

Impersonalization in Slavic: A Corpus-Based Study of Impersonalization Strategies in Six Slavic Languages*

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Abstract: This paper gives a comprehensive overview of how impersonalization is expressed in Slavic. It presents the results of a comparative corpus study, outlining all possible strategies for expressing impersonalization in six Slavic languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, and Polish), using German *man* as a filter. This paper shows on the basis of a random sample of over 5,000 translated sentences which impersonalization means Slavic languages use to express propositional content expressed by the pronoun *man* in German. Additionally, this pilot study answers two questions: (1) How do Slavic languages differ in the distribution of these impersonalization strategies? and (2) Are there major translation effects? The main findings are an outline of a cross-Slavic set of impersonalization strategies that reveals significant differences between the Slavic languages in the distribution of *man*-equivalents and a highly significant impact of the source language on the choice of the impersonalization strategy in translation.

1. Introduction

This paper reports the findings from the first corpus-based contrastive study of how impersonalization is expressed in Slavic. A large and varied group of

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constructions used in various Slavic languages as means of impersonalization will be presented in this paper. Impersonalization largely comprises human impersonal constructions like German *man* (e.g., *Man sollte wegen des Coronavirus zu Hause bleiben* 'One should stay at home because of the coronavirus'). Although a number of studies have been devoted to impersonal constructions in the Slavic languages (Guiraud-Weber and Kor Chahine 2013), we are still lacking distributional and contrastive investigations of such constructions in Slavic from a typological point of view. Drawing on recent theoretical work by Gast and van der Auwera (2013), who researched the distributional typology of impersonal pronouns, and using data from a parallel corpus, this study identifies the distribution and frequency of impersonalization strategies used across six selected Slavic languages representing all three Slavic language subfamilies (West, East, and South Slavic). The data in this study presents inter- and intra-group variations in the use of impersonalization strategies. The goal is to reveal the main differences between Slavic languages and to show what might have an impact on the choice of an impersonalization strategy.

The main purpose of this corpus-based study is to outline the strategies for expressing impersonalization in six Slavic languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, and Polish) (see Section 3). While many studies concentrate on the inventory of impersonal pronouns only (e.g., Gast and van der Auwera 2013; van Olmen and Breed 2018), this paper goes beyond impersonal pronouns and describes other means of expressing impersonal reference in Slavic that have received little to no attention in the literature on impersonals. This study provides a cross-Slavic distribution of impersonalization strategies and can serve as a basis for further investigations of selected constructions and for establishing a detailed typology of impersonal constructions in the Slavic languages.

The paper is structured as follows: Section 1.1 explains how the notion of impersonalization is understood in this study and summarizes relevant research on impersonal constructions in Germanic and Slavic languages. Section 1.2 presents the latest research on the typology of human impersonal pronouns. Section 2 introduces the research questions (2.1), provides a descriptive overview of the data (2.2), makes some remarks about the corpus, and explains the methods used for the present study (2.3). In Section 3, I present the findings and outline the 18 strategies for expressing impersonalization in six Slavic languages. A cross-Slavic comparison of these impersonalization strategies is presented in Section 4. Section 5 reveals inevitable translation effects in the choice of impersonalization strategy. Section 6 offers a discussion of the data, and Section 7 summarizes and concludes the study.

1.1. Impersonalization

Impersonal reference and the linguistic means of expressing it in the world's spoken languages¹ have received a lot of attention in the literature of late (e.g. Cabredo Hofherr 2017; Siewierska 2008; Malchukov and Siewierska 2011; Zobel 2012; Guiraud-Weber and Kor Chahine 2013). There are a large number of typological studies on impersonal pronouns in Germanic and Romance languages (Siewierska and Papastathi 2011; van der Auwera et al. 2012; Gast and van der Auwera 2013; van Olmen and Breed 2018) and a considerable amount of research on specific constructions in individual Slavic languages (Padučeva 2012; Nikitina 2011; Guiraud-Weber and Kor Chahine 2013; Schlund 2018a; Bunčić 2019) or contrastive studies between Slavic (mostly Russian) and non-Slavic languages (Dušková 1973; Anochina 1981; Berger 1991; Rudolf 2014; Lavine 2017). Some studies present an in-depth analysis of one or two impersonal constructions in a few Slavic languages, such as a detailed comparison of reflexive impersonals in Polish and Slovenian by Rivero and Milojević Sheppard (2003); a contrastive study of the syntactic properties of adversative impersonals in Russian with *-no/-to* impersonals in Polish by Szucsich (2007); an investigation of *-no/-to* constructions, reflexive impersonals, and third-person plural impersonals in Polish and Russian by Prenner (forthcoming), and in Polish and Serbo-Croatian by Bunčić (2018); passive constructions and the third-plural impersonals in Russian and Bulgarian by Ivanova and Gradinarova (2015); reflexive impersonals in Slovenian and Russian by Uhlik and Žele (2018); and a study on accusative impersonals (also adversity impersonals, elemental constructions) in Russian and other Slavic languages by Schlund (2020). Yet very little attention has so far been paid to contrastive research of a wide range of impersonal constructions between a sizable number of Slavic languages.

No cover term for constructions expressing impersonality is commonly accepted in linguistics. Moreover, the notion of impersonality is extremely broad and is not uniformly interpreted by linguists. While some researchers interpret impersonalization in semantic terms, others adopt a morphological or syntactic perspective (see Siewierska 2008 for more details). From a semantic perspective, impersonality is divided into two notions depending on human agentivity (see also Malchukov and Ogawa 2011). In the first sense, constructions are considered impersonal when they depict events or situa-

¹ The investigation of impersonal reference has largely been constrained to the auditory modality. Sign languages, as languages in the visual-gestural modality, have not yet been well investigated with regard to impersonal reference. One exception is a special issue of *Sign Language & Linguistics* (2018) including a study on impersonal reference in Russian Sign Language (Kimmelman 2018).

tions brought about by an unspecific *non-human* agent,² as in (1) below. In the second sense, constructions are also regarded as impersonal when they depict events or situations brought about by an unspecific *human* agent (Siewierska 2008), as in (2). In this article, I concentrate on devices expressing impersonality in the latter sense of the term.

- (1) Dorogu zasypalo peskom. (Russian)
 street showered_{3SG.N} sand
 ‘The street got strewed with sand.’
 Lit. ‘It strewed the street with sand.’

- (2) Dorogu zasypali peskom.
 street showered_{3PL} sand
 ‘People/Someone strewed the street with sand.’ (Mel’čuk 1974: 350)³

The term “impersonal” for constructions as in (2), which depict events brought about by a non-specific human agent, has been criticized by some linguists, since these constructions are never impersonal in the strict sense (Kitagawa and Lehrer 1990; Padučeva 2012; Plungjan 2016). Instead, they may generalize over individuals or may be vague and refer to a specific group of individuals who cannot or should not be identified by the speaker. In Russian grammars and Russian theoretical research, such constructions are therefore approached at the sentential level and are traditionally referred to as *odnosostavnye predloženiya* ‘one-argument sentences’, which are in turn subdivided into *neopredelennno-ličnye predloženiya* ‘indeterminate-personal sentences’, as in (2), and *obobščennno-ličnye predloženiya* ‘generalized-personal sentences’, as in (3a–b) below (Šaxmatov 2001; Švedova 1980; Valgina 2003; Padučeva 2012).

- (3) a. Cypljat po oseni sčitajut. (Russian)
 chickens in fall count_{3PL}
 ‘Do not count your chickens before they hatch.’
 Lit. ‘Chickens are counted in the fall.’
- b. Na vsex ne ugodiš’.
 on everyone not please_{2SG}
 ‘You cannot please everyone.’ (Valgina 2003: 160)

² Such constructions are termed “Elemental Constructions” (EC) as a translation of the Russian expression *stixijnaja konstrukcija* (see Schlund 2018b for a thorough investigation of EC in contemporary Russian).

³ All sentences originally available in Cyrillic in the corpus or literature (e.g., in Russian, Ukrainian, or Bulgarian) were transliterated here by the author.

However, the above-mentioned Russian classification does not seem to be very satisfactory either. Firstly, as already mentioned by Padučeva (2012: 27), both subtypes (indeterminate-personal as well as generalized-personal sentences), according to Russian grammars (Vinogradov 1954; Švedova 1980), encompass the same syntactic constructions—i.e., the 3rd-person plural form of the verb, as in (2) and (3a). As for generalized-personal sentences, they do not form a single class syntactically; they cover the 3rd- and 1st-person plural, as well as the 1st- and 2nd-person singular forms of the verb (Švedova 1980). Secondly, as already mentioned by Bunčić (2018, 2020), the term “indeterminate-personal” is unfortunate and even misleading because these constructions are, on the one hand, not necessarily indefinite as the Russian term implies (cf. Berger 1991: 72; Gast and van der Auwera (2013: 26) distinguish between definite and indefinite reference). On the other hand, it is difficult to refer to these constructions as personal, since the subject is not fully referential and not overt.

As none of the above labels appear to be perfect and this paper aims to describe a wider range of constructions, I will use the notion of impersonalization as it is defined by Gast and van der Auwera (2013). They define it as “the process of filling an argument position of a predicate with a variable ranging over a set of human participants without establishing a referential link to any entity from the universe of discourse” (2013: 136). Using the German impersonal pronoun *man*, which epitomizes impersonalization as defined above (in Section 2.3), various Slavic impersonalization strategies will be described. Thus, the impersonalization strategies in this study are translation strategies for German *man*. These strategies in Slavic include the impersonal uses of 3PL, 2SG, and 1PL; the impersonal passive; the *-no/-to* construction; reflexive impersonals; generic nouns such as Czech *člověk* or Ukrainian *ljudina*; bare infinitives; modals; adverbial and participle constructions; as well as some other minor devices to be discussed in Section 3. Consider the following German sentence in (4):

- (4) An jeder Straßenecke riecht man es.
 on each street.corner smell_{3SG} IMPS it_{ACC}
 ‘You can smell it at every corner.’⁴

This study will show a set of possible structures, termed impersonalization strategies, that are used in Slavic as equivalents of German *man*, as shown in (4) above. It is important to note that some strategies—such as, for example, bare infinitives, modals, or 1PL constructions—have clearly not been referred to as impersonal in the literature, but they can also be used in the Slavic languages for argument backgrounding in some impersonal contexts.

⁴ All examples are taken from the ParaSol corpus (see Section 3.2) unless stated otherwise.

1.2. Human Impersonal Pronoun Typology

Siewierska and Papastathi (2011) establish a typology of 3PL impersonals on the basis of data from ten European languages (including Russian and Polish). They show that the languages under study differ significantly in their usage of 3PL impersonals. Following up on work done by Siewierska (2008), Gast and van der Auwera (2013) investigate a wide range of impersonal pronouns in several European languages (including Russian and Bulgarian) on the basis of corpus data and determine the factors which are relevant to their distribution cross-linguistically. Gast and van der Auwera (2013) propose that the contexts in which human impersonal pronouns are used can be classified according to two major groups of parameters: state of affairs and quantification (see Figure 1 below).

Not all of these hierarchically ordered feature combinations appear to be possible in the languages they investigate. The authors present a connectivity map for human impersonal pronouns. The various contexts (from Figure 1 below) form a semantic map in the shape of a ring, as shown in Figure 2. The most crucial point for the present study is the fact that only one strategy, according to Gast and van der Auwera (2013: 30), the Germanic human impersonal pronoun *man/men*, or French *on*, can cover the entire map. That means this pronoun can be used in all types of contexts (as for example in node 1, *Man klopft an der Tür* 'They're knocking on the door', or in node 5, *Man lebt nur einmal* 'You only live once').

All other impersonal pronouns are restricted with regard to the number of contexts they are used in and can thus cover only a subset of connected regions on this map. Thus, the English indefinite pronoun *someone* or the Russian modal/infinitive construction such as *можно говорить* 'one can talk' can only cover two nodes (1 and 7); English and Russian 3PL impersonals cover the regions 1 to 4; the English 2SG as well as Bulgarian *čovек* are used in contexts 5 to 7.

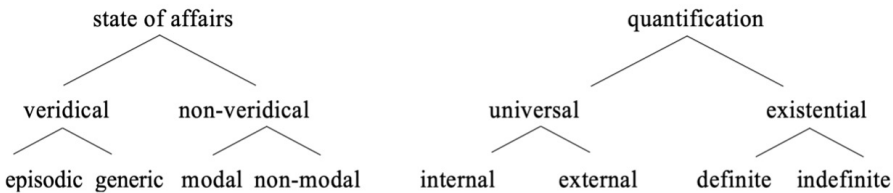


Figure 1. Classification trees for two parameters
(Gast and van der Auwera 2013: 24–26)

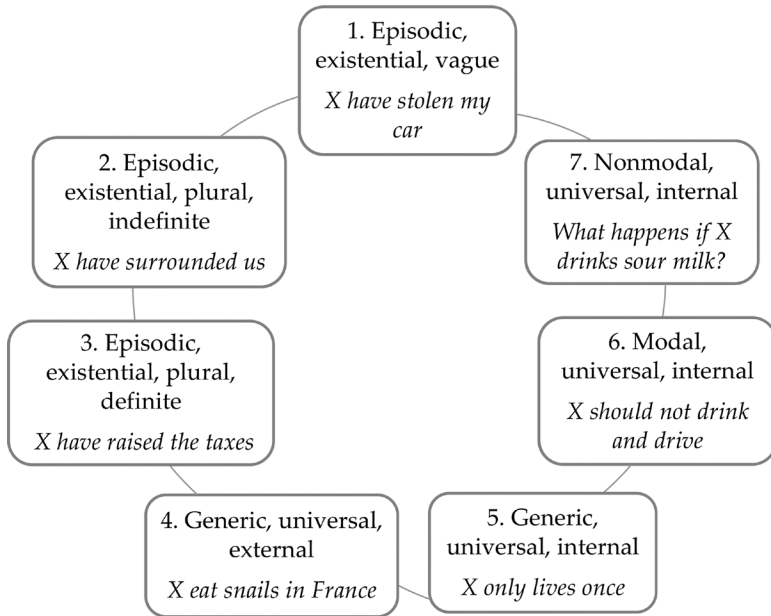


Figure 2. Semantic map of impersonal reference (adapted from Gast and van der Auwera 2013)⁵

2. Methodology

2.1. Research Questions

This study aims to describe the strategies used in Slavic languages to express impersonalization. Drawing on research by Gast and van der Auwera (2013) and Gast (2015), I introduced the notion of impersonalization in Section 1.1 and pointed out that the German pronoun *man* occupies a unique place in the semantic map of impersonal reference, since it can occur in all possible contexts. Slavic languages do not have a specialized impersonal pronoun like German *man*. The known Slavic counterparts such as Russian *человек*, Polish *człowiek*, or Czech *člověk* are not widely used, as will be seen in Section 3, and cannot be used in a wide range of contexts. Thus, the question arises as to which means of impersonalization are used in Slavic to render the meanings of the German pronoun *man*, as in example (4) on p. 127.

⁵ Each context is illustrated with a representative sentence, where X stands for the impersonal argument. For an explanation of the map and the various contexts, the reader is referred to Gast and van der Auwera 2013.

The contrastive study of impersonalization in English and German (Gast 2015) has successfully implemented the pronoun *man* as a “filter” for identifying sentences expressing impersonalization (also Rudolf 2014). Following Gast, this study also uses German *man* as a “methodological anchor” to find the Slavic strategies corresponding to this pronoun (see Section 2.3 for more details). In particular, the current article seeks to address the following questions:

- (i) How is impersonalization expressed in Slavic? (by asking what types of structures Slavic languages use to render propositional content expressed by the pronoun *man* in German)
- (ii) How do Slavic languages differ with regard to the distribution and use of impersonalization strategies?
- (iii) Are there translation effects?

The third question is motivated by previous findings showing that the direction of translation in the corpus influences the choice of the structure used. Such translation effects have been identified by Siewierska and Papastathi (2011) in their investigation of 3PL impersonals on the basis of ten European languages and by Gast (2015) in the above-mentioned contrastive study of German and English impersonalization strategies. We thus ask whether the *man*-equivalents in Slavic that we find in our data are strongly influenced by the structure in the original text.

2.2. Database of Slavic Impersonalization Strategies Using ParaSol

To reach the aim of the study, one would need a large parallel corpus including all Slavic languages, comprising different genres, and containing a good representation of spoken interaction as well as written language. Unfortunately, we do not yet have the required parallel language corpora in Slavic (Divjak et al. 2017). To the best of my knowledge, there are no parallel corpora of colloquial speech or spontaneous interactions in Slavic languages. Thus, the ParaSol corpus was chosen as the best alternative to study impersonalization strategies in Slavic.

ParaSol, formerly known as the Regensburg Parallel Corpus and originally developed by Ruprecht von Waldenfels and Roland Meyer, is a parallel aligned corpus of translated and original fictional texts in Slavic and other languages (von Waldenfels and Meyer 2006–; von Waldenfels 2006, 2011). ParaSol contains not only texts of Slavic languages, but also languages such as German, English, French, and Italian. It is free of charge to access but requires registration.

To get an initial idea of the types of strategies that we find in Slavic languages rendering the content of the German impersonal pronoun *man*, a da-

tabase of *man*-equivalents in six Slavic languages was developed on the basis of three parallel texts from ParaSol: (1) the German novel *Das Parfum: Die Geschichte eines Mörders* (*Perfume: The Story of a Murderer*) by Patrick Süskind; (2) the Czech novel *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* (*The Unbearable Lightness of Being*) by Milan Kundera; and (3) the Italian novel *Il nome della rosa* (*The Name of the Rose*) by Umberto Eco. The choice of these three texts was dictated by the availability of parallel texts in German and the largest number of various Slavic languages in ParaSol. The chosen texts from the ParaSol corpus provide translations in German, Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, and Polish. Thus, the data used for the present study contain three types of texts: (1) German original sentences and their translations into six Slavic languages ($n = 180$ sentences), (2) Czech original sentences and their translations into German and five Slavic languages ($n = 240$ sentences), and (3) German and Slavic sentences that were translated from Italian ($n = 524$ sentences). For each language, approximately 942 sentences were analyzed, making up a total number of 6,594 sentences. For some languages in the ParaSol corpus, a translation of German *man* was missing or the necessary context was not available. In such cases, the sentence was deleted from the analysis completely. This accounts for the different number of evaluated constructions provided in Figure 3 (p. 133). A random sample from the database used in this paper is made available for the reader at <https://uni.koeln/5JEML>.

2.3. German *man* as a “Methodological Filter”

While there is no corpus available which is tagged for impersonal forms in Slavic languages, using the German impersonal pronoun *man* or the French *on* as a methodological anchor has already proved successful in a number of previous linguistic studies (Anochina 1981; Rudolf 2014; Gast 2015; Zaliznjak and Kružkov 2016; Mazzitelli 2019). In my database extracted from ParaSol (see Section 2.2), the German impersonal pronoun *man* was used as a “filter” to identify the sentences in each of the six Slavic languages corresponding to this pronoun, independent of the original language. As one of the reviewers has pointed out, we should be aware that by using *man* as a filter, we surely miss usage types where *man* is dispreferred as an impersonalization strategy. Passivization, for example, is another commonly used impersonalization strategy in German, for which we will not find the impersonal equivalents in Slavic using this method. As the German pronoun *man* is always unambiguously impersonal, almost all the correspondences in the six Slavic languages in the dataset are also impersonal, except for paraphrased sentences which include fully referential personal uses of pronouns. Sentences containing personal pronouns as *man*-equivalents in Slavic were counted under “paraphrase”, provided that the context allowed for the personal interpretation. Instances of impersonal translations of *man* into Slavic were extracted from the ParaSol

corpus manually, with sufficient context to check their impersonal meaning, and inputted into Excel sheets. For each language, the impersonalization strategies to be discussed in Section 3 were identified, annotated, and counted.

One can think of a wide range of factors influencing the choice of impersonalization strategy in a given language (see also Prenner and Bunčić, this volume, for a number of grammatical factors). Gast (2015) shows that various parameters should be taken into account, such as the semantic and syntactic context of a sentence, register (conversation, scientific), and translation effects. In the case of translated language, we expect to find some systematic differences between the original and the translated version. Translations are secondary texts influenced by the language of the original text (von Waldenfels 2012). We might thus expect that an impersonalization strategy in translation may differ due to language pair and translation direction. As we are dealing with translated texts in this study, it is vital to explore the translation effects.

3. How is Impersonalization Expressed in Slavic?

This section analyzes the data and presents the results of the study. Section 3.1 provides a descriptive overview of all Slavic impersonalization means found in the database. Following that, I present the results separately according to the language of the original text. Section 3.2 shows the *man*-equivalents in translations of the German original text in six Slavic languages. Section 3.3 presents the impersonalization means in the translations from the Czech novel, and Section 3.4 demonstrates the impersonalization strategies in the translated examples from Italian. The differences among the Slavic languages will be dealt with in Section 4.

3.1. Impersonalization Strategies

In the six Slavic languages under study, impersonalization is expressed by a great variety of means, as illustrated in Figure 3. All six languages employ similar strategies (with only three exceptions⁶) but vary in their distribution. This study reveals that these languages do not differ significantly in the range of construction types that they employ for impersonalization.

The corpus data in this study show that sentences with the German impersonal pronoun *man* can be rendered in the Slavic languages by 18 different impersonalization strategies. The various strategies and cumulative frequen-

⁶ In the present data, the *-no/-to* construction is restricted to Polish only, although this construction is also said to be used in Ukrainian (Billings 1993). The modal/reflexive construction occurs in South Slavic languages only (exemplified in this study by Bulgarian and Croatian), and Bulgarian does not have infinitives or modal/infinitive constructions.

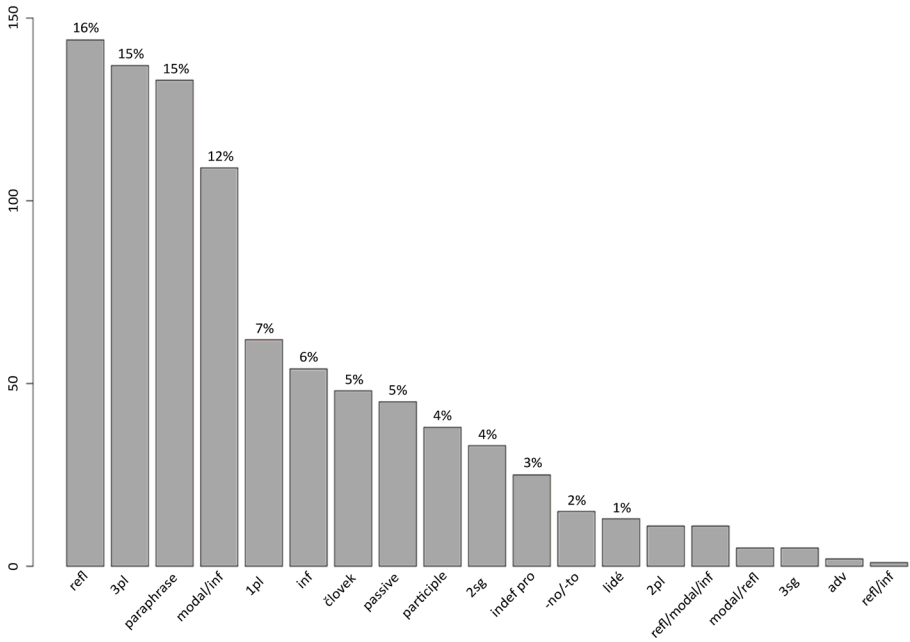


Figure 3. 18 Slavic impersonalization strategies and paraphrase in all three texts as mean numbers in absolute values and percentages ($n = 5,345$ sentences)

cies in all six languages are presented in Figure 3.⁷ The classification used in this study is consistent across all six languages and is based on formal morphological description. All classification terms are to be understood as labels for certain surface configurations with no theoretical implications. Each label

⁷ All statistics, as well as diagrams, in this paper were generated in R (R Core Team 2015) with RStudio (Version 1.2.5042). Figure 3 shows individual mean values of over-all occurrences of impersonalization strategies in all six Slavic languages under study expressed in absolute values. The percentages of each strategy are represented above the bars. The diagram is based on the data presented in the Appendix (pp. 170–78). Here are the abbreviations used in Figure 3: refl—reflexive; 3pl—third-person plural constructions; modal/inf—modal infinitive constructions; 1pl—first-person plural constructions; inf—infinitive constructions; *člověk*—stands for all Slavic impersonally used nouns meaning ‘human being’ in singular: Cz *člověk*, Blg *čovек*, Rus *человек*, Pol *człowiek*, Cr *čovjek*, Ukr *людина*; 2sg—second-person singular constructions; indef pro—indefinite pronouns; *lidé*—stands for all Slavic impersonally used nouns meaning ‘people’ (Rus/Ukr/Cr *ljudi*, Cz *lidé*, Blg *xorata*, Pol *ludzie*); 2pl—second-person plural constructions; modal/refl—modal reflexive construction; 3sg—third-person singular constructions; and adv—adverbial constructions.

is demonstrated by an example. Some cases where multiple classifications are possible will be discussed in a short paragraph below. Note that the data were extracted from the ParaSol corpus by using German *man* as a filter in German sentences (see Section 2.3). Examples (5–22) are Slavic translations of the German *man*-sentences as they are found in the corpus.⁸ The original text (German, Italian, or Czech) as well as the English translation as it appears in the corpus have been added for clarity. A larger random sample of the database is also represented in the Appendix.

(5) refl(exive)

PL Wtedy **zbierało się** je ostrożnie i rozkładało nowe kwiaty.

GE Dann zupfte **man** sie vorsichtig ab und streute frische Blüten aus.
<original>

‘Then they were carefully plucked off and new blossoms spread out.’

All reflexive forms with the successors of Proto-Slavic **sę*, appearing today as clitics or postfixes in Slavic languages, are deemed reflexive in this study as they are morphologically marked as such. Note that almost all of the examples in this study have an impersonal reading, and clear cases of personal reflexive forms, such as Rus *on breetsja* ‘he shaves himself’, are absent. Reflexive constructions with a “passive” meaning (e.g., Pol *buduje się willę* ‘the villa is being built’ or Rus *dveri otkryvajutsja* ‘doors are opened’) are also categorized as reflexive in this study.

(6) 3pl

CR Osam stotina godina **donosili** su tamo mrtvace [...].

GE Achthundert Jahre lang hatte **man** hierher die Toten [...] verbracht.
<original>

‘For eight hundred years the dead had been brought here...’

(7) modal/inf(initive)

UK V kožnomu zakutku **možna** ix **počuti**.

GE An jeder Straßenecke riecht **man** es.
<original>

‘You can smell it at every corner.’

⁸ The language abbreviations used in the examples are the following: GE—German, BU—Bulgarian, CR—Croatian, RU—Russian, UK—Ukrainian, CZ—Czech, PL—Polish.

The Ukrainian example (7) demonstrates constructions defined in this study as modals with an infinitive. Typical polyfunctional modals (Rus *moč'*, Pol *móc*) as well as so-called modal content words or “semi-modals” (Rus *nužno*, *prixoditsja*; Pol *wolno*)—i.e., words with modal meaning that are not subject to an auxiliarization process and have only one modal meaning (Hansen 2005)—are deemed modals for the purpose of consistent classification across languages in this study. Therefore, such constructions as Rus *pridetsja priznat'* ‘have to admit’ are counted under the category modal infinitive.

(8) 1pl

CZ Ďábel je tupý, ve svých léčkách a ve svých svodech se drží svého, opakuje své obřady třeba po tisícilet, nemění se, a právě proto jej **můžeme** co nepřítele rozpoznat!

GE Der Dämon ist blöde und einfalllos, er hält sich in seinen Verlockungen und Verführungen an einen sturen Rhythmus, er wiederholt seine Riten über Jahrtausende, er bleibt sich immer gleich, und eben daran erkennt **man** ihn als den Feind!

IT Il demonio è ottuso, segue un ritmo nelle sue insidie e nelle sue seduzioni, ripete i propri riti a di stanza dimillenni, egli è sempre lo stesso, proprio per questo lo si riconosce come il nemico!

<original>

‘The Devil is stubborn, he follows a pattern in his snares and his seductions, he repeats his rituals at a distance of millennia, he is always the same, this is precisely why he is recognized as the enemy!’

(9) inf(itive)

RU Èto značit **poterjat'** vsjakuju silu.

GE Es bedeutet, daß **man** auf all seine Stärke verzichtet hat.

CZ To znamená pozbýt jakékoli síly.

<original>

‘It means losing all strength.’

Various infinitive verb forms (syntactically free, embedded, or combined with other constituents) are not further differentiated and are gathered together here under the category “infinitive”.

(10) člověk

CZ **Člověk** to ucítí na každém rohu.

GE An jeder Straßenecke riecht **man** es.

<original>

‘You can smell it at every corner.’

“Člověk” stands in this classification for all Slavic impersonally used nouns meaning ‘human being’: Cz *člověk*, Blg *čovjek*, Rus *человек*, Pol *człowiek*, Cr *čovjek*, and Ukr *ljudina*.

(11) passive

BU Kristijanskijat svjat ne može da **bāde izmenen**, ako otritnatite ne **bādat priobšteni** kām nego.

GE Denn **man** kann das Gottesvolk nicht verändern, wenn **man** die Ausgeschlossenen nicht wieder integriert. <original>

‘The people of God cannot be changed until the outcasts are restored to its body.’

The category “passive”, as in (11), comprises periphrastic passive constructions with *be* and a past participle form of the verb, marked by the successors of the participial markings with **n/t*, which all Slavic languages possess. In some Slavic languages, such as Russian, only one auxiliary is used (e.g., Rus *bylo prikazano* ‘was ordered’); in some other languages, such as Polish, two auxiliaries are used (e.g., Pol *willa była/została zbudowana* ‘the villa was built’). Slavic languages are also known to have reflexive constructions formed with the verb in the 3rd person and the reflexive morpheme *-s’/sja, się, or se* (such as Pol *buduje się wille* ‘the villa is built’). Such constructions are regarded by many linguists as passive. However, there is considerable disagreement in the literature with regard to their status as passives (Siewierska 1988). Due to their doubtful status, the decision was made to classify “reflexive passives” as reflexives, in this way ensuring consistent categorization across languages.

(12) participle

UK Zminiti Božij narod možna, liše **povernuvši** izgoiv nazad u jogo milo.

GE Denn man kann das Gottesvolk nicht verändern, wenn **man** die Ausgeschlossenen nicht wieder integriert. <original>

‘The people of God cannot be changed until the outcasts are restored to its body.’

(13) 2sg

RU Kak ix tut **ponjuxaeš**, tak i **poljubiš**, vse odno—svoi oni ili čužie.

GE Wenn **man** sie da gerochen hat, dann liebt **man** sie, ganz gleich ob es die eignen oder fremde sind. <original>

‘Once you’ve smelled them there, you love them whether they’re your own or somebody else’s.’

(14) indef(inite) pronoun

RU On snova obradovalsja, čto **kto-to** ešče ne zabył, čto on xirurg!

GE Schon wieder war er erfreut, daß **man** noch nicht vergessen hatte, daß er Chirurg war!

CZ Už zase byl rád, že ještě někdo nezapomněl na to, že byl chirurgem! <original>

'Again he enjoyed the feeling that he had not been forgotten as a surgeon!'

(15) -no/-to

PL Nie **zamykano** go już na noc.

GE Zum Schlafen sperrte **man** ihn nicht mehr ein. <original>

'He was no longer locked in at bedtime.'

(16) lidé

UK **Ljudi** pritiskalis' bliže odne do odnogo.

GE Also rückte **man** näher zusammen. <original>

'So people huddled closer together.'

Similar to "člověk", the category "lidé" stands for all Slavic impersonally used nouns meaning 'people'. These are Rus/Ukr/Cr *ljudi*, Cz *lidé*, Blg *xorata*, and Pol *ludzie*.

(17) 2pl

CR Čim osjetite taj **miris**, **zavolite** ih, bila ona vaša ili tuda.

GE Wenn **man** sie da gerochen hat, dann liebt **man** sie, ganz gleich ob es die eignen oder fremde sind. <original>

'Once you've smelled them there, you love them whether they're your own or somebody else's.'

(18) refl/modal/infinitive

CR Eto, u jesen ima toliko toga što bi **se moglo donijeti**.

GE Es gibt doch im Herbst eine Menge Dinge, die **man** vorbeibringen könnte. <original>

'After all, in autumn there are lots of things someone could come by with.'

(19) modal/refl(exive)

BU **Može** da **se naduši** na păt i pod păt.

GE An jeder Straßenecke riecht **man** es. <original>

‘You can smell it at every corner.’

(20) 3sg

RU No idti na risk tože ne **sledovalo**.

GE Andererseits durfte **man** aber auch nichts riskieren.

IT Ma non si poteva rischiare. <original>

‘But he could run no risks.’

(21) adv(erbial construction)

PL „Nigdy nie **wiado**mo” —zakończył Wilhelm odprawiając go.

GE „Ja, **man** kann nie wissen“, nickte William und entließ den jungen Studiosus.

IT “Non si sa mai,” concluse Guglielmo accomiatandolo. <original>

“‘You never can tell,” William concluded, dismissing him.’

In quite a number of cases, none of the impersonalization strategies illustrated in (5–21) are used in Slavic. Instead, we find a complete rephrasing of the German *man*-sentence by using a personal reference or nominal, adjectival, prepositional, or other constructions, as in (22a–c):

(22) paraphrase

a. RU Prošlo čut’ bol’še dvenadcati časov **posle naxodki** tela Venancija.

GE Es waren kaum mehr als zwölf Stunden vergangen, seit **man** Venantius’ Leiche gefunden hatte.

IT Erano passate poco più di dodici ore da quando **si era scoperto** cadavere di Venanzio. <original>

‘It had been just over twelve hours since the discovery of Venantius’s corpse.’

b. PL **Po co** te wszystkie nowe ulice, [...]?

GE Wozu brauchte **man** die vielen neuen Straßen, [...]? <original>

‘What was the need for all these new roads being dug up everywhere, and these new bridges?’

(22) c. BU Tova ne be parfjum **kato parfjumite**.

GE Dieses Parfum war kein Parfum, wie **man** es bisher kannte.

<original>

'This perfume was not like any perfume known before.'

As shown in Figure 3 (on p. 133), a complete rephrasing is on average the third most frequent way of rendering a *man*-sentence in Slavic. Although paraphrase was included in Figure 3 as one of the means of rendering a *man*-construction, it does not belong to impersonalization strategies per se, and I will not go into further detail with respect to paraphrasing here.

Figure 3 highlights the most frequent means used for impersonalization in Slavic languages, shown by bars in decreasing order from left to right. The six most frequent strategies account for more than 75% of the cases⁹ in Slavic based on the available corpus data. I will therefore refer to these strategies as the major Slavic impersonalization strategies. The major Slavic impersonalization strategies are the reflexive impersonal clitic or suffix; 3PL; the modal/infinite construction; bare infinitive; and impersonally used nouns meaning 'human being' (Cz *člověk*, Rus *človek*, Pol *człowiek*, Blg *čovjek*, Cr *čovjek*, Ukr *ljudina*). Although these impersonalization strategies, exemplified in (5–10), are commonly used in all Slavic languages, the languages do not behave uniformly and differ greatly in the extent to which they utilize a particular impersonalization strategy. While Figure 5 (on p. 142) represents the impersonalization strategies used in six Slavic languages on average in the whole dataset, it reveals no information about the distribution of these strategies in text types with different original languages and their translations or within each of the languages under study. Seeing as our data contain German, Italian, and Czech original texts, and the method of anchoring against *man* had to be done through the lens of translation, the following sections (3.2–3.4) will reveal how the impersonalization means (the actual number and the individual types) vary in three different types of texts. How the impersonalization strategies are used in each Slavic language will be discussed separately in Section 4.

3.2. Data Analysis of the German Original and Slavic Translations

This section presents the structures that Slavic languages use to convey the propositional content expressed by the German pronoun *man* in the translations of the German original text. The German polysemous impersonal pro-

⁹ The six least frequent strategies—3SG constructions; *-no/-to* constructions; nouns meaning 'people' (Rus/Ukr/Cr *ljudi*, Cz *lidé*, Blg *xorata*, Pol *ludzie*); 2PL constructions; modal reflexive; and adverbial constructions—together account for less than 6% of the data. These constructions can be referred to as minor impersonalization devices.

noun *man* was taken as a filter to search for the corresponding *man*-equivalents in six Slavic languages.

The results are presented as cumulative frequencies in all six languages in Figure 4. As can be seen, sentences with the German impersonal pronoun *man* can be rendered in the Slavic languages by 18 different impersonalization strategies. Paraphrased sentences remain in the data but are not considered as impersonalization means since they lost their impersonal meaning. Modal reflexive constructions are not found in this part of the dataset, but there is a small number of constructions with modals (see Table 1 in the Appendix for a full breakdown of the data for each language, p. 166).

One of the striking differences between the results of the whole dataset (see Figure 3 on p. 133) and the German original part is the number of cases of impersonal uses of 1PL. While the first three major impersonalization strategies (reflexive, 3PL, and the modal/infinite constructions) behave similarly, the 1PL is not very common in this part of the dataset. First-person plural is the third least frequent strategy and accounts for only 1% of all cases in the Slavic translations of the German original text, as can be seen in Figure 4. Another remarkable difference is the position of the 2SG strategy. This impersonalization strategy has slipped forward to the major impersonalization strategies, since it is used more frequently in the Slavic translations of the German text.

3.3. Data Analysis of the Czech Original and Translations

This section presents the Slavic impersonalization means which are used as *man*-equivalents in the Czech original text and its translations into five other Slavic languages. In this part of the dataset, visualized in Figure 5, the reflexive impersonal clitic, or postfix, is not the most frequent strategy, as it is in the overall data (see Figure 3). Rather, it presents the fourth most frequent strategy¹⁰ and accounts for only 9% of all cases. Most striking and important for further analysis of the data is again the use of the 1PL, which is the third most frequent strategy, accounting for 11% of all cases. The nouns meaning 'human being' and 'people', e.g., *Cz člověk* and *lidé*, are also used more often in this part of the dataset and account for 9% of all cases (see Figure 5 on p. 142).

The use of 1PL presents a specific challenge in translated texts.¹¹ The fact that this part of the database includes German translations from the original Czech and the searches are carried out in translation potentially allows for a fully referential 1PL usage in the original Czech text, which could explain a higher percentage of the use of 1PL in this part of the data. To verify whether the Czech 1PL constructions used in the original as corresponding to German

¹⁰ Paraphrase is not counted as a strategy here.

¹¹ I thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

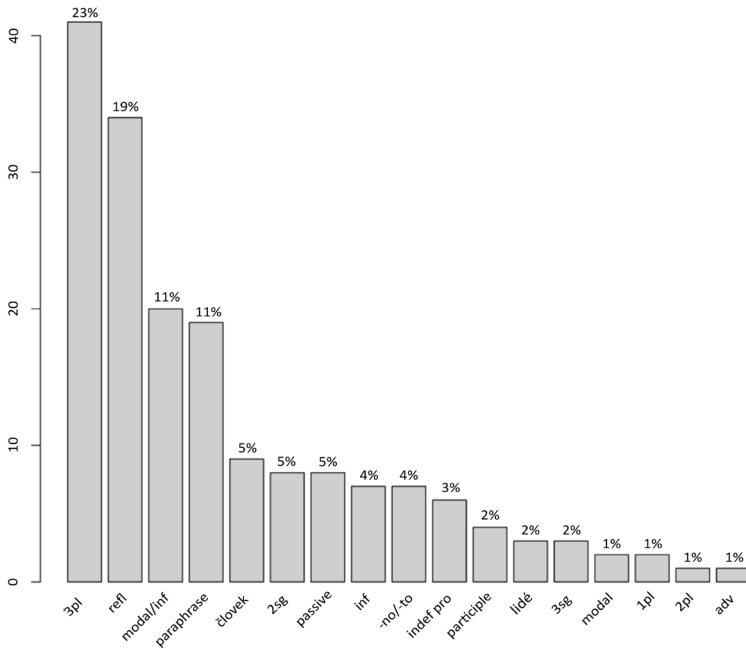


Figure 4. Slavic impersonalization means in the translations from German

man involve impersonal meanings, all 22 Czech sentences containing 1PL constructions were extracted (see Table 3 in the Appendix for a full breakdown of the data for each language, p. 168) and analyzed by a proficient speaker of Czech within a wider context of the original novel by Milan Kundera. Only one out of the 22 Czech examples was considered to be fully referential. This particular sentence with a personal 1PL construction is part of a dialogue and might refer to the speaker of the utterance and his companion (see example 7232 in the random dataset in the Appendix, p. 177). Due to its low frequency, this possible personal use of the 1PL construction remains in the data.

3.4. Data Analysis of the Italian Original and Slavic Translations

This section demonstrates the Slavic impersonalization means which are filtered through the German *man*-constructions in the German translations of the original Italian text. This set of data also reveals interesting contrasts with the results of the overall dataset. Compared to the whole dataset and subsets previously described, it has the least number of nouns meaning ‘human being’ and ‘people’, such as Cz *člověk* and *lidé*, accounting for only 3% of all numerous cases.

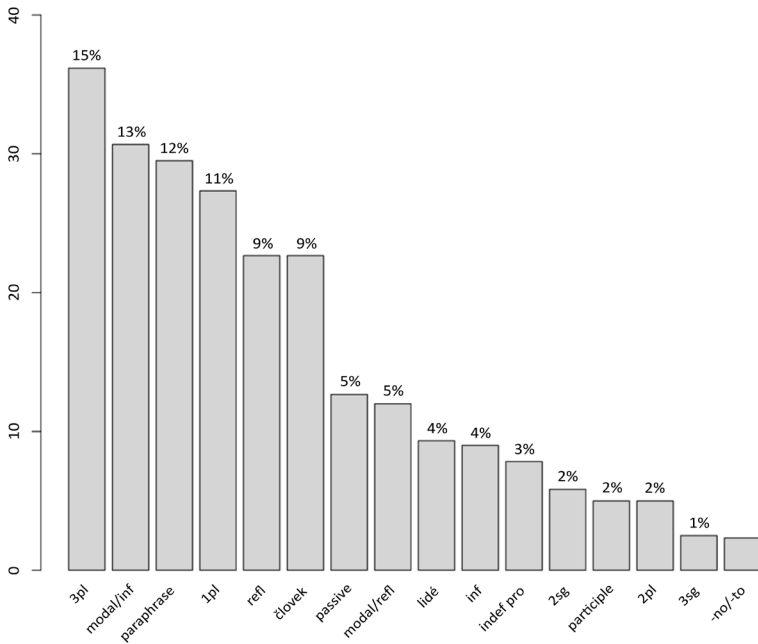


Figure 5. Slavic impersonalization means in the translations from Czech

Additionally, 3PL is used insignificantly less often in this part of the dataset (see Figure 6 opposite), whereas the use of the reflexive is significantly higher (almost 20%) than in the whole dataset and other parts.

Similar to the verification of Czech impersonalization strategies, all Italian original sentences that were rendered in Slavic with the 1PL strategy were extracted (see Table 2 in the Appendix for a full breakdown of the data for each language) and analyzed by a native speaker of Italian within a wider context of the original novel by Umberto Eco to determine whether they contain impersonal meaning. Five out of 76 Italian examples (~6%) were considered to be possible in referential contexts.¹² However, some of these five Italian sentences without an impersonal meaning are still rendered with the impersonal 1PL in Slavic, as shown in the following Czech example (23):

- (23) CZ Zkrátka, každá kniha pro něho byla jako bájně zvíře, které **potkáme** v neznámé zemi.

¹² As mentioned in the previous section, a good example of a referential usage of 1PL can be found in the random dataset provided in the Appendix (see example 7232 on p. 177).

- GE Kurzum, jedes Buch war für ihn wie ein Fabelwesen, dem **man** in einem fremden Lande begegnet.
- IT Insomma, ogni libro era per **lui** come un animale favoloso che **egli** incontrasse in una terra sconosciuta. <original>
 ‘In short, for him every book was like a fabulous animal that he was meeting in a strange land.’

Due to this fact, a decision was made to leave all five Italian sentences without an impersonal meaning in the dataset.

4. Cross-Slavic Comparison of Impersonalization Strategies

This section reveals how the impersonalization strategies outlined in 3.1 are distributed in each Slavic language under study. This breakdown of data for each language allows us to see how diverse or similar Slavic languages behave in the domain of impersonalization.

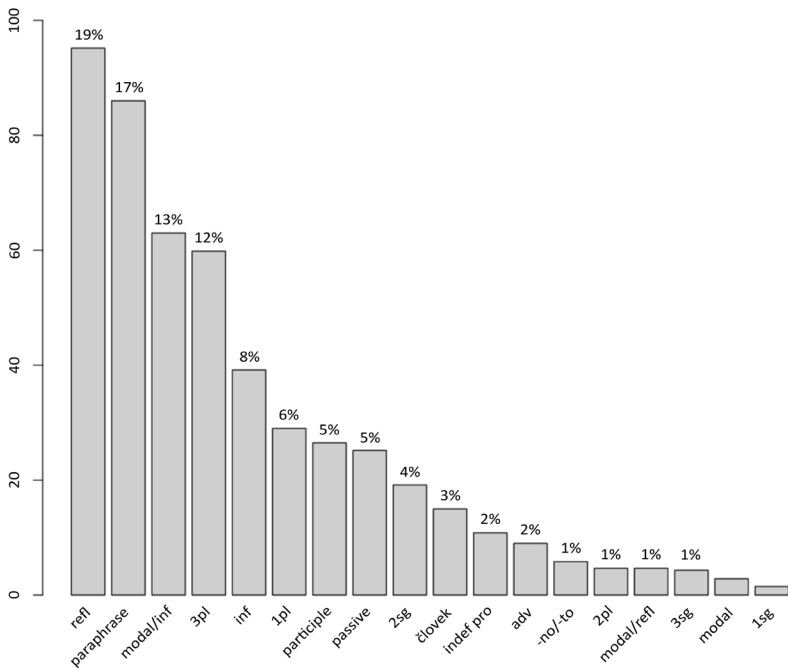


Figure 6. Slavic impersonalization means in the translations from Italian

Figure 7 (on pp. 145–48) shows how Slavic languages vary with regard to the distribution of impersonalization strategies. The frequencies of impersonalization devices in the six Slavic languages under study are represented in raw numbers. The diagrams in Figure 7 do not order the strategies in each of the Slavic languages by frequency, but rather keep the same sequence of strategies for a better cross-linguistic comparison of the data.

Comparing the frequencies of reflexives¹³ in Figure 7, one notices that these constructions are by far the most frequent strategy in Croatian and Polish. In Bulgarian and Czech, reflexives are the second most frequent category after the 3rd-person plural and modal with infinitive constructions, respectively. The situation is, however, quite different in the East Slavic languages, where the reflexive is realized as the verbal affix *-sja*. Russian and Ukrainian make significantly less use of this impersonalization strategy in our data. Reflexives are the fifth most frequent strategy in East Slavic.¹⁴

We get almost the opposite picture in the case of 3rd-person plural constructions. Third-person plural constructions also reveal substantial differences in distribution across the six languages (see Siewierska and Papastathi 2011). While the 3PL impersonals are exceptionally frequent in Russian, Ukrainian, and Bulgarian, this strategy is less common in Croatian and scarce in Czech and Polish. According to Siewierska and Papastathi (2011), Russian employs 3PL impersonals five times as often as French and considerably more often than Spanish or Italian. Our data show that Russian employs 3PL impersonals twice as often as Czech, which might be attributed to the different properties of the 3PL impersonal in Russian and Czech (cf. Berger 1991). In Polish, 3PL impersonals appear to be less common and are used the least frequently of all the Slavic languages. This might be explained by the strong competition between three quasi-synonymous impersonalization constructions: the *-no/-to* construction, the reflexive impersonal *się*, and the 3PL impersonals (see the contribution by Prenner and Bunčić in this volume). The most frequent impersonalization strategies in Polish are reflexives (22%), closely followed by modal/infinitive constructions (18%), *-no/-to* (9%), and 3PL (6%). The same cannot be said for Ukrainian. Although the *-no/-to* construction is

¹³ For the purposes of this paper, this heterogeneous group of reflexive constructions has not been further differentiated. See Meyer 2010 for differences in the diachronic development of these constructions and their synchronic properties in Slavic.

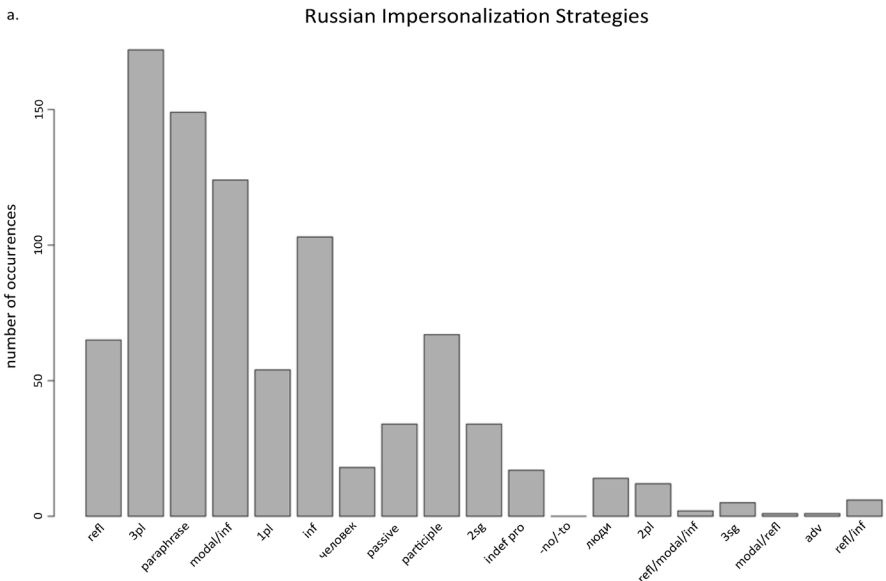
¹⁴ One reviewer pointed out a conceivable explanation for the fact that reflexives are more frequent in Polish and Croatian than they are in Russian and Ukrainian. It is that Polish and some dialectal variants of Croatian distinguish two syntactic patterns of reflexives that in many contexts have the same meaning; one is the non-agreeing accusative construction, and the other is the agreeing nominative construction. Russian, however, does not have the non-agreeing reflexive accusative construction, which might explain why it less frequently employs reflexives in the translations—i.e., there is one less syntactic means to render impersonality than in Polish/Croatian.

also said to be used in Ukrainian (Billings 1993), it is absent in the present data and is restricted to Polish.

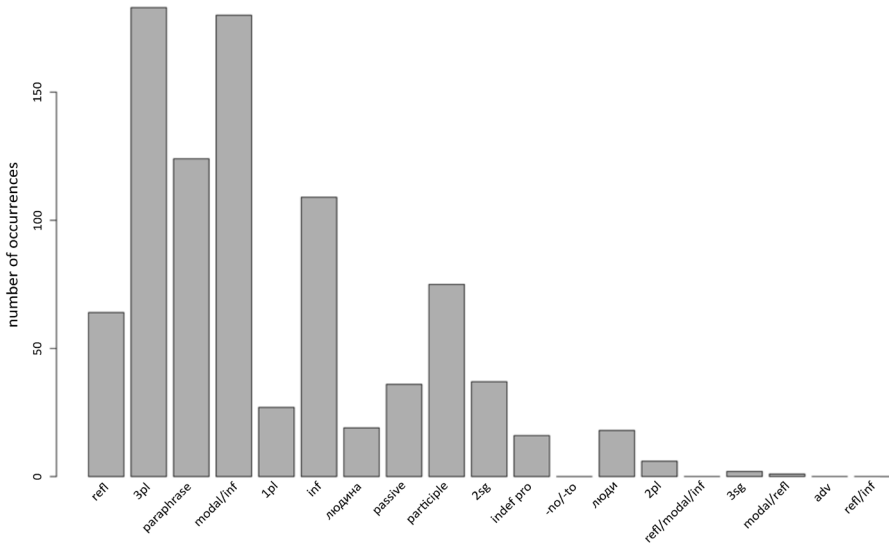
A combination of modal predicative words with (bare) infinitives turns out to be a very widely used impersonalization strategy in four out of six Slavic languages. It is the second most frequent category in Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, and Czech. However, it is not widely used in Croatian and is completely absent in Bulgarian as it is known to lack the infinitive. There are some quasi-infinitive constructions—i.e., modal constructions with finite verbs—but these are not very numerous and account for less than 10% of Bulgarian strategies.

Some enlightening differences are found in the distribution of infinitives with an impersonal meaning. This type of construction seems to be quite heterogeneous within Slavic. Syntactically this type may involve bare infinitives, as in the Russian example (9); and embedded infinitives, as in Pol *stuchać* or *videć* ‘to hear, to see’; or it may also contain infinitives combining with other constituents to form complex predicates. Our data show that infinitives are extensively used as an impersonalization device in Russian and Ukrainian. Infinitives are thus the fourth most frequent strategy in East Slavic. Czech and Polish use infinitives with an impersonal meaning less frequently. In Croatian, infinitives as an impersonalization device are used very rarely. There are

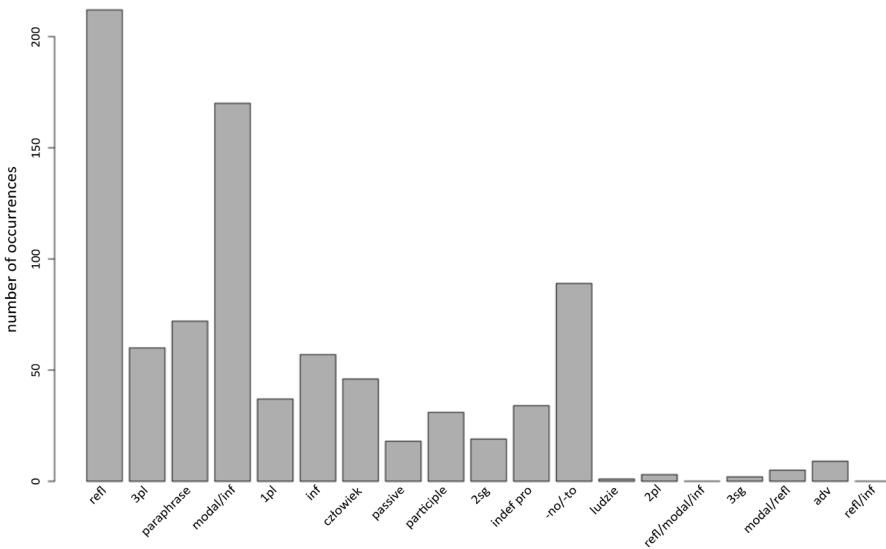
Figure 7. Impersonalization strategies in each Slavic language under study



b. Ukrainian Impersonalization Strategies

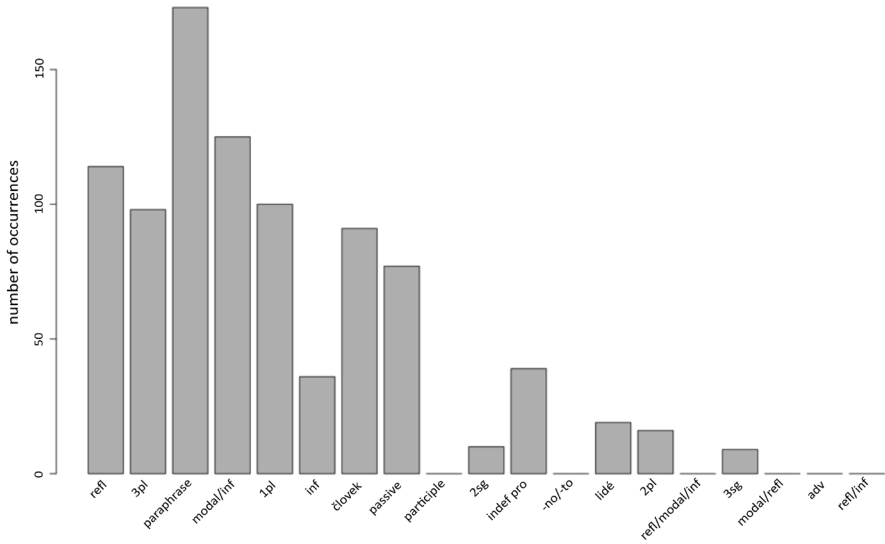


c. Polish Impersonalization Strategies



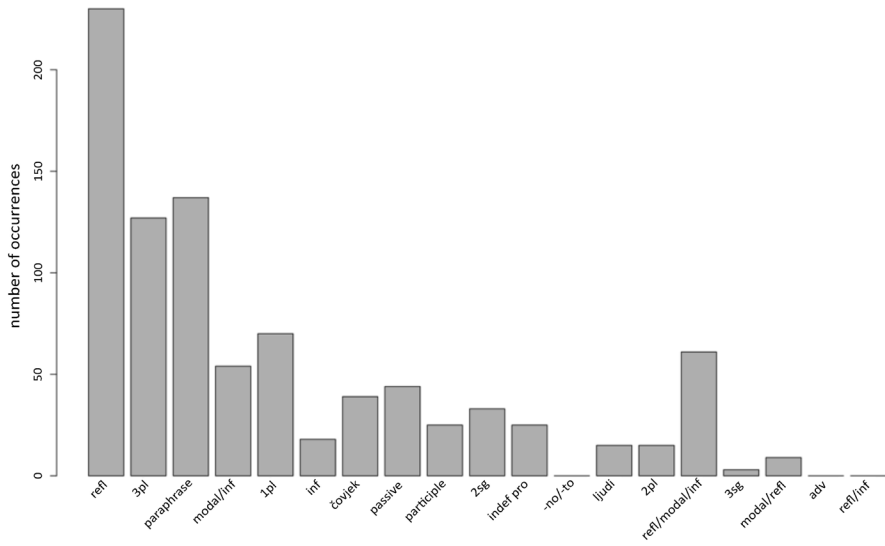
d.

Czech Impersonalization Strategies



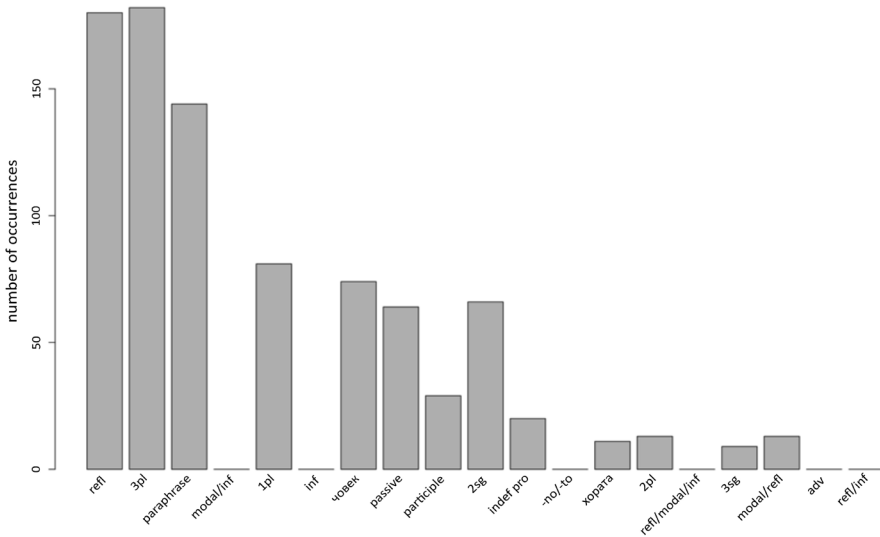
e.

Croatian Impersonalization Strategies



f.

Bulgarian Impersonalization Strategies



only 18 occurrences in the data (which approximates to 2% of all cases), and Bulgarian is well known to have no infinitive form.

Interestingly, 1PL has not yet been regarded as an impersonalization strategy in the literature. Our data show strong variation in the distribution of 1PL with impersonal meaning across Slavic. In Czech 1PL is used quite extensively with an impersonal meaning. Czech employs 1PL impersonals twice as often as Russian and almost three times as often as Ukrainian or Polish. Czech shows the most frequent use of 1PL with an impersonal meaning, followed by Bulgarian and Croatian.

The Slavic nouns meaning ‘human being’ (Cz *člověk*, Rus *человек*, Pol *człowiek*, Blg *човек*, Cr *čovjek*, Ukr *людина*) have been largely ignored in their impersonal function in Slavic grammars and linguistic research. According to Giacalone Ramat and Sansò (2007), the distribution of impersonal nouns meaning ‘human being’ in the languages of Europe is consistent with the so-called Charlemagne area (in the sense of van der Auwera 1998: 823ff.); these nouns are widespread in German, Dutch, and French. However, their usage tends to diffuse eastwards to West and South Slavic languages, whereas East Slavic languages do not exhibit clear instances of these nouns (Giacalone Ramat and Sansò 2007: 66). This is not quite supported by the data in this study. Instead, the two East Slavic languages in our data clearly exhibit numerous

instances of Rus *čelovek* or Ukr *ljudina*¹⁵ as equivalents of *man*-constructions in the dataset, as illustrated by (24), and behave like other Slavic languages in the distribution and usage of this strategy.

- (24) GE [...] das Ziel, das **man** verfolgt, bleibt immer verschleiert.
 RU [...] cel', kotoruju **čelovek** presleduet, vseгда skryta.
 UK [...] meta, do jakoï pragne **ljudina**, zavždi prixovana.
 BU [...] vsjaka cel, kojato presledva **čovek**, e zabulena v mägla.
 CR [...] cilj kome **čovjek** teži uvijek je obavijen maglom.
 PL [...] cel, do którego **człowiek** dąży, jest zawsze niejasny.
 CZ [...] cil, za kterým se **člověk** žene, je vždycky zahalen. <original>
 '... the goals we pursue are always veiled.'¹⁶

However, this impersonalization strategy is indeed used more frequently in other Slavic languages than it is in Russian and Ukrainian, according to our data. In contrast to the study by Rudolf (2014),¹⁷ Rus *čelovek* (as well as Ukr *ljudina*) is not the least frequent impersonalization strategy in the present Russian (Ukrainian) data. It is true that this strategy is used much more frequently in Czech (see Figure 7d, p. 147), as can be seen in the following corpus example (25), where only the Czech text chooses the noun meaning 'human being' (Cz *člověk*) as a *man*-equivalent:

- (25) GE [...] auch wenn **man** diesen Teil nicht zahlt. <original>
 RU [...] daže esli **ne platit'** emu ètoj časti [...]
 UK [...] navit' jakščo cju častinu **ne splačuješ**
 BU [...] Dori da **ne go plaštaš** [...]
 CR [...] a da se taj dio i **ne plaća** [...]
 PL [...] nawet ješli **się nie płaci** [...]
 CZ [...] i když ji **člověk** celou nezaplatí [...]
 '... even if you didn't pay...'

¹⁵ It should be kept in mind that the singular and plural nouns are treated here as two separate strategies (see Figure 3, p. 133).

¹⁶ This example nicely reveals how the impersonalization means of using the noun *člověk* in the original Czech is mirrored in all Slavic translations. This is considered a translation effect here (see Section 5). The sentences originally available in Cyrillic in the corpus (Russian, Ukrainian, and Bulgarian) were transliterated here by the author.

¹⁷ In her study, Rudolf used the same method of anchoring against German *man* in the same corpus, but with a smaller sample of examples.

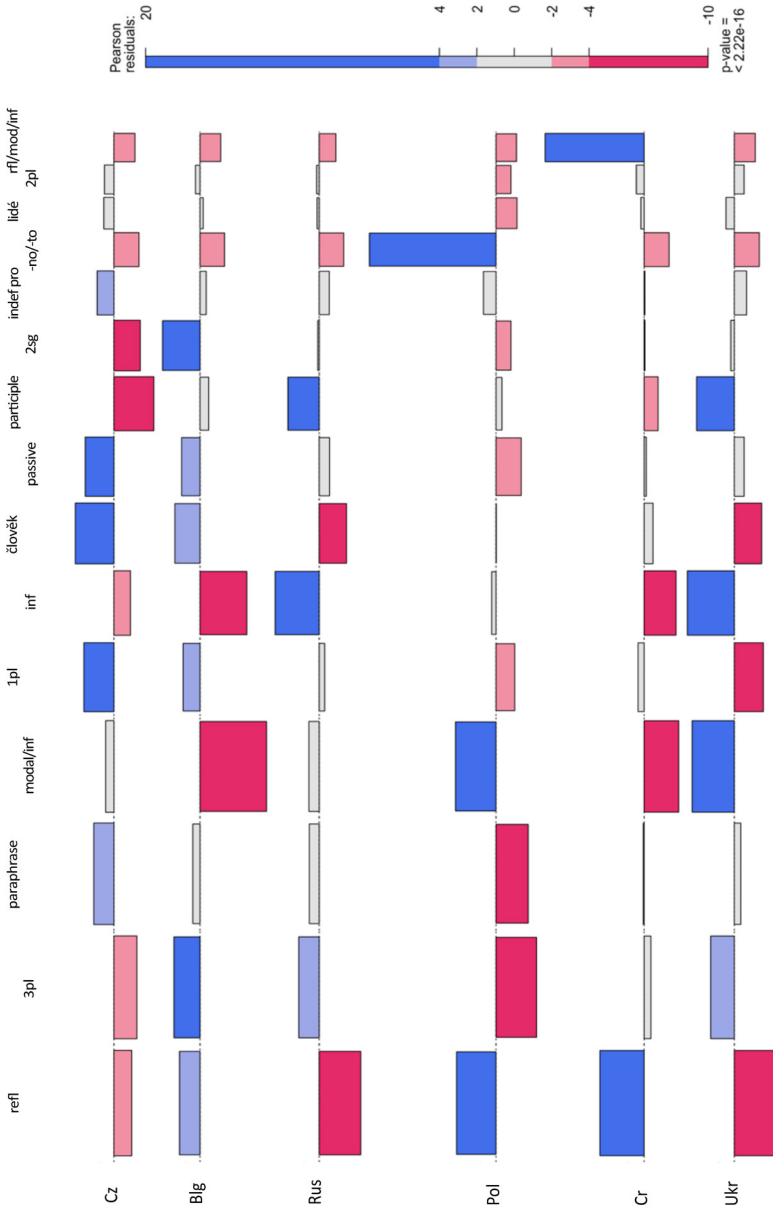


Figure 8. A comparison of the impersonalization strategies in six Slavic languages (Cohen-Friendly association plot)

In Bulgarian, Polish, and Croatian, impersonal nouns meaning ‘human being’ are used less frequently than in Czech but more often than in Russian or Ukrainian.

The aforementioned differences in the distribution of impersonalization strategies are illustrated by the association plot presented in Figure 8 on the opposite page. Figure 8 shows a comparison of the frequencies in the six languages in the form of a Cohen-Friendly association plot.¹⁸ It shows the observed frequencies in relation to the expected frequencies, on the assumption of the statistical independence of the variables. For the bars that rise above the baseline, e.g., the impersonal reflexive in Polish or Croatian, the observed frequency is greater than expected. For the bars that fall below the baseline, e.g., the reflexives in Russian and Ukrainian, the observed frequency is smaller than expected. The height of each bar signifies the value of the corresponding Pearson residual, and the width stands for the squared root of the expected value. The shading color corresponds to the residual—large positive residuals are indicated by blue, large negative residuals by red—and intensity represents its relative importance: the more intense the color, the greater the deviation.¹⁹

The differences are thus visualized in the plot in Figure 8. The reflexives are strongly overrepresented in Polish and Croatian and massively underrepresented in Russian and Ukrainian.²⁰ The impersonal use of the 3PL strategy is greatly underrepresented in Polish and prominently overrepresented in Bulgarian. Modal infinitive constructions as well as infinitives are particularly overrepresented in Ukrainian and underrepresented in Bulgarian and Croatian, while the *člověk* strategy is enormously underrepresented in Rus-

¹⁸ To create an association plot, I have used the *assoc()* function from the package *vcd*.

¹⁹ For a more detailed explanation of an association plot in R, see Levshina 2015: 220.

²⁰ This speaks to a fundamental difference in the behavior of reflexives across Slavic. Marelj (2004) points out, for example, a syntactic divergence in reflexives in Slavic languages. See examples (i) and (ii) below and the observation about syntactic patterns provided in footnote 14 (p. 144).

(i) Owe przesaða dzisiaj inaczej się (Polish)
 these prejudices_{ACC} today differently REFL
 interpretuje/interpretują.
 interpret_{3SG}/interpret_{3PL}
 ‘One interprets these prejudices differently today.’

(ii) Roditelje/Roditelji se poštuje/poštuju. (Croatian)
 parents_{ACC} REFL respect_{3SG}
 ‘One should respect parents.’ (Marelj 2004: 267–69)

sian. All these differences in the distribution of the major impersonalization strategies appear to be highly significant ($p < 0.001$).²¹

The association plot in Figure 8 also shows some significant differences in the distribution of other non-major impersonalization strategies such as passive, *-no/-to*, and 2nd-person singular constructions. While passives are over-represented in Czech, participial and 2nd-person singular constructions are greatly underrepresented. Constructions with *-no/-to* occur exclusively in the Polish data, and the 2nd-person singular constructions occur most frequently in Bulgarian, followed by Ukrainian and Russian.

The *-no/-to* construction is also known to be used in Ukrainian (Billings 1993), but we do not find it in our data. This may be due to the fact that the Ukrainian construction, but not the Polish one, can be used in both agentive (26) and non-agentive (27) contexts, and thus has a broader reference in terms of the external argument than *man*-constructions.

- (26) Tabir bulo **zajnjato** amerykans'kym vijs'kom. (Ukrainian)
 camp AUX_{3SG.N} occupied American troops

'The camp was occupied by American troops.'

- (27) Bereh **rozmyto** tečijeju.
 shore washed.away current

'The shore was washed away due to the current.' (Lavine 2017: 190)²²

Modern Slavic languages fall into three major groups, according to linguistic and historical factors (Sussex and Cubberley 2006). Considering the languages under study, there is South Slavic, which includes Bulgarian and Croatian; East Slavic, which includes Russian and Ukrainian; and West Slavic, which includes Polish and Czech. The question arises whether the languages fall into these three groups and behave similarly within the Slavic subfamilies in the domain of impersonalization. Observing the data on the distribution of various impersonalization strategies in six Slavic languages, I have identified some group tendencies in the use of impersonal strategies. While the East Slavic languages use the impersonal reflexive or the *člověk* strategy less frequently than other languages, the West Slavic languages do not use the 3PL strategy as often as the other languages do. In order to compare the distribution of the impersonalization strategies among the three Slavic groups, one needs to show that the six languages actually divide up into these three

²¹ If a standardized residual value is greater than 1.96 or smaller than -1.96, the cell makes a statistically significant contribution to the obtained χ^2 -statistic value at the significance level of 0.05 (Levshina 2015: 221).

²² I thank an anonymous reviewer for this point.

groups by verifying that the differences inside the groups are smaller than the differences between the groups.²³ To test this, I first consider the impersonalization strategies within each group—that is, between Russian and Ukrainian (for East Slavic), Bulgarian and Croatian (for South Slavic), and between Czech and Polish (for West Slavic)—and formulate the null hypothesis that the proportions of the impersonalization strategies are equal between the languages. Three Fisher’s exact tests²⁴ show that the null hypothesis can be rejected for the East (p -value = 0.005497), West (p -value = 0.0004998), and South Slavic group (p -value = 0.0004998), since the p -value is smaller than the conventional level of 0.01. This means that the differences in the distribution of impersonalization strategies within the groups are highly significant and the six Slavic languages do not divide up into three groups in the domain of impersonalization, since the differences within the three groups are not smaller than the differences between groups (p -value < 0.01). Despite the similarities observed, the statistical tests show that there are significant cross-Slavic differences between all six languages and the languages that belong to the same Slavic group do not utilize impersonalization strategies in a similar way.

There are, of course, some similarities which may carefully be interpreted as tendencies within particular Slavic subfamilies in the domain of impersonalization. Specifically, we note a comparable distribution of several strategies within East Slavic. These similarities can be illustrated by a neighbor net, shown in Figure 9 on the following page. The neighbor net in Figure 9 shows that there are indeed East and South Slavic groups, the West Slavic languages do not form any cluster, and it is completely unclear whether the differences between the groups are greater and statistically more significant than in-group differences.

5. Translation Effects

It can be assumed that the distribution of impersonalization strategies is largely impacted by the source language of the translation, e.g., the original language from which the sentences have been translated into German and Slavic in our database, namely German, Italian, or Czech (see Section 2.2 for the description of the data). To test this assumption, I consider the impersonalization strategies in just two different Slavic languages due to space constraints (namely, Czech and Russian) and formulate the following hypotheses (H1 and H0) concerning the translation effects:

²³ I thank another anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

²⁴ Since several values in the data are smaller than 5, Pearson’s χ^2 -test is reported to be not robust enough in such cases. I therefore use an additional recommended test, Fisher’s exact test (Levshina 2015: 29), in all three cases.

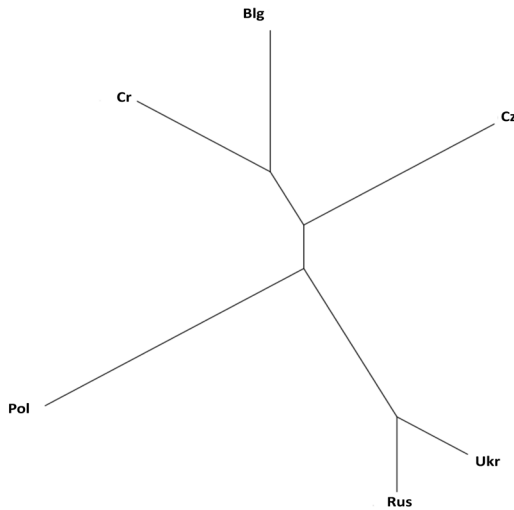


Figure 9. Cross-Slavic comparison of impersonalization strategies. Phylogenetic tree via UPGMA method, unrooted.

H1: The source language has an impact on the choice of impersonalization strategy found in Russian or Czech.

H0: The source language has no impact on the choice of impersonalization strategy found in Russian or Czech.

Figure 10 on the opposite page visualizes the data from Russian in the form of a Cohen-Friendly association plot. A χ^2 -test shows that the null hypothesis can be rejected ($\chi^2 = 127.23$, $df = 28$; $p < 0.001$).²⁵

Figure 10 shows that the main differences in the Russian corpus data consist in the distribution of five impersonalization strategies as well as the option of paraphrasing the whole sentence. The use of 3PL impersonals in Russian is strongly overrepresented in the sentences translated from German, whereas the use of 1PL as well as Rus *čelovek* and *ljudi* is massively overrepresented in

²⁵ As mentioned in footnote 24, the χ^2 -test is said not to be robust when at least one expected value in the table is smaller than 5. In the Russian data there were no instances of adverbial constructions in the sentences translated from Czech. I therefore used Fisher's exact test (Levshina 2015: 29). Fisher's exact test for count data with simulated p -value (based on 2,000 replicates) also shows that the null hypothesis can be rejected: p -value = 0.0004998.

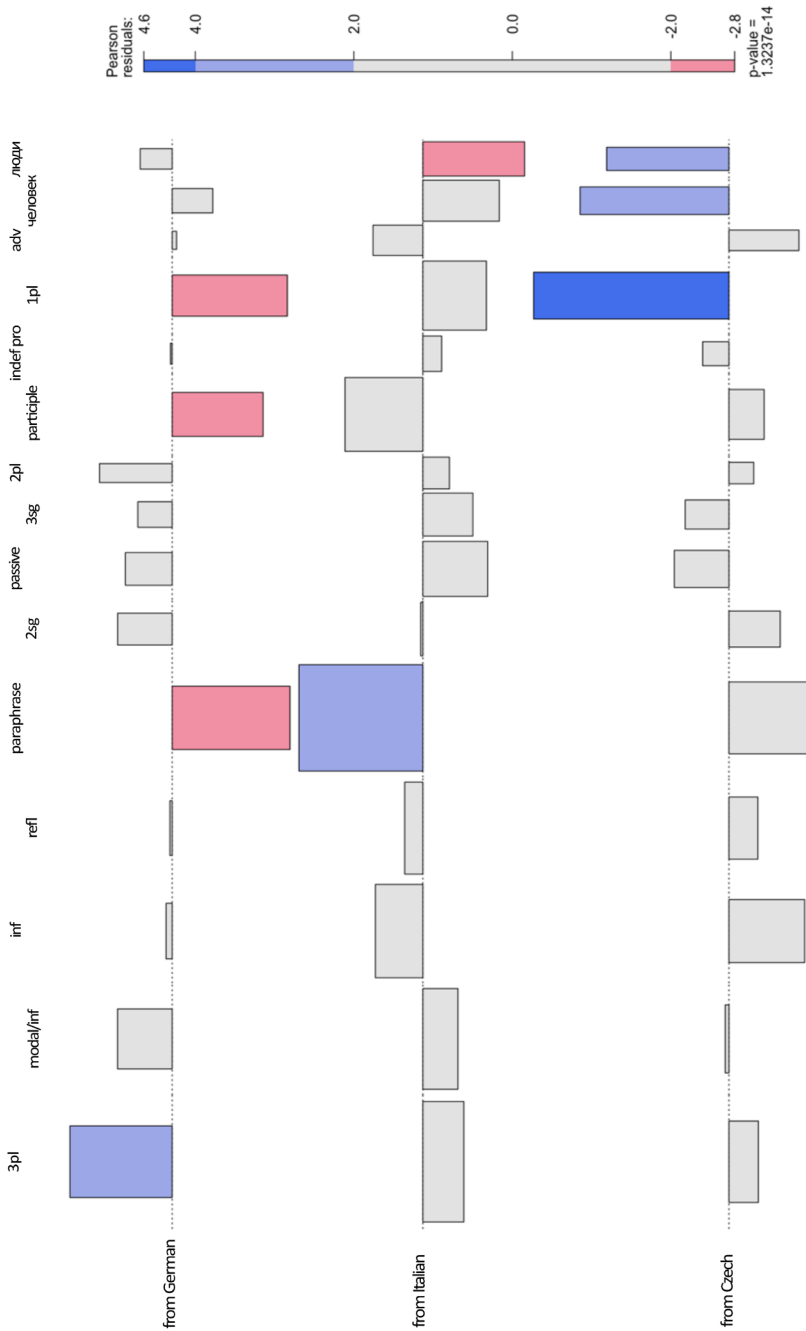


Figure 10. Translation effects in Russian

the sentences translated from Czech.²⁶ This influence from the German or Czech source language is not very surprising and can be attributed to the prevalence of the *man*-sentences in German, which are usually rendered by 3PL in Russian, and the frequent usage of the 1PL and *člověk* (as well as *lidé*) in original Czech sentences, which was attested in the Czech data as well as Czech translations (see Table 4 in the Appendix).

Figure 11 on the opposite page presents the data from Czech in the form of a Cohen-Friendly association plot. A χ^2 -test shows that the null hypothesis can also be rejected ($\chi^2 = 165.94$, $df = 26$; $p < 0.001$).²⁷ As the bars rise or fall with respect to the baseline in Figure 11, they reveal that the main differences in the Czech data concern seven impersonalization strategies (reflexive impersonals, 1PL, 3PL, noun *člověk*, infinitive constructions, noun *lidé*, and 2PL) as well as paraphrase.

Figure 11 reveals that the choice of impersonalization strategy in Czech translation is determined by the source language. The main Czech strategies vary according to whether a sentence is translated from German or Italian. We see that Czech translations from German and from Italian choose reflexive as an impersonalization strategy more often than the original. In the German translations, the *člověk* strategy is strongly overrepresented. In Italian translations, the 3PL strategy is strongly underrepresented.

In both cases (Figures 10 and 11), statistical analysis reveals significant translation effects, which leads to the conclusion that the distribution of impersonalization strategies is heavily influenced by the source language.

6. Discussion of the Data

One of the major aims of this study is to exemplify the types of structures Slavic languages use to render propositional content expressed by the German pronoun *man*. By using a method based on German *man*, I found that the Slavic languages use 18 linguistic means to express impersonal meaning. I do not claim that all the strategies revealed by the data in this study are impersonal constructions. I rather suggest that the structures presented here (as shown in Figures 3–6) are used as impersonalization strategies in particular contexts in the six selected Slavic languages.

²⁶ I also notice this influence from Czech in other Slavic languages in the corpus data. The Slavic sentences translated from Czech tend to have a more frequent use of 1PL and nouns meaning 'human being' (see Table 3 in the Appendix, p. 168).

²⁷ Here it must again be mentioned, as in the Russian case above, that the χ^2 -test is not robust here. In the Czech data there were no instances of *lidé* in the sentences translated from Italian, and therefore Fisher's exact test was used. Fisher's exact test also shows that the null hypothesis can be rejected: p -value = 0.0004998.

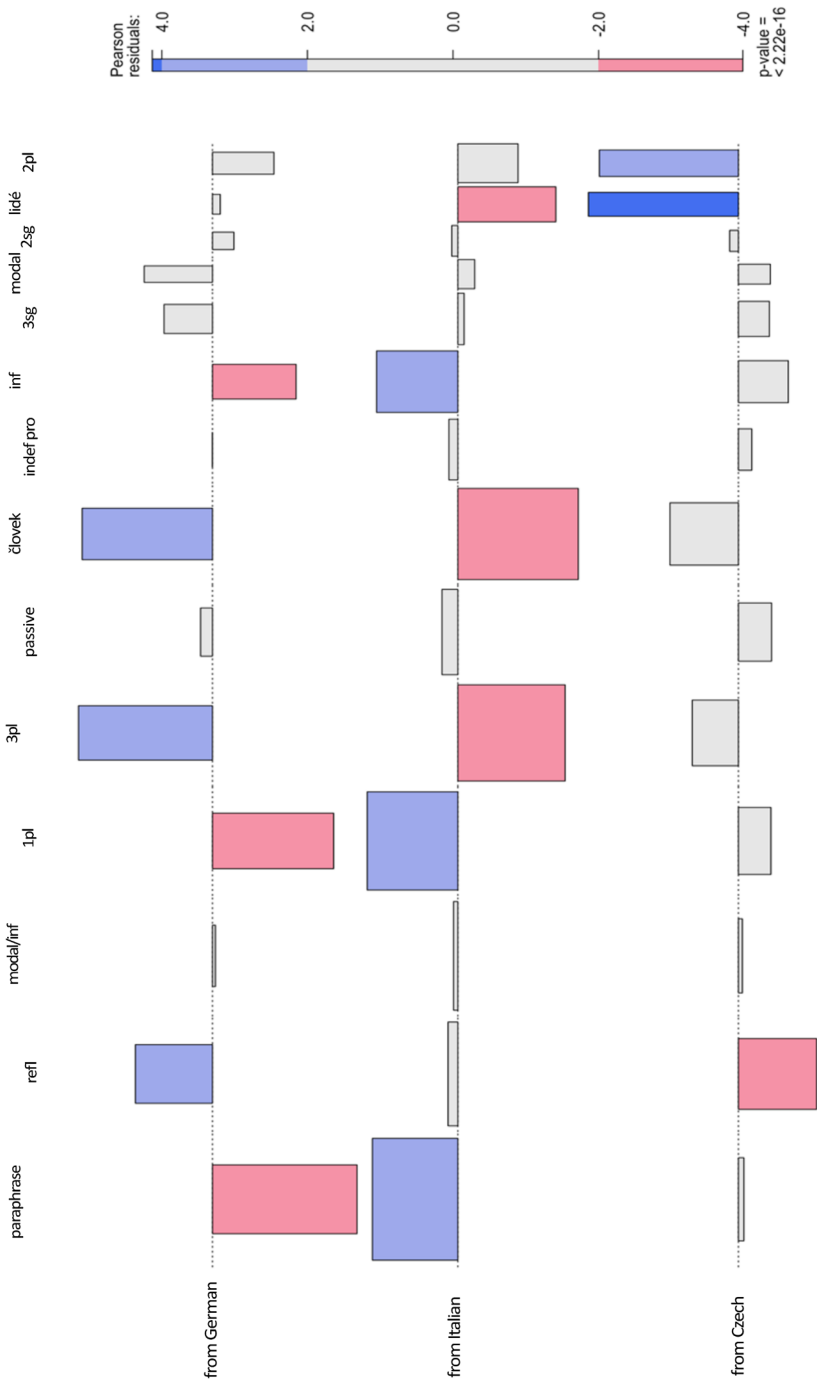


Figure 11. Translation effects in Czech

Since the analysis presented in this paper is based on parallel translation data, the corpus data is interpreted with diligence.

Two important methodological issues should be discussed here. First, using *man* as a filter has specific weaknesses. As already mentioned in Section 3.3, this approach neglects the other strategies used in German to express impersonalization. Although *man* is the most widely used impersonalization strategy in German, there are also other means to render impersonal meaning, e.g., the impersonal passive (Primus 2011). Therefore, to supplement the parallel corpus, my future study will take random samples of some of the Slavic strategies discovered here in a comparable corpus of original texts in the same language and investigate how much has been missed by using *man* as a filter.

One of the advantages of filtering through German *man* is that it arguably maximizes precision in large amounts of data, since all the occurrences are clearly impersonal. Moreover, anchoring against *man* allows us to identify means of expressing impersonalization that have not been identified heretofore or have been paid little attention in the literature, as for example, the Slavic strategies of using 1PL and nouns meaning ‘human being’ or ‘people’ in impersonal contexts.

The fact that two texts included in the database are German translations from a third language, namely, Czech and Italian, raises another important methodological issue regarding whether the German *man* presents an adequate anchor in translated texts. That is, this method has a possible limitation in that examples extracted from German *man* in Italian or Czech may not necessarily involve impersonalization strategies. To ensure that the correspondences of German *man* in the original languages do involve impersonal meaning, Italian and Czech examples were explored in detail within a wider context (see Sections 3.2–3.4 for details). It was found that the overwhelming majority of these constructions is unambiguously impersonal.

It turns out that working with translated texts revealed strong translation effects, which comparative linguists should be aware of (von Waldenfels 2012). Data show that the Slavic translations reflect the structures of the original in the domain of impersonalization (see example (23)). Thus, the frequent use of impersonal reflexives in Slavic translations from the Italian text can be explained by the numerous usages of the impersonal reflexive in Italian. The available data also show that Czech prefers the use of nouns meaning ‘human being’ and ‘people’ (Cz *člověk, lidé*) in impersonal contexts and uses the strategy more often than other Slavic languages do in the translations of German or Italian text (see Tables 1 and 2 in the Appendix, pp. 166–67). Translation effects are clearly seen in the Slavic translations from Czech, where the Slavic languages are influenced by the Czech structure of the impersonalization strategy and choose to use a similar one (e.g., Rus *človek, ljudi*; Pol *człowiek, ludzie*; Blg *čovjek, xorata*; Cr *čovjek, ljudi*; and Ukr *ljudina, ljudi*).

Besides translation effects, there is another point to be raised here with regard to translated texts. As a comparative linguist, I was not interested in the translation process as such or in the translation-specific characteristics of the data contained in this parallel corpus. Nevertheless, a straightforward equivalence between original and translated texts is not assumed here (von Waldenfels 2012). Translation is known to be closely connected with stylistics (Boase-Beier 2019), and some impersonalization strategies exemplified in this study might have been chosen by the authors and translators for various stylistic purposes, which are not dealt with in this study. Moreover, the native Italian speakers who assisted with the annotation of the data reported an extensive use of the impersonal reflexive in the Italian novel by Umberto Eco, and translators have previously encountered challenges in translating Eco's texts (Dixon 2016). Important for this study was the case of 1PL corresponding to German *man*-constructions, which could have been used as fully referential in Slavic translations. Our analysis of the data in Section 3 reveals, however, that the 1PL is indeed used as an impersonalization strategy in Czech, as well as other Slavic languages, as an equivalent of the German *man*-construction.

The general point made in this paper is that using *man* as a filter proves to be a valid approach even in translated texts. The potential false positive results, such as a probable usage of a fully referential 1PL as an artifact of the translation-driven approach, have been validated by looking at the individual data points and kept to a minimum. The data analyzed here, however, reveal strong translations effects.

7. Summary and Conclusion

This paper has employed a comparative corpus-driven approach to identify the types of structures Slavic languages use to express propositional content conveyed by the pronoun *man* in German and to compare these impersonalization means across Slavic. The overview of specific types of strategies used for impersonalization in Slavic is given in Section 3. The corpus data from Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, and Polish reveal that Slavic languages possess a large variety of impersonalization strategies, represented by 18 constructions: reflexives, 3PL constructions, modal infinitive constructions, 1PL constructions, infinitive constructions, impersonally used nouns meaning 'human being' (Cz *člověk*, Rus *čelovek*, Pol *człowiek*, Blg *čovjek*, Cr *čovjek*, Ukr *ljudina*) and 'people' (*ljudi*, *lidé*, *xorata*, *ludzie*), participial constructions, passives, 2SG constructions, indefinite pronouns, *-no/-to* constructions, 2PL constructions, reflexive modal infinitive constructions, modal reflexive constructions, 3SG constructions, adverbial constructions, and reflexive infinitive constructions. The distribution of these impersonalization strategies across Slavic languages is illustrated in Figure 3. An alternative option of rendering a German *man*-sentence is a complete rephrasing by resolving the impersonal

meaning and using either a personal pronoun or a nominal, adjectival, prepositional, or other construction. This option has not been dealt with in much detail in the current study. Reflexives turn out to be the most frequent cross-Slavic impersonalization strategy, followed by the 3PL constructions. Infinitives and impersonally used nouns meaning 'human being' reveal a great deal of variation in distribution across the six Slavic languages under study. One of the most surprising results of the study is the impersonal use of 1PL constructions in Slavic languages. The use of 1PL has not yet been described as an impersonal construction in the literature. Our data and analysis convincingly show that 1PL constructions are used as an impersonalization means, mostly in Czech but also in other Slavic languages, to convey propositional content expressed by the pronoun *man* in German. The contexts in which impersonal 1PL in Slavic are used represent a clear need for future study.

On the one hand, this study shows a range of expressions which are used in Slavic to express impersonalization; on the other hand, it reveals cross-Slavic variation in the distribution and use of these impersonalization strategies (Section 4). The domain of impersonalization is clearly not homogeneous across the Slavic languages. Interestingly, the six Slavic languages under study do not divide up into the typical West, East, and South Slavic subfamilies in their distribution of the impersonalization strategies. Statistical analysis reveals significant differences in the domain of impersonalization between Slavic languages. While some similarities in the distribution of particular strategies are detected, for example, within the East Slavic group (e.g., the frequent use of 3PL or infinitive constructions), the data also reveal some noteworthy differences between Ukrainian and Russian, such as a more frequent use of modal infinitive constructions in Ukrainian.

The study has also shown that the distribution of impersonalization strategies is greatly influenced by the original language of translation, i.e., the question of whether a sentence in the corpus data is a German original or translation from Italian or Czech. It turns out that the source language is highly relevant for the choice of the impersonalization strategy.

Other factors are also known to influence the choice of impersonalization strategies. Therefore, more data from different registers and the analysis of the impact of grammatical, semantic, and pragmatic parameters on the choice of impersonalization devices in Slavic are desirable in future studies. As suggested by von Waldenfelds (2012: 265), "assessments based on a corpus such as ParaSol need to be examined critically in the light of independent monolingual corpora". To control for the obvious translation effects that have been revealed by this study, the present study should be combined in the future with the analysis of comparable corpora, i.e., the collection of original texts in the languages compared.

Sources

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Appendix

A full breakdown of the data for each language and each text type in the dataset and a random sample of the database

Table 1. Impersonalization means in Slavic translated from German text ($n = 1,033$)

Strategies	UK	RU	CZ	PL	BU	CR
3pl	53	48	33	6	57	49
modal/inf	31	30	22	23	0	12
inf	13	21	1	4	0	2
refl	22	20	30	43	41	42
paraphrase	16	16	8	16	32	25
2sg	10	10	1	1	23	4
passive	7	10	15	4	5	7
participle	11	6	0	3	3	3
2pl	0	5	0	0	1	1
lidé	3	4	8	0	0	2
indef pro	9	3	7	5	2	7
3sg	0	2	5	7	0	1
1pl	1	2	3	1	1	2
člověk	0	2	32	9	7	2
adv	0	1	0	2	0	0
modal	1	1	4	3	2	0
-no/-to	0	0	0	40	0	0
refl/modal/inf	0	2	0	0	0	10
refl/inf	0	2	0	0	0	0

Table 2. Impersonalization means in Slavic translated from Italian text ($n = 3,008$)

Strategies	UK	RU	CZ	PL	BU	CR
paraphrase	74	105	105	58	91	83
refl	35	59	66	147	110	149
modal/inf	101	62	71	92	0	38
1pl	6	23	66	9	47	36
3pl	93	86	33	25	79	44
passive	12	13	46	14	48	19
člověk	4	5	27	7	45	2
indef pro	7	9	23	10	7	9
inf	85	66	33	36	0	15
3sg	1	3	9	4	8	1
modal	0	0	4	13	0	0
2sg	18	19	6	12	35	25
1sg	0	0	0	7	2	0
lidé	2	0	0	0	0	0
2pl	3	5	4	1	6	9
modal/refl	0	0	0	1	2	25
participle	57	51	0	14	16	21
adv	5	0	0	19	0	0
-no/-to	0	0	0	35	0	0
refl/modal/inf	0	2	0	0	0	44
refl/inf	0	4	0	0	0	0

Table 3. Impersonalization means in Slavic translated from Czech text ($n = 1,384$)

Strategies	UK	RU	CZ	PL	BU	CR
3pl	37	39	32	29	46	34
1pl	20	32	22	25	33	32
modal/inf	48	31	32	51	11	11
paraphrase	33	29	40	15	31	29
refl	8	22	18	19	29	40
inf	12	17	6	18	0	1
participle	3	13	0	4	9	1
passive	18	13	16	0	11	18
člověk	17	13	32	28	22	24
lidé	13	9	11	1	9	13
2sg	9	5	3	6	8	4
indef pro	0	5	9	13	11	9
2pl	3	2	12	2	6	5
3sg	1	1	5	2	5	1
-no/-to	0	0	0	14	0	0
modal/refl	0	2	0	0	0	12
ref/modal/inf	0	0	0	0	0	6

Table 4. Impersonalization means in Slavic ($n = 5,425$)

Strategies	CZ	BU	RU	PL	CR	UK
refl	114	180	65	212	230	64
3pl	98	182	172	60	127	183
paraphrase	173	144	149	72	137	124
modal/inf	125	0	124	170	54	180
1pl	100	81	54	37	70	27
inf	36	0	103	57	18	109
člověk	91	74	18	46	39	19
passive	77	64	34	18	44	36
participle	0	29	67	31	25	75
2sg	10	66	34	19	33	37
indefinite pro	39	20	17	34	25	16
-no/-to	0	0	0	89	0	0
lidé	19	11	14	1	15	18
2pl	16	13	12	3	15	6
refl/modal/inf	0	0	2	0	61	0
3sg	9	9	5	2	3	2
modal/refl	0	13	1	5	9	1
adv	0	0	1	9	0	0
refl/inf	0	0	6	0	0	0

GE (original)	BU	CZ	CR	PL	RU	UK
455 Achthundert Jahre lang hatte man hierher die Toten des Krankenhauses Hotel-Dieu und der umliegenden Pfarngemeinden verbracht, acht-hundert Jahre lang Tag für Tag die Kadaver zu Dutzenden herbeigekarrt und in lange Gräben geschüt-tet, achthundert Jahre lang in den Gräften und Bein-häusern Knöchel-chen auf Knöchel-chen geschichtet.	Цели осемсто-тин години тук бяха заравяли умрелите от болнилага “Божи дом” и околните енории, цели осемстотин го-дини, ден подир ден, бяха из-возвали с тарги трупове, за да ги изгърсват в дългите ровове, цели осемсто-тин години в гробниците и костници се бяха пластили кокал върху кокал. (3pl)	Po osm set let sem nosili nebož-tky z městské nemocnice a z okolních farností, po osm set let sem dennodenně svaželi na kárách desítky mrtvol a házeli je do dlouhých hrobů, po osm set let vstřvili v hrob-kách a kostnicích kostičku na kos-tičku. (3pl)	Osam stotina godina donosili su tamo mrtvace iz bolnice Hô-tel-Dieu i okolnih žup- [sic], osam stotina godina, dan za danom, dovozili su u kolicima na desetke leševa i istresali ih u duge rake, osam stotina godina slagali su u grob-nice i kostur-nice košćice na košćice, sloj po sloj. (3pl)	Przez osiemset lat chowano tu zmarłych ze szpitala Hótel-Dieu i oko-licznych parafii, przez osiem-set lat dzień w dzień tuzinami zwożono tu trupy i zrzucano do podłużnych dołów, przez osiemset lat w kryptach i kostnicach skła-dano warstwami kości. (-no/-to)	Восьмьсот лет подряд сюда доставляли покойников из Отель-Дье и близлежащих приходов, восьмьсот лет подряд сюда на тачках дюжи-нами свозили трупы и вывали-вали в длинные ямы, восьмьсот лет подряд их укладывали сло-ями, скелетик к скелетику, в семейные склепы и братские могилы. (3pl)	Протягом вось-мисот років спроваджували суди мерців із лікарні Отель Дьє та навко-лишніх парафій, протягом восьмисот років день у день при-возили сюди десятки трупів, звальювали їх у довжелезні могили, напаро-вучи у склепах та на звалищах кісток. (3pl)

GE (original)	BU	CZ	CR	PL	RU	UK
558 Und erst später, am Vorabend der Französischen Revolution, nachdem einige der Leichengräben gefährlich eingestürzt waren und der Gestank des überquellenden Friedhofs die Anwohner nicht mehr zu bloßen Protesten, sondern zu wahren Aufständen trieb, wurde er endlich geschlossen und aufgelassen, wurden die Millionen Knochen und Schädel in die Katakomben von Montmartre geschaufelt, und man errichtete an seiner Stelle einen Marktplatz für Viktualien.	Едва по-късно, в навечерието на Френската революция, когато някои гробове застрашително пропадаха и смрада от преливащото гробище подтикна жителите не към безобиден ропот, а към истински бунт, взрорам, те пръв то най-сетне бях затворено и изоставено . (passive)	A teprve později, v předvečer Francouzské revoluce, když se některé hroby nebezpečně proradly a zářach překuroujícího hřbitova dohánějí sousední obyvatelé nejen k pouhým protestům, nýbrž k opravdovým vzpourám, teprve tehdy byl hřbitov konečně zavřen a zrušen a milióny hnátí a lebek pak zahrabali do katakomb na Montmartre a na původním místě zřídili trh s potravinami. (3pl)	Tek poslije, uoči Francuske revolucije, pošto su se neki grobovi orasno urušili, ora je smrad što je provalio s groblja natjerao susjedno stanovništvo ne samo na obične prosvjede nego i na prave ustanke, napokon su ga zatvorili i napustili, milijune kosti i lubanja nabacali lopatama u katakombe Montmartrea, a na njegovu mjestu podignuli tržnicu. (3pl)	I dopiero później, w przededniu Rewolucji Francuskiej, kiedy to niektóre groby zapadły się niebezpiecznie i smród wycierpiał z tego z brzegów smentarzyska skłonił mieszkańców już nie do gołych protestów, ale do prawdziwych buntów, smentarz został narazcie zamknięty i zlikwidowany, miliony dawano, miliony puszczeli i czaszek zsurowano do katakumb Montmartre, a na tym miejscu urządzono targowisko. (-no/-to)	И лишь позже, накануне Французской революции, после того как некоторые из могил угрожающе обвалились и вони переполенного кладбища [sic] побудила жителей предместья не только к протестам, но и к настоящим бунтам, кладбище было наконец закрыто и разорено, миллионы костей и черепов сбросены в катакомбы Монмартра, а на этом месте сооружены рынок. (passive)	І лише згодом, напередодні Французької революції, після того як кілька могил небезпечно обвалились і нестерпний сморід змусив жителів не просто протестувати, а повстати, пивнтар нарешті закрили і, закопавши мільйони кісток та черепів у катакомбах Монмартру, влаштували на тому місці ринковий майдан для торгівлі харчем. (3pl)

GE (original)	BU	CZ	CR	PL	RU	UK
1025 Geschrei, Serenne, im Kreis steht die glotzende Menge, man holt die Polizei.	Вряя, топуркане, тьла зяпачи се струпва около й. Пригича стражата. (paraphrase)	Кřík, šhon, do- kola čimicí dav a někdo zavolá policii. (indef pro)	Кřіка, strka, u krugu mnoštvo izbuljenih očiju, zovu policiju. (3pl)	Krzuk, gwetes, garje gromadzacy się dookoła, ktoś sprawadza policję. (indef pro)	Крик сумагоха, толпа звака округжає тело, приводят поліцію. (3pl)	Викрики метушня, довокла вирячені очі, натовп кличе поліцію. (paraphrase)
1186 Und weil sie geständig ist und ohne weiteres zugibt, dass sie das Ding bestimmt würde haben verrecken lassen, wie sie es im übrigen schon mit vier anderen getan habe, macht man ihr den Prozess, verurteilt sie wegen mehrfachen Kindermords und schlägt ihr ein paar Wochen später auf der Place de Greve den Kopf ab.	Тђй като тя си признава и без да усуква, заявява, че пак е щяла да остави това изчадие да пукне, както впрочем е сторила вече с предшните четри, я изправят пред съд, осъждат я за многократно детубийство и няколко седмици по-късно отсичат главата й на площад "Грев". (3pl)	A protože se beze všeho přizná, že by byla nechala nemluvné zahynout, jako to ostatně udělala už se čtyřmi předchozími, je postavena před soud, odsouzena pro několicí kanásobnou vraždu novorozenčů a o několik týdnů později jí pak na náměstí de Grève setnou hlavu. (passive)	I buduci da priznae i bez ustručavanja dodaje da bi ga svakako pustila da crkne, kako je već uostalom, učimila i sa četiri prijašnjaj, izvođe je na sud, osude je zbog višestrukog čedomorstva i za nekoliko tjedana odrube joj glavu na Place de Grève. (3pl)	A że przuznaje się do winy i nie zarczesa, iż chciała gobaka zostawić na zatracenie, jak zresztą zrobiła to już z czterema poprzednimi, wytaczają jej proces, skazują za wielokrotne dzieciobójstwo i w kilka tygodni potem na place de Grève uscinają głowę. (3pl)	И так как она ничего не отрицает и без лишних слов признает, что собиралась бросить ублюдка подыхать с толоду, как она, впрочем, предельвала уже четыре раза, ее отдают под суд, признают виновной в многократном детубийстве и через несколько недель на Гревской площади ей отрубают голову. (3pl)	І, позаяк вона визнає свою провину й відверто признається, що мала намір залишити дитя вмирати, як робила це доти з чотирма іншими дітьми, на неї заводять справу, засуджують за багаторазове детубийство, а через кілька тижнів на майдані де Грев відтинають їй голову. (3pl)

GE (original)	BU	CZ	CR	PL	RU	UK
2101 Es gibt doch im Herbst eine Menge Dinge, die man vorbeibringen könnte.	Ето на, есен е, и човек може да донесе какво ли не. (човек)	Na podzim je přese srousta věci, které by se daly přinést. (refl/inf)	Ето, у јесен има толико тога што би се могло домијети. (refl modal/inf)	Jesienia jest prze-cież mnośćwo rzeczu, które można by podzrucić. (modal/inf)	Мало ли по осени вещей, которые можно было бы занести илучи мимо. (modal/inf)	Восени багато чого можна було б сюди принести. (modal/inf)

GE	BU	CZ	CR	PL	RU	UK
9406 Könnte man daher nicht sagen, daß uns das Buch der Natur lediglich abstrakte Wesenheiten verkündet, wie zahlreiche ehrwürdige Theologen lehren? "	IT (original) Non dobbiamo dunque dire che il libro della natura ci parla solo per esenze, come insegnano molti insigni teologi?"	Значи ли това, че не можем да твърдим, че книгата на природата ни говори само по същество, както учат мнозина видни теолози? (1pl)	Немѣл bychom tedy říci, že kniha přírody k nám knjiha samo o biti, jako naučavaju mnogi znameniti teoloji? (1pl)	Слуз не ро-винни шыу вѣс powie-dzieć, że księga przytody przemawia do nas jedynie przez esencje, jak naucają liczni znamienici teologowie? (modal/inf)	Значит книга природы изъясняется только общими понятиями, как и учаг многие именитые богословы? (paraphrase)	Отож чи не мусим ми сказати, що книга природи роди мовить нам лише про сутності, як це навчають богословів? (1pl)

GE	IT (original)	BU	CZ	CR	PL	RU	UK
26206 Bedenke, wenn selbst den aufbegehrenden Engeln so wenig genügte, um ihre Inbrunst der Anbetung und der Demut umschlagen zu lassen in eine Inbrunst der Hoffart und der Rebellion gegen Gott, was soll man dann von den schwachen Menschen sagen?	Se bastò così poco agli angeli ribelli per mutare il loro ardore d'adorazione e umiltà in ardore di superbia e di rivolta, cosa dire di umesere umano?	Щом на разбунтували се ангели им е било нужно толкова малко, за да превърнат пламенното си обожание и смиреност в надменна и бунтовна ярост, какво да кажем за една човешка твар? (1pl)	Tak málo stačilo vzpurným anděľům, aby přeměnili horoucí zbožňování a pokory v hroučící pýchu a vzrouči, a co teprve slabé bytosti lidské! (paraphrase)	Ako je pobunjenim anđelima tako malo trebalo da svoj žar obožavanja i poniznosti prometnu u pokory w žar pýchy i buntu, što reći o ljudskom biću? (inf)	Skoro tak niewiele wystarczyło zbuntowanym aniołom, by zmienić żar uwielbienia i pokory w żar pýchy i buntu, coż powieć o istocie o słabom rodocie ludzkiej? (inf)	Если ангелам-бунтовщикам стоить немногoго хватило, чтоб огонь обожания и смирения стал в них огнем гордыни и бунта, что говорить о слабом роде человеческом? (inf)	Якщо бунтівним ангелам так мало треба було, щоб переіменити свою жагу віри і покори в жагу гордіни й бунту, то що ж тоді казати про людину? (inf)
223158 Das Übel treibt man nicht aus.	"Il male non si esorcizza.	Злото не се прогонва. (refl)	Neduh se z těla nevyhání. (refl)	Zlo se ne izaginja. (refl)	Choroby się nie egzorcyzuje. (refl)	Болезнь не изгоняют. (3pl)	Від недуги не зцілюють її знищують. (3pl)

GE	IT (original)	BU	CZ	CR	PL	RU	UK
1318 Bedenkt man, daß er zur Zeit des Geschehens Novize war und zur Zeit der Nieder-schrift seiner Erinnerun-gen an der Schwelle des Todes stand, so ist anzuneh-men, daß sein geheimnisum-wittertes Manuscript in den letzten zehn oder zwanzig Jahren des 14. Jahrhunderts entstand.	Calcolando che si dice novizio nel '27 e ormai vicino alla morte quando stende le sue memorie, possiamo congetturare che il mano-scritto sia stato stilato negli ultimi dieci o vent'anni del Quattordicesimo secolo.	Самият той отбелязва, че през 1327 г. е бил послуш-ник и че ко-гато се е зало-вил да пише своите спо-мени, е бил пред прага на смъртта; това ни навежда на мисълта, че ръкописът е бил създаден през послед-ните десет или двайсет години на XIV в. (paraphrase)	pení však jasně, kdy je napsal. Vez-me-li v úvahu, že v roce 1327 byl povíc a v době, kdy raměti psal, jednou nohou v hrobě, můžeme říci, že rukopis vznikl v ro- sledních desíti nebo dvaceti le- tech čtrnáctého století. (Ipl)	Ako računamo da za sebe kaže kako je '27. bio iskušenič te da se, u trenutku dok zapisuje uspomene, a kiedy spisuje bliži smrti, mo- žemo nagađati da je ruko- pis sastavio u posljednih deset ili dvade- set godina 14. stoljeća. (Ipl)	Wziąwszy pod uwagę fakt, że jak sam powiada, w roku 27 był a wo время, kada piszesz kniga, on uže blizok k okon- čaniu žizni, možno pred- položit', što rabota nad ruko- skrypt powstał w ostatnim dziesięcioleciu lub dwudzie- stoletiu czter- nastego wieku. (part)	Исходя из того, что автор в 1327 году был послушником, а во время, когда пишется книга, он уже близок к окон- чанию жизни, можно пред- положить, что работа над руко- дагувати останніми десятиліттями XIV сторіччя. (part)	Зважаючи, що, за його словами, у 1327 році він був новіцем, а спогади свої писав уже близьким до смерті стар- цем, руко- пис можна гіпотетично дагувати останніми десятиліттями XIV сторіччя. (part)

GE	IT (original)	BU	CZ	CR	PL	RU	UK
50283 Eins weiß ich aller- dings: Wenn man den Katalog der Bücher durch- blättert, findet man unter den Bemerkungen, die nur der Bibliothekar versteht, oft eine, die heißt „Africa“, und ich habe sogar schon „finis Africae“ ge- funden.	Ma io so una cosa: chi sfogli il catalogo dei libri, troverà, tra le indica- zioni che solo il bibliotecario conosce, una che dice so- vente 'Africa' e ne ho trovata persino una che diceva 'finis Africae'.	всеки, който предлисти каталога на ръкописите, ще намери сред сиглите, които са из- вестни само на библиотекаря, една, която се среща често — „Africa“; дори съм се натъквал и на обозначението „finis Africae“. (indef pro)	Jenže já vím ještě něco: pro- listujeme-li katalog knih, najdeme mezi odkazy, ve kterých se vyzná jen knihovnik, jeden, který se často opakuje a zní 'Africa', a našel jsem dokonce finis Africae. (1pl)	Ali ja znam jedno: tko prelista katalog knjiga, među naznakama koje poznaje samo knjiž- ničar, često će nalaziti jednu koja glasi 'Africa', a našao sam čak i jednu koja glasi 'finis Africae'. (indef pro)	Wiem jedno: кто przejrzy katalog ksiąg, wśród wska- zań, które zna tylko biblio- tekarz, często spotka słowo „AFRICA“, a znalazł em nawet jedno mówiące „FINIS AFRI- CAE“. (indef pro)	Полистайте каталог. Среди тай- ных, понят- ных лишь библиотекарю обозначений найдете визу „Африка“. А я отыскал даже визу „предел Африки“. (2pl)	Але одне я знаю: горга- ючи каталог книг, серед по- значок, відомих лише бібліо- текареві, часто можна побачи читати позначку „Africa“, — і я бачив навіть позначку, що гласить „finis Africae“. (part/modal/inf)

GE	BU	CZ (original)	CR	PL	RU	UK
7232 „Wird das ihre sexuelle Entwicklung nicht stören, wenn man sie Karenin nennt?“	Но ако и викаме Каренин, това няма ли да разстрои сексуалния и животот? (1pl)	“Ale neparuší to její sexualitu, když jí budeme říkat Karenin? (1pl)	Ali neće li to narušiti njenu seksualnost, ako je budemo nazivali Karenjin? (1pl)	—Ale czy nie skomplikuje jej tożsamości seksualnej, jeśli będziemy na nią wołać Karenin? (1pl)	Но если мы станем звать ее Каренин, не повлияет ли это на ее сексуальность? (1pl)	—
1619 Man kann nie wissen, was man wollen soll, weil man nur ein Leben hat, das man weder mit früheren Leben vergleichen noch in späteren korrigieren kann.	Човек няма как да знае какво би трябвало да иска, защото живее единствен живот и не може да го сравнява с предишните си животи, нито пък да го поправи в следващите. (човек)	Člověk nikdy nemůže vědět, co má chtít, protože žije jen jeden život a nemůže ho nijak porovnávat se svými předchozími životy, ani ho opravit v následujících životech. (člověk)	Čovjek nikad ne može znati šta treba da želi, jer živi samo jedan život i nikako ga ne može uporediti sa svojim prethodnim životima, niti ga u sledecim životima poravnac ze svymi porzednimi žuciami (čovjek) ani skorygovać w następnych. (człowiek)	Człowiek nigdy nie może wiedzieć, czego ma chcieć, ponieważ dane mu jest tylko jedno życie i nie może go w żaden sposób porównać ze swymi poprzednimi życiami, ni tego w następujących. (człowiek)	Мы никогда не можем знать, чего мы должны хотеть, ибо проживаем одну-единственную жизнь и не можем ни сравнить ее со своими предыдущими жизнями, ни исправить ее в них жггггг. (людина)	Людина нічого не знає, до чого мусить прагнути, бо живе одне-єдине життя й не може ні порівняти його зі своїми попередніми життями, ні виправити його в наступних жггггг. (людина)

GE	BU	CZ (original)	CR	PL	RU	UK
14561 Solche Koinzidenzen sind so häufig, daß man sie oft nicht wahrnimmt.	—	Obrovské většíny takových koincidencí si člověk vůbec nevšimne. (člověk)	Ogromnu većinu takvih koincidencija čovjek uopće ne primjećuje. (čovjek)	—	Огромное множество таких совпадений человек не замечает вовсе. (человек)	—
16888 Wäre der Traum nicht schön, könnte man ihn schnell wieder vergessen.	Ако не беше красив, човек бързо щеше да го забрави. (човек)	Kdyby sen nebyl krásný, bylo by možno na něj rychle zapomenout. (modal/inf)	Kad san ne bi bio lijep, ne bi bilo teško brzo zaboraviti na njega. (inf)	Gdyby sen nie był pięknym, można by o nim szybko zapomnieć. (modal/inf)	Не будь сон красивым, о нем можно было бы мигом забыть. (modal/inf)	—
2636 Mit Metaphern spielt man nicht.	Не е желателно да си играеш с тях. (2sg)	S metaforami není radno si hrát. (inf)	Nije preporučljivo igrati se s njima. (refl)	Z metaforami nie należy igrac. (modal/inf)	С метафорами шутки жартувати. (paraphrase)	З ними небезпечно жартувати. (inf)
693 Was also soll man wählen?	Кое тогава да изберем? (1pl)	Co si tedy máme zvolit? (1pl)	Pa za šta onda da se odlučimo? (refl)	Cóż więc mamy wybrać? (1pl)	Так що же предпочити більше? (paraphrase)	То чому ж видамо перевагу? (1pl)