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THE POLISH COMPONENT IN THE VILAMOVICEAN LANGUAGE

Abstract

The present paper offers a detailed discussion of the relationship between Vilamovicean (a Germanic minority language, spoken in the westernmost part of Galicia, in Poland) and Polish. The author enumerates and explains all the possible influences Vilamovicean has experienced from the dominant Polish language, be they phonetic, lexical, or properly grammatical (such as functional, morphological and syntactical changes). The author concludes that the impact of the Polish tongue on Vilamovicean is well marked both quantitatively (as the number of loans is high) and qualitatively (considering the borrowings are very diverse and span all the levels and sections of the language).

1. Introduction

Wymysiöeryś [vɨmɨsøːrɪɕ] is a Germanic language spoken in Wilamowice, a small town in Western Galicia (Małopolska), situated near the boundary of Upper Silesia (Górny Śląsk) in the southern part of Poland. In scientific literature, this idiom has been referred to as Vilamovicean (Andrason 2010a, 2010b, 2012, 2013, and Andrason & Król 2013), Wilamowicean (Wicherkiewicz 2003 and Ritchie 2012) or Vilamovian (Ritchie 2012) – but all of these labels reflect the Polish name of the town (*Wilamowice* [vilamɔvitsɛ]) or the Polish denominations of the language (*wilamowski* [vilamɔfski]) and its speakers (*Wilamowianin* [vilamɔvjanin]). Although the exact genetic classification of this tongue is still in the process of debate, Vilamovicean has most frequently been classified as an East Central German variety (*Ostmitteldeutsch*), a descendant from Middle High German (cf. Besch et al. 1983, Wicherkiewicz 2003 and Richie 2012; see also Ryckeboer 1984, Morciniec 1984, 1995 and Lasatowicz 1992). Presently, Vilamovicean is the smallest Germanic language in the world: it is understood by approximately two hundred persons, but actively and fluently spoken by less than forty. Almost all these users of the tongue – and *de facto* all the fully proficient ones – were born before 1930 and, hence, are nowadays more than 80 years of age.

Before the Second World War, Vilamovicean was not a unique linguistic enclave entirely surrounded by the Polish tongue but rather coexisted with many East Central German varieties spoken in Upper Silesia and Westernmost Galicia. For example, in the adjacent village, Hałcnow (Ałca), another Germanic tongue was in use: so-called *hałcnowski*. Moreover, in Wilamowice, the Vilamovicean language was employed by a vast majority of the population and constituted the prevalent idiom of the entire community. In general, the Vilamovicean culture was blossoming and neither the language nor the tradition was endangered. This situation drastically changed after the Second World War, when the Communist regime prohibited the use of Vilamovicean. Although the repression of the Vilamovicean speakers became less strict in the later decades of Communist rule, it was only after the fall of Communism in the late eighties that the inhabitants of Wilamowice ceased to be afraid of using their Germanic mother tongue and the language began to be resurrected. However, these forty years of repression induced Vilamovicean to a state of decay. Nowadays, it is the Polish language and culture that clearly predominate in Wilamowice and the surrounding region, while Vilamovicean can be viewed as a linguistic isle within the absolutely prevalent Slavic linguistic and cultural territory. All the Germanic vernaculars have entirely vanished and Vilamovicean itself is rarely employed in Wilamowice, being exclusively used by the oldest persons and always within an informal setting. The local authorities have notoriously failed in recognizing the cultural and economic importance of the tongue and the common attitude towards it has been to view the idiom as an outdated characteristic of the elderly people, irrelevant and useless in contemporary life, and already doomed to extinction. Consequently, a vast majority of the young population is not interested in fostering the language (see, however, the paragraph below). Therefore, within approximately a decade, Vilamovicean will most probably disappear.

Yet despite this perceived decadence, in the past ten years the Vilamovicean tongue has been experiencing a genuine renaissance. Some fresh literary works have been composed or compiled (such as songs and poems by Dobczyński 2002, Gara 2006, or Gara & Danek 2007, and especially by Król 2011), new important studies concerning the Vilamovicean language (and the culture in general) have been published (Wicherkiewicz 2003 and Ritchie 2013), and two research projects in the Vilamovicean tongue have been initiated: "Ginące języki" and "Dziedzictwo językowe", from the University of Warsaw and University Adam Mickiewicz of Poznań, respectively. Moreover in 2012, Tymoteusz Król (the only young Vilamovicean native speaker) began teaching the language to the Vilamovicean youth and, in November 2013, the Vilamovicean Academy (a society of scholars who conduct research related to the Vilamovicean language and culture) was constituted in Warsaw. Likewise, the author of this paper has himself extensively been working on the documentation of the Vilamovicean tongue and the analysis of various aspects of its grammar (cf. Andrason 2010a, 2010b, 2011, and 2013).

During these research activities, which have been dedicated to the description of the verbal, nominal, pronominal and adjectival systems of Vilamovicean, it has become gradually evident that the understanding of the grammar of this language cannot be fully reached if its exact relation to Polish has not been firmly established. Polish is not only relevant for the study of Vilamovicean because it is the dominant

tongue of the entire region of Małopolska but also because it is the 'second mother tongue' of all the Vilamovicean native speakers. Of course, the influence of Polish on Vilamovicean has been noted by various writers, and especially by two eminent scholars in the Vilamovicean scholarship, Kleczkowski (1921) and Wicherkiewicz (2003; see also Mojmir1930-1936). However, the problem has not received a holistic and comprehensive treatment as of yet. Kleczkowski (1920 and 1921) never discusses this issue separately but only, on certain occasions, suggests that a given feature of the language might have a Polish origin. Wicherkiewicz (2003) limits his discussion to two or three pages and a few rather general observations.[1]

This article aspires to rectify this shortcoming in the Vilamovicean linguistics by offering a detailed and exhaustive picture of the relation of Vilamovicean to the Polish tongue – from an analytical and empirical description to a system-oriented and explanatory synthesis. To be exact, it will describe and analyze all the possible influences Vilamovicean has suffered from the dominant Polish language. First, the author will examine the Polish component in the Vilamovicean phonetic system (section 2.1). Next, an exhaustive discussion of Polish imports in the referential lexicon (substantives, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs) will be offered (section 2.2). Afterwards, the Polish influence on the "core" grammar will be analyzed (section 2.3), presenting the components of the functional lexicon borrowed from Polish (section 2.3.1) and all possible grammatical structures that may have a Polish origin (section 2.3.2). All of this will enable the author to determine the exact extent of the Polish influence on the Vilamovicean language, hereby specifying not only its quantitative degree (the number of loans) but also its qualitative range (the levels of the language).

It should be acknowledged that the entire discussion is based upon the original database developed by Alexander Andrason and Tymoteusz Król. All the evidence and all the quoted examples have been extracted from this databank, which – having been developed since 2004 – nowadays constitutes a genuine treasure of the Modern Vilamovicean tongue. This database has also been employed as a foundation of all the studies on the Modern Vilamovicean grammar and lexicon conducted by Andrason and Król (cf. Andrason 2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2013, and Andrason & Król 2013), whose ultimate aim is the publication of the Vilamovicean grammar and the release of a dictionary.[2]

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[1]

Of course, these facts do not undermine the significance of the two books and the importance of the two scholars to the Vilamovicean scholarship. The limitations mentioned above merely stem from the topic of these publications and the research objectives chosen by their authors.

[2]

I am deeply indebted to Tymoteusz Król for sharing with me his portion of the data and especially for giving me access to the draft of his dictionary.

2. Polish elements

2.1. Phonetics

One of the most striking phonetic features of the Vilamovicean tongue that are typical to Polish (P) is the presence of the central close unrounded vowel *y* [ɨ] (or fronted close-mid central unrounded [ɘ]). This sound is highly common in Vilamovicean: it is not only found in loanwords from Polish such as *ryż*[3] 'rice' (from P *ryż*) or *rycyż* 'knight' (from P *rycerz*), but also extensively appears in the genuine Germanic vocabulary, for example: *batłyn* 'panhandle', *błynd* 'blind', *błyn* 'blow' or *myt* 'with'. It is regularly used as the vowel of the prefix *gy* [gɨ] in past participles (*gybröta* 'baked', *gyśproha* 'spoken' or *gynuma* 'taken')[4] and in other verbal prefixes, for instance in *by* (*bynama* 'call') or *cy* (*cybråhja* 'break up'. It should be observed that in situations where *y* [ɨ] appears in Vilamovicean in the "indigenous" lexicon, a corresponding cognate word in Standard High German frequently employs the vowel [ɪ] (cf. *mit*) or [ə] (cf. *genommen*).

Another typical Polish trait may be found in the consonantal system of the Vilamovicean language. Polish has a complex system of postalveolar fricatives and affricates. On the one hand, it possesses "hard" non-palatal sounds spelled as *sz*, *rz/ż*, *cz*, and *dż* and, on the other, it includes a "soft" palatal series noted as *ś*, *ź*, *ć*, and *dź*. The first group is defined – especially in Polish grammars – as postalveolar and is represented by the IPA symbols [ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ], [dʒ], respectively (cf. Biedrzycki 1974, Dogil 1990, Jassem 2003 and Spencer 1986; see also Stieber 1962, Rospond 1971 and Wierzchowska 1980). However, in modern Western studies, the same class is often viewed as retroflex and is rather transcribed as [ʂ], [ʐ], [ʈ], and [ɖ] (cf. Keating 1991, Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996, Padgett & Zygis 2003, Hamann 2003 and 2004). While the former notation suggests a partially palatalized pronunciation (such as in German and English [ʃ] or [tʃ]), the latter implies that the tongue shape is concave and apical or subapical. However, the actual realization of these consonants is non-palatal, laminal and flat. Consequently, the Polish *sz*, *rz/ż*, *cz*, and *dż* are best described as laminal flat postalveolar: [s̻], [z̻], [t̻s̻], [d̻z̻] (cf. Hamann 2003). The "soft" consonants *ś*, *ź*, *ć*, and *dź* are laminal alveolo-palatal sounds: [ɕ], [ʑ], [tɕ], and [dʑ]. The acoustic contrast between the two groups is hard/non-palatal/lower-pitched/duller/more-

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[3]

      In the Vilamovicean examples, the author follows the most common modern spelling convention (cf. Andrason 2010a, 2010b, 2011 and 2013, Król 2011, and Andrason & Król 2013; see also Ritchie 2012). In general terms, the orthography of the vowels reflects the Germanic and Polish tradition: *å* [a], *a* [ɑ] (by some speakers also pronounced as [ɔ]), *i* [i] or [ɪ], *e* [e] or [ɛ], *o* [o] or [ɔ], *u* [u], *ü* [y] or [ʏ], *ö* [ø] and *y* [ɨ]. Four special graphemes are employed to render diphthongs: *åj* [aj], *ej* [ej], *jy* [ɨi] or [ɪə], and *oü* [œɣ] or [œy]. The combination *iöe* is pronounced [ʲøœ] or [ʲøə]. As for as the consonants are concerned, various letters have been borrowed from Polish, for instance, *c* [ts], *ł* [w], *ń* [ɲ], *ś* [ɕ] and
      [tɕ].
      Compare with the ending *e* in German: *Ich mache* 'I do' or *Ich gehe* 'I go'.

[4]

      One should, however, note that after velar stops, Polish usually fronts the vowel *y* [ɨ] to *i* [i] and palatalizes the preceding velar consonant.

hushing as opposed to soft/palatal/higher-pitched/brighter/more-hissing (for details, see Hamann 2003 and 2004, cf. also Karaś & Madejowa 1977).

In the genuinely Germanic vocabulary, Vilamovicean typically employs the soft palatal postalveolar sounds [ɕ], [z̠], and [tɕ] (there are no Germanic lexemes with [dʑ]): *śtrös* 'street', *meńć* 'man' and *gyhüźum* 'disobedient, naughty'. However, although the alveolo-palatal pronunciation is predominant and also preferred by the most speakers, in certain cases laminal flat postalveolars (e.g. [s̠]) and palatalo-alveaolars (e.g. [ʃ]) can also be heard. For instance, the word *śłaht* 'bad' can be pronounced with the consonant [ɕ], [ʃ], or [s̠], and thus with realizations that gradually decrease the palatal effect of softness.

As far as Polish loanwords with postalveolars are concerned, these are usually adapted to the Vilamovicean tendency and pronounced by using the soft alveolo-palatals even if their Standard Polish input entities include laminal flat "hard" consonants. For example, the Polish lexeme *wrzesień* 'September' (with a hard [z̠]) has been incorporated into the Vilamovicean vocabulary as *wźeśjyń*, i.e. with [z] (see, also *ryź* 'rice' from P *ryż*). Analogical phenomenon can be observed with the other hard postalveolar sounds: *kåśa* 'grits, grouts, porridge' (cf. P *kasza*), *ćarownic* 'hex' (cf. P *czarownica*), *bość* 'beetroot soup' (cf. P *barszcz*). However, a speaker can also use a hard variety of a given postalveolar sound in accordance with the Polish original so that the lexeme *ćarownic* 'hex' can also be heard with [t̠s̠].

Additionally, certain words tend to preserve their original hard Polish pronunciation, thus contravening the adaptation rule mentioned above. For instance, the hard pronunciation of the consonant *ż* [z̠] is usually maintained in the following lexemes: *bażant* 'pheasant', *bezbożnik* 'ungodly person', *gżyh* 'sin', *inżynjyr* 'engineer', *nużån* 'dive, plunge', *rozmnożån* 'procreate', *rozgżyśån* 'absolve' or *rużånjec* 'beadroll'. In the following words, the last consonant can be pronounced [z̠] or, due to the devoicing process, as [s̠]: *cegloż* 'a person who makes bricks', *drücjoż* 'a person who makes wire', *elamentoż* 'primer', *wengüż* 'eel', *pisküż* 'weather fish', *gancoż* 'potter', *grüboż* 'gravedigger', *handlyż* 'seller', *inwentoż* 'inventory', *konsystoż* 'consistory, presbytery', *brewjoż* 'brevairy', *rycyż* 'knight'. The words *pszećjiwnik* 'adversary' and *depesz* 'message, telegram' also typically employ a laminal flat postalveolar consonant [s̠]. No example of a consistently dominant pronunciation with the hard consonants [t̠s̠] and [d̠z̠] has been detected, however.

It should also be noted that while words descending from lexemes that, in Polish, had one of the four hard laminal flat postalveolars can be pronounced with soft alveolo-palatals (including those that usually preserve the Polish original pronunciation; cf. the previous paragraph), the reverse is impossible. Namely, no word in the Polish language that employs a soft alveolo-palatal sound can be pronounced in Vilamovicean with its hard flat laminal postalveolar homologue. For example, *dźada* 'grandfather' and *nadźeja* 'hope' are never heard as **dżada* or **nadżeja*.

The tendency to substitute the hard postalveolar consonants with their soft alveolo-palatal counterparts in Polish loanwords, and the typical use of such soft alveolo-palatals in genuine Vilamovicean lexemes (instead of palatalo-alveolars), might be related to a dialectal phenomenon found in parts of Małopolska, so-called *siakanie*. *Siakanie* is a process whereby, in certain dialects of Polish, hard

postalveolars are replaced by alveolo-palatals, for example, *śklonka* 'glass' instead of *szklanka*. Since this phenomenon is found in Małopolska, it could have played an important role in establishing the above-mentioned tendencies in Vilamovicean (cf. Małecki and Nitsch 1934, Kucharzyk 2006, Pawłowski 1966 and 1975).

Another typical Polish sound that is commonly used in the Vilamovicean language is the palatal nasal consonant [ɲ] (or more correctly, an alveolo-palatal sound [ŋ]), spelled in accordance with the Polish norm as *ń*. This sound can be found both in Polish loanwords (*babińjec* 'meeting of women; old woman') and genuine Germanic lexemes (*ferwyńća* 'curse, blaspheme', *meńć* 'man', or *gińa* 'went' [plural of the Preterite of the verb *gejn* 'go']). This means that the consonant [n] in a palatal context has been fully palatalized into [ɲ] not only in the originally Polish words but also in typically Vilamovicean entities. Some of such palatal [ɲ] sounds also seem to have developed from an earlier class *ng* [ŋ] (cf. *gińa* which reflects the Standard High German form *gingen*).

The influence of the Polish phonetic system may additionally be detected in the pronunciation of a sound that etymologically was a voiceless glottal fricative [h] and typically appeared at the beginning of a word. Although this etymologically correct pronunciation can still be found, the words with the initial *h* may also be frequently pronounced by employing an "*h*-sound" typical to Polish, i.e. a voiceless velar fricative [x]. For instance, the lexemes *hund* 'dog' and *hond* 'hand' can use both [h]. The former pronunciation of [h] is historically correct, while the latter is a clear Polish influence, as the Polish language does not possess the consonant [h] and, in its own borrowings, replaces this sound by [x]. In loanwords from Polish which start with the consonant [x] (nowadays written as *ch* or *h*), both *h* varieties can be used, i.e. either [x] or [h]: *handlyż* 'seller, trader' (cf. P *handlarz*), *hüta* 'steel factory, foundry' (cf. P *huta*), and *hrapka* 'wish, lust' (cf. P *chrapka*).

It is also important to observe that, just like in Polish, the consonants [p], [t] and [k] are not aspirated. Finally, Vilamovicean includes in its phonetic inventory the labialized velar approximant [w], which is typical to Polish, where it evolved from an older velar *l*. In Vilamovicean, the sound [w] (spelled in the Polish fashion as *ł*) is extensively used in genuine Germanic words where, on various occasions, it has replaced the older *l*: *łjyn* 'study, learn', *gywynłik* 'usual, common', *łåter* 'ladder' or *głoz* 'glass'. Although the substitution of *l* [l] by *ł* [w] might have been stimulated by a similar development in Polish (and/or by a mere presence of the latter sound in this Slavic language), it is difficult to specify to what extent it should actually be explained as a "borrowing". It is likely that one is dealing with an internal evolution of the language, which is possibly encouraged by a situation that is available in the other dominant tongue of the area (and which is by default the second native idiom of the speakers).

2.2. Referential lexicon

The referential lexicon available to the research team constitutes the most evident indication of the Polish influence on the Vilamovicean language. In the present study, this group of words will be understood as

consisting of lexemes that have either concrete-physical referents (namely, a high degree of referentiality or referential prototypicality) or conceptual-abstract referents (a low degree of referentiality or referential non-prototypicality). In general terms, the referent of such words can be imagined as *something*: be it an object, concept, action, quality or manner. This class will, hence, include nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

2.2.1. Substantives

The most common Polish lexemes that have penetrated the Vilamovicean language are nouns. The most common Polish loanwords, adjusted to the Vilamovicean phonetic and morphological system, have been listed below. This list cannot ever be fully comprehensive, as new Polish-based words are constantly being introduced by individual speakers. However, it does offer an overview of the most frequent and regular lexemes of Polish origin that exist in the language, as come across by the researchers. Tt can thus be viewed as a representative record of Polish loanwords that have been stabilized in Vilamovicean. *De facto*, it is the first virtually complete inventory of the most regular Polish imports in the Modern Vilamovicean tongue based upon original empirical research.

For the sake of the sheer amount of these words, they have been divided into various semantic types, categories or domains, being: plants, animals and food; persons (including proper names and nicknames), family members and professions; the body; instruments, objects and buildings; events, dates and weather phenomena; and lastly, other lexemes, including abstract concepts.[5]

PLANTS[6]

akacja/*agacja* (*akacja*) 'acacia'; *angrest* (*agrest*) 'gooseberry'; *błowatki* (*bławatek*) 'Centaurea cyanus, cornflower'; *bobownik* (*bobownik*) 'brooklime, European speedwell'; *bürok* (*burak*) 'beetroot'; *ćwikłabürok* (*burak ćwikłowy*) 'beetroot'; *fjołki* (*fiołek*) 'violet'; *jaśjeń* (*jesion*) 'ash'; *jawer* (*jawor*) 'maple'; *jedlin* (*jedlina*) 'young fir forest'; *kålina* (*kalina*) 'viburnum'; *kaśton* (*kasztan*) 'Aesculus, chestnut'; *kukurüc* (*kukurydza*) 'maize'; *maślok* (*maślak*) 'Suillus, slippery jack'; *ogürki* (*ogórek*) 'cucumber'; *papereć* (*paproć*) 'fern'; *prawok* (*prawdziwek*, *prawik*) 'penny bun'; *pyż* (*perz*) 'couch grass'; *rümjanek* (*rumianek*) 'chamomile'; *rozinki* or *rozynki* (*rodzynek*) 'raisin'; *śyśki* (*szyszka*) '(pine)cone'; *śćjybła* / *śćibła* / *śćjybło* (*źdźbło*) 'a type of straw'; *śćow* (*szczaw*) 'Rumex, sorrel'.

ANIMALS

bażant (bażant) 'pheasant'; *baran* (*baran*) 'ram'; *bonk* (*bąk*) 'bumblebee'; *jåłowic* (*jałowica*) 'heifer'; *gawrün* (*gawron*) 'rook'; *karaś* (*karaś*) 'crucian carp'; *kić* (*kicia*) 'cat'; *kloć* (*klacz*) 'mare'; *köwuł* (*kobyła*)

'mare'; *łosoś* (*łosoś*) 'salmon'; *małp* (*małpa*) 'ape'; *miśü* (*misiu*) 'bear'; *pstrong* (*pstrąg*) 'trout'; *ropüh* (ropucha) 'toad'; *słöwik* (*słowik*) 'nightingale'; *ślimok* (*ślimak*) 'snail'; *śpok* (*szpak*) 'starling'.

FOOD
babüwka (*babka*) 'a type of cake'; *bość* (*barszcz*) 'beetroot soup'; *galareta* (*galareta*) 'jelly'; *kåśa* (*kasza*) 'grits, grouts'; *kwas* (*kwas*) 'sower drink'; *opłatki* (*opłatek*) 'communion or Christmas wafer'; *papjerös* / *papjyrüs* (*papieros*) 'cigarette'; *papjeröski* (*papierosek*) 'cigarette'; *ryź* (*ryż*) 'rice'.

PERSONS
bezbożnik (*bezbożnik*) 'godless person, atheist'; *bjydok* (*biedak*) 'poor man'; *biöegoć* (*bogacz*) 'rich man'; *cudzoźjymjec* (*cudzoziemiec*) 'foreigner'; *cüdok* (*cudak*) 'weirdo, odd man'; *dźiwok* (*dziwak*) 'freak, weirdo'; *kalika* (*kaleka*) 'cripple'; *kłyśćok* (*chłystek*) 'whippersnapper'; *kśeśćjånjin* (*chrześcijanin*) 'Christian'; *låjdok* (*łajdak*) 'scoundrel'; *łazenga* (*łazęga*) 'tramp, vagabond'; *menćenik* (*męczennik*) 'martyr'; *öelbżym* (*olbrzym*) 'giant'; *paśibżuh* (*pasibrzuch*) 'gourmand'; *pijok* (*pijak*) 'drinker, drunkard'; *poganin* (*poganin*) 'pagan'; *pogünić* (*poganiacz*) 'driver, herdsman'; *priöestok* (*prostak*) 'boor, simpleton'; *prüżnjok* (*próżniak*) 'idler'; *rodok* (*rodak*) 'countryman'; *sknyra* (*sknera*) 'stingy person'; *süka* (*suka*) 'bitch [a vulgar word for woman]'; *śałaput* (*szałaput*) 'scatterbrain'; *ślahćic* (*szlachcic*) 'nobleman'; *ślipki* / *śljypki* (*ślepy* or *ślepki*) 'a blind person'; *tłümok* (*tłumok*) 'bundle'; *utoplec* (*utoplec*) 'drowned man, kelpie'; *wendrownik* (*wędrownik*) 'wanderer'; *wyriöedek* (*wyrodek*) 'villain, degenerate'.

GROUPS OF PEOPLE
dühowjyństwo (*duchowieństwo*) 'clergy'; *halastra* (*hałastra*) 'rabble, mob'; *ślåhta* (*szlachta*) 'noblemen'.

PROPER NAMES AND NICKNAMES
Anna (*Anna*); *Botół* (*Bartłomiej*); *Bułgar* (*Bułgar*) 'Bulgarian'; *Jåśjela* (*Jaśka*); *Jåśki* (*Jaś, Jasiek*); *Józia* (*Józia*); *Jyndra* (*Jędrzej, Jędrek*); *Kåśka* (*Kaśka*); *Njedźjela* (*niedziela*) 'a nickname of the Danek family'; *Kiöezok* (*kozak*) 'Cossack'; *der Pon Jezüs* (*Pan Jezus*); *Staha* (*Stach*); *Ståśjü* (*Stasiu*; see also another diminutive *Ståńćjü*); *Śałaśny* (*Szałaśny*) 'a nickname of the Dånek family'; *Wełśy* (*Włoch*) 'Italian'.

FAMILY MEMBERS
baba (*baba*) 'grandmother'; *babińjec* (*babiniec*) 'old woman (also meeting of women)'; *bahüż* (*bachor*) 'brat, kid'; *bapka* (*babka*) 'grandma, old woman'; *dźjada* (*dziadek*) 'grandpa; old man'; *frajerka* (*frajerka*) 'girl, girlfriend, fiancée'; *jedynok* (*jedynak*) 'only child'; *kłop* (chłop) 'man, husband'; *kumpån* (*kompan*) 'friend'; *kuzynk* (*kuzynka*) 'cousin'; *macoha* (*macocha*) 'stepmother'; *mamic* (*mamica*) 'bad mother'; *prådźjada* (*pradziadek*) 'great-grandfather'; *opjekün* (*opiekun*) 'guardian'; *pråbaba* (*prabab(k)a*) 'great-grandmother'; *wnüćka* (*wnuczka*) 'granddaughter'.

PROFESSIONS AND FUNCTIONS
apostoł (*apostoł*) 'apostle'; *arcybisküp* (*arcybiskup*) 'archbishop'; *cegloż* (*ceglarz*) 'brickmaker'; *ćarownic* (*czarownica*) 'hex'; *drüżba* (*drużba*) 'best man, groomsman'; *gancoż* (*garncarz*) 'potter'; *grüboż* (*grabarz*)

'gravedigger'; *handlyż* (*handle/arz*) 'seller, trader'; *kośerka* (*akuszerka*) 'midwife'; *kołodźej* (*kołodziej*) 'wheelwright'; *niöerki* (*nurek*) 'diver, plunger'; *påni* (*pani*) 'woman'; *priöebość* (*proboszcz*) 'parson, parish priest'; *rycyż* (*rycerz*) 'knight'; *seńdźja* (*sędzia*) 'judge'; *smoloż* (*smolarz*) 'pitch burner'; *śpjeg* (*szpieg*) 'spy'.

BODY

ćüprin (*czupryna*) 'head of hair'; *düpski* (*dupski*) 'arse'; *kłak* (*kłak*) 'clump, mop, tuft'; *kröst* (*chrosta, krosta*) 'scab, spot, pustule'; *pålski* (palec) 'finger, thumb'; *pålüh* (*paluch*) 'finger, thumb'; *skaza* (*skaza*) 'defect, wound'; *strüp* (*strup*) 'scab'; *śjekoć* (*siekacz*) 'incisor tooth'; *śjyrć* (*sierść*) 'animal hair, fur'; *twoż* (*twarz*) 'face'.

INSTRUMENTS, OBJECTS AND BUILDINGS

akta (*akta*) 'files'; *berło* (*berło*) 'sceptre'; *bilet* (*bilet*) 'ticket'; *brom* (*brama*) 'gate, door'; *büd* (*buda*) 'shed, stall, hut'; *elamentoż* (*elementarz*) 'primer'; *ganek* (*ganek*) 'porch, entrance'; *gatkja* (*gatki*) 'pants'; *gnid* (*gnida*) 'nit, louse'; *grop* (*grób*) 'grave'; *hüta* (*huta*) 'steel factory, foundry'; *kådź* (*kadź*) 'tub, vat'; *kadłüp* (*kadłub*) 'hull'; *kałamoż* (*kałamarz*) 'inkwell, inkpot'; *kapelüś* (*kapelusz*) 'hat'; *kełih* (*kielich*) 'goblet, cup'; *kiöepjec* (*kopiec*) 'pile'; *klamka* (*klamka*) 'handle'; *klyjnöt* (*klejnot*) 'jewel'; *krawat* (*krawat*) 'tie'; *krat* (*krata*) 'grid, bar(s)'; *kułdrå* (*kołdra*) 'guilt, duvet'; *küla* (*kula*) 'ball, sphere'; *moźdźjyż* (*moździerz*) 'mortar'; *namjot* (*namiot*) 'tent'; *okülor* (*okulary*) 'glasses'; *pałac* (*pałac*) 'palace'; *papjyrnja* (*papiernia*) 'paper factory'; *plaśćok* (*płaszczak*) 'flat iron pot'; *pobütki* (*półbuty/-butki*) 'shoe'; *posek* (*pasek*) 'belt'; *postrünek* (*postronek*) 'halter, rope'; *progütki* (pogródka) 'threshold, earth embankment around the house'; *pśinjec* (*psiniec*) 'dog excrement'; *pśednowek* (*przednówek*) 'hungry gap'; *pułkośülek* (*półkoszulek*) 't-shirt'; *pułtorok* (*półtorak*) 'cart'; *sakwa* (*sakwa*) 'moneybag, purse'; *seńk* (*sęk*) 'knot'; *skał* (*skała*) 'rock'; *skorb* (*skarb*) 'treasure'; *straśydło* (*straszydło*) 'scarecrow, fright'; *śjatka* (*siatka*) 'bag'; *tarć* (*tarcza*) 'shield'; *telewizor* (*telewizor*) 'television'; *tśewik* (*trzewik*) 'shoe'; *waśtat* (*warsztat*) 'workshop'; *wentka* (*wędka*) 'fishing rod'; *wić* (*wić*) 'writhe'; *wytryh* and *wydryh* (*wytrych*) '(pass/skeleton) key'.

EVENTS, DATES AND WEATHER

Anjelsko ([*Święto Matki Boskiej*] *Anielskiej*) 'Porziuncola Day'; *bjyźmowånje* (*bierzmowanie*) 'confirmation'; *Buoże Ćjåło* (*Boże Ciało*) 'Corpus Christi'; *grüdźjyń* (*grudzień*) 'December'; *küżåwa* (*kurzawa*) 'heavy clouds'; *lekcja* (lekcja) 'lesson'; *ńjedźjela* (*niedziela*) 'Sunday'; *potop* (*potop*) 'deluge, flood'; *rozprawa* (*rozprawa*) 'trial, debate'; *rużånjec* (*różaniec*) 'rosary, prayer beads'; *shocka* (*schadzka*) 'meeting, gathering'; *styćyń* (*styczeń*) 'January'; *śjerpjyń* (*sierpień*) 'August'; *waganc / wakanc / wakans* (*wakacje*) 'vacation'; *Wnjebowstompjynje* (*Wniebowstąpienie*) 'Ascension Day'; *Wnjebowźjynćje* (*Wniebowzięcie*) 'Assumption'; *wyżinek* (*wyżynki*) 'harvest, harvest festival'; *wźeśjyń* (*wrzesień*) 'September'.

OTHERS (including ABSTRACT CONCEPTS)

biöelok (*bolak*) 'complaint, pain'; *bjyda* (*bieda*) 'poverty'; *cüd* (*cud*) 'wonder'; *ćwjerć* (*ćwierć*) 'measure; quarter'; *ćyśćjec* (*czyściec*) 'purgatory'; *fündüś* (*fundusz*) 'fund(s)'; *gżyh* (*grzech*) 'sin'; *hrapka* (*chrapka*)

'wish, lust'; *inwentoż* (*inwentarz*) 'inventory'; *kora* (*kara*) 'penalty, punishment'; *krakowjok* (*krakowiak taniec*) 'Cracow region folk dance'; *kryminoł* (*kryminał*) 'jug; problem'; *menka* (*męka*) 'suffering'; *nodżeja* (*nadzieja*) 'hope'; *nodgriöeda* (*nagroda*) 'praise'; *öedezwa* (*odezwa*) 'proclamation'; *öednöeg* (*odnoga*) 'branch, arm'; *pohwoła* (*pochwała*) 'praise'; *połå*
 (*połać*) 'surface, extent'; *posłüśeństwo* (*posłuszeństwo*) 'obedience'; *pośmjewisko* (*pośmiewisko*) 'object of ridicule; laughing stock'; *powoga* (*powaga*) 'seriousness, gravity'; *pożondek* (*porządek*) 'order'; *prawo* (*prawo*) 'law'; *rozgżyśynje* (*rozgrzeszenie*) 'absolution'; *rozrüh* (*rozruch*) 'riot, uproar'; *sond* (*sąd*) 'judgment, court'; *sposup* (*sposób*) 'way, means'; *spułka* (*spółka*) 'partnership'; *strah* (*starch*) 'fear'; *strug* (*struga*) 'stream'; *tumułt* (*tumult*) 'tumult, uproar'; *upodek* (*upadek*) 'fall'; *utropjynje* (*utrapienie*) 'problem, distress'; *ülga* (*ulga*) 'relief'; *wjano* (*wiano*) 'dowry'; *wrüżba* (*wróżba*) 'augury, prediction'.

From the review of nouns offered above, it is clear that – although names of persons, plants/animals and concrete objects are affected by Polish in the greatest degree – the Slavic influence on the Vilamovicean vocabulary is extremely extensive and the Polish language has virtually penetrated into all the types and categories of the Vilamovicean lexicon. On the one hand, it can be recognized in words that possess tangible referents and relate to a quotidian – most typically rural – sphere of life (*köwuł* 'mare', *pułkośülek* 'T-shirt', or *bürok* 'beetroot'). On the other hand, it may likewise be found in a more abstract and formal vocabulary (*nodżeja* 'hope', *prawo* 'law', or *sond* 'judgement, court'). Among this latter group, particularly important are lexemes associated with religion and faith (*ćyśćjec* 'purgatory', *gżyh* 'sin', or *rozgżyśynje* 'absolution').

In the adaptation of Polish nouns to the Vilamovicean system, the following phenomena can be distinguished. Firstly, various substantives that display the vowel *a* [a] in Standard Polish show the sound *o* [ɔ] in their Vilamovicean forms. This frequently occurs in the last syllable of nouns that end in -*oż* (from Polish -*arz*), -*ok* (from Polish -*ak*), -*on* (from Polish -*an*) and -*oć* (from Polish -*acz*), for instance *cegloż* 'brickmaker' (< *ceglarz*), *bürok* 'beetroot' (< *burak*), *kaśton* 'chestnut' (< *kasztan*), and *biöegoć* 'rich man' (< *bogacz*). The same phenomenon may also be found in other positions as demonstrated by the following examples: *śćow* 'sorrel' (< *szczaw*), *bość* 'beetroot soup' (< *barszcz*), *pon* 'sir, lord' (< *pan*), *posek* 'belt' (< *pasek*), *skorb* 'treasure' (< *skarb*), *twoż* 'face' (< *twarz*), *shocka* 'meeting' (< *schadzka*), *kora* 'punishment' (< *kara*), *upodek* 'fall' (< *upadek*), and *pohwoła* 'praise' (< *pochwała*). However, this correspondence or substitution may be apparent only because it is possible that the underlying input forms were dialectal and had the vowel *o* instead of the standard [a] (cf. the phenomenon of "pochylenie" where older long [a] might be realized as [ɔ] in modern Polish dialect). To be exact, one of the typical traits of the dialect of Małopolska – which covers the territory where Vilamovicean is employed – is the pronunciation of *o* instead of the standard *a* (*copka* versus *czapka* 'hat' or *godom* versus *gadam* 'I speak'; Małecki and Nitsch 1934, Kucharzyk 2006, Pawłowski 1966 and 1975).

Secondly, certain nouns that have the fricative consonant *ch* [x] in Polish display a corresponding stop *k* [k]: *kłop* 'man' (< *chłop*), *kśeśćjånjin* 'Christian' (< *chrześcijanin*), or *kröst* 'scab' (< *chrosta*). This could again be a dialectal characteristic of the Polish variety used in Małopolska where *ch* [x] was

commonly substituted by *k* [k] – see, for instance, the dialectal form *mek* instead of Standard Polish *mech* 'moss', *kwila* instead of *chwila* 'moment' or *kciáł* instead of *chciał* 'he wanted' (cf. Nitsch 1958: 305; see also Małecki and Nitsch 1934 and Kucharzyk 2006).

Thirdly, various feminine nouns that end in *a* in Polish lose this vowel when adapted to the Vilamovicean language: *jedlin* 'young fir forest' (< *jedlina*), *kukurüc* 'corn' (< *kukurydza*), *jåłowic* 'heifer' (< *jałowica*), *köwuł* 'mare' (< *kobyła*), *małp* 'ape' (< *małpa*), *ropüh* 'toad' (< ropucha), *kuzynk* 'cousin' (< *kuzynka*), *mamic* 'bad mother' (< *mamica*), *brom* 'gate' (< *brama*), *büd* 'shed' (*buda*), *gnid* 'nit' (< *gnida*), *krat* 'grid' (< *krata*), *skał* 'rock' (< *skała*), *tarć* 'shield' (< *tarcza*), *öednöeg* 'branch' (< *odnoga*), *strug* 'stream' (< *struga*), *ćüprin* 'head of hair' (< *czupryna*), and *kröst* 'scab' (< *chrosta*). This tendency of adjustment has its roots in the general rule that Vilamovicean feminine nouns in the singular form never end in *a*. All of them finish in a consonant and the ending *a* is most commonly employed in order to derive their plural: singular (SG) *cåjt* – plural (PL) *cåjta* 'time' or SG *kraft* – PL *krefta* 'strength'. This declensional pattern is clearly dominant, being followed by an immense majority of feminine substantives. Singular forms ending in a consonant are also typical to all the remaining classes of feminine nouns: SG *gonz* – PL *genz* 'goose' (plural by an umlaut); SG *aksuł* – PL *aksułn* 'axel, shoulder' (plural by adding the ending *n*); SG *fader* – PL *fadyn* 'feather' (substitution of *er* by *yn*); SG *cejn* – PL *cyn* 'toe' (shortening of the root vowel in the plural); and SG *korün* – PL *korün* 'crown' (no modification). On the contrary, the ending *a* is characteristic to masculine nouns (*noma* 'name') and, as a part of the morpheme *ła*, to neuter diminutives (*bichła* 'book'). This means that in order to preserve the gender of the feminine substantives without transgressing the rules of the Vilamovicean nominal morphology, the vowel *a* – otherwise characteristic to feminine nouns in Polish (*skała* 'rock') – has been eliminated so that the lexemes would end in a consonant (*skał*), a typical ending of all other feminine substantives. In accordance with the main tendency in the feminine declension, the ending *a* is used as a plural marker: *skała* 'rocks'.

Fourth, some nouns that are used as singulars in Vilamovicean seem to have been derived from the underlying Polish plural forms: SG *błowatki* 'cornflower' (< Polish PL *bławatki*), SG *fjołki* 'violet' (< PL *fiołki*), SG *rozinki/rozynki* 'raisin' (< PL *rodzynki*), SG *ogürki* 'cucumber' (< PL *ogórki*), SG *papjeröski* 'cigarettes ' (< PL *papieroski*), SG *opłatki* 'communion or Christmas wafer' (< PL *opłatki*), SG *śyśki* '(pine) cone' (< PL *szyszki*), and SG *pobütki* 'shoe' (< PL *półbutki*). The singular of all the aforementioned Polish lexemes (with the exception of *szyszki*) is in *ek*, for example *bławatek*. It should be noted that in the majority of these imports, one deals with names of plants and food. During their adaptation to the Vilamovicean language, these Polish plurals have been singularized and nowadays denote one item. One should observe that all these words are masculine in Vilamovicean as they are so in Polish, with the exception of the lexeme *szyszka*, which, in Polish, is feminine. Being masculine, they follow the norm of the plural formation of masculine words and thus derive their plurals by means of the ending *a*, which, in combination with the vowel *i* of the stem, delivers a characteristic form *ja*: *fjołkja*, *rozinkja* or *ogórkja*. On the other hand, it must be stated that genuine Vilamovicean masculine nouns do not end in the vowel *i*. There are, however, masculine substantives that end in a strongly palatal consonant, especially [c], and that

derive their plural by means of the ending *ja*: *ryk* [rɨc] – *rykja* [rɨca] 'back' and *kynk* [kiŋc] – *kyngja* [kiŋɟa] 'king'.[7] It is also important to note that some masculine nouns that end in a vowel other than *a* derive their plural by employing the ending *ja*: *śü* – *śüja* 'shoe'. Consequently, the lexemes like *ogürki* could be associated with a relatively common masculine pattern of deriving the plural by *ja* in words that end in a palatalized "softly" pronounced consonant or a vowel in their singular form. This inversely means that the singular form in Vilamovicean may be a type of backformation. Namely, when adjusting to the Vilamovicean morphology, the Polish plural *bławatki* was *bławatkja*, as the most masculine nouns add the ending *a* in their plural forms. Once the shape *bławatkja* has been stabilized, a new singular shape, *bławatki*, analogical to the pattern SG *ryk* [rɨc] – PL *rykja* and SG *śü* – PL *śüja*, has been derived:

SG *ryk* [rɨc]   -   PL *rykja*
SG *śü*   -   PL *śüja*
SG *x*   -   PL *bławatkja*

x = *bławatki* [-ci]

Fifth, when adjusted to the Vilamovicean language, some words have reduced complex consonant clusters, offering a less troublesome pronunciation instead: *bość* 'beetroot soup' (< P *barszcz*) or *gancoż* 'potter' (< P *garncarz*) 'potter'. Sometimes, an additional "helping" vowel has been introduced: *papereć* 'fern' (< P *paproć*) and *śćjybła* / *śćibła* / *śćjybło* 'straw' (< P *źdźbło*). In one example, the initial vowel has been deleted: *kośerka* 'midwife' (< P *akuszerka*).

It must be emphasized that the abovementioned phenomena are tendencies and, since counterexamples exist, cannot be understood as fixed rules. For example, feminine nouns may preserve the original *a*, as attested by the words such as *kålina* 'viburnum' (from Polish *kalina*), *kåśa* 'grouts' (< *kasza*), *njedźjela* 'Sunday' (< *niedziela*), *küźåwa* 'heavy clouds' (< *kurzawa*) and *nodgriöeda* 'praise' (*nagroda*). These feminine words in *a* would thus transgress the rule governing the Vilamovicean nominal system, according to which the ending *a* is characteristic to masculine and neuter nouns, while in the feminine, it marks the idea of plurality. Consequently, a new declensional class has been introduced into the language. Sometimes, as the concept of feminine substantives in *a* contravenes the principles of the Vilamovicean morphology, an original feminine lexeme in *a* (P *kasza*) has been reanalyzed as masculine (*kåśa*).

In general terms, the substantives borrowed from Polish are well-integrated into the Vilamovicean morphology and declined by using the Vilamovicean endings. Most importantly, words borrowed from Polish follow the rules of the plural formation just as any other genuine Germanic lexemes do, by the addition of plural endings typical to the Vilamovicean language: *a*, *ja*, *n* or *Æ*. For instance, *bürok* 'beetroot' derives its plural by adding the ending *a*, *büroka*; *pstrong* 'trout' forms the plural by means of *ja*,

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[7]

The last form is a so-called new plural.

pstrongja; *köwuł* 'mare' does so by using *n*, *köwułn*; and *ćarownic* 'hex' uses the same form in plural as in the singular, as sometimes occurs in the feminine declension.

In addition, one can note that, in certain instances, Polish imports may be employed with genuine Vilamovicean suffixes, most commonly with the diminutive morpheme *la*: *babela* (a diminutive that includes the Polish element *baba* and the Vilamovicean suffix *-la*), *Stahela* (*Stah* [from Polish *Stah*] + *la*), and *ćüprinla* (*ćüprin* [from Polish *czupryna*] + *la*). Finally, an interesting case is the word *kapelüśhüt* 'hat' which is a compound of one Polish borrowing (*kapelüś* < Polish *kapulusz*) and one genuine Vilamovicean entity (*hüt*), both with the meaning of 'hat'. Thus, one faces a hybrid form where two semantically equal words merge into one. In this manner, in order to denote the object 'hat', the language bestows its speakers with three possibilities: *hüt* (a typical Germanic lexeme), *kapelüś* (an adapted loanword from Polish) and *kapelüśhüt* (a mixed Polish-Germanic form).

2.2.2. Verbs

Verbs constitute another highly important group of Polish imports. Just like substantives, verbal loanwords are numerous. Before analyzing their nature and peculiarities, a complete list of Vilamovicean verbs stemming from Polish origins will be provided. This list will be divided into three main classes that principally reflect the shape of a given verb in Vilamovicean and its Polish origin: verbs in *ån* (derived from Polish infinitives in *Vć*), verbs in *owån* (related to the Polish infinitive in *ować*) and verbs in *Cn* (the only member of this class is derived from the Polish infinitive in *yć*). The group of *ån* verbs will additionally be split into three subtypes that reflect their exact Polish source: verbs in *ać*, verbs in *ać/ić*, verbs in *ić/yć*, vebrs in *eć* and verbs in *qć*.

VERBS IN ÅN:
- from the Polish infinitive in *ać*:

błonkån zih (*błąkać się*) 'wander'; *drenowån* (*drenować*) 'drain'; *düfån* (*dufać*) 'believe'; *dümjån* (*dumać*) 'think'; *dyśån* (*dyszeć*) 'pant, chug'; *garnjån* (*zagarnąć*) 'collect, take'; *güzdrån* (*guzdrać się*) 'dawdle'; *gwazdån* (dialectal *gwazdać*) 'neglect, bodge; jabber'; *hapån* (*chapać*) 'grab, snatch'; *hrapån* (*chrapać*) 'snore'; *hrüpån* (*chrupać*) 'crunch'; *hühån* (*chuchać*) 'puff, blow'; *hüśtån* (*huśtać*) 'swing'; *jonkån* (*jąkać się*) 'stammer'; *kapån* (*kapać*) 'drip'; *karlån* (*charlać*)[8] 'cough'; *kidån* (Silesian dialect and slang *kidać*) 'spill, pour; dirty'; *kiwån zih* (*kiwać się*) 'totter'; *korån* (*karać*) 'punish'; *krakån* (*krakać*) 'croak, caw'; *kśyśån* (*wszkrzeszać*) 'resuscitate'; *kunån* (*konać*) 'die'; *kwjonkån* (*kwękać*) 'be sick; toil'; *nalegån* (*nalegać*) 'insist'; *namjynjån* (*nadmieniać*) 'hint'; *namowjån* (*namawiać*) 'persuade'; *napenćnjån* (*napęczniać*) 'swell'; *napśykśån* (*naprzykrzać się*) 'bother'; *nowidzån* (*nawiedzać*) 'visit'; *nurkowån* (*nurkować*) 'dive'; *nużan* (*nurzać*) 'immerse'; *ohmjelån* (*ochmielać*) 'hit'; *okiöepćjån* (*okapcać*) 'soot, smoke'; *omamjån* (*omamiać*) 'beguile, delude'; *porån* (*porać się*) 'work'; *postarćån* (*po/starczać*) 'cope

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[8]

      The correct Standard Polish form is *cherlać* 'to be weak and sickly; cough'.

with, follow'; *pragnjån* (*pragnąć*) 'desire'; *pśajån* (*sprzyjać*) 'favor'; *pśymilån* (*przymilać się*) 'fawn, cajole'; *pytån* (*pytać*) 'ask'; *rozgośćån* (*rozgoszczać się*) 'make oneself at home'; *rozłonćån* (*rozłączać*) 'disengage'; *rozgżyśån* (*rozgrzeszać*) 'absolve'; *rozmnożån* (*rozmnażać*) 'procreate'; *sapån* (*sapać*) 'breathe heavily)'; 'sit down'; *skalowån* (*szkalować*) 'slander'; *skapjån* (*skapia*
) 'get worse'; *skidån* (dialectal *skidać*) 'spill'; *sorkån* (*sarkać*) 'talk badly'; *strawjån* (*strawiać*) 'consume, digest'; *styrån* (*styrać*) 'destroy'; *śarpån* (*szarpać*) 'yank, tear'; *śeptån* (*szeptać*) 'whisper'; *śjekån* (*siekać*) 'cut, chop'; *świandrån* (dialectal *szwandrać*) 'speak unclearly'; *tropjån* (*trapiać*) 'afflict'; *türån* (*starać się*) 'take care, be careful'; *tyrån* (*tyrać*) 'destroy'; *umortwjån* (*umartwiać się*) 'be worried'; *używån* (*używać*) 'use'; *wskśyśån* (*wskrzeszać*) 'ressusitate'; *wspüminån* (*wspominać*) 'recall'; *wydźiwjån* (*wydziwiać*) 'fuss'; *wynokwjån* (dialectal *wynokwiać*) 'discover'; *wzdyhån* (*wzdychać*) 'sigh'.

- from the Polish infinitive in *ić* or *ać*:

båwjån (*bawić* and -*bawiać*) 'play'; *båwjån zih* (*bawić się* and -*bawiać*) 'play'; *dwojån* (*dwoić* and -*dwajać*) 'doubt'; *gardzån* (*gardzić* and -*gardzać*) 'despise'; *gnembjån zih* (*gnębić się* and -*gnębiać*) 'be worried'; *lyćån* (*leczyć* and -*leczać*); *łakümjån zih* (*łakomić się* and -*łakamiać*) 'relish'; *meń
ån* (*męczyć* and -*męczać*) 'torment, make tired'; *meńćån zih* (*męczyć się* and -*męczać*) 'get tired'; *mjerźån zih* (*mierzić się* and -*mierziać*) 'be disgusted'; *mortwjån* (*martwić* and -*marwiać*) 'worry'; *paskudzån* (*paskudzić*[9] and -*paskudzać*) 'eat secretly'; *pśykśån* (*przykrzyć* and -*przykrzać*) 'pall'; *renćån* (*ręczyć* and -*ręczać*) 'guarantee'; *roćån* (*raczyć* and -*raczać*) 'offer'; *sondzån* (*sądzić* and -*sądzać*) 'think, judge'; *strenćån* (*stręczyć* and -*stręczać*) 'procure'; *śklydzån* (*szkodzić* and -*szkadzać*) 'harm, disturb'; *tropjån* (*trapić* and -*trapiać*) 'afflict'; *walån* (*walić* and -*walać*) 'beat'; *walån zih* (*walić się* and -*walać się*) 'collapse'; *wjetśån* (*wietrzyć* and -*wietrzać*) 'air'.

- from the Polish infinitive in *ić* and *yć*:

düdnjån (*dudnić*) 'resound'; *ożyjån* (*ożyć*) 'come alive'; *trüdzån* (*trudzić się*) 'toil, trouble'; *wontpjån* (*wątpić*) 'doubt'.

- from the Polish infinitive in *eć*:

miżån (dialectal *mizieć*) 'deteriorate, waste'; *nabżnjån* (*nabrzmieć* [however, one can hear also a form -*brzmiać*]) 'swell' and *ślenćån* and *śljynćån* (*slęczeć*) 'tarry'.

- from the Polish infinitive in *ąć*:

śjednjån (from dialectal *siednąć*) 'sit down' and *tyrknjån* (*tyrknąć*) 'touch, hurt'.

- from nominal bases:

scudån 'to wonder, wow' (from *cud* 'wonder') and *mankolån* 'loom, talk deliriously' (possibly from dialectal *melankolia* and *mankolijo* 'melancholy').[10]

9

The meaning of the Polish verb *paskidzić* is 'make dirty, soil'.

10

VERBS IN *OWÅN* (all of them derived from the Polish infinitive in *ować*)

bjyżmowån (*bierzmować*) 'confirm'; *filmowån* (*filmować*) 'film'; *kålikowån* (*kalikować*) 'pump the air into the pipe organ'; *kåpowån* (*kapować*) 'understand'; *korünowån* (*koronować*) 'crown'; *młynkowån* (*młynkować*) 'mill crop'; *öefjarowån* (*ofiarować*) 'offer'; *priöeroköwån* (*prorokować*) 'prophesy'; *prüżnowån* (*próżnować*) 'idle'; *rurkowån* (*rurkować*) 'fold'; *rysöwån* (*rysować*) 'draw'; *statkowån* (*statkować*) 'become decent'; *śpjegowån* (*szpiegować*) 'spy'; *śtürmowån* (*szturmować*) 'assault'.

VERBS IN *CN*

nużułn (*nużyć*) 'tire, grumble'.

As is demonstrated by the examples provided above, almost all the imported verbs display the infinitive ending *ån* or its variety *owån*. There is only one case where the verb that has been borrowed from Polish shows an infinitive form where *n* is added directly to the consonantal stem: *nużułn* 'tire'.

If the original shape of the infinitive in Polish is concerned, the following may be observed. The best part of the imports descend from Polish verbs in *ać* (*błonkån zih* 'wander' < *błąkać się*) and its subtype, verbs in *ować* (*bjyżmowån* 'confirm' < *bierzmować*), which is nowadays the most productive verbal class in Polish. Likewise frequent are loanwords whose shapes reflect the Polish infinitive in *ić* and, at the same time – if Polish prefixed forms are acknowledged – the infinitive in *ać*. For example, *båwjån* 'play' seems to have a direct source in the infinitive *bawić*. However, if prefixed forms of this Polish verb are taken into consideration, the infinitive is *-bawiać*, which is formally closer to the ending *ån* of the corresponding verb in Vilamovicean. Verbs originating in other Polish classes (*ić/yć*, *eć* or *ąć*) are far less common in Vilamovicean. Additionally, there are two verbs that might have been derived from originally Polish nouns: *scudån* 'to wonder, wow' from the substantive *cud* 'wonder' and *mankolån* 'loom, talk deliriously' from the dialectal substantive *melankolia* and *mankolijo* 'melancholy'.

The borrowed Polish stems are most frequently imperfective: *błonkån zih* 'wander' (cf. Polish imperfective [IMPF] *błąkać się* versus perfective [PF] *zabłąkać*); *krakån* 'croak, caw' (IMPF *krakać* – PF *zakrakać*); *rozgóśćån* 'make oneself at home' (IMPF *rozgoszczać się* – PF *rozgościć się*); *umortwjån* 'be worried' (IMPF *umartwiać się* – PF *umartwić się*); *namowjån* 'persuade' (IMPF *namawiać* – PF *namówić*), etc. However, a few Vilamovicean verbs may have originated in Polish perfective forms: *styrån* 'destroy' (< PF *styrać*); *skidån* 'spill' (< PF *skidać*), *ożyjån* 'come alive' (< PF *ożyć*); *śjednjån* 'sit down' (< dialectal PF *siednąć*), *tyrknjån* 'touch, hurt' (< PF *tyrknąć*), and possibly *nabżnjån* 'swell' (< PF *nabrzmieć* [however, in this case one can hear also a form: *-brzmiać*]).

Similarly to the adjustment of Polish substantives to the Vilamovicean nominal system, the verbal loanwords undergo various adaptive processes. Three phenomena that have already been observed in nouns

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There are four additional verbs that end in *ån*: *åjkamån* 'deteriorate'; *celån* 'walk slowly; spill, pour'; *ferhålån* 'forget' and *watrån* 'talk; slander'. The origin of these words is however unknown to the author.

also exist in verbs: the correspondence between the Vilamovicean *o* and Standard Polish *a* (*nowidzån* – *nawiedzać* 'visit', *sorkån* – *sarkać* 'talk badly', *mortwjån* – *martwić*/-*marwiać* 'worry'); the use of the velar stop [k] in Vilamovicean instead of the Standard Polish fricative [x] (*karlån* – *charlać* 'cough'); and the simplification of complicated clusters of consonants (*namjynjån* 'hint' from *nadmieniać* [loss of *d*], *kśyśån* 'resuscitate' from *wskrzeszać* [elimination of the initial *ws*], *nabżnjån* 'swell' from *nabrzmieć* [assimilation of *m* to *n* due to the postalveolar consonant *ż*]).

While certain Polish imports preserve their prefixes – which, in the Polish language, either specify the type of the action conveyed by the root or modify the verb into its perfective counterpart (cf. *skidån* 'spill' [from Polish *s* + *kidać*]) – there are also cases where the Polish verbal base is accompanied by a genuinely Vilamovicean prefix: *ufhapån* (*uf* + *hapån*) 'catch up, grab' and *cyśjekån* (*cy* + *śjekån*) 'cut off'. This procedure of mixing Polish verbal stems with Germanic prefixes is quite common and entirely productive in the Vilamovicean language. Thus, the verb *kidån* 'spill' (from Polish *kidać*) – besides being admissible with the Polish perfective prefix *s*, *skidån* – may also employ Germanic prefixes *fer* and *cy*, thus appearing as *ferkidån* or *cykidån* 'spill'. Other typical examples are *åjmülån* 'cover up with mud', *fermülån* 'cover up with mud', *byśårgån* 'tear up', *cyśarpån* 'tear to pieces', *cytatrån* 'spill the food', *ejwerwalån* 'fell down', and *åjkiöepćjån* 'smoke up'.

It should be noted that the abovementioned technique of prefixation constitutes the most common and, *de facto*, the best means of preserving the perfective value of an underlying Polish verb (or marking a given loanwords as perfective) which the Vilamovicean speakers are bestowed with. For instance, the Polish perfective verbs *nachapać* 'eat up' or *posiekać* 'chop into pieces' – which are made perfective by means of the prefixes *na* (*na* + *chapać*) and *po* (*po* + *siekać*) – are transformed into "quasi-perfective" (or at least telic) in Vilamovicean by substituting the prefixed *na* and *po* by *uf* and *cy*, respectively. This also means that the Vilamovicean speakers intend to render in their Germanic mother tongue the aspectual distinction that underlies the Polish verbal system (perfective vs. imperfective aspect) and, thus, to preserve (or imitate) the perfective nuance of original Polish forms (see also *byśårgån* that corresponds to the Polish perfective verb *poszargać*, *cyśarpån* to *rozszarpać*, *cytatrån* to *roztatrać* and *ferkidån* and *cykidån* to *rozkidać*). However, as the Polish prefixes do not always have a perfective effect, but may also be found in imperfective verbs, some such mixed Vilamovicean-Polish predicates may in fact reflect imperfective predicates from Polish: *åjkiöepćjån* (cf. the Polish imperfective verb *okopcać*), *fermülån* (P *zamulać*) or *ejwerwalån* (P *powalać*). The process of adding prefixes to verbs of Polish origin may also be viewed as a language-internal phenomenon, as it constitutes a typical grammatical practice in Vilamovicean, which is characteristic to genuine Germanic predicates. Whatever the origin of the use of Germanic prefixes on verbs borrowed from Polish may be (i.e. either Polish influence or an extension of the pattern already proper to the language; in fact, both origins may coincide and thus stimulate an extensive use of this technique), this procedure enables the speakers both to render the idea of perfectivity (imitating the Polish language) and to specify the type of action conveyed by the basic non-prefixed predicate (applying a technique that exists in Vilamovicean and is also typical to Polish).

Another (always optional) characteristic of adaptation of Polish verbs to the Vilamovicean system is the fact that some of the predicates that are reflexive in Polish may lose this feature in the Vilamovicean language, in conformity with already existing verbs that express the same activity: *güzdrån* 'dawdle' (cf. the Polish reflexive verb *guzdrać się* but a non-reflexive Vilamovicean predicate *zoüma*), *jonkån* 'stammer' (*jąkać się* versus *droka*), *pśymilån* 'fawn' (*przymilać się* versus *śmåjhułn*), *umortwjån* 'be worried' (*umartwiać się* versus *zügja* and *jamyn*). However, there are many verbs that preserve their reflexivity, even if, in some cases, the corresponding Germanic predicate is non-reflexive. For example, the verb *båwjån zih* clearly matches the Polish form *bawić się* even though a semantically analogical Vilamovicean verb (*śpejła*) is not a reflexive one. In fact, in accordance with non-reflexive *śpejła*, it is also possible to use the form *bawian* and thus eliminate the overt reflexivity present in the Polish form (for a similar explanation in Yiddish, see Weinreich 2008: 532). Other examples of preservation of reflexivity are *błonkån zih* 'wander' (P *błąkać się*), *gnembjån zih* 'be worried' (P *gnębić się*), *mećån zih* 'get tired' (P *męczyć się*), *łakümjån zih* 'relish' (P *łakomić się*), and *walån zih* 'collapse' (P *walić się*).

As already mentioned, all the verbs (but one) that have Polish origins display the infinitive ending *ån* (or its variant, *owån*). In Vilamovicean, one typically finds two types of infinitives: infinitives concluding in *n* and *a*. The majority of the verbs display the suffix *a*, which does not belong to the verbal stem itself, but is a marker of the infinitive form: *mah-a*. This, in turn, means that the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons singular and the 2nd person plural of such verbs all fail to display the vowel *a*, appearing respectively as *mah*, *mah-st*, *mah-t*, and *mah-t*. The vowel *a* reappears in the 1st and 3rd plural which are always identical to the infinitive, i.e. *mah-a*. All these verbs have stems ending in a consonant or consonant cluster. The class of the infinitives in *n* is restricted to monosyllabic verbs whose stem ends in a vowel or diphthong (e.g. *błin* 'flourish', *cin* 'pull', *hon* 'have', *śłön* 'beat, hit', *tün* 'do', or *błåjn* 'remain'), verbs whose stem ends in the consonant *l* or *ł* (e.g. *handułn* 'trade' or *cybrykln* 'crush'), and pluri-syllabic verbs with *y* as their final element (e.g. *regjyn* 'rule', *koüyn* 'sit down', or *ołdyn* 'get old'). In verbs that end in *n* (such as *regjyn* 'rule') the preceding vowel belongs to the stem and appears in the entire conjugation in the present tense: *regjy*, *regjy-st*, *regjy-t*, *regjy-n*, *regjy-t*, and *regjy-n*.[11] The transformation of Polish verbs into the *ån* verbs in Vilamovicean has resulted in the formation of an entirely new – previously non-existing – class of *n* infinitives: pluri-syllabic predicates, whose stem ends in *å*. In this manner, a new conjugational paradigm has likewise been born. If one takes as an example the verb *pytån* 'ask', the forms of the present tense are the following: *pytå*, *pytåst*, *pytåt*, *pytån*, *pytåt*, and *pytån*; the past participle is *pytåt* 'asked' (usually without the prefix *gy*: *dü höst wynokwjåt* 'you have discovered') and the Preterite is *pytåt*, *pytåtst*, *pytåt* in the singular and *pytåta*, *pytåt*, *pytåta*, in the plural.

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Additionally, an umlaut or fluctuation of the vowel is also possible. However, the vowel (whatever its exact shape is) as belonging to the verbal root or stem is always present.

2.2.3. Adjectives and adverbs

Adjectives and adverbs constitute the third important class of Polish imports. However, in contrast to the categories of nouns and verbs, which have quite commonly made use of the Polish language and also include a high number of Polish loanwords, the extent of adjectives and adverbs of Polish origin is rather limited. In total, only thirteen adjectival and circa thirty adverbial lexemes belonging to the Vilamovicean language can be identified as having been borrowed from Polish.

All the adjectives that are imported from Polish are assimilated into the adjectival system of the Vilamovicean language. This adjustment can go in four possible manners, which all reflect four most frequent types of Vilamovicean adjectives. Firstly, having been incorporated into the Vilamovicean language, Polish adjectives in *y* usually show the ending *ik*, which is the most common adjectival morpheme available in Vilamovicean: *jåłowik* 'arid' (< *jałowy*), *seńkatik* 'chunky' (< *sękaty*), and *upartik* 'obstinate' (< *uparty*). In this manner, during their adaptation, the Polish adjectival forms in *y* substitute this Polish ending with a genuine Vilamovicean suffix – which, phonetically, is not very distant from the original Polish ending – delivering mixed Polish-Vilamovicean compositions: the adjectival base is Polish but the suffix is Vilamovicean. Secondly, all the loanwords that were adjectives or participles in *ny* in Polish display the ending *nik*, another characteristic adjectival morpheme in Vilamovicean: *sprytnik* 'cunning, smart' (< *sprytny*), *wjerutnik* 'real, true' (< *wierutny*), *grymåśnik* 'picky' (< *grymaśny*), *pśebrodnik* 'choosy' (< dial. *przybrodny*), *statećnik* 'wise' (< *stateczny*), *wożnik* 'important' (< *ważny*),[12] and *wyriöednik* 'disgraceful' (< *wyrodny*). In other words, as the entity *nik* is a typical adjectival morpheme in Vilamovicean, the Polish adjectives in *ny*, by analogy, could have been expanded to this adjectival class. However, the ending *nik* of these imports may also derive from a suffixation of the Germanic adjectival morpheme *ik* to the Polish forms in *ny*. This means that the Polish entity *ny* fused with the Vilamovicean suffix *ik* into *nik*, which is homophonous with the common adjectival termination *nik*. Of course, both phenomena may have co-occurred and encouraged each other. Thirdly, two adjectives use the ending *iś* in their adapted forms: *łakümiś* (*łakomy*) 'greedy'; *nikliniś* (*nikły*) 'feeble'. Here, the Polish ending would have been replaced by another common adjectival ending *iś*, again phonetically not remote from the Slavic form. Finally, in one case, the Polish ending *y* has been eliminated: *głüh* (*głuchy*) 'deaf'. This technique duplicates certain suffix-less Vilamovicean adjectives such as *klin* 'small, little', *grus* 'big' or *ołd* 'old'.[13]

As far as the adverbs are concerned, it is possible to distinguish two types of Polish imports. The first group contains original Polish bases adapted to the Vilamovicean system of adverbs by employing the same endings as those offered by adjectives: *ik nik*, *iś* and Æ (i.e. no-ending). In these cases, an adverb formally coincides with an uninflected neuter form of the corresponding adjective. This means that all the

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Observe again the correspondence between the Standard Polish *a* and Vilamovicean *o*.

13

One should note that although certain adjectives in Polish offer both longer (masculine in *y*: *zdrowy* 'healthy') and shorter varieties (masculine is ending-less: *zdrów* 'healthy'), *głuchy* is not one of them.

adjectives mentioned in the preceding paragraph – if used in an uninflected shape as a modifier of a verb or adjective (thus in an adverbial position) – can function as adverbs. Accordingly, all the observations that have been formulated in the previous paragraph with respect to the adjectives also hold true for adverbs. The other class includes more direct adverbial imports from Polish, however. The majority of members of this group are lexemes that reflect Polish adverbs of manner in *nie*: *njespodźjanje* 'unexpectedly' (< *niespodzianie*), *parnje* 'muggy, sultrily' (< *parnie*), *düśnje* 'stiflingly' (< *dusznie*),[14] *raptownje* 'suddenly' (< *raptownie*), *stråśnje* 'horribly, very' (< *strasznie*), *okriöepnje* 'terribly' (< *okropnie*), *ogriöemnje* 'greatly, very' (< *ogromnie*), *ostriöeźnje* 'carefully' (< *ostrożnie*) and *ymyśnje* 'deliberately, purposely' (< *umyślnie*). All these adverbs are direct Polish borrowings: they fail to replace the Polish adverbial suffix *nie* by any veritable Germanic equivalent.

A similar direct importation may be found in the following cases: a) words that reflect Polish adverbs in *t*: *akurat* 'exactly' (< *akurat*) and *nawet* 'even, still, yet, self' (< *nawet*); b) words that correspond to Polish adverbs in *em*: *hürmem* 'all together' (< *hurmem*) and *raptem* 'suddenly' (< *raptem*); and c) other words: *hyba* 'maybe, possibly' (< *chyba*) and *poprostu* 'simply, directly' (< *po prostu*). Although the class of such direct loans fails to adjust to the Germanic adverbial morphology, one may hypothesize the possibility of a certain "synchronization" between Polish and Vilamovicean adverbs or, more precisely, between the Polish suffixes *em* and *at*, on the one hand, and the Vilamovicean suffixes *m* and *t*, on the other. Namely, the consonant *m* – which marks some Polish adverbs – is also found in genuine Vilamovicean lexemes as an adverbial ending: *dyham* 'home, at home', *ynham* '(to) home', *egzum* 'right now, immediately', *koüm* 'barely', *łongzum* 'slowly, late', *rym* 'around, everywhere', *umatum* and *ymatum* 'around; completely'. Similarly, the suffix *t* – of various origins – is fairly common as a marker of the adverbs, being found in various, highly frequent, Vilamovicean lexemes: e.g. *byśtymt* 'for sure', *andyśt* 'otherwise', *diöt* 'there', *fylåjht* 'probably', *kårłect* 'finally, lastly', *nöht* 'later, then, next' and *öft* 'often'. This phonetic coincidence (i.e. the fact that both Polish and Vilamovicean adverbs may be marked by *m* or *t*) may have stimulated the transport of the *m* and *t* adverbs from Polish to Vilamovicean and their fluid incorporation into this Germanic tongue.

At last, one cannot omit a quite frequently observed Vilamovicean adverb: *widenok* 'certainly, of course, for sure'. This word probably has its roots in the Polish adverb *widocznie* with the same meaning. However, the Polish adverbial suffix *nie* has been replaced by *nok*. The entity *nok* may itself be a composition of the *n* from *nie* and a part of highly frequent adverbs such as *nok*, *jok* and *ok* 'only'. Another possible adverb (although nowadays archaic) *inok* 'only' may have additionally stimulated this process, since it could itself have arisen as a confusion of the Germanic lexeme *nok* and Polish *ino*.

2.3. Grammar

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[14]

Observe that the Standard Polish forms of these two last adverbs are *parno* and *duszno*.

Having explained the Polish imports in the Vilamovicean referential lexicon, in the remaining portion of the article, the impact of Polish the Vilamovicean grammar will be analyzed. The term 'grammar' will be used to encompass the functional lexicon (i.e. words that do not have a concrete or conceptual referent; e.g. conjunctions, particles and interjections; cf. section 2.3.1), morphology (section 2.3.2) and syntax (2.3.3).

2.3.1. Functional lexicon

Vilamovicean possesses a conjunction that has directly been borrowed from Polish, i.e. *bo* 'because, as, since' (from a homophonous Polish *bo*). This entity is an extremely frequent element in Vilamovicean, probably being the most common causative/explicative conjunction in the language.

(1) a. Yhy ho dos bihła bo koüft yh ejs
         I have the book because bought I it
         I have the book because I bought it

     b. Dos łid ej śejn bo ejs höt å
melodyj
         this song is beautiful because it has a melody
         This song is beautiful because it has a melody

     c. Bo andyśt kon må ny ziöen
         because otherwise can one not say
         Because otherwise one cannot say

Also common is the use of the construction *no bo* 'because', borrowed from a homonymous expression in Colloquial Polish *no bo*:

(2)   Yhy wå dos koüf no bo yhy wył dos
         I will this buy because I want this
         I will buy it because I want it

However, the Vilamovicean *no bo* – just like its Polish counterpart – can also be employed with the meaning of 'so then, well, well then'. In such instances, it fails to connect two clauses but rather introduces a clause that stands on its own:

(3)   No bo was kan yhy maha?
           well what can I do
         Well then, what can I do?

The word *no*, which is a direct loan from the Polish *no*, constitutes itself as a highly common piece of the Vilamovicean functional vocabulary. Just like its Polish equivalent, it appears in a broad range of contexts, usually with an intensifying, emphatic force (4.a), getting the attention of the interlocutor (4.b-c), or with the sense of 'well, then' (4.d). It can also be employed as a "dummy" word with no particular meaning, merely as an introductory sentence marker (4.e-g). A similar range of uses is provided by *no to* (a compound of *no* and *to* 'then') – another direct loan from Polish (cf. 4.h).

(4)   a.   No   gejźe   śun!   (cf. Polish *No idź!*)
             NO[15]   go-IMP   already
             Go now!

       b.   No   meńć,   kum   nåj   (cf. Polish *No człowieku*)
             NO   man   come-IMP   to
       Man, come here!

       c.   No   måkja,   kansty   wymysiöeryś kuza?   (cf. Polish *No dziewczyno*)
             NO   girl   can-you Vilamovicean speak
       Girl, can you speak Vilamovicean?

       d.   No   güt!   (cf. Polish *No dobrze*)
             NO   good
       OK then!

       e.   No   wos   wyłsty?   (cf. Polish *No co chcesz?*)
             NO   what   want-you
       What do you want?

       f.   No   fråłik   (cf. Polish *No owszem*)
             NO   certainly
       Of course

       g.   No   ny?   (cf. Polish *No nie*?)
             NO   not
       No?

       h.   No   to   s'öwyts   måj   mama ziöet...
             NO   then   in-the-evening   my   mom   says…
       And then, in the evening, my mom says…

The Polish word *to*, itself, in the sense of '(so) then' (and not in its function as a demonstrative pronoun) is also extensively used in Vilamovicean as a linker between the conditional protases and the apodosis, introducing the consequence:

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[15]

        Due to a highly elusive character of the lexeme *no*, this word will be glossed as *NO*.

(5) a. Wen   wyt   kuma   der   nökwer,
        when   will   come   the   neighbor
        When the neighbor comes,
               to   wåh   um   ziöen dy   byst   ny
               then   will-I him   say   you   are   not
               I will tell him that you are not here

    b. Wen   dy   mer   hetst gyhułfa cyjür,
        if   you   me   had   helped last-year,
        If you had helped me last year,
               to   wie'h   oü   der   hyłfa
               then   would-I too   you   help
               I would help you too

Apart from the direct Polish loanwords mentioned above, the Polish language might also have influenced the usage of certain genuine Vilamovicean lexemes, approximating it to the functional load of their Polish equivalents. For instance, the functions of the Polish conjunction *że* (employed by itself or in compounds such as *żeby* or *jako że*) could explain the range of uses offered by the Vilamovicean *do* 'that', a cognate to the German *daß*. Namely, the lexeme *do* – besides appearing as a complementizer with an expletive sense 'that' (3.a) – can be employed with a purposive-final value (3.b) or a causal force similar to 'since, due to the fact that' (3.c), corresponding to the use the Polish word *że* in compounds such as *żeby* and *jako że* (see a similar observation in Wicherkiewicz 2003: 420):

(6) a. Å   ziöet do   å   wyt   kuma
        he   says   that   he   will   come
        He says that he will come (cf. Polish *Mówi że przyjdzie*)

    b. Yh   ho   gybata dy   tohter do   zy   mir   zo   oüzwośa
        I   have   asked the   daughter that she   me   shall help
        I have asked my daughter to help me (cf. Polish *Poprosiłem córkę żeby mi pomogła*)

    c. Do   di   łoüt   duł   zåjn,...
        that   the   people stupid are
        Because the people are stupid,… (cf. Polish *Jako że ludzie są głupi*)

A similar Polish influence on the functional load of a Vilamovicean word may be observed in the case of the conjunction *wi*. This entity seems to be employed in more functions than its equivalent in Standard High German, providing some uses that directly correspond to its Polish homologue, the word *jak*. To be precise, it is not only used as an interrogative and exclamatory adverb 'how?; how!' (6.a-b; cf. German *Wie machst du das?* 'How do you do it?' *Wie schön!* 'How beautiful!') or as a linker in comparison of the first degree (6.c; cf. German *Frankfurt ist so groß wie München* 'Frankfurt is bigger than Munich'), but also appears after adjectives and adverbs in the comparative degree (6.d-f;) and in subordinated clauses

introducing the reason or cause (6.f-g), imitating the use of the Polish word *jak* (*większy jak ten dom* 'bigger than this house' or *jak przyszedł to niech zostanie* 'since he has come, let him stay'; see a similar opinion in Wicherkiewicz 2003: 240).

(6)   a.   Wi   kon   der   mećń   ån   mećńa   merdyn

Wi	kon	der	mećń	ån	mećńa	merdyn
how	can	the	man	a	man	murder

How can a man murder a man?

b.   Wi   hejwyśt!

Wi	hejwyśt!
how	strange

How strange!

c.

Wåjs	wi	kiöelk
white	as	chalk

White as chalk

d.

Har	ej	klåner	wi	zaj	brüder
he	is	smaller	than	his	brother

He is smaller than his brother

e.

Å	föguł	gryser	wi	å	hün
a	bird	bigger	than	a	hen

A bird bigger than a hen

f.

Zy	freta	myjer	wi	yhy	wöst
they	asked	more	than	I	knew

They asked more than I knew

g.

Wi	yh	ym	oüto	wiöe,	zoh	yh	å	mećńa
as	I	in-the	car	was	saw	I	a	man

As I was in the car, I saw a man

In this review of the functional lexicon, I have also included one pronoun which is the most frequent relative pronoun in the Vilamovicean language. This is the indeclinable lexeme *wu* 'that, which, who'. It is possible that the use of the indeclinable relative pronoun *wu* constitutes a Polish influence, given that one of the most common relative pronouns in Polish is *co*, which also fails to vary depending on gender, number and case (cf. Wicherkiewicz 2003: 420).

(7)   a.

Gat	s'	brut	y	dam	wu	hyngjyt
give	the	bread	to	that	who	is-hungry

Give the bread to [that one] who is hungry

b.

Was	ej	dy	jak	wu	dö	låjt?
whose	is	the	jacket	that	there	lies

Whose jacket lies there?

However, the use of the entity *wu* as a relative pronoun may likewise be a language-internal phenomenon, as the word *wu* is an originally interrogative (and relative) adverb with the sense of 'where', which is still attested in Vilamovicean (see example 8, below). The use of adverbs with the meaning of 'where' or 'there' as relative pronouns is typologically well documented (see English *whereof* in *The man whereof I speak* and Dutch *waar…mee*, *waar…van*, *waar…over*, *waar…aan*, etc.; cf. also Hebrew and Akkadian, in Kienast 2001). Again, both explanations may be true, as the two processes might have co-occurred encouraging the stabilization of the adverb *wu* in the role of a relative pronoun.

(8)   Wu   ej   har?
             where   is   he
             Where is he?

The Polish language has also penetrated the domain of interjections and onomatopoeias, which constitute an expressive and pragmatic type of lexicon. The interjections *ah* 'oh, ah', *oh* 'oh!', *oj* 'oh! wow!' and *ej* 'hey!' both formally and semantically (or pragmatically) correspond to the Polish words *ach*, *och*, *oj* and *ej*, respectively. Similarly, a swearword *pśjokrew* '[vulg.] damn, hell!' has a clear Polish origin: *psiakrew*. In addition, certain common onomatopoeias used when addressing animals have been imported from Polish, for example: *kići-kići* 'here kitty kitty [for a cat to come]' (from *kici kici*), *prr* 'whoa [for a horse to slow down]' (from *prr*), *wjo-wiśta* 'gee-up, geedy-up [for a horse to go faster]' (from *wiśta wio*), and *ćipćip* '[to a chicken to come here]' (from Polish *cip cip*).

2.3.2. Morphology

Inflectional morphology

In the Vilamovicean language, the function of a vocative case is most commonly conveyed by the nominative. For example, the substantives *Tüma!* 'Tom!' and *śiłer!* 'teacher!', when used in addressing people, are both formally identical to their nominative forms. However, a few words – albeit highly common ones – offer a special vocative shape in *y* in the singular. These substantives are: *müm* – VOC *mümy!* 'mom!', *büw* – VOC *büwy!* 'boy!', *bow* – VOC *bowy!* 'wife, woman', *pot* – VOC *poty!* 'godfather', *łoüt* – VOC *łoüty!* 'people!', and *knåht* – VOC *knåhty!* 'lad'. Apart from these lexemes, the vocative case fails to be a productive category, so that the derivation of forms in *y* from other nominal stems is impossible and the nominative must be used.

The vocative case, inherited form Proto-Indo-European, was an inflectional category of Proto-Germanic. The Proto-Germanic word **wulfaz* 'wolf' possessed its vocative **wulf* while **gastiz* 'guest' offered the form **gasti*. However, in the attested members of the Germanic family, the vocative as an inflectional category survived only in Gothic (4th century AD; cf. Streitberg 1900: 224-227, Lehmann 1994: 25-26). In the oldest West-Germanic language (Old High German; 9th century), the vocative case was

already missing and in Standard High German, the vocative is identical to the nominative (Behaghel 1923: 72-73, Hermann 1969: 307, von Kienle 1969: 127-130, van der Wal & Qual 1994: 102; see already Schade 1828: 33, and Heilner 1842: 303). Irregularly, in a church register, under the influence of Latin, the form in *e*, *Christe*! 'Christ!', can be used when addressing God. It should also be noted that certain proper names may use forms in *e* when used in addressing people: *Paul – Paule!* or *Karl – Kalle!* These forms are not vocatives but diminutives used in a vocative function. One should note that German hypocoristics are most commonly formed by using the suffix *i*: *Mami* 'Mom', *Opi* 'granddad' or *Omi* 'granny' (Korecky-Kröll & Dressler 2007: 207). Consequently, the presence of the vocative case in Vilamovicean is exceptional to the West Germanic languages.

Given the modern shape of the vocative (i.e. the form in *y*), it may seem that the ending is not a direct import from Polish, where the vocative is usually marked by *e* (*chłopiec – chłopcze!* 'boy!'), *u* (*Tomek – Tomku!* 'Tom!' and *dziadek – dziadku!* 'grandpa!') or *o* (*kobieta – kobieto!* 'woman!').[16] Nevertheless, this relation can be established if one takes into account the phonetic development of Vilamovicean. In accordance with a diachronic phonetic rule, endings that nowadays appear as *y* most commonly descend from an original vowel *e. This fact may easily be observed if one compares the Vilamovicean forms in *y* with their German equivalents: feminine singular, and plural of all genders in the strong declension of adjectives (*güty* 'good' versus *gute*) or the nominative singular of all genders in the weak declension of adjectives (again, *güty* versus *gute*). The same correspondence may be found in pronouns: *måjny* 'mine' versus *meine* or *kåny* 'no, no one' versus *keine*. Accordingly, the Vilamovicean vocative marker would likely be a reflex of an earlier ending *e*, which in the final position evolved into *y* following the aforementioned phonetic developmental tendency. If this is correct, then it is possible that the original ending *e was borrowed from Polish, where it is a common vocative marker. However, it could also reflect the afore-mentioned diminutive ending *e*. Furthermore, the Vilamovicean vocative in *y* might likewise have come from the most productive German hypocostic suffix *i* since the German *i* is sometimes displayed as *y* in Vilamovicean. To conclude, since the category of vocative is highly productive and frequent in the Polish case system but entirely absent in West Germanic family, whatever the exact origin of the Vilamovicean vocative case is, its development and preservation might have been stimulated by the Polish language.

Derivational morphology

Vilamovicean possesses a number of derivational suffixes that have been borrowed from Polish. Commonly met suffixes of Polish origin are *ok* or *ak*. The former reflects the dialectal form while the latter matches the Standard Polish form. These suffixes are frequently used in nicknames (*Hytok* or *Marińćok*), although they can also be employed with genuine Germanic stems: *Pråjz* 'Prussian' > *Pråjzok* 'Prussian'.

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[16]

In the plural, it is homonymous to the nominative and commonly displays the ending *y* (*chłopy* 'men!', *dziady* 'old men!', *kobiety* 'women!', *baby* 'women!'), *i* (*dzieci* 'children!') or *e* (*ludzie* 'people!').

Another typical Polish suffix that appears in proper names (especially in surnames) is *ski* and *cki*. This entity has been introduced into the Vilamovicean language under the shape *ćki* in nicknames such as *Holećki* or *Jaśićki* (cf. also Wicherkiewicz 2003: 421).

With a high frequency, the Vilamovicean language uses diminutive suffixes borrowed from Polish. The most frequent are *uś* (in proper names of Germanic origin *Linküś* or *Gotuś*) and *śju* (*kacuśju* 'kitty; a diminutive of *koc* 'cat'; *kynduśju* diminutive of *kind* 'child'). One may also find diminutives in *śa/źa* (feminine; from Polish *sia* or *zia*), *ćo* (masculine, from Polish *cio*) and *ća* (feminine, from Polish *cia*) – most of them, however, are direct loans from Polish: *Jaśu* (< *Jasiu*), *Ståśjü* (< *Stasiu*), and *Juźa* (< *Józia*; cf. also Wicherkiewicz 2003: 421).

The phenomenon of borrowing derivational morphemes can also be found in verbs. For example, in certain instances, the verbal suffix *owån* which (as explained in section 2.2) descends from the Polish infinitive form in *ować*, can be employed with genuine Germanic bases: *krankowån* 'be sick, weak', a compound of the entity *krank* 'sick, weak' and *owån*.

Finally, one of the most common morphemes imported from Polish is the suffixes *że* (also pronounced as *że* and *cie*) borrowed from the Polish intensifying particle *że*. This entity is extensively employed in polite intensified requests, being typically suffixed to the imperative form of a verb: *gejźe* 'go!', *kuźe* 'talk!', *fercyłźe* 'tell!', or *kumtźe nåj* 'come!'. It likewise appears in polite fixed expressions such as *skokumcie* 'welcome!'. Sometimes, however, it is used as an independent word, again politely intensifying the request: *ret mih źe* 'save me, rescue me!'.

2.3.3. Syntax

"Free" word order

It is a well-known fact that the word order of Vilamovicean is significantly less rigid than in Standard High German and other West Germanic languages (cf. Kleczkowski 1921: 6, 9 and Wicherkiewicz 2003: 413). However, this does not imply that the word order is free in the manner as it is so in Polish, where constituents may occupy almost any position.[17] For instance, in Polish, the sentence *Widziałem łądną dziewczynę* 'I saw a beautiful girl' [lit. gloss: I-saw beautiful girl] may also be constructed as: *Ładną widziałem dziewczynę*; *Dziewczynę widziałem ładną*; *Ładną dziewczynę widziałem*, *Dziewczynę ładną widziałem*, and *Widziałem dziwczynę ładną*. In Vilamovicean, however, the sentence corresponding to *Dziewczynę widziałem ładną* is not possible (** *Śejny zoh yh å måkja*). Neither is it possible to formulate a sentence equivalent to *Do starego wszedłem domu* 'I entered an old house' [lit. to old I-entered house].

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[17]

Of course, there are also some constraints on this syntactic freedom in Polish so that not all the arrangements are, in fact, acceptable.

In this section, I will carefully describe a relative constituents' freedom of the Vilamovicean language indicating all the instances where the Vilamovicean word order differs from the usage observed in Standard High German, but where it seems to approach the syntax of Polish.

First of all, contrary to the situation found in German and the West Germanic family, the subject may be detached from the inflected verb and placed after the last component of a complex predicate, i.e. after the infinitive or participle (9.a-b).

(9) a. Yta   ej   grod   gykuma der   nökwer
         just   has   already come   the   neighbor
         The neighbor has just arrived

     b. Wen   wyt   kuma   der   nökwer, yhy   wå   dos   maha
         when   will come   the   neighbor, I   will this   do
         When the neighbor comes, I will do this

In various cases, there is no expected inversion of the subject and verb, so that the rule of V2 (i.e. verb in the second position) – which is missing in Polish – ceases to be respected (see also the examples 9.a-b, discussed above):

(10) a. Mün   måj nökwer wyt   hon   gyköüft å   oüta
         tomorrow my   neighbor   will   have   bought   a   car
         Tomorrow, my neighbor will buy a car

     b. Gestyn der   kłop   bła   derślön
         yesterday   the   man   remained   killed
         The man was killed yesterday

     c. Gestyn wi   der   nökwer kom
         yesterday   as   the   neighbor   came
         Yesterday when the neighbor came,

                yhy   kuzt   myta   ełdyn
                I   talked with-the parents
                I was talking to my parents

     d. Mün   måj nökwer wyt   hon   gyköüft å   oüta
         Tomorrow   my   neighbor   will   have   bought   a   car
         Tomorrow, my neighbor will certainly buy a car

Participles and infinitives may be placed closer to the inflected verb and, thus, fail to occupy the last position in the clause, as is the case in Standard High German. Inversely, the object may be located outside the auxiliary and infinitive/participle sequence, which is also a tendency in Polish. (In Polish the sentence *będę pisał/pisać list* 'I will write the letter' [lit. gloss: I-will written/write letter] is more common and less marked than *będę list pisał/pisać* [I-will letter written/write].)

(11)   a.   Hoüts   mügies   ho   yh   gykoüft å   brut

today   in-the-morning   have   I   bought   a   bread

Today in the morning I bought a loaf of bread

b.   Der   jyśty   kyng   höt   ufgyboüt   Krök

The   first   king   has   built   Cracow

The first king [of Poland] built Cracow

c.   Zy   zon   kiöefa orpułn

they   shall   buy   popatoes

They shall buy potatoes

d.   Yh   mü   fietik   moha   s'öwytasa

I   must   ready   make   the-dinner

I will have to prepare the dinner

e.   Mün   wåh   krigia   å   pokło

Tomorrow   will-I   receive a   packet

Tomorrow, I will receive a packet

It is likewise possible to invert the subject-verb order in subordinate clauses and employ an "incorrect" inversion:

(12)   a.   Wi   wiöe   yh   klin

when   was   I   little

When I was little

kuzt   yh   myta   ełdyn   wymysiöeryś

talked   I   with-the parents Vilamovicean

I used to talk to my parents in Vilamovicean

b.   Gestyn wi   ej   kuma   dy   nökwer   śłüf   yh

yesterday   when   is   come   the   neighborslept   I

Yesterday, when the neighbor came, I was sleeping

c.   Wen   wyt   kuma   der   nökwer   wåh   dos   maha

When   will come   the   neighbor   wiil-I this   do

When the neighbor comes, I will do it

In certain instances, the verb may occupy the first position in the clause. This phenomenon seems to be more common in oral narratives, approximating the usage in Polish where opening sentences in narration commonly start with a verb: *żył sobie król* 'once upon a time, there was a king' [lit. gloss: lived him king].

(13)   Wün   zy   zyca   ån   fercyła

were   they   sit   and   narrate

They were sitting and narrating

It is also quite common that, in contrast with a rigid rule of Standard High German, the inflected verb does not need to be placed at the end of the subordinate clauses but may rather occupy the second position, right after the subject, thus imitating the word order of the main clause (14.a-e). The same phenomenon may be observed in Yiddish, where the inflected verb in the subordinate clause never occupies the last position. According to Weinreich (2008: 532), this could be explained as a Polish influence

(14)   a.   A   ziöet   do   jå   śun   höt   dos   gymaht
             he   said   that he   already has   this   done
             He said that he had already done it

       b.   A   ziöet   do   jå   śun   höt   gyłoza dos   bihła
             he   said   that he   already has   read   this   book
             He said that he had read this book

       c.   Dü   wyst   ny   roüzgejn
             you   will   not   leave
             You will not leave

                    wen   dy   ny   ufroümst   dy   goncy hyt
                    before you   not   clean   the   whole house
                     before you have cleaned the whole house

       d.   A   höt   gyziöet do'å wyt   dos   moha
             he   has   said   that-he will   this   do
             He said that he would do it

       e.   Å   kuzt   do'   å   wyt   kiöefa s'brut
             He   said   that he   will   buy   the-bread
             He said that he would buy the bread

A complex three-member verbal sequence typically offers the following order: inflected verb + infinitive + participle. In this manner, it contrasts with the typical order in Standard High German (*ich werde gemacht haben* 'I will have done' and *es wird gemacht werden* 'it will be done') but imitates the sequence commonly found in Polish where the participle usually comes after the verb (*będę mieć to zrobione* 'I will have it done' or *miało być zrobione* 'it should have been done'):

(15)   a.   Mün   måj   nökwer wyt   hon   gykoüft å   oüta
             tomorrow   my   neighbor will   have   bought a   car
             Tomorrow, my neighbor will buy a car

       a.   Dy   wond   wyt   mün   zåjn   gymöłt
             the   wall   will   tomorrow   be   painted
             The wall will be painted tomorrow

       b.   Mün   wyt   dy   hoüz   wada   reperiyt

<table>
<tr><td></td><td>tomorrow</td><td></td><td>will</td><td>the</td><td>house</td><td>be</td><td>reconstructed</td></tr>
</table>

Tomorrow, the house will be reconstructed

In addition, the object may be placed in the first position, usually triggering the inversion of the subject and verb (16.a). However, a non-inverted word order may also be exceptionally used (16.b):

(16)   a.
Dos	hot	yh	gyśrejwa	10	jür	y	dom
this	had	I	written	10	years	ago	

I wrote it 10 years ago

   b.
Dos	yhy	hot	gyśrejwa
this	I	had	written

I wrote it

Although the "irregular" or Polish-like word order – i.e. a word order that diverges from the Standard High German usage but seems to approximate tendencies observed in Polish usage – is highly common, "correct" or German-like syntactic rules may also be employed. For example, the subject can appear directly after the inflected verb in inversions (17.a); the inversion may be employed (17.b); the participle or infinitive may be placed after the object (17.c); the inversion in subordinate clauses can be abandoned (17.d); and the verb may be located at the end in subordinate clauses (17.e-h):

(17)   a.
Yta	ej	der	nökwer	grod	gykuma
just	has	the	neighbor		already come

The neighbor has just arrived

   b.
Gestyn	bła		der	kłop	derślön
yesterday	remained		the	man	killed

The man was killed yesterday

   c.
Zy	zon	kiöefa	orpułn
they	shall	buy	potatoes

They shall buy potatoes

   d.
Wi	yh	wiöe	klin
when	was	I	little

When I was little

	kuzt	yh	myta	ełdyn	wymysiöeryś
	talked	I	with-the	parents	Vilamovicean

I used to talk to my parents in Vilamovicean

   e.
Yh	łaz	å	bihła	wu	dü	mjyr	gyłejn	höst
I	read	a	book	which	you	me	lent	have

I am reading a book which you have lent me

   f.
Yhy	wön	y	Wymysoü	wi'h	uf	dy	wełd	kom

	I	live	in	Wilamowice	since-I	on	the	world	came

I have lived in Wilamowice since I was born

g.	Har	kuzt	do	har	śun	dos	maht
	he	said	that	he	already this	did	

He said that he had already done it

h.	Wen	yh	jung	wje	zåjn,
	if	I	young	were	be

If I were younger,

To conclude, it is possible to affirm that the Vilamovicean word order, rather than being of either the Polish or the Germanic type, corresponds to a composition of two systems: one is typically West Germanic and bestows the speakers with the possibility of respecting the syntactic rules similar to those found in Standard High German, while the other is Slavic and gives the users a certain freedom in moving the constitutes of the clause, possibly by imitating various uses characteristic of Polish.

Negative concord

A type of double negation whereby two negative words are used in a clause in order to intensify or specify (but not to cancel) its negative meaning is referred to in linguistics as 'negative concord'. This phenomenon is typical in Polish where specific negative words such as *nigdy* 'never', *nigdzie* 'nowhere', *nikt* 'no one', *nic* 'nothing' regularly co-occur with the general negative particle *nie* 'not' within a single clause, resolving into a concrete negative value:

(18)	Nikt	z	nich	nigdy	nigdzie	nie	był
	no-one	of	them	never	nowhere	not	was

No one of them has ever been anywhere

While typical to the Slavic family, double negation used in the sense of negative concord is less common in West Germanic languages, although in can be found in Southern American English, African American English and various regional and lower-class dialects of British English. Apart from English, it likewise exists in Low Franconian dialects (*Ik ne willen da nie doen*), in certain regions of Netherlands and Belgium (see the expression *nooit niet* 'never not' used instead of a simple *nooit* 'never'), in Bavarian and (much more regularly) in Afrikaans.

Although negative concord is absent in Standard High German, it is extensively employed in Vilamovicean (see examples 19a-h, below). Some authors suggest that this feature is a relic of Middle High German (Kleczkowski 1921: 39-41), while others analyze it as a Polish influence (Weinreich 1958: 15; cf. also Wicherkiewicz 2003: 413). Double negation existed in Middle High German (MHG) and it also is found in Yiddish, where its presence is usually explained as a remnant of the MHG usage (Weinreich 2008:

423). However, in Middle High German, the double negation resolved into a negative is only one of the possibilities. The extent to which it is found in Yiddish and Eastern German dialects could be justified by imitating the Slavic practice (cf. Weinreich 2008: 532).

(19)   a.   Wjyr   kyna   nist   ny   maha
                we   kan   nothing not   do
                We cannot do anything

        b.   Å   meńć   wu   nist   ny   zit
                a   man   who   nothing no   sees
                A man who cannot see anything

        c.   **Ny**   renćå   fjyr   nimanda!
                not   vouch   for   no-one
                Don't vouch for anyone!

        d.   Ma   djef   nimanda   ny   śiöehja
                one   needs   no-one   not   scare
                One should not scare anyone

        e.   Yhy   gej   njynt   ny
                I   go   nowhere not
                I don't go anywhere

        f.   Dy   döktyn ny   maha   kå   höfnung
                the   doctors   not   make   no   hope
                The doctors do not have any hope

        g.   Yhy   ho   kå   rånaböga   ny   gyzan
                I   have   no   rainbow not   seen
                I have not seen any rainbow / I have seen no rainbow

        h.   Å   meńć, wu   wył   nimanda nist   ny   gan
                a   man   who   wants no-one   nothing not   give
                A man who does not want to give anything to anyone

It should, however, be noted that in Vilamovicean two systems of expressing negative meaning are actually possible. One reflects the Polish usages where specific negative words such as *kå* 'no, no one', *njynt* 'nowhere', *nimanda* 'no one', and *nist* 'nothing' are accompanied by the general negative particle *ny* 'not' (cf. the example 19.a-e, provided above). The other system is typical to Standard High German, where a single specific negation is sufficient and there is no need to employ the general particle *ny* 'not'.

      Additionally, it must be observed that although a single negation is possible, double negation – following the Polish norm – always resolves into a negative. This signifies that the interpretation of the sentences in 20.a-e as being affirmative – in case they include the negative particle *ny* – is impossible. This would suggest that the Polish system has a stronger position in the Vilamovicean language than the German(ic).

(20) a.   S'   ej   kå   roümas

              it   is   no   place

              There is no place

      b.   Yhy   ho   kå   cajt

              I   have   no   time

              I do not have time

      c.   Njynt   ej'   s   åzu   güt   wi   bym   foter   ån ber müter

              nowhere is   it   so   good   as   by   father and by mother

              Nowhere is better than my mother and fathers

      d.   Har   kuzt   wymysiöeryś   myt   nimand

              he   spoke   Vilamovicean   with   no-one

              He did not spoke Vilamovicean with anyone

      e.   Ufer   Bejł   ej   der   śpytuł,   y   Wymysoü   ej   kåner

              in   Biała   is   the   hospital in   Wilamowice   is   no

              The hospital is in Biała; in Wilamowice, there is none

Lack of Consecutio Temporum

The rule of *consecutio temporum* (or a sequence of tenses) is a particular harmony of verbal forms that governs the agreement between the tenses of verbal constructions found in the main and subordinated clauses. The most prototypical environment where this principle appears crosslinguistically is reported or indirect speech. In West Germanic languages, such as Standard High German or Dutch (as well as English), the rule of succession of tenses is usually observed. In Vilamovicean, however, it is not compulsory (cf. Kleczkowski 1921: 3 and Wicherkiewicz 2003: 414). Although it may be found – especially in cases where pluperfect, past conditional and past subjunctive are used in subordinate clauses – it is commonly abandoned and disrespected, just like in Polish, where it is almost never observed.

For example, the Vilamovicean Present tense is frequently employed in subordinate clauses of indirect speech that are introduced by Preterite or Perfectum with a past tense force. In such cases, the Present expresses past imperfective actions or situations and semantically corresponds to the Preterite (21.a). A similar behavior is offered by Preterite, Perfect and Future constructions that may appear in reported speech following an introductory verb with a definite past tense value (typically the Preterite or Perfectum). In such cases, the Perfect and Preterite function as pluperfects (21.b) and the Future is used as the category of a future in the past (21.c-d):

(21) a.   Å   ziöet   do   å   łejzt   dos   bihła

              he   said   that   he   reads   this   book

              He said that he was reading (lit. is reading) that book

      b.   Har   kuzt   do   har   śun   dos   maht

	he	said	that	he	already this		did

He said that he had already done it

c.	Å	höt	gyziöet	do'	å	wyt	dos	maha
	he	has	said		that	he	will	this	do

He said that he would do (lit. will do) it

d.	Å	kuzt	do'	å	wyt	kiöefa	s'brut
	He	said	that	he	will	buy	the-bread

He said that he would buy (lit. will buy) the bread

Alternative futures and conditionals

The last examples of the Polish influence on the Vilamovicean language may be found in two – rather rare – constructions. Apart from regular future tenses formed with auxiliaries *wada*/*wan* and *zuła*, for which equivalents may easily be found in numerous Germanic languages, the Vilamovicean language has also developed an alternative way of conveying the future meaning. It corresponds to a periphrasis that consists of the auxiliary *wada*/*wan* (cognate to *werden* in German) and the past participle. This formation structurally matches the Polish expression *będzie pisał* – composed of the inflected verb with a future senses (*będzie*) and a past participle (*napisał*) – which constitute a paradigmatic future gram in Polish. In this manner, one would witness a morphosyntactic calque from Polish to Vilamovicean, whereby a new future construction is formed:

(22)	Yhy	wå	gybata	dy	nökweryn
	I	will	asked	the	neighbor

I will ask the neighbor (instead of the regular *wo bata* 'will ask' or *wo hon gybata* 'will have asked')

The above-mentioned formation may also appear with the auxiliary *wada*/*wan* in the past conjunctive (*wje*), thus providing a conditional counterfactual and unreal meaning (cf. example 23, below). This construction parallels the Polish past conditional *byłby napisał*, which is formed by the auxiliary *byłby* and, again, a past participle.

(23)	Wen	dy	mer	dos	hetst	gyziöet	gestyn,
	if	you	me	this	had told	yesterday

If you had told me that yesterday,

	wie'h	ju	mytum	gykuzt
	would-I	just	with-him	talked

I would already have talked to him (instead of the regular *wie kuza* 'would talk' or *het gykuzt* 'would have talked')

3. Conclusion

The provided evidence indicates that the Polish influence on the Vilamovicean language is relatively strong. This is displayed by the idea that the Vilamovicean phonetic system possesses various sounds (both consonants and vowels) typical to Polish and offers certain properties characteristic to the Slavic phonology (for instance, the lack of aspirations of plosives). In addition, the referential vocabulary of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs is heavily impregnated by Polish loanwords. The total number of such Slavic imports amount to some four hundred fully stabilized lexemes at the very least, among which nominal (approx. 250 examples) and verbal (approx. 120 examples) borrowings clearly predominate. These loans are usually well-integrated to the Vilamovicean language, being adjusted to its phonetics and morphology. Inversely, they are not mere examples of code switching but, on the contrary, currently belong to the standard vocabulary of the idiom, despite being non-Germanic. Thirdly, the Polish language has also penetrated to the grammatical structure of Vilamovicean: it has affected its functional lexemes (conjunctions, particles, pronouns and interjections), morphology (both inflectional and derivational, be they nominal or verbal) and syntax, where it has had a profound impact on the word order, expression of negation, and use of tenses in subordinated clauses or reported speech. By analogy or calque, some Polish tenses have also given rise to new verbal constructions in Vilamovicean. *Summa summarum*, the Polish impact on Vilamovicean is well marked both quantitatively (indicated by the high number of loans) and qualitatively (displayed by the diversity of the borrowings, which span all the levels and sections of the language).

Even though the present study has provided a detailed description and analysis of Polish imports in the Vilamovicean language, it has not answered all the questions related to this issue. One such unanswered question is the examination of idioms and fixed expressions that may have been transposed from Polish into Vilamovicean: for instance, the locution *po kiöelendźje gejn* 'visit houses after Christmas (of a priest)', which is a replica of the Polish construction *chodzić po kolędzie* – a Germanic equivalent, also available in Vilamovicean, is *ym kolond gejn*. More field research is necessary, however, in order to discern such imports and determine the true extent of their influence.

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