBER] and [GENDER]. In other words, if the features of the reflexive do not rely on the impersonal subject for valuation, the presence of the reflexive does not enforce the presence of  $\phi$ -feature values on the subject. See also Willim (2023) for a relevant discussion of P.

- Anna/ Robert.  
 Anna.SG.F Robert.SG.M  
 ‘We respect only one teacher in this school and that is Anna/Robert.’
- b. Szanujemy tylko jedną nauczycielkę w tej szkole i jest nią  
 respect.1PL only one.SG.F teacher.SG.F in this school and is her  
 Anna/ #Robert.  
 Anna.SG.F Robert.SG.M  
 ‘We respect only one female teacher in this school and that is Anna/  
 #Robert.’ [P]

In sum, whether the impersonal subject has valued  $\phi$ -features or not, it lacks [CASE] (value) in P and S, as revealed by the data offered in (13)–(14) above. Even if present, [CASE] on  $n$  could not be valued, as there are no probes in the clausal spine which could initiate Agree valuing the subject  $nP$  as [NOM]. Default 3SG.N is thus the only form which can arise at the PF interface interpreting representations such as (24) in P and S, where the variable introduced by  $n$  is further taken to be bound by the Gen operator at the CI interface.

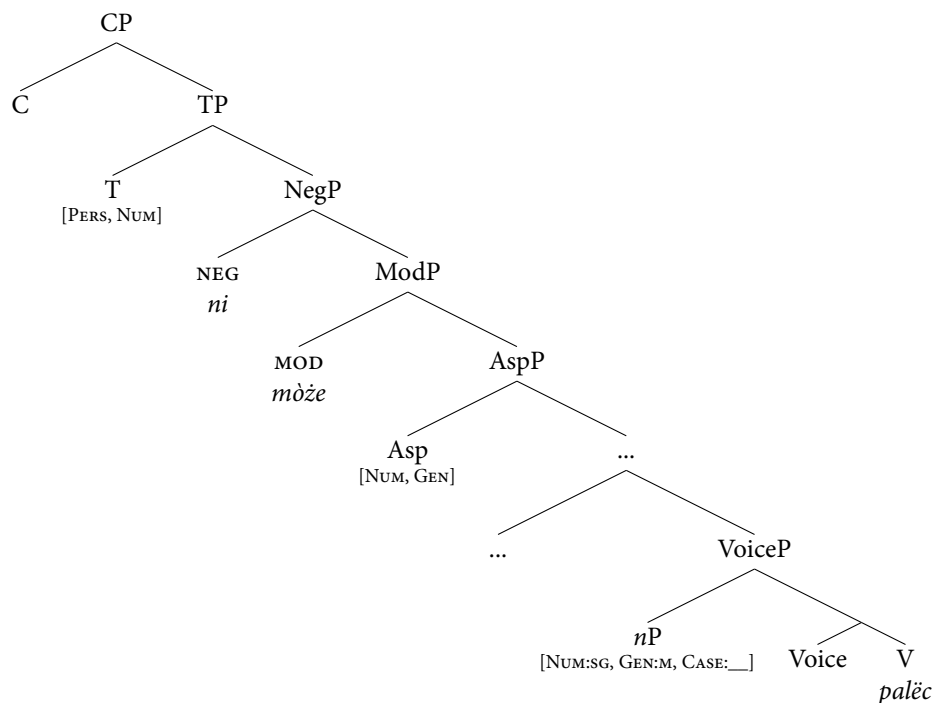
(24) *P and S modal impersonals*<sup>10</sup>



On the other hand, as the clausal spine contains  $\phi$ -probes in the impersonal structure in K and the subject  $nP$  bears [CASE], making it an active goal for Agree (Chomsky 2001), the representation parallels personal constructions and is realised with an agreeing verb form, the unvalued [NUM] and [GEN] features on T and Asp being valued by the  $nP$  goal. As the [PERS] feature is absent from the projection of the impersonal subject, [PERS] in T can either be taken to be valued by default as [3], or it can be assumed that T comes with the [PERS] feature already valued (see §3 for more discussion). This proposal is summarised in the representation in (25).

(25) *K modal impersonals*

<sup>10</sup>There being no evidence to the contrary, the [NUMBER] and [GENDER] features are represented as present on the subject  $nP$  here, bearing in mind that future research may show that they are in fact absent (see footnote 9). The unrepresented part of the structure (...) in the representations is added to make them neutral between a bi-clausal and a mono-clausal analysis, evidence to adjudicate between them still remaining to be found.



The maximally similar derivations for K, P, and S capture the semantic identity of the structures in the three systems, with the only difference being in the absence or presence of the verbal  $\phi$ -features, which accounts for the formal difference in the agreement properties observed.

### 3 3SG IMPERSONALS AND NULL SUBJECT LANGUAGES

The K/P/S data are interesting to consider in the context of the discussions of generic impersonals from the broader perspective of the properties of null subjects in *pro*-drop languages (see Holmberg 2005, 2010; Barbosa 2011a,b, 2019; Cognola & Casalicchio 2018; Roberts 2019; Willim 2023; and references therein). In particular, even though it has become clear over the years that a variety of factors may condition *pro*-drop both within a language and cross-linguistically, it is possible to isolate at least four typological patterns of null subject languages (Barbosa 2019, 487–488):

- (26) Null subject (*pro*-drop) languages
- a. Consistent null subject languages: languages with rich subject agreement morphology, such as Italian, Greek, among others; subjects are freely dropped under the appropriate discourse conditions.
  - b. Partial null subject languages: languages with agreement and referential null subjects whose distribution is restricted, such as Hebrew, Finnish, Russian, Brazilian Portuguese.
  - c. Semi-*pro*-drop languages: languages that only have impersonal and quasi-argumental null subjects (Icelandic, Faroese, a range of creoles).
  - d. Discourse *pro*-drop languages: languages that lack agreement, such as Chinese, Japanese and Korean. These have been described as allowing any argument to be dropped, not just subjects.

The most important features used to distinguish consistent null subject languages (CNSLs) from the other types include the ones in (27) (see Holmberg 2005; Roberts 2010; Roberts & Holmberg 2010; Barbosa 2011a,b, 2019; Cognola & Casalicchio 2018; Roberts 2019).

- (27) Distinguishing features of CNSLs (based on previous literature)



- a. grammatically unconstrained null subjects of all person/number/gender combinations
- b. 'rich' subject-verb agreement morphology
- c. free subject inversion
- d. lack of the *that*-trace effect
- e. association of overt subject pronouns exclusively with information-structurally marked interpretations
- f. the unavailability of 3SG indefinite/arbitrary/generic null subjects.

The final property is especially interesting in the present context and, more specifically, it follows from the observation that 3SG null subjects/3SG verbal inflection in CNSLs seem incompatible with the generic (speaker- and hearer-inclusive) reading in the absence of additional overt morphological marking such as SE, an observation most recently lifted to the status of a generalisation in Roberts (2019, 255), referred to as Holmberg's Other Generalisation (HOG).<sup>11</sup>

Structures with modals of the type discussed here have not been considered in this context. While this issue requires further research (especially with respect to K and S, whose *pro*-drop properties are only now being investigated, tentatively pointing in the CNSL direction, see footnote 11), data from P (a CNSL, see Franks 1995; Barbosa 2019; Roberts 2019) clearly show that the key to the generic null subject/CNSL correlation cannot lie in the requirement for additional overt morphology and/or the subject being 3SG and/or the verb form being 3SG per se, as default 3SG marking on the verb does not block the generic reading in the modal structures in P and S despite the lack of SE in this construction. Still, HOG remains a puzzle to be explained, even if it needs to be reconceptualised, as agreeing 3SG contexts such as (28) clearly do not allow the generic reading in P.

- (28) Tu nie może palić.  
 here not may.3SG smoke  
 'He/She may not smoke here.' [P]

Here, unlike what we observe in defective modal structures, an agreeing (non-default) 3SG form is incompatible with the generic reading (in the out-of-the-blue context).<sup>12</sup> Barbosa (2019) proposes to explain data of this type by adopting the Distributed Morphology decomposition of the 3 person feature into  $[-1, -2]$ , which implies the exclusion of the speaker and the addressee when the feature is interpretable. The difference between defective and agreeing forms in P and S can thus be viewed in terms of the absence vs.

<sup>11</sup> According to Roberts (2019, 255) only definite interpretation is available with 3SG verb forms in CNSLs. Ruda (2022) shows that this does not hold of Polish even in personal contexts.

Some discussion of K and S data in light of the properties in (27-a–d) is offered in Ruda & Huang (submitted.i), who show, that, with some caveats, these languages pattern with CNSLs. The property in (27-e) is not always enforced even in Polish and its addition to the list may require serious reconsideration, as it is not a strictly grammatical feature, unlike the first four (Ruda & Huang in progress).

<sup>12</sup> Agreeing 3SG forms can have the generic reading when context makes clear that the reference of the null subject is to be recovered based on a previous occurrence of an NP such as *człowiek* 'human', as in (i).

- (i) Człowiek może tu dobrze odpocząć. Nie może tu jednak palić.  
 human may.3SG here well rest not may.3SG here though smoke  
 'One can rest well here. One may not smoke here though.' [P]

A string of this type with the SE impersonal instead of the generic *człowiek* 'human' structure is not acceptable with the 3SG verb form and requires the defective modal structure instead:

- (ii) Tu przychodzi się dobrze odpocząć. Nie #może/ można tu jednak palić.  
 here come.3SG SE well rest not may.3SG may here though smoke  
 'One comes here to rest well. He/she/one may not smoke here though.' [P]

presence of interpretable 3 person feature in T (Barbosa 2019 takes agreement features in T to be interpretable in CNSLs) in line with the analysis offered in §2, according to which defective modals are selected by a defective T, which lacks [ $\varphi$ ] and therefore does not participate in subject-verb agreement. With no interpretable person feature in the derivation, there is no participant-related restriction in the defective modal structure that would trigger incompatibility with the generic interpretation at the conceptual-intentional (CI) interface.

While exploring the broader consequences of the above suggestions needs to be left for future research, I would like to end the discussion here by adding K into this picture. In particular, if K can be classified as a CNSL, the correlation between agreeing 3SG forms and generic interpretation will turn out not to be universal even in its revised form, modal impersonals in K bearing 3SG(.M) inflection and featuring a nominative subject, as revealed by the tests applied in §2. That this may be the case is suggested by K corpus data (Ruda et al. 2022a; see Appendix B for some examples), which show that null subjects not only in P, but also in K and S are not restricted in any of the ways reported for partial null subject languages, that is they are available in matrix and embedded clauses with all person/number/gender and tense/aspect/mood combinations (though overt pronouns may in some environments also be used with no clear difference in meaning, which may suggest that overt pronoun use is not a good diagnostic of null subjecthood types, see also footnote 11). A way to incorporate K into the analysis suggested for P (and S, which behaves similarly in the relevant respects) is to assume that 3 person in T can be either interpretable or uninterpretable in K, where in the latter case it does not block the generic reading of the impersonal subject.

#### 4 CONCLUSIONS

In sum, the empirical research presented here has shown that K, P, and S have a largely parallel system of impersonals with a syntactically projected subject (see Table 1). In the structures with agreeing (non-default) verbal morphology, the subject has been diagnosed as nominative, implying that in these structures [CASE] is present in the projection of the subject. In the structures with default verbal morphology, the subject is not nominative, which follows from the lack of verbal [ $\varphi$ ] in the clausal spine (and [CASE] in the projection of the subject). Modal impersonals in K (mostly) represent the former option. Modal impersonals in P and S represent the latter option. From a broader theoretical perspective the discussion has led to reconsidering the nature of Holmberg's Other Generalisation, linking it to the presence of an interpretable 3 person feature in the derivation rather than to overt morphological marking, which supports Barbosa's (2019) approach.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ARB	arbitrary	N	neuter
CI	conceptual-intentional	NOM	nominative
CNSL	consistent null subject language	NUM	Number
COND	conditional	N	neuter
F	feminine	P	Polish
DAT	dative	P	perfective
GEN	genitive	PERS	Person
GEN	gender	PL	plural
HOG	Holmberg's Other Generalisation	PRT	particle
I	imperfective	S	Silesian
IMP	imperative	SG	singular
INSTR	instrumental	SUBJU	subjunctive
K	Kashubian	SUBJ	subject
M	masculine		

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#### **APPENDIX A: THE SYNTACTIC PRESENCE AND [CASE] OF THE SUBJECT IN THE IMPERSONALS IN TABLE 1**

The syntactic presence and features of the subject can be diagnosed in K/P/S by the availability of (strictly subject-oriented) reflexive binding. Reflexive binding by the impersonal subject is available in all impersonal structures enumerated in Table 1.

- 3PL
- |      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| (29) | Tutaj szanują swoich współpracowników.<br>here respect.3PL self's collaborators<br>‘They respect their collaborators here.’           | [P] |
| (30) | Tuwò szónëją swòjich wëspòłrobòtników.<br>here respect.3PL self's collaborators<br>‘They respect their collaborators here.’           | [K] |
| (31) | Sam majùm zoca do swoich spùłrobotników.<br>here have.3PL respect to self's collaborators<br>‘They respect their collaborators here.’ | [S] |
- -no/to

- (32) Szanowano swoich współpracowników.  
respected.NO/TO self's collaborators  
'They respected their collaborators.' [P]
- (33) Mjano (bùło) zoca do swoich spùprocownikùw.  
had.NO/TO was respect to self's collaborators  
'They respected their collaborators.'<sup>13</sup> [S]
- SE
- (34) Szanuje się swoich współpracowników.  
respect.3SG SE self's collaborators  
'One respects one's collaborators.' [P]
- (35) Szónëje sã swòich wëspółrobòtników.  
respect.3SG SE self's collaborators  
'One respects one's collaborators.' [K]
- (36) Mo še zoca do swoich spùrobotnikùw.  
have.3SG SE respect to self's collaborators  
'One respects one's collaborators.' [S]
- 1PL
- (37) W Polsce coraz więcej wydajemy na swoje zdrowie.  
in Poland increasingly more spend.1PL on self's health  
'In Poland we are spending more and more on our health.' [P]
- (38) W Pòlsce coròz wiący wëdówómë na swòje zdrowié.  
in Poland increasingly more spend.1PL on self's health  
'In Poland we are spending more and more on our health.' [K]
- (39) We Polsce coroz to wjyncyj udowùmy na swoje zdrowje.  
in Poland increasingly PRT more spend.1PL on self's health  
'In Poland we are spending more and more on our health.' [S]
- 2SG
- (40) Jak chcesz chodzić zimą po górach, musisz mieć swoje  
if want.to.2SG walk winter through mountains have.to.2SG have self's  
raki.  
crampons  
'If you want to hike in the mountains in winter, you have to have your own  
crampons.' [P]
- (41) Czej chcesz chòdzëc òb zëmã pò górach, to mùszisz  
if want.to.2SG walk in winter through mountains then have.to.2SG  
mieć swòje raczi.  
have self's crampons  
'If you want to hike in the mountains in winter, you have to have your own  
crampons.' [K]
- (42) Kej chcesz bez zima łązić po gùrach, mùszisz mjeć swoje  
if want.to.2SG in winter walk through mountains have.to.2SG have self's  
raki.  
crampons  
'If you want to hike in the mountains in winter, you have to have your own  
crampons.' [S]
- *człowiek* 'human': no test needed, the overt NP is clearly present in the syntax
- (43) Jak człowiek nie śpi wystarczająco, to traci odporność.  
when human.NOM not sleep.3SG enough then lose.3SG immunity  
'When one does not sleep enough, one loses immunity.' [P]
- (44) Czej człowiek przed dwierzama stònie i zazdrzi do górë,  
when human.NOM before door stand.3SG and look up

<sup>13</sup>The auxiliary BE is used in the *-no/to* structure in older Silesian texts, but can be omitted nowadays (see Jocz et al. 2022 for some more examples).

zarô czëje sã taczi malinczi.  
 immediately feel.3SG SE so small  
 ‘When one stands in front of the door and looks up, one immediately feels so small.’ [K, file: k21.txt]

- (45) *Przi kôždych kolyjnych ôkrôngłych gyburtstakach czowiek sie*  
 by each next round birthday human.NOM SE  
*zastanawio nad tym, co bôło i wiela nôm ôstało.*  
 wanted.3SG on this what was and how.many us left  
 ‘With each next big birthday one wonders about what happened and how many they have left.’ [S, file: s64.txt]

• PRO<sub>arb</sub>

- (46) *Bardzo miło jest [obserwować swoje dorastające dzieci].*  
 very nice is watch self’s growing.up children  
 ‘It is very nice to watch one’s children growing up.’ [P]
- (47) *To je fejn [zdrzec na swòje dorôstające dzecë].*  
 this is nice watch on self’s growing.up children  
 ‘It is nice to watch one’s children growing up.’ [K]
- (48) *Fest mjoyło je [dziwać še na swoich bajtli dorostać].*  
 very nice is watch SE on self’s children grow.up  
 ‘It is very nice to watch one’s children growing up.’ [S]

In sum, the data support the hypothesis that the subject is present in the syntactic representations of the impersonal structures which are the focus here. Applying the tests for the [CASE] value to K/P/S impersonals (see §2) yields the results summarised in Table 1.

• 3PL

- (49) a. *Tutaj zawsze wracają z pracy trzeźwi.*  
 here always return.3PL from work sober.NOM  
 ‘Here they always return from work sober.’  
 b. *Tutaj zawsze naprawiają sprzęty sami.*  
 here always fix.3PL equipment alone.NOM  
 ‘Here they always fix equipment on their own.’ [P]
- (50) a. *Tuwò wiedno wrócą z robôtë trzeźwi.*  
 here always return.3PL from work sober.NOM  
 ‘Here they always return from work sober.’  
 b. *Tuwò wiedno naprówiają sprzâtë sami.*  
 here always fix.3PL equipment alone.NOM  
 ‘Here they always fix equipment on their own.’ [K]
- (51) a. *Sam zowdy wrocąjùm z roboty trzyźwi.*  
 here always return.3PL from work sober.NOM  
 ‘Here they always return from work sober.’  
 b. *Sam zowdy bajstlujùm werkcojg sami.*  
 here always fix.3PL equipment alone.NOM  
 ‘Here they always fix equipment on their own.’ [S]

• -no/to

- (52) a. *Zawsze wracano z pracy \*trzeźwy/ \*trzeźwi.*  
 always returned.NO/TO from work sober.SG.M.NOM sober.PL.M.NOM  
*Intended:* ‘They always returned from work sober.’  
 b. *Zawsze naprawiano sprzęty \*sam/ \*sami.*  
 always fix.NO/TO equipment alone.SG.M.NOM alone.PL.M.NOM  
*Intended:* ‘They always fixed equipment on their own.’ [P]
- (53) a. *Zowdy wrocano (bùło) ze roboty \*trzyźwy/*  
 always returned.NO/TO was.SG.N from work sober.SG.M.NOM  
*\*trzyźwi.*  
 sober.PL.M.NOM

- Intended:* ‘They always returned from work sober.’
- b. Zowdy bajstlowano (bùło) werkcojg \*sùm/  
 always fix.NO/TO was.SG.N equipment alone.SG.M.NOM  
 \*sami.  
 alone.PL.M.NOM  
*Intended:* ‘They always fixed equipment on their own.’ [S]
- SE
- (54) a. Za kierownicę siada się \*trzeźwy/ \*trzeźwi.  
 behind wheel sit.3SG SE sober.SG.M.NOM sober.PL.M.NOM  
*Intended:* ‘One sits behind the wheel sober.’
- b. Taki sprzęt naprawia się \*sam/ \*sami.  
 such equipment fix.3SG SE alone.SG.M.NOM alone.PL.M.NOM  
*Intended:* ‘One fixes such equipment on one’s own.’ [P]
- (55) a. Za czerownicã sòdò sã \*trzeźwi.  
 behind wheel sit.3SG SE sober.SG/PL.M.NOM  
*Intended:* ‘One sits behind the wheel sober.’
- b. Taczì sprzãt napròwiò sã \*sóm/ \*sami.  
 such equipment fix.3SG SE alone.SG.M.NOM alone.PL.M.NOM  
*Intended:* ‘One fixes such equipment on one’s own.’ [K]
- (56) a. Za linkera sòdo se \*trzeźwy/ \*trzeźwi.  
 behind wheel sit.3SG SE sober.SG.M.NOM sober.PL.M.NOM  
*Intended:* ‘One sits behind the wheel sober.’
- b. Taki werkcojg bajstluje se \*sùm/ \*sami.  
 such equipment fix.3SG SE alone.SG.M.NOM alone.PL.M.NOM  
*Intended:* ‘One fixes such equipment on one’s own.’ [S]
- 1PL
- (57) a. Za kierownicę siadamy trzeźwi.  
 behind wheel sit.1PL sober.PL.M.NOM  
 ‘We sit behind the wheel sober.’
- b. Taki sprzęt naprawiamy sami.  
 such equipment fix.1PL alone.PL.M.NOM  
 ‘We fix such equipment on our own.’ [P]
- (58) a. Za czerownicã sòdómë trzeźwi.  
 behind wheel sit.1PL sober.PL.M.NOM  
 ‘We sit behind the wheel sober.’
- b. Taczì sprzãt napròwiómë sami.  
 such equipment fix.1PL alone.PL.M.NOM  
 ‘We fix such equipment on our own.’ [K]
- (59) a. Za linkera sòdũmy trzeźwi.  
 behind wheel sit.1PL sober.PL.M.NOM  
 ‘We sit behind the wheel sober.’
- b. Taki werkcojg bajstlujemy sami.  
 such equipment fix.1PL alone.PL.M.NOM  
 ‘We fix such equipment on our own.’ [S]
- 2SG
- (60) a. Jak nie chcesz mieć kłopotów, to wracasz z pracy  
 if not want.2SG have troubles then return.2SG from work  
 trzeźwy.  
 sober.SG.M.NOM  
 ‘If you don’t want to be in trouble, you return from work sober.’
- b. Jak nie chcesz mieć kłopotów, to naprawiasz wszystko  
 if not want.2SG have troubles then fix.2SG everything  
 sam.  
 alone.SG.M.NOM



- (61) a. 'If you don't want to be in trouble, you fix everything on your own.' [P]  
 Czej nie chcesz mieć jiwrów, to wrócós z robòtë  
 if not want.2SG have troubles then return.2SG from work  
 trézwi.  
 sober.SG.M.NOM  
 'If you don't want to be in trouble, you return from work sober.'  
 b. Czej nie chcesz mieć jiwrów, to naprówiósz wszëtkò  
 if not want.2SG have troubles then fix.2SG everything  
 sóm.  
 alone.SG.M.NOM
- (62) a. 'If you don't want to be in trouble, you fix everything on your own.' [K]  
 Kej ný chcesz mjeć utropów, to wrocós z roboty  
 if not want.2SG have troubles then return.2SG from work  
 trzyżwy.  
 sober.SG.M.NOM  
 'If you don't want to be in trouble, you return from work sober.'  
 b. Kej ný chcesz mjeć utropów, to bajstlujesz wszyjsko  
 if not want.2SG have troubles then fix.2SG everything  
 sóm.  
 alone.SG.M.NOM  
 'If you don't want to be in trouble, you fix everything on your own.' [S]
- *człowiek* 'human': nominative, as revealed by the form of the noun; see (43)–(45) above
  - PRO<sub>arb</sub>
- (63) a. [Wracać \*trzeżwy/ \*trzeżwi w urodziny szefa] to  
 return sober.SG.M.NOM sober.PL.M.NOM on birthday boss TO  
 wielka sztuka.  
 great skill  
 'It is a great skill to return sober on boss's birthday.'  
 b. [Zreperować radio \*sam/ \*sami] to żadna sztuka.  
 fix radio alone.SG.M.NOM alone.PL.M.NOM TO no skill  
 'It is no big thing to fix a radio on one's own.' [P]
- (64) a. [Jic nazód \*trzeżwi pò gebúrstachù szefa], to wiólgò  
 come back sober.SG/PL.M.NOM after birthday boss TO great  
 zacha.  
 skill  
 'It is a great skill to return sober on boss's birthday.'  
 b. [Naprawić radio \*sóm/ \*sami], to nie je wiólgò  
 fix radio alone.SG.M.NOM alone.PL.M.NOM TO not is big  
 rzecz.  
 thing  
 'It is no big thing to fix a radio on one's own.' [K]
- (65) a. [Ís nazod \*trzyżwy/ \*trzyżwi po gyburstagu uod  
 come back sober.SG.M.NOM sober.PL.M.NOM after birthday from  
 szefa] to je wjelgo sztuka.  
 boss TO is great skill  
 'It is a great skill to return sober on boss's birthday.'  
 b. [Zbajstlować radyjok \*sóm/ \*sami] to nýma  
 fix radio alone.SG.M.NOM alone.PL.M.NOM TO not.has  
 żodno sztuka.  
 no skill  
 'It is no big thing to fix a radio on one's own.' [S]

As expected, the subject is diagnosed as nominative in the structures with agreeing (non-default) verbal morphology, implying that in these structures [CASE] is present in

the projection of the subject. Non-nominative subjects can be taken to lack [CASE] in their representation.

#### APPENDIX B: NULL SUBJECTS IN K AND S

The following corpus data exemplify the availability of null subjects in K and S in different environments.<sup>14</sup>

- *matrix clause*

(66) Sniég òdgarnie spòd brómë.  
snow shovel.3SG from.in.front.of gate  
'He will shovel the snow from in front of the gate.' [K, file: k48.txt]

(67) Piyrywj miała ciynżko spokopić roztōmajte rzeczy, na kere  
at.first had.3SG.F difficulty understand different things on which  
miała terozki dować pozōr.  
had.3SG.F now give attention  
'At first it was hard for her to understand the different things which she was to  
look after now.' [S, file: s7.txt]
- *embedded clause*

(68) Stôrô Szwabinô wëmachiwa rãkã, że ni mô nick z tim do  
old Szwabinô waved.3SG.F hand that not has.3SG nothing with this to  
ùczinkù, że sama bëła dzeckã, że nick nie wiedza [...]  
do that alone was.3SG.F child that nothing not knew.3SG.F  
'Old Szwabinô waved her hand that she had nothing to do with this, that she  
herself had been a child, that she hadn't known anything.' [K, file: k17.txt]

(69) Tyn istny, co jij ôbiecował, że bydzie dzisio wczas [...]  
this true who her promised.3SG.M that will.be.3SG today on.time  
'The one who kept promising her that he would be on time today [...]' [S, file:  
s18.txt]
- 1SG

(70) Në móm, a cëż z tegò?  
PRT have.1SG and what from this  
'Well, I do have it and so what?' [K, file: k16.txt]

(71) Niy wiedziałach, to-ch pomyślała, że sie cofna.  
not knew.1SG.F so-1SG thought.SG.F that SE step.back.1SG  
'I didn't know, so I thought I would step back.' [S, file: s12.txt]
- 2SG

(72) Wiész, ò co mie jidze.  
know.2SG about what me walks.3SG  
'You know what I mean.' [K, file: k23.txt]

(73) A tyj baby żeś widziol?  
and this woman ŻE.2SG saw.SG.M  
'Haven't you seen this woman?' [S, file: s11.txt]
- 3SG

(74) Na kùńcu sã spita, czë je w cążë.  
on end SE asked.3SG.F if is.3SG in pregnancy  
'At the end she asked if she was pregnant.' [K, file: k17.txt]

(75) Ale dugi cas ñy mjała śwjadūmojści, kÿ ũūna na isto je.  
but long time not had.3SG.F awareness who she really is.3SG  
'But for a long time she wasn't aware who she really was.' [S, file: s1.txt]
- 1PL

(76) Chcemë le so zazëc, to nama tak mést òczë rozklarëje.  
want.1PL PRT self take TO us so properly eyes clear.3SG  
'Let's take [snuff]; it will clear our sight properly.' [K, file: k64.txt]

<sup>14</sup>Thanks go to Marika Jocz (K) and Bartłūmiej Wanot (S) for their help in extracting the data.

- (77) Rzykōmy i se radujymy, że my sōn razan.  
 pray.1PL and SE rejoice.1PL that we are.PL together  
 ‘We pray and we rejoice that we are together.’ [S, file: s63.txt]
- 2PL
- (78) Ni mùszita nick ze sobą brac, bò mẽ tu dlô Waju wszëtkò  
 not have.to.2PL nothing with self take because we here for you everything  
 mómë, co Wama je nót.  
 have.1PL what you is needed  
 ‘You don’t have to take anything with you, because we have everything that you  
 need here.’ [K, file: k73.txt]
- (79) Ale musicie wiedzieć, że to je yno na pora lot, bo  
 but have.to.2PL know that this is.3SG only on a.couple.of years because  
 pryndzy czy późni każdy je głacaty.  
 sooner or later everyone is.3SG bald  
 ‘But you have to know that this is just for a couple of years, because sooner or  
 later everyone goes bald.’ [S, file: s16.txt]
- 3PL
- (80) Pò drodze téz nie kôżą chòdzëc [...]  
 on road also not tell.3PL walk  
 ‘On the road they also don’t let [children] walk [...].’ [K, file: k35.txt]
- (81) Na podzim zbyrajùm kartaufly i wytargujùm ćwiklam.  
 on fall pick.up.3PL potatoes and harvest.3PL beetroots  
 ‘In the fall they pick up potatoes and harvest beetroots.’ [S, file: s20.txt]
- *present tense*
- (82) A jak ju jaką chwëcą, tej trzimią!  
 and when already some catch.3PL then hold.3PL  
 ‘And once they catch some, they hold it.’ [K, file: k60.txt]
- (83) Chce widzieć go jeszcze przed śmjerćum.  
 want.3SG see him still before death  
 ‘He wants to see him once more before he dies.’ [S, file: s21.txt]
- *past tense*
- (84) Włóził gò w taszã i wëbról sã nazòd dodóm.  
 put.3SG.M him in bag and went.3SG.M SE back home  
 ‘He put it into a bag and went back home.’ [K, file: k1.txt]
- (85) Jednych po nocach strasũły, a ñeftorỹ to i chałpa  
 ones.ACC at nights scared.3PL.F and some.DAT PRT and house  
 wypòlũły.  
 burned.down.3PL.F  
 ‘They scared some people at nights and they even burned down some people’s  
 houses.’ [S, file: s4.txt]
- *future tense*
- (86) Ciebie jesz jaczi pùrtk sã w nim ùkòże, òbòczisz.  
 you.DAT PRT some devil SE in him show see.2SG  
 ‘Some devil will show himself to you in it, you’ll see.’ [K, file: k30.txt]
- (87) Zaroz cie chyca i bydziesz mój!  
 at.once you.ACC catch.1SG and will.be.2SG mine  
 ‘I’ll catch you at once and you’ll be mine.’ [S, file: s35.txt]
- *perfective aspect*
- (88) Chwacël<sup>P</sup> jem chùtuszko za telefón a zazwònił<sup>P</sup> na numer pòdóny  
 grab.SG.M be.1SG quickly for phone and dialed.SG.M on number given  
 na ekranie zdrzëlnika.  
 on screen TV.  
 ‘I grabbed the phone quickly and dialed the number given on the TV screen.’  
 [K, file: k62.txt]

- (89) Kuknūn<sup>P</sup> bez Źokno i uwidźo<sup>P</sup> łajźić po tŹy polu kogojs  
 looked.out.3SG.M through window and saw.3SG.M walk on this field someone  
 ze śwjatłŹy.  
 with light  
 ‘He looked out through the window and saw someone with a light walking on  
 the field.’ [S, file: s4.txt]
- *imperfective aspect*
- (90) Szukō<sup>I</sup> grzēbōw.  
 looked.for.3SG.M mushrooms  
 ‘He looked for mushrooms.’ [K, file: k26.txt]
- (91) Gōdała<sup>I</sup> ō tym, jaki sztajger abo majster powinni być do inkszych  
 talked.3SG.F about this what foreman or manager should be to other  
 arbajciōrzy.  
 workers  
 ‘She talked about what a foreman or a manager should be like to other workers.’  
 [S, file: s53.txt]
- *indicative mood*
- (92) I jem tak słabi, że nie dóm radē docygnąc do Òliwē.  
 and be.1SG so weak that not manage.1SG get to Òlēwa  
 ‘And I am so weak that I will not manage to get to Òlēwa.’ [K, file: k1.txt]
- (93) Pora lot nazod kupiyli jom łod państwa.  
 a.couple.of years ago bought.3PL.M her from state  
 ‘A couple of years ago they bought it from the state.’ [S, file: s.47.txt]
- *conditional mood*
- (94) Jesz sztōck ě bēsmē stādka zwiewalē [...]  
 just moment and COND.1PL from.here run.away.PL  
 ‘Just a moment more and we would be running away from here [...].’  
 [K, file: k66.txt]
- (95) Bajtłowi zabić bych sie niy doł, nale dzieckom bych tysz  
 child.DAT kill COND.1SG SE not allow.SG.M but children.DAT COND.1SG also  
 niy zezwolił iść na śmierć.  
 not allow.SG.M go on death  
 ‘I wouldn’t let a child kill me, but I also wouldn’t let children go to their death.’  
 [S, file: s29.txt]
- *subjunctive mood*
- (96) A przē trzecym wòłō, żebē ji delē znieczuleniē ju w ósmim  
 and by third call.3SG SUBJU her give.3PL anesthetic already in eighth  
 miesiącu cążē.  
 month pregnancy  
 ‘And with the third she calls to give her an anesthetic already in the eighth month  
 of the pregnancy.’ [K, file: k22.txt]
- (97) Mama dycko ji godała, żeby dowala pozór, ale óna zaś  
 mother always her told.3SG.F SUBJU give.3SG.F attention but she again  
 zapómniała.  
 forgot.3SG.F  
 ‘Mother would always tell her to be careful, but she forgot again.’ [S, file:s5.txt]
- *imperative mood*
- (98) Spróbuj le jesz rôz, a jō cē pòkôżã...!  
 try.IMP.2SG PRT more once and I you.DAT show.1SG  
 ‘Try just once more and I will show you!’ [K, file: k10.txt]
- (99) Nō pōdź sam z rzyki i pokoź sie.  
 PRT come.IMP.2SG here from river and show.IMP.2SG SE  
 ‘Oh get out of the river and show yourself.’ [S, file: s33.txt]