# A GRAMMAR OF WYMYSORYS 

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## Preface

The present grammar is a result of more than a decade of documentation and research activities conducted by Tymoteusz Król and Alexander Andrason in Wilamowice and neighboring areas. In the course of those ten years, a massive database has been generated. This database consists of hundreds of hours of recordings that contain translations, conversations, stories, songs, poems, prayers, etc. Possibly, all the speakers of the Wymysorys language known to us have been identified, interviewed and/or recorded, and most grammatical phenomena (be they phonetic, morphological or syntactical) have been documented. Large parts of this material have also been critically analyzed and presented in several articles published previously. The present book necessarily draws on these publications, building on their empirical findings and linguistic analyses.

This book depicts the grammar of the $21^{\text {st }}$ century Wymysorys language as it is spoken in Wilamowice at the beginning of the $21^{\text {st }}$ century. Therefore, its character is not normative. However, we believe that it may contribute to developing a (literary) standard of Wymysorys, which may play an important role in the revitalization of this language and its preservation. In agreement with this objective, even though we tried to preserve as much of the grammatical diversity typical of Wymysorys as possible, various idiolectal expressions, hapax legomena, and forms that are related to a lack of proficiency have been omitted. Accordingly, the language presented in this grammar is a variety that is shared by the majority of our informants, especially by those that are the most proficient.

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## Contents

1. Historical and sociolinguistic context. ..... 7
1.1 General information ..... 7
1.2 Geography and classification ..... 8
1.3 Speakers ..... 9
1.4 History. ..... 10
1.4.1 From the Middle Ages till the Partition of Poland. ..... 11
1.4.2 Partition of Poland ..... 11
1.4.3 Re-born Poland (1918-1939) ..... 12
1.4.4 World War II ..... 12
1.4.5 Post-War Poland ..... 13
1.5 Written tradition ..... 14
1.6 Modern revitalization ..... 15
2. Sound and writing ..... 17
2.1 Phonemic inventory ..... 17
2.1.1 Consonants ..... 17
2.1.2 Vowels ..... 20
2.2 Orthography ..... 21
3. Declensional word classes ..... 24
3.1 Articles ..... 24
3.1.1 Definite article. ..... 24
3.1.2 Indefinite article ..... 26
3.2 Nouns ..... 27
3.2.1 Gender. ..... 27
3.2.2 Number ..... 27
3.2.2.1 Masculine ..... 28
3.2.2.2 Feminine ..... 30
3.2.2.3 Neuter ..... 32
3.2.3 Case inflection. ..... 34
3.2.3.1 Singular - Accusative, Dative, Vocative and Genitive. ..... 35
3.2.3.2 Plural - Dative ..... 36
3.3 Adjectives ..... 37
3.3.1 Number, gender and case inflection of adjectives ..... 38
3.3.1.1 Class 1 ..... 38
3.3.1.2 Class 2 ..... 39
3.3.1.3 Class 3 ..... 39
3.3.1.4 Class 4 ..... 41
3.3.1.5 Class 5 ..... 41
3.3.1. 6 Class 6 ..... 43
3.3.2 Degrees of adjectives ..... 44
3.3.2.1 Comparative ..... 44
3.3.2.2 Superlative ..... 46
3.4 Pronouns ..... 47
3.4.1 Personal pronouns ..... 47
3.4.1.1 Full personal pronouns ..... 47
3.4.1.2 Reduced pronouns ..... 48
3.4.1.3 Affixed pronouns ..... 49
3.4.2 Demonstrative pronouns ..... 49
3.4.3 Indefinite pronouns ..... 51
3.4.4 Anaphoric pronoun ..... 52
3.4.5 Relative pronouns ..... 53
3.4.6 Interrogative pronouns ..... 53
3.4.7 Possessive pronouns. ..... 54
3.5 Numerals ..... 56
3.5.1 Cardinal ..... 56
3.5.2 Ordinal ..... 57
3.5.3 Numeral substantives ..... 59
4. Non-declensional word classes ..... 61
4.1 Adverbs ..... 61
4.1.1 Adverbs of time ..... 61
4.1.2 Adverbs of place ..... 63
4.1.3 Adverbs of manner. ..... 64
4.1.4 Comparison of adverbs ..... 66
4.2 Prepositions ..... 67
4.3 Conjunctions ..... 69
4.4 Particles ..... 70
4.5 Interjections ..... 71
5. Verbs ..... 73
5.1 Infinitive ..... 73
5.2 Participle ..... 74
5.3 Synthetic finite constructions ..... 75
5.3.1 Present. ..... 75
5.3.2 Preterite ..... 81
5.3.2.1 Weak Preterite. ..... 81
5.3.2.2 Strong Preterite ..... 84
5.3.3 Conjunctive I ..... 89
5.4 Analytic finite constructions. ..... 90
5.4.1 Perfect. ..... 91
5.4.2 Pluperfect ..... 92
5.4.3 Future I ..... 93
5.4.4 Future I Perfect ..... 94
5.4.5 Future II ..... 95
5.4.6 Conjunctive I Perfect ..... 96
5.4.7 Conjunctive II ..... 96
5.4.8 Conjunctive II Perfect. ..... 97
5.4.9 Progressive ..... 98
5.4.10 Resultatives ..... 99
5.5 Passive voice ..... 100
5.5.1 Zäjn passive ..... 101
5.5.2 Wada passive ..... 103
5.5.3 Błảjn passive. ..... 104
5.6 Directive. ..... 105
6. Syntax ..... 108
6.1 Word order. ..... 108
6.2 Negative concord ..... 111
6.3 Consecutio temporum or the sequence of tenses ..... 113
7. Language contact. ..... 114
7.1 Conversational types ..... 114
7.2 Polish influence. ..... 118
7.2.1 Phonetics ..... 118
7.2.2 Referential lexicon ..... 119
7.2.3 Grammar ..... 125
7.2.4 Hybridization ..... 127
7.3 A mixed language ..... 129
References ..... 131

## 1. Historical and sociolinguistic context

### 1.1 General information ${ }^{1}$

Wymysorys is a Germanic language that is spoken in Wilamowice. Wilamowice is a small town located in Lesser Poland close to the boundary with Silesia, in the southern part of Poland. The denomination of the language adopted in English is a phonetic simplification of the word Wymysiöerys [vimisø:ric], which is used in the language itself. This name derives from the toponym Wymysoü [vimisø:y], which corresponds to the designation of the town in the ethnolect. Other English names that have been in use are Wilamowicean and Vilamovicean. The latter one, which has commonly been employed by the authors of this grammar in their previous publications, is derived from the Polish denomination of the municipality, i.e. Wilamowice [vilamovits $\varepsilon$ ]. Recently, the Academy of the Wymysorys language, founded in 2013 in Warsaw, suggested that the official term should be Wymysorys. Therefore, in this grammar, the language will be referred to as 'Wymysorys'. However, when referring to speakers and customs the noun and adjective 'Vilamovian(s)' will be employed.

Currently, Wymysorys is probably the most endangered Germanic language in the world. According to the website www.ethnologue.com, the ethnolect is classified as being severely endangered or on the verge of extinction. In the EGID scale (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption), Wymysorys is located at level 8.b out of 10, i.e. in the class of "dying" or nearly extinct languages. This likely disappearance of Wymysorys is dictated by two main reasons: the scarcity and old age of its speakers. As far as the number of the speakers is concerned, the most optimistic analyses estimate it as reaching no more than one hundred in $2016 .{ }^{2}$ However, speakers that are fully proficient add up to less than twenty. Almost all the native speakers were born before 1930. Accordingly, nearly all the users of the language are now more than 80 years old. At the beginning of the $21^{\text {st }}$ century, the younger generations, especially the Vilamovian youth - with a noticeable exception of Tymoteusz Król, co-author of this grammar - were generally unfamiliar with the language. However, since 2012, due to efforts of various persons and institutions, this situation is changing and children of the town have been taught Wymysorys (cf. section 1.6 Revitalization).

In this grammar book, as well as in various articles, the authors have consistently used the term 'language' when referring to Wymysorys. Although the issue of the status of the ethnolect is highly complex, Wymysorys may be viewed as a genuine language rather than a dialect, regional vernacular, colonial variety etc. (see, for instance, Busch et al. 1983 and Lasatowicz 1992). One finds the following sociological, cultural, political and linguistic (grammatical) arguments that support the classification of Wymysorys as a language:

[^0]- the typological websites www.ethnologue.com and www.sil.org refer to Wymysorys as a language;
- in 2006 the American Library of Congress provided Wymysorys with its own language code (ISO 639-3);
- in 2013, the Academy of the Wymysorys Language was established in Warsaw;
- the inhabitants of Wilamowice have always been conscious of their linguistic and cultural distinctiveness. They emphasize their own linguistic and cultural uniqueness and dissimilarity from German. They consider their tongue as a language, clearly distinct and independent from German, and not as a local variety or dialect;
- in contrast with other colonial German varieties spoken in this area, Wymysorys has consistently been referred to as Wymysorys (or Wymysiöeryś) and never as a pauerish (village-men-dialect), a local non-prestigious vernacular;
- the language is not mutually understandable with Standard German and exhibits unique features in phonology, lexicon and grammar.


### 1.2 Geography and classification

As has already been mentioned, Wymysorys is used by a minority group of mainly elderly people in the town of Wilamowice in Małopolska (Lesser Poland) in Western Galicia, close to the border with Górny Śląsk (Upper Silesia) in Southern Poland. The nearest cities are Bielsko-Biała in the south and Oświęcim in the north. The town is about 70 kilometers from Cracow, which is the old capital of Poland and still one of its most important cultural and economic hubs. Although currently Wilamowice is located within the Polish boundaries, in the past, it also belonged to other states given the convoluted history of Poland and its Southern regions (cf. section 1.4 History).

Wymysorys is a member of the so-called Bielitz-Bialaer Sprachinsel or Bielsko-Biała linguistic enclave. This group of vernaculars had its roots in the First German Colonization of the $12^{\text {th }}$ century. At the highpoint of its expansion, the enclave encompassed various villages and towns in the Eastern Silesian and Western Galician areas. Forming part of this cluster of ethnolects, which has its place in the larger group of Silesian dialects, Wymysorys has been classified as an East Central German (Ostmitteldeutsch) colonial variety. According to one theory (Ritchie 2012), Wymysorys - together with Standard German, Upper Saxon, Yiddish and Silesian German - should be viewed as a member of the Irminonic group of the WestGermanic branch. According to all these views - and in lights of the historical vicinity of the language with other Upper Silesian vernaculars - Wymysorys would have originated in an older German variety. The most typical Irminonic feature that is shared both by Wymysorys and Standard German is the participation in the High German Sound Shift.

However, the problem of the genetic filiation of Wymysorys is more complex, as the language distinguishes itself from other members of the Bielsko-Biała enclave by, what seems to be, Flemish, Anglo-Saxon and/or Frisian traits. According to the common view expressed by Vilamovians, their ancestors - and, hence, the language - came from the Low Countries: Flanders, Holland or Friesland. According to another view, which is also
commonly shared by native speakers, Wymysorys originated from Anglo-Saxon. The two theories are mainly regarded as local, popular, folk explanations. In fact, German scholars used to view them as naïve Polish alterations, propaganda or falsifications whose objective was to de-Germanize the ethnic identity of Vilamovians. Nevertheless, the distinctiveness of Wymysorys from other German varieties of Bielsko-Biała and Silesia has generally been noticed, and its non-(High-)German character and/or origin is even argued by some authors. According to Ritchie (2012), certain features of Wymysorys connect the language to the Istvaeonic and to the Ingvaeonic group of Germanic languages. The former includes Dutch, Flemish and Afrikaans, while the latter consists of English, Scots, Low German and Frisian. Among such characteristics that distinguish Wymysorys from the East Central German group, one may name the palatalization of velar stops, the loss of the consonant $n$ in unstressed syllables and the $h$-form of the third person masculine singular pronoun (i.e. har).

Currently, the most plausible, yet still working, hypothesis is that the majority of the traits of the language situate it in the East Central German (or Irminonic) branch, although the influence of other Germanic dialects (especially Low-German or Istvaeonic) is quite noticeable. The truth may be that being a colonial variety, even though the original speakers of Wymysorys might mainly have arrived from one region (most likely from the zone of the middle part of the rivers Main and Rhine), ${ }^{3}$ they might also have brought traces typical of other German(ic) areas, incorporating them into the dominant East Central German frame. In this respect, it is important to note that, according to some authors, the first waves of German colonization also included groups of Dutch, Flemish and Walloon origins. Whatever the exact classification in the Germanic family is, Wymysorys is consistently viewed as a WestGermanic language and, hence, classified as a member of this family.

### 1.3 Speakers

As has been explained above, the total number of the speakers of Wymysorys is estimated as reaching approximately one hundred. However, currently, the fully proficient ones add up to less than twenty. Nearly all of the speakers were born before 1930, which means that they are now more than 80 years old. Many of our informants, who participated in the work on this grammar, have unfortunately passed away over the last few years. A noticeable exception to the elderly character of the Wymysorys speakers is Tymoteusz Król (born 1993). Recently, a new group of young speakers has been growing due to the revitalization efforts of Król and his teaching activities in the town.

Below, we provide the list of all the informants that have participated in the work on this grammar, arranged in the order of their birth date:

[^1]Franciszka Bilczewska fum Frycki (1913-2012), Kazimierz Grygierczyk fum Bierünjok (1913-2010), Anna Danek fum Pejtela (1916-2015) Zofia Danek fum Stańću (1917-2012), Franciszek Mosler fum Mözłer (1918-2011), Helena Danek fum Kwaka (1919-2012) Jan Biba fum Tüma-Jaśki (1920-2011), Anna Schneider fum Pejter (1920-2012), Elżbieta Mynarska fum Siöeba (1921-2014), Helena Biba fum Płaćnik (born 1922), Elżbieta Babiuch fum Poükner (1923-2010), Anna Fox fum Prorok (1923-2011), Elżbieta Kacorzyk fum Pütrok (born 1923), Elżbieta Schneider fum Pejter (born 1923), Anna Zejma fum Lüft (19232010), Elżbieta Matysiak fum Hàla-Mockja (1924-2014), Anna Danek fum Küpsela (born 1924), Helena Gasidło fum Biöeźnjok (1924-2014), Waleria Brzezina fum Cepok (19252013), Rozalia Kowalik fum Poüermin (1925-2016), Jan Formas (born 1925-2016), Katarzyna Balcarczyk fum Karol (1925-2013), Stanisław Fox fum Lüft (born 1926), Elżbieta Formas fum Mözłer (born 1926), Stanisław Rak (1926-2014), Katarzyna Nowak fum Tobyś (1926-2010), Rozalia Hanusz fum Linküś (1926-2009), Anna Korczyk fum Kołodźej (19272015), Anna Janosz fum Hàla-Frana-Jáśkja (1927-2015), Elżbieta Gąsiorek fum Anta (born 1927), Elżbieta Figwer fum Böba (born 1927), Anna Fox fum Lüft (born 1927), Kazimierz Schneider fum Pejter (1927-2011), Ingeborg Matzner-Danek (born 1928), Helena Nowak fum Holećkla (born 1928), Jan Balcarczyk fum Siöeba (1928-2013), Bronisława Pyka (born 1928), Helena Rosner fum Böba-Lojzkia (1928-2015), Emilia Biesik fum Raćek (19292013), Józef Gara fum Tołer (1929-2013), Elżbieta Merta fum Hảla-Frȧna-Jáśkja (19292014), Katarzyna Nowak fum Pejtela (born 1929), Elżbieta Nycz fum Śleźok (1929-2007), Helena Dobroczyńska fum Osiećan (1929-2012), Elżbieta Gandor fum Baranła (born 1930), Zofia Kozieł fum Śübert (1930-2016), Anna Biba-fum Küćłik (1930-2009), Anna Kowalczyk fum Tobyś (born 1930), Hilda Kasperczyk fum Ćiöe (1930-2005), Eugenia Fox fum Bröda (born 1930), Rozalia Danek fum Mjyra-Winca (born 1931), Elżbieta Nikiel fum Linküśs (born 1931), Rozalia Węgrodzka fum Gädła (born 1931), Stanisław Zejma (1931-2015), Stefania Kuczmierczyk fum Jonkla (born 1932), Anna Nowak fum Hàla-Mockja (1932-2011), Emilia Danek fum Biöeźniok (born 1933), Kazimierz Fox fum Baranła (born 1934), Anna Kuczmierczyk fum Zelbst (born 1934), Anna Schneider fum Pejter (1934-2014), Barbara Tomanek (born 1935), Elżbieta Schneider fum Freślik (born 1938), Stanisław Merta fum Hàla-Frana-Jaśkia-Hala (1955-2011), Janusz Brzezina fum Urbon (born 1956).

### 1.4 History

Wilamowice is situated in the territory where the German and Polish (or Slavonic) cultures and languages (both in their standardized and dialectal forms) ${ }^{4}$ have always coexisted. The town has formed part of various states where German or Polish were the official and/or principal languages. As a result, Wymysorys was exposed to the influence from those two sources. The grammatical consequences of this relationship will be discussed in chapter 7 Language Contact.

[^2]
### 1.4.1 From the Middle Ages till the Partition of Poland

The history of Wymysorys most likely begins with the First German Colonization in the $12^{\text {th }}$ century where the German colonists settled in a region between Silesia and Lesser Poland. As a result, Wymysorys entered into direct contact with Slavonic languages of the area, in particular Polish and its dialects. Since the $12^{\text {th }}$ century, this contact has persisted, being gradually intensified.

In the $13^{\text {th }}$ century, the area of Oświęcim, to which Wilamowice belonged, was ruled by Silesian Piast princes under the dominion and authority of the Kingdom of Poland. In the $14^{\text {th }}$ century, these Silesian rulers swore their loyalty to the Czech king. The region of Oświęcim remained part of Upper Silesia until the middle of the $15^{\text {th }}$ century, where its eastern section containing Wilamowice was incorporated into Lesser Poland, in the Polish Kingdom. This new border was crucial for future divergence between German colonial varieties and for the crystallization of Wymysorys. Even more importantly, it was responsible for a gradual (partial or total) colonization of the dialects in the Polish zone during next 400 years. The Polish influence was clearly visible in that the eastern part of the Oświęcim area became Catholic once more in the $17^{\text {th }}$ century, due to the Counter-Reformation. In contrast, Silesia remained Protestant. This intensified the impact of Polish on German vernaculars, including Wymysorys.

### 1.4.2 Partition of Poland

The partition of Poland between Russia, Germany and Austria in the $18^{\text {th }}$ century and, as its consequence, the absorption of Lesser Poland into the Austrian Empire partially reestablished a more direct connection between Wymysorys and German (especially in its Austrian variant), restricting the expansion of the Polonization in that area. Wilamowice remained under the dominion of the Austrian and, later, Austro-Hungarian empire, where Standard German (in its Austrian version) was the official language, common both in education and administration. Even though, especially in the late $19^{\text {th }}$ and early $20^{\text {th }}$ century, the Polish language was not particularly persecuted (see further below) and the Germanization of the previously Polish territory, to which Wilamowice belonged, was much less than in the Prussian state (cf. the situation in the neighboring Silesia), the German language did penetrate the everyday life of Galicia and its inhabitants. It is not without importance that Vilamovians had quite extensive trade relationships with Vienna where they traveled frequently. This prolonged German-oriented Austrian and Austro-Hungarian dominion certainly had an impact on the Wymysorys language and its speakers. At that time, most of Vilamovians defined their identity by saying Wjyr zäjn Wymysiöejyn 'We are Vilamovians'. Many also felt an attachement with the Austrian Empire.

In the $19^{\text {th }}$ century, the Austro-Hungarian empire recognized Polish as the official language of Lesser Poland and the Polonization of Wilamowice and the adjacent region accelerated once more. At that time, Vilamovian children were instructed in Polish, although from the second grade, they were also taught German or, in fact, Wymysorys, which still
seemed to be the preferred language of instruction in the town. Nevertheless, due to the work of Polish activists, who came to Wilamowice from Lesser Poland, the position of Wymysorys began to weaken significantly. One of such Polish activists was the archbishop Józef Bilczewski, sent to Wilamowice by the Catholic Church. Bilczewski founded a Polish kindergarten in Wilamowice, which must have contributed to the Polonization of children. As a result of these pro-Polish activities (and sometimes propaganda), the late $19^{\text {th }}$ century shows a gradual decline of the Wymysorys language and the patent Polonization of the population of the town. In 1880, $92 \%$ of the population spoke Wymysorys. This number decreased to $72 \%$ in 1890 and $67 \%$ in 1900, although in 1910 it increased again to $73 \%$ (Wicherkiewicz 2003). ${ }^{5}$

### 1.4.3 Re-born Poland (1918-1939)

At the end of World War I in 1918, Wilamowice found its place in the reborn Polish state and was ascribed to the administrative province of Małopolska (Lesser Poland). In the new Poland, Polish was obviously the official language and the primary medium of instruction. Its influence thus intensified. In contrast, the cultural and linguistic impact of German was more reduced than before. However, Wymysorys was not particularly threatened. On the one hand, the Polish state was relatively neutral towards Wymysorys with no particular hostility involved. On the other hand, although less intense, the German influence was still quite palpable. The language coexisted with various neighboring colonial East German dialects, which flourished around Bielsko, and Standard German was widely spoken in adjacent areas. Wilamowice itself was not far away from the German state as the Polish-German border ran a few dozen kilometers to the South-West and West.

### 1.4.4 World War II

The Second World War (1939-1945) and the German domination over the Polish territory drastically hindered the influence of Polish, as the Germans promoted the usage of Wymysorys and emphasized its connection with the German language. Germans considered Vilamovians (as all the speakers of German varieties in Poland) not as Slavs but as a category of Germans (e.g. Volksdeutsche). The children were taught exclusively in German, and, later, even the Catholic mass was celebrated in German instead of Polish, which had been the language of the religion for a long time. All of this obviously led to a relative Germanization of Wymysorys during the Second World War. The effects of this Germanization may be observed even today. Namely, the Wymysorys language used by the speakers who went to the German school during the Second World War exhibits the strongest German traits.

It should be noted that until the end of the war, Wymysorys did not constitute a Germanic island within the predominantly Slavic territory. Certainly, even before and during World War II, the language was separated from the German dialects by a few kilometers.

[^3]Specifically, the Bielitz speaking area did not directly border with Wilamowice but was separated from it by Pisarzowice, where Polish was spoken. However, Wymysorys existed in the company of a number of other German vernaculars spoken in the area, such as Alznerisch (Aljznerisch), an idiom used in the village of Hałcnów (Alzen or Ałca). Another German variety was employed in Bielsko, and in neighboring Silesia, various colonial East German dialects were in everyday use. Overall, the role of German and its dialects in the region was evident.

### 1.4.5 Post-War Poland

The relationship with the German language and culture, and hence its influence, abruptly ceased after the Second World War in 1945. After the fall of the Nazi Germany and during the communist rule - especially during the forties and fifties - Wymysorys experienced a profound Polonization. As the Communist regime was hostile against any German element that existed in the new Polish territory, the use of Wymysorys was officially banned in 1945 by the local Polish authorities. Since Vilamovians - due to their ethnic and linguistic German(ic) character - were viewed as supporters of the Nazi invaders and their language perceived as identical to German, any expression of the Vilamovian culture was prohibited. Vilamovians were persecuted. Some were deported to labor camps in Ural and Siberia. Others were imprisoned in Polish camps in Oświęcim and Jaworzno. Many of them died there. Vilamovians were widely forced to abandon their homes. They were only allowed to return in 1956. However, not all of the person who were expelled could have come back many had lost their properties for ever as those were given to the Poles from the villages surrounding Wilamowice. Others moved to Germany, where they received German citizenship.

Later, especially in the seventies and eighties of the last century, when the Communist regime was less oppressive, the ban on the Wymysorys language and culture became less strict. Gradually, both started to reappear more openly, although it was not before the fall of Communism in 1989 that Vilamovians began to use their Germanic mother tongue more freely and with less fear. In the last decade of the $20^{\text {th }}$ century and, particularly more recently in the $21^{\text {st }}$ century, the language began to relatively flourish.

In the post-war period, the sociolinguistic context of the Wymysorys language had drastically changed. Apart from the said prohibition, any German influence - be it standard or dialectal - was erased. It should be noted that the entire area became "purely" Polish: The Germans were deported, almost all the local German dialects vanished (see, however, Alznerisch and its residual use in Hałcnów) and the Polish-German border moved many hundreds kilometers to the West. The cultural and linguistic link with German was almost completely lost and, at least at the beginning of Communism, categorically banned. This led to a profoundly Polish linguistic domination. The Wymysorys language has become a marginal linguistic island immerged in a prevailing Slavic linguistic territory. Currently, even in Wilamowice itself, Wymysorys is very rarely used, being confined to a group of the oldest persons and informal situations. In a survey conducted in the year 2000, only $4 \%$ of the inhabitants of the town could speak Wymysorys (Wicherkiewicz 2003:13). At the same time,
the influence of the Polish dialects of Małopolska and the Silesian language has also weakened. In Wilamowice, the local population typically uses a variant that strongly resembles (or is indistinguishable from) Standard Polish. In fact, the young population employs Standard Polish as their only mother tongue.

However, the status of Wymysorys has greatly improved in last fifteen years. The culture and language has attracted attention in Poland and on the international scene. Important works on Wymysorys, its literature and socio-cultural context, as well as on Vilamovian customs and history have been published. More importantly, several revitalization projects have been launched and the use of the language has generally been promoted locally and recognized nationally (see section 1.6 Revitalization).

### 1.5 Written tradition

The concept of a written form for Wymysorys and its standardization are relatively recent phenomena in the history of Wymysorys. As is evident from the previous sections, Wymysorys historically co-existed with two languages (German and Polish), which were standardized and extensively used in all written domains, be it administrative, educative, literary or personal. In contrast, Wymysorys was traditionally viewed as the spoken vernacular. Therefore, the written records in Wymysorys are not abundant. However, few sources written in Wymysorys do exist, and their number has considerably increased in the $21^{\text {st }}$ century (Ritchie 2012).

The oldest work written in Wymysorys is a collection of songs, poems and folk tales by Jacob Bukowski from 1860 (reprinted in Wagner 1935; cf. Ritchie 2012). Certain fragments of the texts collected by Bukowski were also published in F.G. \& J. Sch. (1913; cf. Wicherkiewicz 2003:26). Two further collections of folk tales and songs were published at beginning of the $20^{\text {th }}$ century, the first by Ludwik Młynek in 1907 and the second by Józef Latosiński in 1909. Early in the $20^{\text {th }}$ century, especially around the year 1920, Florian Biesik wrote various poems of which the epopee Óf jer wett was the most relevant. Some of his texts were published by Anders (1933). The poem Óf jer wett was only published and critically analyzed and translated into English, German and Polish in 2003 by T. Wicherkiewicz. Wicherkiewicz's book includes other poems written by Biesik and their translations. There might also have existed a narrative text written by H. Mojmir (Dy Kistuoryj fum Dymek) although the manuscript is lost now. Wymysorys is also known to us from private correspondence and letters, as well as from fragments included in ethnographic publications (for a list of such sources, consult Wicherkiewicz 2003:28-29. A more comprehensive description of the literary tradition may also be found in Wicherkiewicz 2003).

In last twenty years a new wave of publications in Wymysorys emerged. First, some songs were published by Danek (2007), Gara (2006) and Dybczyński (2002). Second, short original texts written in Wymysorys appeared as parts of publications dedicated to cultural issues (Król 2009). Third, and most importantly, new books and poems entirely composed in Wymysorys were published. Among them, the most relevant are: S'tawa fum Wilhelm (Król 2011), Ynzer boümmüter (Ritchie 2014) and Wymysiöejer fibl (Majerska 2014)

Apart from literary texts discussed above, Wymysorys is also know to us from grammatical descriptions and linguistic analyses. The most relevant among them are the phonetics, morphology and syntax of Wymysorys published by A. Kleczkowski in 1920 and 1921 (Dialekt Wilamowic w zachodniej Galicji. Fonetyka i fleksja and Dialekt Wilamowic w zachodniej Galicji. Składnia i szyk wyrazów); brief grammatical overviews in Młynek’s (1907) Narzecze wilamowickie and Latosiński’s Monografia Miasteczka Wilamowic na podstawie źródeł autentycznych (1909); and Mojmir's (1930-1936) dictionary. There might have also existed a dictionary and grammar written by Młynek as well as a dictionary authored by J. Biba and F. Rosner (which is mentioned by Mojmir; Wicherkiewicz 2003:28). These sources are however lost.

More recently, important grammatical studies specifically dedicated to the description and/or analysis of Wymysorys have been published by N. Morciniec (1984, 1995), H. Ryckeboer (1984), M. Lasatowicz (1992), T. Wicherkiewicz (2003), C. Ritchie (2012), Żak (2013) and J. Weckwerth (2014) among others. The authors of this grammar, themselves, have extensively published (together and individually) on various aspects of the grammar of Wymysorys, as well as on its contact with other languages (see the Reference at the end of this book).

### 1.6 Modern revitalization

What makes the town of Wilamowice unique is its original language, Wymysorys, which was brought to Poland by the settlers from Western Europe and survived through the historical storms in the region till today. However, due to the hostility towards the German-like speaking community after World War II - recall the aforementioned bans on using the language, the displacement of the town's population and their deportations to labor camps the intergenerational knowledge transfer was disrupted. Children for whom Wymysorys was the mother tongue were forced to "unlearn" the language and replace it with Polish. This violent political practice resulted in life-lasting trauma and an unbreakable fear of speaking Wymysorys. The native language gradually ceased to be assimilated by the post-war generations, which led to its near extinction at the end of the $20^{\text {th }}$ century. However, contrary to this post-war tendency and various predictions concerning an imminent and inevitable extinction of Wymysorys, the language has re-emerged with a considerable force in the $21^{\text {st }}$ century. This "Renaissance" is principally due to the activities carried out by T. Król since 2005 and various revitalization programs conducted by scholars from major Polish universities - especially, the University of Warsaw and the University of Adam Mickiewicz in Poznań - and from abroad.

The official revitalization of Wymysorys started officially in 2012 with the project Endangered languages: Comprehensive models of language revitalization. This project, which focuses on three endangered languages (Wymysorys, Lemko and Nahuatl) was developed at the Faculty of Artes Liberales at the University of Warsaw and directed by J. Olko. Within this project, an international conference on language endangerment was organized in 2014 in Wilamowice. This fact has important bearings on the perception of Wymysorys by the local government and its view concerning the use of the language in
education. Since then various events (e.g. exhibitions and theatric plays) have been organized in Wilamowice in which the Vilamovian children and youth have actively participated. The town and its language have received growing attention and a favorable depiction from the Polish media. In general, Wymysorys is perceived as useful and relevant for contemporary life, thus ceasing to be exclusively associated with the older generation and the past. ${ }^{6}$

In 2011, T. Król started to teach local children Wymysorys in his home. As his teaching activities intensified and were institutionally supported by Polish universities, Wymysorys was officially introduced to the curriculum of the local schools in 2014. Currently, around thirty children learn Wymysorys in the secondary school in Wilamowice. Recently, the first official examination of the Wymysorys language (level B1+) was organized at the Faculty of Artes Liberales in the University of Warsaw. The course in Wymysorys is also offered to students of the University of Warsaw itself.

Within the frame of another project conducted at the University of Warsaw (Documentation of the language and cultural heritage of Wilamowice lead by B. Chromik) some young student from Wilamowice have been engaged in the work on the description and preservation of the language. They record, transcribe and translate Wymysorys material to Polish and English.

The most important consequence of all these personal and institutional revitalization activities and efforts is that, today, the knowledge and the use of Wymysorys seems to expand among the younger generation, children and teenagers. The language, once almost forgotten, not only gradually re-gains its communicative function, but also often takes upon the crucial function of identity construction. It defines the inhabitants of Wilamowice. It is symptomatic that there are Facebook profiles and Internet websites in Wymysorys, that new lexemes are coined and that a new slag seems to emerge - these are certainly good signs that Wymysorys is alive.

[^4]
## 2. Sound and writing

### 2.1 Phonemic inventory

The phonemic system of Wymysorys includes consonants, vowels, diphthongs and one triphtong.

### 2.1.1 Consonants

The following table gives the consonantal phonemic inventory of Wymysorys. If consonants occur in pairs, the voiceless variant precedes the voiced one:

These phonemes can be organized in the following systemic chart:


The consonants are articulated in the following manner:

Plosives:

| /p/ | bilabial voiceless |
| :--- | :--- |
| /b/ | bilabial voiced |
| /t/ | apical denti-alveolar voiceless |
| /d/ | apical denti-alveolar voiced |
| /c/ | laminal palatal voiceless |
| /J/ | laminal palatal voiced |
| /k/ | dorsal velar voiceless |
| /g/ | dorsal velar voiced |

## Fricatives:

/f/
labio-dental (the lower lip and the upper teeth) voiceless
/v/
labio-dental (the lower lip and the upper teeth) voiced

| /s/ | apical denti-alveolar voiceless |
| :---: | :---: |
| /z/ | apical denti-alveolar voiceless |
| /6/ | laminal alveolo-palatal voiceless |
| \|z/ | laminal alveolo-palatal voiced |
| /s/ | laminal flat postalveolar (non-palatalized) voiceless (only in Polish loanwords) |
| /z/ | laminal flat postalveolar (non-palatalized) voiced (only in Polish loanwords) |
| / $/$ / | laminal palato-alveolar (palatalized) voiceless |
| /3/ | laminal palato-alveolar (palatalized) voiced |
| /x/ | dorsal velar voiceless (in certain positions also pronounced as [ç] voiceless palatal fricative) |
| /h/ | glottal voiceless |

Nasals:

| $/ \mathrm{m} /$ | bilabial voiced |
| :--- | :--- |
| $/ \mathrm{n} /$ | apical denti-alveolar voiced |
| $/ \mathrm{n} /$ | laminal alveolo-palatal voiced |
| $/ \mathrm{y} /$ | dorsal velar voiced |

## Liquids:

| /r/ | trill apical alveolar voiced |
| :--- | :--- |
| $/ 1 /$ | lateral apical alveolar voiced |

## Approximants:

| $/ \mathrm{w} /$ | labialized velar voiced |
| :--- | :--- |
| $/ \mathrm{j} /$ | laminal alveolo-palatal voiced |

## Affricates:

| /ts/ | apical denti-alveolar voiceless |
| :--- | :--- |
| /dz/ | apical denti-alveolar voiced (only in Polish loanwords) |
| /tc/ | laminal alveolo-palatal voiceless |
| / $\mathrm{d} /$ | laminal alveolo-palatal voiceled (only in Polish loanwords) |
| /ts/ | laminal flat postalveolar (non-palatlized) voiceless (only in Polish loanwords) |
| /dz/ | laminal flat postalveolar (non-palatlized) voiced (only in Polish loanwords) |
| /ts/ | laminal palato-alveolar (palatalized) voiceless |
| /d3/ | laminal palato-alveolar (palatalized) voiced (only in Polish loanwords) |

The following peculiarities should be noted:
a) Voiceless stops are usually non-aspirated even in the initial position and in accented syllables. However, there is evidence that a soft aspiration is audible in the final position at the end of a word;
b) Voiced stops sibilants and affricates, similar to those found in Polish, are regularly devoiced in final position: wand 'wall' [vant], gancoż 'potter' [gantsos] and bryndz 'a type of cheese' [brọnts];
c) The sounds [ x ] and [ h ] seem to be almost interchangeable although etymologically [ h ] should appear in the initial position hund 'dog' while in the all remaining positions, [x] should be found maha 'do'. However, probably due to the Polish influence and the use of $[\mathrm{x}]$ at the beginning of a word, this rule is less strict. ${ }^{7}$ In the final position after a front close vowel, /x/ may be pronounced as [c]: mejglih 'maybe, possibly'.
d) There are three series of sibilants and affricates:

- the "Germanic" series: [ [J], [3], [ t$]$ ], ([d3])
- a (palatal) Polish series of laminal alveolo-palatal sibilants/affricates [6], [z], [tc], [dz] (sometimes described as higher-pitched, brighter and morehissing)
- a (non-palatal) Polish series of laminal flat postalveolar sibilants/affricates [ $\mathbf{s}],[\underline{z}],[\underline{t s}],[\underline{d} \underline{z}]$ (sometimes described as lower-pitched, duller and morehushing; alternatively analyzed as retroflex; see Ladefoged \& Johnson 2011:169, Andrason 2014b).

The two Polish series have been developed due to the Polish influence. The Germanic series and the soft Polish series can be used interchangeably in Germanic words and in Polish loanwords. As far as the loanwords are concerned, these may correspond either to original words with soft laminal alveolo-palatal sounds in Polish or to words with hard laminal flat postalveolar consonants. The hard Polish series is only found in Polish loanwords that originally had a hard laminal alveolo-palatal consonant. Usually, such loanwords can also be pronounced with the two other series: the Germanic series or the soft Polish series. Nevertheless, in some lexemes the hard pronunciation seems to be preferred (e.g. some nouns in -oż borrowed from Polish). The voiced affricates [d3], [dz] and [dz] only appear in Polish loanwords;
e) The velar voiced approximant $[\mathrm{w}]$ is pronounced with a lesser degree of labialization or rounding of lips than it is in English. It seems to be fully equivalent to $t[\mathrm{w}]$ in Polish.

[^5]
### 2.1.2 Vowels $^{8}$

The vocalic phonemic inventory of Wymysorys is provided in the following table:


The vocalic phonemes given in the table above receive the following pronunciation:

| $/ \mathrm{i} /$ | close front unrounded |
| :--- | :--- |
| $/ \mathrm{I} /$ | near-close near-front unrounded (also pronounces as close central unrounded $[\mathrm{i}]$ |
| $/ \mathrm{e} /$ | close-mid front unrounded |
| $/ \varepsilon /$ | open-mid front unrounded |
| $/ \mathrm{a} /$ | central open unrounded |
| $/ \mathrm{a} /$ | back open unrounded |
| $/ \mathrm{o} /$ | close-mid back rounded |
| $/ \mathrm{o} /$ | open-mid back rounded |
| $/ \mathrm{u} /$ | close back rounded |
| $/ \mathrm{y} /$ | close front rounded |
| $/ \mathrm{y} /$ | near-close near-front rounded (also pronounced as close central rounded $[\mathrm{u}]$ ) |
| $/ \mathrm{g} /$ | central fronted close-mid central unrounded |
| $/ \varnothing /$ | close-mid front rounded |
| $/ œ /$ | open-mid front rounded |
| $/ \mathrm{m} /$ | mid-central unrounded (this sound is an unstressed variant of $/ 9 /$ ) |

[^6]Wymysorys also includes diphthongs in its phonemic inventory. Diphthongs can be descending or ascending (i.e. centring):

| Descending diphthongs | Ascending diphthongs: |
| :---: | :---: |
| /ai/ | /ix/ |
| /ei/ | /I99/ |
| /oey/ |  |
| /si/ |  |

The only triphthong found in Wymysorys is /røœe/.

### 2.2 Orthography

The modern orthography was developed by Król at the beginning of the $21^{\text {st }}$ century. It is currently used for most texts written and printed out in Wymysorys. For example, it has been used in the poem S'ława fum Wilhelm (2011) written by Król which constitutes the first extensive literary text in Wymysorys after Florian Biesik's epopee "Of jer wett". It is also employed in the first children's book published recently by Ritchie Ynzer boümmüter (2014) and in a Wymysorys teaching manual written by Król. This orthography has also been used by Andrason in his linguistic studies on Wymysorys. ${ }^{9}$

Currently, this spelling is regarded as the official orthography of Wymysorys. It aims to standardize the language, contributing to its revitalization and the upgrading of its status. In general terms, this spelling is based on the Germanic tradition (cf. the various manners of rendering the vowels), the work of Mojmir (cf. the way of notating the central open unrounded vowel as $<\dot{\mathrm{a}}\rangle$ ) and the Polish manner of writing (cf. the way in which several constants and the central fronted close-mid central unrounded vowel are written: $<$ ń $>,<$ ś $>$, $<\dot{\text { ź }}>,\langle\dot{\text { z }}>,<\dot{c}>,<$ dź $>$ and $<\downarrow>$ ).

Plosives:

| sound | grapheme | example |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $[\mathrm{p}]$ | $\mathrm{p} /-\mathrm{b}$ | puter |
| $[\mathrm{b}]$ | $\mathrm{b}-/-\mathrm{b}-$ | baba |
| $[\mathrm{t}]$ | $\mathrm{t} /-\mathrm{d}$ | töwut / btynd |
| $[\mathrm{d}]$ | $\mathrm{d}-/-\mathrm{d}-$ | döstut |
| $[\mathrm{c}]$ | $\mathrm{kj} /-\mathrm{ik}$ | mykja |
| $[\mathrm{J}]$ | gj | fligja |
| $[\mathrm{k}]$ | $\mathrm{k} /-\mathrm{g}$ | köwut / gynüg |
| $[\mathrm{g}]$ | g | goüma |

[^7]
## Fricatives:

| sound | grapheme | example |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [f] | $\mathrm{f} / \mathrm{-w}$ | fiöen / büw |
| [v] | w | wawer |
| [s] | s / -z | sorkän / tuz |
| [z] | z | $z j y r$ |
| [J] | ś / -ź / -̇̇ | stelaź |
| [3] | ź / ż | dżjyż |
| [6] | ś | śtöfa / ryż |
| [z] | ź | kuże |
| [s] | s' / -̇̇ | cegloż |
| [z] | $\dot{\text { z }}$ | żepok |
| [x] | h | maha |
| [h] | h | hon |
| [c] | h | mejlgtih |

Nasals:

| $[\mathrm{m}]$ | m | müter |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $[\mathrm{n}]$ | n | nama |
| $[\mathrm{n}]$ | n | truwenik |
| $[\mathrm{n}]$ | ng | zyngjal fanga |

Liquids:

| $[\mathrm{r}]$ | r | räjwa |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $[1]$ | 1 | löda |

Affricates:

| $[\mathrm{ts}]$ | $\mathrm{c} /-\mathrm{dz}$ | cin / bryndz |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $[\mathrm{dz}]$ | dz | cudzoźjymjec |
| $[\mathrm{tc}]$ | ć / -dź | kräćcum / gwuźdź |
| $[\mathrm{m}]$ | $\mathrm{dź}$ | dźjyż |
| $[\mathrm{ts}]$ | ć | Ćenstohoü |
| $[\mathrm{dz}]$ | dź | dźystän |
| $[\mathrm{t}][$ | ć | ćüprin |
| $[\mathrm{d} 3]$ | dź | dźada |

## Approximants:

| sound | grapheme | example |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $[\mathrm{w}]$ | $\mathfrak{y}$ |  |
| $[\mathrm{j}]$ | j | tawa |
|  |  | jamyn |

Vowels:

| [i] | i | mi, cin |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [r] | i | dinn |
| [e] | e | kilometer, e |
| [ $\varepsilon$ ] | e | tenkja, fre |
| [a] | $\dot{\mathrm{a}}^{10}$ | mákja |
| [a] | a | wa, maha |
| [o] | o | omer, ho |
| [ 0 ] | o | nok |
| [u] | u | under, tun |
| [y] | ü | müter, mü |
| [ Y ] | ü | $\ddot{u} w e r, r u ̈$ |
| [э] | y | mykja, cyma |
| [ø] | ö | ömbłot, ślö, höt |
| [ə] | y | gymaht |

Descending diphthongs

| [ai] | àj | ajjstöfa |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [ei] | ej | ejwer |
| [œ⿺] | oü | Wymysoü, toüt |
| [ $\mathrm{in}_{\text {] }}$ | oj |  |

Ascending diphthongs:

| $[i ø]$ | iö | diöt, gywiöda |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\left[\begin{array}{l}\text { ® }\end{array}\right]$ | jy | hjyn, ljy |

Triphthong:
[уøœ]
iöe
miöekja

[^8]
## 3. Declensional word classes

The present section includes the word classes that can inflect in morphological cases. Such classes are articles (section 3.1), nouns (section 3.2), pronouns (section 3.3), adjectives (section 3.4) and numerals (section 3.5). As will be evident from the subsequent discussion, the extent of the morphological marking for case (declension) is dissimilar for the abovementioned word classes. In fact, it also varies within one and the same word class depending on the particular type of nouns (e.g. on its gender), pronouns (e.g. whether it is a personal, possessive or indefinite pronouns), adjectives (e.g. whether the adjective is weak or strong) or numeral (e.g. whether the numeral is cardinal or ordinal).

### 3.1 Articles

Wymysorys includes in its nominal system two sets of articles: a definite article and an indefinite article. The article can be inflected in gender (masculine, neuter and feminine), cases (nominative, accusative, dative, and residually genitive) and number (singular and plural).

### 3.1.1 Definite article

Definite article is inflected in gender, number and case. Its declension can be tabulated in the following manner:

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NOM | $d e r$ | $s$ | $d y$ | $d y$ |
| ACC | $y n$ | $s$ | $d y$ | $d y$ |
| DAT | $y m$ | $y m$ | $y r$ | $y n^{11}$ |

Some articles in accusative and dative can be suffixed to prepositions, adopting in such cases forms that are more reduced from a phonetic and morphological perspective:
$y n$ 'in the [acc.ms.sg./dat.pl.]' i.e. $y$ 'in' + def. art. $-n$
$y m$ 'in the [dat.ms $/ \mathrm{nt} . \mathrm{sg}$ ' i.e. $y$ 'in' + def. art. $-m$
$y r$ 'in the [dat.fm.sg.]' i.e. $y$ 'in' + def. art. $-r$
$y s$ 'in the [acc.nt.sg.]' i.e. $y$ 'in' + def. art. $-s$
The two clitic variants in the accusative masculine singular and in the dative plural are phonetically conditioned. The variant $-a$ appears if the hosting word (usually a preposition) ends in a consonant, while $-n$ is restricted to the cases where the article follows a vowel.

[^9]|  | MS | NT | FM |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ACC | $-a,-n$ | $-s$ | - | - |
| DAT | $-m$ | $-m$ | $-r$ | $-a,-n$ |

The possible combinations of the reduced forms of the definite article with certain prepositions are as follows:
DAT MS/NT.SG ACC.MS.SG DAT.FM.SG ACC.NT.SG
and/or DAT.PL

| $y(n)$ | 'in' | ym | yn | yr | ys |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| uf | 'on' | ufum | ufa | ufer | ufs |
| by | 'at' | bym | byn | byr | - |
| $c y$ | 'to' | cym | cyn | cyr | - |
| fu | 'from, of' | fum | fun | fur | - |
| fjy | 'before' | fjym | fjyn | fjyr | fjys |
| nö | 'to' | nöm | nön | nör | nös |
| myt | 'with' | mytum | myta | myter | - |
| undyr | 'under' | underum | undyn | undyr | - |
|  |  | undum | undyn | underer | - |

The genitive of the definite article seems to be used more commonly than the genitive of other parts of speech. It typically appears in possessive constructions such as s'büwa hüt 'the boy's cap', s'fotyś śü 'the father's shoe', s'sitys' bihta 'the teacher's book'. However, currently, the possession and other relations usually conveyed by the genitive case are usually expressed analytically, that is by using prepositional phrases, especially by the construction with the preposition $f u$ 'of, from' dy hyt fu mer müter 'my mother's cap'. The etymologically correct forms of the genitive of the definite article are the following:

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| GEN $s$ | $y r$ | $s$ | der/yr |  |

### 3.1.2 Indefinite article

From a historical point of view, the indefinite article derives from an unstressed form of the numeral aner 'one'. The indefinite article offers only singular forms. In the plural, the concept of indefiniteness is equivalent to a mere absence of the article:

|  | MS | NT | FM |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |
| NOM | $\dot{a}$ | $\dot{a}$ | $\dot{a}$ |
| ACC | $\dot{a} n$ | $\dot{a}$ | $\dot{a}$ |
| DAT | $\dot{a} m$ | $\dot{a} m$ | $\dot{a} r^{12}$ |

[^10]
### 3.2 Nouns ${ }^{13}$

### 3.2.1 Gender

In Wymysorys, substantives can be of three grammatical genders: masculine (kyz 'cheese'), feminine (cäjt 'time) and neuter (bet 'bed'). The gender of a noun determines the form of the article that introduces the lexeme. In general, endings which appear on nouns (including the ending found in the nominative which constitute the quotation and unmarked form of a substantive) do not indicate the gender. For instance, masculine, feminine and neuter substantives may end with a consonant, including the consonants $-l /-l, n$ and $-(e) r$ (cf. masculine śtül 'chair', feminine śül 'school' and neuter fákl 'torch') or a class of consonants (cf. masculine käjm 'sprout', feminine ganz 'goose', and neuter kynd 'child'). The vocalic endings seem to be slightly more restrictive. Although the ending $-a$ appears with a few masculine nouns (e.g. noma 'name') and some eighty feminine nouns (e.g. wnüćka 'granddaughter' - all such feminine examples are loanwords from Polish), it is particularly common in neuter substantives that are derived by means of a highly productive, diminutive suffix -ta (e.g. bihta '(small) book'). The vowel -o also appears to be characteristic of neuter lexemes (albeit their overall number is quite limited), which once more are usually loanwords from Polish (e.g. kilo 'kilo' or śćjyblo 'straw'). The ending -ung is exclusively found with feminine nouns (e.g. cajitung 'newspaper'). However, as a part of the root, the combination ung can also be found in a few masculine (e.g. stung 'łyk') and neuter (e.g. hung 'honey') words. Other combinations of vowels with -ng (e.g. ang, eng or $y n g$ ) can appear with the three genders. All of this means that although in some instances one can predict the gender from the form of a noun, in most cases, this is not possible.

### 3.2.2 Number

There are four ways of deriving the plural in Wymysorys. Three manners correspond to a morphological modification of a word, in particular the use of a specific ending ( $-a$ or $-n$ ) or the change in the quality of a vowel of the root (this will be denominated as umlaut). On some occasions, the two methods are employed simultaneously and the plural form is derived by means both of an ending and umlaut. In some cases, the complex ending (vowel + consonant) of the singular adopts a new form in the plural, displaying a different vowel and the plural ending. The remaining type of plural formation fails to exhibit any change in the noun's morphology. In such instances, the form of the plural is identical to the singular.

For pedagogical and heuristic purposes, the four means of plural formation will be grouped in two three classes (1. no ending in the plural; 2. ending $-a$; 3. ending $-n$ ) with two subtypes each depending on the presence of vowel fluctuation (x. 1 no vowel fluctuation; x. 2 vowel fluctuation). The plural forms where the ending $-e r$ is modified to $-y n$ will be treated as

[^11]a subtype of the $n$ ending (type 3.3). All the types of deriving the plural in Wymysorys can be tabulated in the following manner:

| Type |  | Subtype |  | Masculine (M) |  | Feminine (F) |  | Neuter (N) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | - $\varnothing$ | . 1 | No umlaut | kyz | kyz | máśin | másin | bet | bet |
|  |  | . 2 | Umlaut | pus' | pys' | gonz | genz | ---- |  |
| 2 | $-a$ | . 1 | No umlaut | kàjm | käjma | cäjt | càjta | oüg | oüga |
|  |  | . 2 | Umlaut | -- |  | kroft | krefta | ---- |  |
| 3 | -n | . 1 | No umlaut | stejt | stejtn | aksut | aksutn | fàl | fäln |
|  |  | . 2 | Umlaut | fögut | fygln | śül | śiln | ---- |  |
|  |  | . 3 | -yn | teter | tetyn | fader | fadyn | maser | masyn |

### 3.2.2.1 Masculine

Masculine nouns are divided into three main inflectional classes: nouns that derive their plural with no ending (class 1 ), nouns that display the ending $a$ (class 2 ) and nouns that offer the ending $n$ (class 3 ). In two of these classes (namely classes 1 and 3 ), a subgroup of umlauted forms can be distinguished.

Class M-1.1: Plural in - $\varnothing$

The plural of various masculine words that end in a consonant other than $-l$, $-t$ and $-r$ is usually not marked by any particular ending and/or morphological modification of the noun. In such cases, the plural form is identical to the singular. This group of masculine substantives also includes a few lexemes ending in -n (SG śtän 'stone' - PL śtàn 'stones'), the words ending in the vowel -a (SG noma 'name' - PL noma 'names'), as well as nouns ending in -um (SG büzum 'bosom' - PL büzum 'bosoms').

| SG |  | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kyz | 'cheese', | kyz | 'cheeses', |
| kyng | 'king' | kyng | 'kings' |
| śtän | 'stone', | śtän | 'stones' |
| büzum | 'bosom' | büzum | 'bosoms' |
| noma | 'name' | noma | 'names' |

Class M-1.2: Plural in - $\varnothing$ and vowel mutation

In certain instances, although no ending appears, the plural form is morphologically explicit due to the presence of umlaut (SG pus' 'forest' - PL pys' 'forests') or a vowel change (SG wiöen 'car' - PL wán 'cars)'. In comparison with the singular form, the fluctuating vowel can be shortened SG wiöen 'car' - PL wȧn 'cars) or lengthened (SG con 'tooth' - PL cyyn 'teeth'). This class also includes the word s'ruma 'scar' that ends in the vowel $a$. In some
cases, two forms are possible, one with no umlaut and the other umlauted: SG fan 'banner' PL fan (the form will thus belong to class M.-1.1) or fen 'banners'.

| SG |  | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| pus' | 'forest', | pys' | 'forests' |
| zak | 'bag' | zek | 'bags' |
| con | 'tooth' | cyyn | 'teeth' |
| wiöen | 'car' | wȧn | 'cars' |
| śruma | 'scar' | śryma | 'scars' |

Class M-2.1: Plural in $-a$

Various masculine nouns ending in a consonant other than $-l,-\ell$ and $-r$ form their plural by adding the ending $a$. On certain occasions, especially if the stem ends in a palatal consonant, the plural ending takes the form $-j a$ :

| SG |  | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| käjm | 'sprout', | käjma | 'sprouts' |
| kjyt | 'farmer' | kjyta | 'farmers' |
| täjh | 'pool, pond' | täjhja | 'pools, ponds' |
| ryk | 'back' | rykja | 'backs' |

Class M-3.1: Plural in -n

Masculine words that end in the consonant $-l$ or $-l$ form their plural by adding the ending $-n$ :

| SG |  | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| śtejt | 'handle' | śtejtn | 'handles' |
| śtül | 'chair' | śtiln | 'chairs' |
| engl | 'angel' | engln | 'angels' |

Class M-3.2: Plural in $-n$ and vowel mutation

In some cases, substantives ending in a liquid exhibit umlaut as an additional marker of the plural:

| SG | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| fögut 'bird' | fygln | 'birds' |

The masculine words ending in -er regularly derive their plural by substituting this suffix by the ending $-y n:^{14}$

| SG | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| teler | telyn | 'plate' |
| foter | fatyn | 'father' |

## Class M-4

Additionally, a few nouns derive their plural by using different so-called suppletive roots: fojermon 'fireman' - fojerloüt 'firemen' or cymermon 'carpenter' - cymerloüt 'carpenters'.

### 3.2.2.2 Feminine

Similar to the masculine nouns, the feminine substantives can be divided into three main classes: nouns that derive their plural with no ending (class 1), nouns that display the ending $a$ (class 2) and nouns that exhibit the ending -n (class 3). Each type offers two subclasses depending on the presence of the vowel fluctuation. In addition, we distinguish class 3.3 where the ending of the singular -er appears as $-y n$ in plural.

Class F-1.1: Plural in - $\varnothing$

The plural of a very few feminine words is identical to their singular, failing to display any ending or distinctive vowel modification. All such nouns end in -n: korün 'crown' - korün 'crowns' or máśin 'machine' - máśin 'machine'.

```
SG PL
másin máśin 'machine'
```

Class F-1.2: Plural in - $\varnothing$ and vowel mutation

A limited number of feminine lexemes fail to exhibit any ending in the plural, being, however, marked by the modification of the root vowel. In most cases, the change affects the quality of vowel, for example SG hand 'hand' - PL hend 'hand', SG bank 'bench' - PL benk 'benches', SG kü 'cow' - PL ki 'cows' and SG Pulk 'Polish woman'- PL Pylk 'Polish women'. In a few cases, the vowel of the plural form differs also as far as the quality is concerned: SG miöed 'girl' - SG mád 'girls'. Within this subtype, it is possible to distinguish

[^12]some words ending in $-n$ that shorten the root vowel in the plural: SG bejn 'bee' - PL byn 'bees', SG śejn 'rail' - PL śyn 'rails' and SG cejn 'toe' - PL cyn 'toes'.

| SG |  | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| gonz | 'goose' | genz | 'geese' |
| miöed | 'girl' | mád | 'girls' |
| cejn | 'toe' | cyn | 'toes' |

Class F-2.1: Plural in $-a$

A great number of feminine substantives derive their plural by adding the ending - $a$. Most of such nouns end in the singular in a consonant: SG fiöerw 'color, paint' - PL fiöerwa 'colors, paints’, SG änt ‘duck' - PL ànta ‘ducks’, SG krankyt ‘disease’ - PL krankyta ‘diseases’, SG zah 'thing' - PL zaha 'things'. Some substantives end in a diphthong: SG zoü 'pig' - PL zoüa 'pigs'. In certain cases, especially if the lexeme ends in the singular in a palatal consonant or $h$, the variant $-j a$ is used: SG Pulk 'Polish woman' - PL Pulkja 'Polish women' and SG kyh 'kitchen' - PL kyhja 'kitchens'. This class is by far the most common method of deriving the plural for feminine nouns.

| SG |  | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| cäjt | 'time' | cäjta 'times' |
| Pulk | 'Pole' | Pulkja 'Poles' <br> (also Pylkja) |

Class F-2.2: Plural in $-a$ and vowel mutation

Although the plural forms that employ the ending $-a$ are usually non-umlauted, some examples with umlaut or vowel mutation may be encountered, e.g. SG kroft 'strength' - PL krefta 'strengths'.

| SG | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kroft | 'strength' | krefta $\quad$ 'strengths' |

## Class F-3.1 Plural in -n

The third paradigm of feminine nouns includes lexemes that derive their plural by means of the morpheme $-n$. In all such cases, the singular form end in the consonant $-l$ or $-l$ : SG fákl 'piglet' - PL fäkln 'piglets', SG regl 'rule' - PL regln 'rules', SG wyndut 'diaper' - PL wyndutn 'diapers’, SG gäsut 'whip' - gäsutn 'whips', SG mäjt 'mile' - PL mäjtn 'miles’ or SG kwat 'well, spring' - PL kwatn 'wells, springs'.

| SG |  | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| gügl | 'throat' | gügln | 'throats' |
| àksut | 'axis' | àksutn | 'axes' |

Class F-3.2: Plural in $-n$ and vowel mutation

Although on most occasions the plurals in - $n$ do not display any change of the root vowel, some forms with vocalic modification may be found:

```
SG PL
śül 'school` śiln 'schools'
```

Class F-3.3: Plural in $-y n$
In a manner analogous to the masculine words of class M-3.3, the feminine lexemes that end in -er derive their plural by substituting this suffix by the ending -yn: SG anker 'buckle' - PL ankyn 'buckles', SG müter 'mother' - PL mütyn 'mothers', SG śtoüder 'sling' - PL śtoüdyn 'slings', SG triöewer 'wheelbarrow' - PL triöewyn 'wheelbarrows', SG yter 'snake, adder' $y t y n$ 'snakes, adders', In limited examples, the root vowel experiences qualitative modification: SG tohter 'daughter' - PL tehtyn 'daughters'. This class also includes three words that albeit failing to end in -er in the singular, does use the ending -yn in the plural: SG hün 'hen' - PL hinyn 'hens', SG śłàjs 'torch' - PL śtajsyn 'torches' and SG śłap 'slipper' - s'tapyn 'slippers'.

| SG |  | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| fader | 'feather' | fadyn | 'feathers' |
| tohter | 'daughter' | tehtyn | 'daughters' |
| hün | 'hen' | hinyn | 'hens' |

### 3.2.2.3 Neuter

Neuter words offer the same behavior as masculine and feminine lexemes, being classifiable in three main classes: plurals with no ending, plurals in $-a$ and plurals in $-n$. Very infrequently, the root vowel experiences a qualitative and/or quantitative change.

Class N-1.1: Plural in - $\varnothing$

By failing to be marked by any overt morphological device, the plural of various monosyllabic neuter words is identical to the singular. Most of them end in a consonant or a consonant class: brat 'board; boards', mjer 'sea; seas', kroüc 'cross; crosses', hemb 'shirt; shirts', ftàk 'post; posts', moüt 'mouth; mouths' and ban 'railway; railways'. Few end in a vowel, mostly in $-a$ (gytysta 'desire; desires', typa 'pot; pots', mügjaasa 'breakfast; breakfasts', pela 'pearl; pearls', räjnta 'stew-pan; stew-pans') although other vowels are also
found (máżi 'piglet; piglets', miźi 'cat; cats', and possibly kni 'knee; knees'; see next class N2.1). In contrast to masculine and feminine substantives of classes $\mathrm{M}-1.2$ and $\mathrm{F}-1.2$, these types of neuter nouns never exhibit vocalic modification. Additionally, this group of neuter substantives includes words that in singular end in $-a$, e.g. being also representative of highly common diminutives in $-ł a$, such as bihla 'book; books'. Class $\mathrm{N}-1.1$ is by far the most common method of plural formation for neuter nouns.

| SG |  | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bet | 'bed' | bet | 'beds' |
| typa | 'pot' | typa | 'pots' |
| bihła | 'book' | bihta | 'books' |

Class N-2.1: Plural in - $a$

A few neuter nouns derive their plural by adding the vowel -a: SG oüg 'eye' - PL oüga 'eyes', SG wang 'cheek' - PL wanga 'cheeks', SG celt 'tent' - PL celta 'tents'. Some of them, which end in a vowel in the singular, use the ending -ja: SG kni 'knee' - PL knija 'knees' and SG he 'hay' - PL heja 'hays'. No examples of vowel modification occur.

| SG |  | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| oüg | 'eye' | oüga | 'eyes' |
| kni | 'knee' | knija | 'knees' |

Class N-3.1: Plural in -n

Certain neuter nouns - which typically end in a liquid consonant such as $-l$ or $-t$ - form their plurals by means of the ending -n, e.g. SG bäjśpil 'example' - PL bäjśpiln 'examples', SG korol 'coral', SG tàl 'part' - PL tàln 'part', SG werkl 'tool' - PL werkln 'tools', SG bäjt 'axe' - PL bäjtn 'axes' or SG bynzut 'ribbon' - PL bynzutn 'ribbons', SG fat 'skin' - PL fatn 'skins'. Once more, the root vowel does not undergo any modification.

| SG |  | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bäjśpil | 'example' | bäj́spiln 'examples' |
| fat | 'skin' | fatn 'skins' |

Class N-3.3: Plural in $-y n$

Similar to masculine and feminine substantives, neuter nouns in -er regularly replace this ending by the morpheme $-y n$ in the plural: SG cymer 'room' - PL cymyn 'rooms', SG fanster 'window' - PL fanstyn ‘windows', SG fojer 'fire' - PL fojyn ‘fires', SG füder 'cart, wagon' PL füdyn 'carts, wagons', maser 'knife' - masyn 'knives', oüter 'udder' - öutyn 'udder', SG water 'thunder, thunderstorm' - PL watyn 'thunders, thunderstorms' and SG woser 'water' PL wosyn 'waters' (there is also the form wasyn, with an exceptional change of vowel
quality). In a few cases, the plural ending $-y n$ appears in words that do not end in er in the singular: SG e 'egg' - PL ajpyn 'eggs' and SG kynd 'child' - PL kyndyn 'children'. In one case, the neuter substantive experiences a vocal change in the plural: SG wüt 'word' - PL wjytyn 'words'.

This class also contains a very few words ending in $-\mathrm{V} r$ in the singular, which substitute the final consonant $r$ by $n$ in the plural: SG rür 'pipe' - PL rün 'pipes', SG popjyr 'paper' - PL popjyn 'papers', SG kanür (or känür) 'cannon' - PL kanün 'cannons', SG jür 'year' - PL jün 'years' and SG ür 'ear' - PL ün 'ears'.

| SG |  | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| maser | 'knife' | masyn | 'knives' |
| kynd | 'child' | kyndyn | 'children' |
| wüt | 'word' | wjytyn | 'words' |
| rür | 'pipe' | rün | 'pipes' |

### 3.2.3 Case inflection

In total, Wymysorys substantives can be morphologically marked for five cases: nominative, accusative, dative, genitive and vocative. Of these, however, only three cases are still productive in the nominal system, namely the nominative, the accusative and the dative.

The use of the five cases is consistent with the usage found in Germanic languages. The nominative is the case of the subject as well as the quotation form of a noun. It is also found on substantives used in the predicative position where a noun is introduced by copula verbs such as zäjn 'be' and wada 'become'. Accusative is the case of the direct object, being additionally found after determined prepositions (see for instance certain uses of $y$ 'in' and $u f$ 'on'). The dative case introduces the indirect object and also appears after certain prepositions (for example after nö 'after', myt 'with' and wegja 'for, because of'). The two remaining morphological cases are only employed residually. Genitive is seldom found being confined to substantives ending in eer in the nominative (e.g. NOM foter - GEN fotys'). Genitive typically appears in possessive constructions and in certain fixed adverbial expressions. Lastly, vocative - a case that is used to call someone or to draw attention appears exclusively with some ten nouns.

In general terms, the morphological case marking is rather limited, as most substantives do not inflect in case. On the contrary, they display the same form in all the syntactic contexts in the singular and another invariant form in all the environments in the plural. It is relatively common that the nominative singular and plural coincide. In such a case, the substantive only exhibits one invariant form and is regarded as indeclinable.

### 3.2.3.1 Singular - Accusative, Dative, Vocative and Genitive

## Accusative and Dative

In the singular, most nouns do not exhibit any particular ending for accusative and dative. In the contexts typical of these two cases, they use the form that is identical to the nominative. The noticeable exception is a group of masculine substantives that belong to the class M-2.1 that form their plural in -a: kjyt 'farmer' - kjyta 'farmers'. Such nouns exhibit two subtypes. Some are marked by the ending - $a$ in the dative (e.g. NOM wjyt 'farmer' - DAT wjyta and NOM fjyśt 'prince' - DAT fjysta), whereas others employ this ending (i.e. $-a$ ) to mark both dative and accusative (e.g. NOM kjyt 'shepherd' - DAT kjyta, NOM menć 'man' - DAT menća, fjyśta 'prince', Nom büw 'boy' - DAT büwa and NOM öks ‘ox' - DAT öksa). Nouns that end in a palatal consonant may display the ending ja (NOM ryk 'back' - DAT rykja). It should be noted that not all substantives of class 2.1 exhibit morphological case marking in accusative and/or dative. Other nouns, be they masculine, feminine or neuter, do not mark the case in the singular.

Class M-2.1: accusative or accusative-dative in $-a$

| SG |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NOM | ACC | DAT |  |
| kjyt | kjyta | kjyta | 'farmer' |
| ryk | ryk | rykja | 'back' |

## Vocative

Vocative is not a productive morphological case in Wymysorys. Almost all nouns do not show any distinctive form in the vocative function. They simply use the nominative form. However, some ten lexemes referring to persons and family members regularly employ the ending $-y$ in cases where the noun is used to call someone or to draw someone's attention. The most common among such substantives are: NOM müm 'aunt' - VOC mümy! 'aunt!', NOM büw 'boy’ - VOC büwy! ‘boy!’, NOM bow 'wife, woman’ - VOC bowy! ‘wife!, woman!’, NOM pot 'godfather' - VOC poty! 'godfather!', NOM toüt 'people' - VOC toüty! 'people!’ and VOC knäht 'lad’ - VOC knähty! 'lad!'. This vocative ending derives from a hypocorostic suffix originally used in diminutives. Proper nouns used in a vocative function are usually stressed on the last syllable.

## Genitive

The genitive - an inflection category that originally existed in Wymysorys - has suffered profound reduction. It is safe to state that it is not a productive morphological case anymore. This loss of the genitive may be observed in that the old genitive marking is absent for most nouns (in such instances, genitival relations are expressed analytically) and in that no nouns
in the genitive (even those that may be marked by a genitive ending) can appear as arguments of a verb and as complements of an adposition.

Nevertheless, genitive morphological markers are sometimes preserved in possessive constructions. If this occurs, they regularly take the form of the endings $-s$ or $-s$. The former is found in all the stems except those that end in -er, where it is the later that appear as a part of the ending -yś, descending from an earlier class -ers. The substantives which can exhibit the genitive morphological marker are proper nouns (e.g. s'Jüzas mákja 'Joseph's girl', s'Tümas bihta 'Tomas' book' or Jäśkias at 'Jan's work') and certain lexemes ending in eer that express family relations (e.g. s'fotyś śü 'the father's shoe' (cf. NOM foter), mütys' hyt 'the mother's house' (cf. NOM müter)) or that refer to professions (s'sitys' bihta 'the teacher's book' (cf. NOM śiter). The word kynd also possesses a genitive form: s'kyndyś śpejtzah 'the child's toy'. No other nouns are morphologically marked for genitive.

However, it should be emphasized that in the $20^{\text {th }}$ and $21^{\text {st }}$ centuries, the relations of possession or belonging that were originally carried by the genitive case and that can still be expressed by means of the inflectional case marking in proper nouns, kinship terms and some substantives in -er are usually expressed analytically. This analytic technique corresponds to the use of a prepositional phrase with fu 'for' (dy hyt fum Tüma 'Tom's cap', s'bihta fum Tüma 'Tom's book', dy hyt fur müter 'mother's house', s'rykla fum Ziöeśa 'Zosia's skirt', s'heft fum śiler 'teacher's notebook' and śpejtzah fum kynd 'child's toy') or to a simple juxtaposition (Tüma bihła 'Tom's book').

There are also some old genitive forms that have been fossilized in idiomatic expressions that now function as adverbials, for instance, $s^{\prime}$ mügjys 'in the morning', $s$ 'öwyts 'in the evening' and s'nahts 'at night'.

### 3.2.3.2 Plural - Dative

Dative is the only case that can be morphologically distinguished in the plural. In fact, this is best preserved morphological case in the Wymysorys language and the most productive, appearing on all the nouns whose nominative plural does not exhibit any ending, i.e. classes $\mathrm{M}-1, \mathrm{~F}-1$ and $\mathrm{N}-1$.

Class M-1, which contains plurals in $-\varnothing$, derives its plural dative by means of $-a$ except for nouns that end in $-n$ (SG/PL śtàn 'stone', SG con 'toe' - PL cyyn 'toes', SG wiöen 'car' - PL wàn 'cars'), - a (SG/PL noma 'name', SG śruma 'scar' - PL śryma 'scars') or -um (bozum 'bosom'). In some cases, especially after a palatal consonant, the ending may be $j a$ :

Class M-1.1

| SG | PL | DAT |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| kyz | kyz | kyza | 'cheeses' |
| kyng | kyng | kyngja | 'kings' |

If the plural form exhibits vowel mutation, the dative plural behaves accordingly:

## Class M-1.2

| SG | PL | DAT |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| puś | pyś | pyśa | 'forests' |
| zak | zek | $z e k j a$ | 'bags' |

Feminine class F-1.2, which includes nouns that derive their plural uniquely by means of umlaut or vocalic change, regularly marks the dative plural by employing the ending $-a$. If the stem ends in a front vowel or a palatal consonant, the dative plural ending appears as $-j a$ :

## Class F-1.2

| SG | PL | DAT |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| gonz | genz | genza | 'geese' |
| hand | hend | henda | 'hands' |
| kü | ki | kija | 'cows' |
| bank | benk | benkja | 'benches' |

Neuter words that belong to class $\mathrm{N}-1.1$ exhibit plural forms which are identical to the singular. All such substantives consistently mark their dative plural by means of the ending a: e.g. brata 'boards' (cf. NOM-ACC brat), hemba 'shirts' (cf. NOM-ACC hemb), ftàka 'posts' (cf. NOM-ACC ftàk) or $-j a$ if the stem ends in a front vowel or a palatal consonant (ftàkja 'posts'; see also knija 'knees' for those cases where MON-ACC is kni): ${ }^{15}$

## Class N-1.1

| SG | PL | DAT |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bet | bet | beta | 'beds' |
| $k n i$ | $k n i$ | $k n i j a$ | 'knees' |

### 3.3 Adjectives

Just like nouns, adjectives inflect in three productive morphological cases (nominative, accusative and dative) and in two numbers (singular and plural). They also differ in gender displaying three forms in the singular (masculine, feminine and neuter) and one form identical for all the genders in the plural. Additionally, adjectives are inflected for degree.

[^13]
### 3.3.1 Number, gender and case inflection of adjectives ${ }^{16}$

The declension of adjectives is significantly more complex than nominal declensional patterns, which can be viewed as almost residual. In general, most adjectives do not only inflect in number but also quite regularly exhibit morphologically marked forms in the accusative and dative of the two numbers. The complexity of these distinctions is, however, dissimilar and depends on a particular type of adjectives employed.

There are six declensional classes of adjectives. Some patterns are quite similar diverging only in one, two, or three endings. Each class is restricted to specific contexts or to particular adjectival lexemes. Instead of constituting an accidental system, the six patterns can be regarded as connected, forming a continuum of paradigms linking two extreme poles: the strong declension and the weak declension. Thus, the situation in Wymysorys corresponds to a collection of patterns that range from "stronger" ones to "weaker" ones. In other words, the six paradigms show a progressive decrease of prototypical strong properties and an inverse increase of features characteristic of the weak declension. In this continuum class 1 (section 3.3.1.1) is the optimal strong pronominal declension, whereas class 6 (section 3.3.1.6) is the optimal weak paradigm. Between these two extremes, there are four mixed classes in which the decrease of strong characteristics is compensated for by the increase in weak traits (section 3.3.1.2-5). ${ }^{17}$

The systemic relevance of the six classes is different. As will be evident from the subsequent discussion, class 1 is highly uncommon and almost entirely unproductive. Class 2 is productive only in one context (i.e. after a noun in the possessive-genitive expression in $s$ ). Class 3 is confined to a few adjectives and productive exclusively in one environment (i.e. after the pronoun wyter) - itself not very common. On the contrary, classes 4,5 and 6 are both common and productive. Class 4, however, is typically found only in one syntactic environment, whereas the two other types (5 and 6) appear in a greater variety of syntactic milieus.

### 3.3.1.1 Class 1

The first class corresponds to an original strong declension. This pattern has nearly ceased being productive being best preserved in idioms and fixed expressions, for instance, myt bywajtum woser 'with holy (lit. blessed) water', by güter cajjt 'by/in a good time', myt gütum wüt 'with a good word' and śejnys kyndta 'a beautiful child'. ${ }^{18}$ As a productive category, i.e. virtually applicable to any adjectival lexeme, it appears uniquely in combination with the negative adverb nist 'nothing'. In this environment, the adjective always adopts the strong form in -s: nist gütys 'nothing good' or nist ślàhtys 'nothing bad'. The entire paradigm -

[^14]rather unrealistic, as it fails to constitute a productive category in the living language - is tabulated below. Nowadays, this declensional class has been replaced by the other patterns (cf. further below).

|  | MS | NT | FM |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NOM | $e r$ | $y s$ | $y$ | $y$ |
| ACC | $a$ | $y s$ | $y$ | $y$ |
| DAT $u m$ | $u m$ | $e r$ | $a$ |  |

### 3.3.1.2 Class 2

The second declensional type appears in cases where the adjective follows a possessive construction marked by the article $s$, the remnant of the genitive case of a definite article, for example s'Jüzas 'Joseph's'. In such instances, the adjective offers the endings that are similar to the first class discussed above, with one important difference: The neuter nominativeaccusative singular displays two forms, namely one, more frequent, is suffix-less, whereas the other, less common, displays the ending $-y s$, which is also found in the first class discussed previously.

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NOM | $e r$ | $\varnothing / y s$ | $y$ | $y$ |
| ACC $a$ | $\varnothing / y s$ | $y$ | $y$ |  |
| DAT $u m$ | $u m$ | $e r$ | $a$ |  |

This declensional type can be illustrated by the construction where the adjective duter 'stupid' is introduced by the possessors, itself headed by the article $s$ ( $s$ 'Nüśas 'Anna's' and s'Jüzas 'Joseph's') and followed by the substantives kłop 'husband' (masculine), mákja 'girl' (neuter), bow 'wife' (feminine ) and kyndyn 'children' (plural):

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NOM | S Nüśas duter kłop | S Jüza dut mákja | S Jüzas duty bow | S Jüza duty kyndyn |
| ACC | S Nüśas duła kłopa | S Jüza dut mákja | S Jüzas duty bow | S Jüza duty kyndyn |
| DAT | S Nüśas dutum kłopa | S Jüza dutum mákja | S Jüza duter bow | S Jüza duła kyndyn |

### 3.3.1.3 Class 3

The third class is, in fact, yet another modification of the original strong declension. In this declensional type the neuter nominative-accusative displays one indeclinable or ending-less form exclusively. All the other endings coincide with the two patterns discussed previously.

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  | $\varnothing$ | $y$ | $y$ |
| NOM | $e r$ | $\varnothing$ | $y$ | $y$ |
| ACC | $a$ | $u m$ | $e r$ | $a$ |
| DAT | $u m$ |  |  |  |

Class 3 is rather uncommon. Among all the examples, the following combinations seem to be the most frequent: świöecer cöker ‘dark sugar', ruty wiöer 'red material/cloth’ and kołd woser 'cold water' (see also adjective kośer below):

|  | MS | NT | FM |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |
| NOM | świöecer cöker | kotd woser | ruty wiöer |
| ACC | świöeca cöker | kotd woser | ruty wiöer |
| DAT | świöecum cöker | kotdum woser | ruter wiöer |

Adjectives whose stem ends in -er, such kośer 'kosher', use a single -er in the masculine nominative singular and feminine dative singular and not a double ending ${ }^{* *}$-erer:

|  | MS | NT | FM |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NOM | kośer | kośer | kośery |
| ACC | kośera | kośer | kośery |
| DAT | kośerum | kośerum | kośer |

Although the third declensional class seems to be confined to a few adjectives, it is productive when headed by the pronoun wyter 'which'. This may be illustrated by the following paradigm of the adjective güter 'good':

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NOM | wyter güter kłop | wytys güt mákja | wyty güty bow | wyty güty kłopa |
| ACC | wyła güta kłopa | wytys güt mákja | wyty güty bow | wyty güty kłopa |
| DAT | wytum gütum kłopa | wytum gütum mákja | wyter güter bow wyła güta kłopa |  |

One should note that the difference between the three paradigms discussed above is limited to the form of the neuter nominative-accusative singular. To be exact, class 1 uses the ending ys (gütys), class 3 offers the bare form (güt) and class 2 allows the two possibilities, i.e. $-y s$ and the ending-less form. Therefore, it also possible to group all these three types into one class, specifying the three sub-types and their morphological and syntactic differences.

### 3.3.1.4 Class 4

The fourth declensional class is quite common. It is found in constructions where the adjective, headed by an indefinite article, is used in apposition to the preceding noun that is likewise introduced by an indefinite article, e.g. à mákja à gütys "a good girl" (lit. "a girl, a good [one]"; see also á kyndta à klinys 'a small child' or àn rynk án śejna 'a beautiful market'). Since there is no plural indefinite article, in plural constructions no article is found: klopa güty 'good men'. The most distinctive trait of this declensional pattern is the ending -ys in the neuter nominative-accusative singular and the ending -a in the dative singular in the three genders. Moreover, the dative masculine and neuter singular offer an optional ending am.

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NOM $e r$ | $y s$ | $y$ | $y$ |  |
| ACC | $a$ | $y s$ | $y$ | $y$ |
| DAT $a / a m$ | $a / a m$ | $a$ | $a$ |  |

The use of this paradigm can be further illustrated by the following combinations of adjectives, nouns and articles:

|  | MS | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NOM | $\dot{a}$ ktop $\dot{\text { a }}$ güter | $\dot{a}$ mákja $\dot{a}$ gütys | $\dot{a}$ bow $\dot{a}$ güty |

Adjectives ending in $-a$ (such as ajzera 'iron, strong' or stänera 'stone') are usually indeclinable and display the ending - $a$ in all the cases, numbers and genders. However, in this declensional class, the masculine accusative singular and dative plural of these adjectives may offer an alternative form in -an (ajzeran): Yh ho àn gyzunda àn gytderan 'I have a golden health'.

### 3.3.1.5 Class 5

The fifth declensional class is a mixed strong-weak pattern that is usually found if the adjective is preceded by an indefinite article. The entire paradigm can be tabulated in the following way:

|  | MS | FM | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  | $\varnothing$ | $y$ | $y$ |
| NOM $e r$ | $\varnothing$ | $y$ | $y$ |  |
| ACC | $a$ | $a$ | $a$ | $a$ |
| DAT $a$ |  |  |  |  |

This declensional pattern can further be illustrated by the expressions $\dot{a}$ güter kłop 'a good man' (masculine), à güt mákja 'a good girl' (neuter), á güty bow 'a good woman’ (feminine) and güty klopa (plural):

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM | à güter klop | $\dot{a}$ güt màkja | $\dot{a}$ güty bow | güty ktopa |
| ACC | àn güta kłopa | $\dot{a}$ güt màkja | à güty bow | güty klopa |
| DAT | àm güta kłopa | àm güta màkja | àr güta bow | güta kłopa |

The fifth declension may also be found in cases where the adjective is headed by the indefinite pronoun $k \dot{a}$ 'no, no one, any' or by possessive pronouns (e.g. mäj 'my', däj 'your', etc.). One should, however, note that in such instances, the feminine dative singular offers an alternative form in $-y$ which leads to the situation where the feminine adjective in the singular becomes invariant - it always ends in $-y$ :


Another syntactic environment in which the fifth declensional class is commonly found corresponds to cases where an adjective is headed by the pronoun (a) zyter 'such (a)'. In the masculine nominative singular, an alternative form in $-y$ is possible (note also two variants in the feminine dative singular).

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM | $\dot{a}$ zyter guter / -y ktop | $\dot{a}$ zyta güt màkja | a zyty güty bow | zyty güty büwa |
| ACC | àn zyta güta ktopa | $\dot{\text { a zyta güt mákja }}$ | $\dot{a}$ zyty güty bow | zyty güty büwa |
| DAT | àm zyta güta kłopa | àm zyta güta mȧkja | àr zyta güta l-y bow | zyta güta büwa |

When declined in the fifth class, adjectives ending in -er (e.g. kośer) diverge from the typical pattern by displaying the form -er in the masculine nominative singular and (besides the regular endings) in all the cases in the feminine singular.

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NOM | kośer | kośer | kośery / kośer | kośery |
| ACC | kośera | kośer | kośery/kośer | kośery |
| DAT | kośera | kośera | kośera/kośer | kośera |

### 3.3.1.6 Class 6

The sixth pattern is an exemplary weak declension, well-known in Germanic languages. In the feminine dative singular and in the nominative-accusative plural, two forms are admissible: $-a$ (which is etymologically correct) and $-y$ (which corresponds to the modern process of analogical leveling). As a result, the possibility of the use of the ending $-y$ in the dative singular implies that feminine adjectives may exhibit one form $(-y)$ in all the cases in the singular (e.g. güty). The adjectives ending in eer may either follow the paradigm presented above or display certain "irregular" forms. To be exact, the bare form in -er (such as kośer) can appear in the feminine dative and neuter nominative-accusative singular. The entire weak paradigm offers the following endings:

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NOM | $y$ | $y$ | $y$ | $a / y$ |
| ACC | $a$ | $y$ | $y$ | $a / y$ |
| DAT | $a$ | $a$ | $a$ |  |

The weak declension is typically found in situations where the adjective is introduced by a demonstrative pronoun (dar, dos and $d i$ ) or by a definite article (der, $d y$ and $s$ ):

|  | MS | NT | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NOM | dar güty ktop | dos güty mákja | di güty bow | di güta $/-y$ kłopa |
| ACC | dan güta kłopa | dos güty mákja | di güty bow | di güta /-y kłopa |
| DAT | dam güta klopa | dam güta mákja | dar güta /-y bow | dan güta ktopa |


|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NOM | der güty klop | s'güty mákja | dy güty bow | dy güta $/-y$ kłopa |
| ACC | dan güta kłopa | s'güty mákja | dy güty bow | dy güta $/-y$ kłopa |
| DAT | ym güta kłopa | ym güta mákja | yr güta $/-y$ bow | yn güta klopa |

### 3.3.2 Degrees of adjectives

Apart from being inflected in gender, number and case, the Wymysorys adjective also varies by degree, offering distinct morphosyntactic forms in the comparative and superlative.

### 3.3.2.1 Comparative

For most adjectives, the comparative is formed by adding the ending -er to the adjectival base present in the positive degree after eliminating the case ending: POS tajjht 'light' - COM tajjhter 'lighter'. Overall, the declensional pattern of comparative adjectives exhibits a number of alternative forms. In a comparative adjective is preceded by an indefinite article it is inflected in the following manner:

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM | erer / er | er / erys / ys' | er lery | er / ery / yn |
| ACC | era / yn | er / erys / yś | er / ery | er / ery / yn |
| DAT | era / yn | era / yn | era / yn | era / yn |
|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| NOM | läjhterer | làjhter | làjhter | làjhter |
|  | làjhter | täjhterys | täjhtery | täjhtery |
|  |  | làjhtys' |  | làjhtyn |
| ACC | łäjhtera | làjhter | läjhter | läjhter |
|  | lajjhtyn | täjhterys | täjhtery | tajhtery |
|  |  | làjhtyś |  | tajhtyn |
| DAT | tàjhtera | tajhtera | läjhtera | tajhtera |
|  | làjhtyn | tàjhtyn | tajhtyn | làjhtyn |

If the comparative is headed by a definite article, the declensional pattern is slightly different:

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM | erer / er / ery | er / ery | er lery | ery / yn |
| ACC | era / yn | er / ery | er / ery | ery/yn |
| DAT | era / yn | era / yn | era/yn | era/yn |
|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| NOM | täjhterer | làjhter | tajhter | lȧjhtery |
|  | tajhter | tàjhtery | täjhtery | łảjhtyn |
|  | tajhtery |  |  |  |
| ACC | làjhtera | tajhter | lajuter | làjhtery |
|  | tajhtyn | tajhtery | täjhtery | łajhtyn |
| DAT | làjhtera | łäjhtera | täjhtera | łàjhtera |
|  |  |  |  | täjhtyn |

The comparative form of adjectives in the predicative function, typically found after copula verbs such as zäjn 'be', wada 'become' and błäjn 'remain, become', always displays the forms in -er for all genders and numbers.

A number of adjectives modify their root vowel in the comparative degree:

| gröp | 'fat' | grywer | 'fatter' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| śmot | 'little, small' | śmater | 'smaller' |
| grus | 'big' | gryser | 'bigger' |
| tong | 'long' | tengjer | 'longer' |
| wiöem | warm' | wamer | 'warmer' |
| old | 'old' | etder | 'older' |
| jung | young', | jyngjer | 'younger' |
| kotd | 'cold' | ketder | 'colder' |
| küc | 'short', | kjycer | 'shorter' |
| huh | 'high' | hyhjer | 'higher' |
| stiöek | 'strong' | s'takjer | 'stronger' |

A few adjectives exhibit an irregular comparative form, using suppletive bases:

| güt | 'good' | beser | 'better' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| rys' | 'early, quick' | ejer | 'earliest, quickest' |

There is also a periphrastic or analytic manner of forming the comparative degree. The analytic comparative is derived by means of the adverb mejer 'more' (a comparative form of the adverb fejt 'a lot, many') and the adjective as it appears in the positive. This construction seems to be especially preferred with longer adjectives, adjectives that from a semantic perspective are less propitious for comparison (mejer pönys' 'more Polish' or mejer doüć 'more German') and adjectives that have been borrowed from Polish (mejer śmjeśnik 'funnier' from Polish śmieszny 'funny').

### 3.3.2.2 Superlative

The superlative is derived by adding the suffix $-s t$ and an appropriate case ending to the adjectival base: POS łäjht light' - SUP łäjhtsty 'lightest'. The adjectives that end in a sibilant $-s$ or $-c[t s]$ only add the ending $-t$ : grysty 'biggest' (from grus 'big') and kjycty 'shortest' (from küc 'short'). As in the comparative, some adjectives modify their root vowel in the superlative form:

| gröp | 'fat' | grywsty | 'fattest' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| grus | 'big' | grysty | 'biggest' |
| tong | 'long' | tengsty | 'longest' |
| otd | 'old' | etdsty | 'oldest' |
| jung | young' | jyngsty | 'youngest' |
| kotd | 'cold' | ketdsty | 'coldest' |
| küc | 'short' | kjycty | 'shortest' |
| huh | 'high' | hyhsty | 'highest' |
| stöek | 'strong' | stáksty | 'strongest' |

A few adjectives use suppletive bases in the superlative:

| güt | 'good' | besty | 'better' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| rys' | 'early, quick' | ejsty | 'earliest, quickest' |

The superlative is commonly preceded by the definite article, e.g. der läjhtsty 'the lightest'. As a result, it usually declines according to the weak declension (class 6):

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NOM | der besty klop | s'besty mákja | dy besty bow | dy besta kłopa |
| ACC | dan besta kłopa | s'besty mákja | dy besty bow | dy besta kłopa |
| DAT | ym besta kłopa | ym besta mákja | yr besta bow | yn besta kłopa |

The periphrastic type of the superlative is derived by means of the superlative of the adverb fejt 'a lot, many', i.e. ym másta 'the most', and the basic form of an adjective: ym másta śmjeśnik 'the funniest'. ${ }^{19}$

### 3.4 Pronouns ${ }^{20}$

### 3.4.1 Personal pronouns

Wymysorys includes a large number of personal pronouns, which can be divided into three classes: the accented independent pronouns (so-called "full" pronouns) and two types of the weak and unaccented pronouns - independent (so-called "reduced" pronouns) and dependent pronouns (i.e. pronominal affixes). The three types are related in the way that the full pronouns are the least reduced from a morphological and phonetic perspective, whereas the two remaining classes - and especially the pronominal affixes - are the most downgraded, as far as their phonetics and morphology are concerned. Pronouns inflect in gender, number and case. As far as the case inflection is concerned, pronouns commonly decline in nominative, accusative and dative. The genitive is typically lost, being found only with the interrogative pronoun war. Pronouns are never inflected in vocative.

### 3.4.1.1 Full personal pronouns

Full personal pronouns are used when speakers emphasize the relevance or focus on the subject, object or complement referred by a given pronominal form. Full pronouns are also employed when the pronoun stands in isolation constituting a clause on its own. Below, a review of the nominative forms of these pronouns is provided:

|  | SG | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |
| 1 | $y h y$ | $1 w j y r$ |
| 2 | $d \ddot{u}$ | $2 j y r$ |
| 3 MS | $h a r$ | $3 z e j$ |
| NT | $e j s$ |  |
| FM | $z e j$ |  |
|  |  |  |

The full pronouns are declined in two oblique cases, i.e. in the accusative and the dative:

[^15]|  | SG |  |  |  |  | PL |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 MS | NT | FM | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ACC | mejh | dejh | ejn | $e j s$ | $z e j$ | $y n s / c$ | oüh | zej |
| DAT | $m j y r$ | $d j y r$ | $e j m$ | $e j m$ | $j y r$ | $y n s / c$ | oüh | $j y n$ |

Additionally, Wymysorys possesses the suffix -źe - of Polish origin - that is commonly employed in requests and imperatives. Furthermore, certain demonstrative pronouns (e.g. $d i$, cf. section 2.2, below) may be used as equivalents of the personal pronoun zej in the singular feminine and in the plural.

### 3.4.1.2 Reduced pronouns

Reduced pronouns are typically unaccented. They are found in the environment where another accompanying element of the sentence (be it a preposition, a conjunction or a verb) bears the stress and/or receives emphasis. Reduced pronouns are highly frequent in colloquial speech, being probably the most common forms of pronouns. Although their regular characteristic is the weakening or the loss of the accent, reduced pronouns preserve their morphological independence, by which they contrast with the affixed pronouns (cf. section 3.4.1.3 below). The following chart provides the nominative forms of the reduced pronouns:

|  | SG | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |
| 1 | $y h$ | $1 w e r$ |
| 2 | $d y$ | 2 der |
| 3 MS | $\dot{a} / \dot{a} r$ | $3 z y$ |
| NT | $(e s)^{21}$ |  |
| FM | $z y$ |  |

The oblique (accusative and dative) forms of the unstressed pronouns can be tabulated in the following manner:

|  | SG |  |  |  |  | PL |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1 | 2 | 3MS | NT | FM | $1^{\text {st }}$ | $2^{\text {nd }}$ | 3 |
| ACC | mih | dih | $\dot{a}$ | $(e s)^{22}$ | $z y$ | $(y n s / c)^{23}$ | (j) $\ddot{\text { h }}{ }^{24}$ | zy |
| DAT | mer | der | jum | jum | $j y r^{25}$ | ( $\mathrm{n} \mathrm{ns} / \mathrm{c}$ ) | (j)üh | jyn |

[^16]
### 3.4.1.3 Affixed pronouns

Affixed pronouns (or pronouns used as clitics) correspond to the most downgraded forms of personal pronouns in respect to their morphology and phonetics. The affixed pronouns never bear the stress and cannot be used independently or in isolation. On the contrary, they invariably necessitate a hosting entity to which they are incorporated, thus forming one word. In most cases, such hosting elements are verbs (hjy'h or hjyh 'I hear'), prepositions (wi'h 'as I') or conjunctions (do'h 'that I' or wajt's 'as/since they'). Although this class of pronouns usually appears as suffixes, as far as the verbal environment is concerned, they can also be prefixed ( $s$ 'yj 'it is'). The nominative forms of the affixed pronouns are as follows:

|  | SG | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |
| 1 | $' h / h$, | $1-w e r$ |
| 2 | $-y$ | $2-e r$ |
| 3 MS | ' $\dot{a}$ | $3 ' z / z$, |
| NT | 's $/ s$, |  |
| FM | ' $/ s$, |  |

As was the case with full and reduced pronouns, affixed pronouns decline in case and exhibit the following forms in the accusative and dative:

|  | SG |  |  |  |  | PL |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1 | 2 | 3MS | FM | NT | $1^{\text {st }}$ | $2^{\text {nd }}$ | 3 |
| ACC | - | - | $-\dot{a} /-j \dot{a}^{26}$ | -s/s- | $-s / s s^{27}$ | -ns | -üh | -s/s- |
| DAT | - | - | -um /-m | -um/-m | -er/-r | -ns | -üh | $-n,-a,-n a^{28}$ |

### 3.4.2 Demonstrative pronouns

It is possible to distinguish three series of demonstrative pronouns in Wymysorys. Two series are related to the spatial deixis, i.e. to the concept of proximity (equivalent to this in English) and distance (equivalent to that). The third series concerns the idea of "qualitative" indication (equivalent to such).

The first type of demonstratives (dar [ms.], di [fm.], dos [nt.], di [pl.]) conveys the idea of physical nearness and is declined in cases in the following manner:

[^17]|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NOM | $d a r$ | $d o s$ | $d i$ | $d i$ |
| ACC | $d a n$ | $d o s$ | $d i$ | $d i$ |
| DAT | $d a m$ | $d a m$ | $d a r$ | $d a n$ |

The second group of demonstrative pronouns (jer [ms.], jenny [fm.], jes [nt.] and je(na) [pl.]) expresses the idea of distance. Thus, these pronouns indicate objects or persons located further way from the speaker.

|  | MS | NT | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NOM | jer | jes | je/jeny | je / jena ${ }^{29}$ |
| ACC | jen | jes | je/jeny | je/jena |
| DAT | jem | jem | jer | jen |

The third class of demonstratives includes the pronouns conveying the sense of 'so, like this, of this sort, such as'. There are three types of pronouns belonging to this class: zyter, zytnikjer and zytikjer. Below only the declensional patterns of zyter and zytnikjer are indicated since the lexeme zytikjer is declined analogically to zytnikjer, differing uniquely in that the consonant $n$ assimilates to $t$. It seems that nowadays zyter is the most frequent of all the pronominals of this type. One should also note that zyter, zytnikjer and zytikjer are regularly preceded by the indefinite article $\dot{a}$.

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM | zyter | zyta / zytys | zyty | zyty |  |
| ACC | zyta | zyta / zytys | zyty | zyty |  |
| DAT | zyta | zyta | zyta / zyty ${ }^{30}$ | zyta |  |
|  | MS | NT |  | M | PL |
| NOM | zytnikjer | zytnik / zytnikjys |  | ytnikjy | zytnikjy |
| ACC | zytnikja | zytnik / zytnikjys |  | ytnikjy | zytnikjy |
| DAT | zytnikja | zytnikja |  | ytnikja / zytnikjy | zytnikja |

[^18]
### 3.4.3 Indefinite pronouns

From a semantic perspective, indefinite pronouns are quite a heterogeneous class. One subtype, which expresses the sense similar to 'someone, somebody, anyone, anybody', is represented in Wymysorys by lexemes such as imid, imyd, imád and imanda, which are all indeclinable. In the same function, it is also possible to employ the pronouns mon and $m \dot{a}$ 'one, someone'. In addition, if an impersonal or general meaning is to be conveyed, the pronouns of the third person plural (the full form zej or the reduced variant $z y$ ) and less commonly the third masculine singular (the full form har or the reduced $\dot{a}$ ) can be used. There is also a depreciatory indefinite pronoun (semantically similar to 'just any(one)') mäłäjhtwar.

The most common indefinite pronouns that refer to things and objects are also uninflected: yhta 'something, anything' and yht 'something, anything'. The pronoun jynt is sometimes employed in the expression jynt aner 'anyone, someone'. It appears more frequently in certain negative and adverbial uses: jynt and jyntwu 'somewhere, anywhere', njynt 'nowhere', jynta möt 'sometimes'. The pronouns miöehjer, miöehy and miöehys 'some, several, many a' are mainly used with the same meaning in combination with the entity $n y$ : nymiöeher, nymiöehy, nymiöehys.

Furthermore, Wymysorys possesses two series of negative indefinite pronouns. The first one includes lexemes that may be viewed as negative counterparts of the positive pronouns: nimid, nimyd, nimád and nimända 'no one'. The word for negative pronouns referring to things and objects is nist 'nothing'. In accordance with the behavior of their positive equivalent, all the above-mentioned negative pronouns are indeclinable. Additionally, there is a series of negative pronouns that can be inflected. This type corresponds to the lexeme $k \dot{a}$ '(no) any / none' that varies according to number, gender and case. Its full declensional pattern is tabulated below. There is also an alternative pronoun with the sense of 'no one, nobody' built on the form $k \dot{a}$ and the word menć 'man': ká menć 'no one'.

|  | MS | NT | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NOM | $k \dot{a} / k \dot{a} n e r^{31}$ | $k \dot{a} / k \dot{a} s$ | $k \dot{a} / k \dot{a} n y$ | $k \dot{a} / k \dot{a} n a$ |
| ACC | $k \dot{a} n$ | $k \dot{a} / k \dot{a} s$ | $k \dot{a} / k \dot{a} n y$ | $k \dot{a} / k \dot{a} n a$ |
| DAT | $k \dot{a} m$ | $k \dot{a} m$ | $k \dot{a} r$ | $k \dot{a} n$ |

Apart from the positive and negative indefinite pronouns described above, the class of indefinite pronouns also includes the pronouns with the meaning of 'every': ider and ittykjer. These pronouns decline in the following manner:

[^19]|  | MS | NT | FM |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NOM | ider | ida/idys ${ }^{32}$ | idy |
| ACC | ida | ida/idys | idy |
| DAT | idum | idum | ider |
|  |  |  |  |
|  | MS | NT | FM |
|  |  |  |  |
| NOM | ittykjer | ittykjys | ittykjy |
| ACC | ittykja | ittykjys | ittykjy |
| DAT $\quad$ ittykja | ittykja | ittykja |  |
|  |  |  |  |

### 3.4.4 Anaphoric pronoun

The class of anaphoric pronouns includes two types of pronouns: reflexives and reciprocals. In the $1^{\text {st }}$ and $2^{\text {nd }}$ persons of the singular and plural, the reflexive pronouns are formally indistinguishable from the full or reduced forms of the accusative of a respective personal pronoun. However, in the $3{ }^{\text {rd }}$ person of the singular and plural, the word zejh and its reduced variety zih are used. The form zejh has been generalized for all the persons so that it may also appear with the $1^{\text {st }}$ and $2^{\text {nd }}$ persons instead of mejh, dejh, yns and oüh.

|  | SG |  | PL |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | SUBJECT | REFLEXIVE | SUBJECT | REFLEXIVE |
| 1 | $y h$ | mejh/mih | wjyr | yns |
| 2 | $d u ̈$ | $j y r$ | oüh / jüh |  |
| 3 MS | har | dejh/dih | $z e j h / z i h$ | $z e j h / z i h$ |
| NT | $e j s$ |  |  |  |
| FM | $z e j$ |  |  |  |

The reciprocal pronouns are built around the pronoun nander 'other, another' which nowadays usually appears in indeclinable compounds such as undernander 'among each other', funander 'for each other' and mytnander 'with each other'. The concept of reciprocity can also be expressed by means of the locution aner + preposition + ander, in which the two nominal entities (i.e. aner and ander) are inflected in accordance with the rules governing the use of cases. Nevertheless, the idea of reciprocity is most commonly conveyed not by pronouns but rather by adverbial locutions derived from -zoma: cyzoma, byzoma or mytzoma.

[^20]
### 3.4.5 Relative pronouns

It is possible to distinguish two classes of relative pronouns in Wymysorys. One is homonymous with the interrogative adverb wu 'where', whereas the other is formally undistinguishable from the demonstrative pronouns $d a r, d o s$ and $d i$. Out of the two classes, $w u$ is definitely the most common relative pronoun in the ethnolect. It is indeclinable and may refer to persons, animals and inanimate objects of any gender and number. The relative pronouns dar, dos and di are inflected in an analogous manner as their demonstrative counterparts. ${ }^{33}$ The use of these pronouns is less common, as they are perceived as the German influence.

### 3.4.6 Interrogative pronouns

The principal interrogative pronouns in Wymysorys is war 'who' (referring to persons) and wos 'what' (referring to objects). Exceptionally for pronouns, war offers an overt genitive form, i.e. was 'whose'. It should be noted that since the dative of the pronoun wos (apart from the regular wam) also exhibits the form wos, certainly developed by analogy to the nominative and accusative cases, this pronoun can now be indeclinable.

| NOM | war | wos |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ACC | wan | wos |
| DAT | wam | wam / wos |
| GEN | was |  |

There are three interrogative pronouns with the meaning of 'which(one)': wyter, wyhjer and wylhjer. As indicated in the table below, all of these pronouns decline in number, gender and case. ${ }^{34}$ Additionally, it is possible to use the pronoun wosfer 'which(one)', which is a synthetized form of an original analytical locution wos fjyr äner. Nowadays, functioning as a fully fused and indissoluble pronoun, woswer is indeclinable.

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NOM | wyłer | wytys | wyty | wyła/ wyty 35 |
| ACC | wyła | wytys | wyty | wyła $/$ wyty |
| DAT | wytum | wytum | wyter | wyła |

[^21]|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NOM | wyhjer | wyhjys | wyhjy | wyhja/wyhy |
| ACC | wyhja | wyhjys | wyhjy | wyhja/wyhy |
| DAT | wyhjum | wyhjum | wyhjer | wyhja |

### 3.4.7 Possessive pronouns

The following possessive pronouns are found in Wymysorys: mäj 'my', däj ‘your [singular]', zäj 'his, its', jyr 'her, their', ojer 'your [plural]' and ynzer 'our'. The declension of the possessive pronoun of the $1^{\text {st }}$ person singular maj $j$ is indicated below. One should note that the uninflected form mäj may also be employed in all the cases. Accordingly, máj offers two possible paradigms: one declines whereas the other is indeclinable. All these forms - both inflected and uninflected - are used if $m \dot{a} j$ is employed attributively, i.e. as an adjective preceding and qualifying the noun.

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NOM | máj | $m a \dot{j}$ | $m a \dot{j}$ | $m a \dot{j}$ |
| ACC | men | $m a \dot{j}$ | $m a \dot{j}$ | $m a \dot{j}$ |
| DAT | mem | $m e m$ | $m e r$ | $m e n$ |

However, if the possessive pronoun maj is used predicatively or independently as a genuine pronoun, different, "long" forms appear. These forms can also be used in cases where the pronoun madj follows the substantive. In such instances, the substantive is invariably accompanied by a definite article: der klop mäjner 'my husband'.

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NOM | mäjner | mäjs | mäjny | mäjna |
| ACC | mäjna | mäjs | mäjny | mäjna |
| DAT | mäjnum | mäjnum | mäjner | mäjna |

The pronouns $d \dot{a} j$ and $z \dot{a} j$ are declined and employed in an analogical manner to the declension and use of the pronoun mäj discussed above:

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM | dàj (däjner) ${ }^{36}$ | dàj(däjs) | däj(däjny) | dàj(däjna) |
| ACC | den (däjna) | dàj(dàjs) | dàj(dàjny) | dàj(dȧjna) |
| DAT | dem (dȧjnum) | dem (dȧjnum) | der (däjner) | den (däjna) |

[^22]|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM | zäj (zäjner) | $z a \dot{j}(z a ̈ j s)$ | zäj(zäjny) | zäj(zäjna) |
| ACC | zen (zäjna) | $z a \dot{j}(z a ̈ j s)$ | $z a \dot{j}(z a j a n y)$ | zäj(zäjna) |
| DAT | zem (zäjnum) | zem (zåjnum) | zer (zäjner) | zen (zäjna) |

The pronouns ynzer 'our' and ojer 'your [plural]' are declined in a slightly different manner, which is indicated below. Contrary to máj , d $\dot{a} j$ and $z \dot{a} j$, these pronouns usually do not differentiate between attributive/adjectival and predicative/pronominal forms. The only exception is the nominative singular forms ynzys' and ojyś which are employed in a predicative function in the three genders.

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NOM | ynzer | ynzer | ynzer | ynzer |
| ACC | ynzyn | ynzer | ynzer | ynzer |
| DAT | ynzum $/$ ynz(e)rum | ynzum $/$ ynz(e)rum | ynzer | ynzyn |


|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NOM | ojer | ojer | ojer | ojer |
| ACC | ojyn | ojer | ojer | ojer |
| DAT | ojum | ojum | ojer | ojyn |

The last possessive pronoun is $j y r$. This pronoun can refer both to the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular feminine (being equivalent to 'her(s)') and to the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person plural of all genders (corresponding to 'their(s)'). As a result, the phrase jyr frynd can signify 'her friend' and 'their friend'. As was the case with ynzer and ojer, the pronoun jyr does not exhibit special attributive/adjectival and predicative/pronominal forms. However, there is a particular predicative or independent form jys' for all the genders in the nominative singular. ${ }^{38}$

|  | MS | NT | FM | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NOM | $j y r$ | $j y r$ | $j y r$ | $j y r$ |
| ACC | $j y n$ | $j y r$ | $j y r$ | $j y r$ |
| DAT | $j y m$ | $j y m$ | $j y r$ | $j y n$ |

[^23]
### 3.5 Numerals

There are two types of numerals in Wymysorys: cardinal and ordinal. The inflection of cardinal numerals is residual, most of them being invariant in case. On the contrary, ordinal numerals can be inflected in gender, number and case.

### 3.5.1 Cardinal

Cardinal numbers, with two noticeable exceptions, are uninflected. The only lexemes that are inflected are àner 'one' and cwej 'two'. The former is inflected in gender, number and case offering a typical pronominal declensional pattern. It should be noted that in the nominative and accusative plural, two forms are possible: $\dot{a} n a$ and $\dot{a}$. The dative plural exhibits three alternative forms: $\dot{a} n a, \dot{a} n$ and $\dot{a}$. The longer variant $\dot{a} n a$ must be used in cases where the numeral is used independently (i.e. without an accompanying noun). Since the form $\dot{a}$ can be displayed in all the cases in the plural, the morphological case distinction may, in fact, be lost (Andrason 2016b).

|  | MS | NT | FM |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NOM | $\dot{a} n e r ~$ | $\dot{a} s$ | $\dot{a} n y$ | $\dot{a} n a, \dot{a}$ |
| ACC | $\dot{a} n$ | $\dot{a} s$ | $\dot{a} n y$ | $\dot{a} n a, \dot{a}$ |
| DAT | $\dot{a} m$ | $\dot{a} m$ | $\dot{a} n e r$ | $\dot{a} n, \dot{a} n a, \dot{a}$ |

The numeral cwej 'two' is inflected only in gender, being entirely insensitive for the case:

|  | MS | NT | FM |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NOM | cwej | $c w e$ | $c w u ̈ ~$ |
| ACC | cwej | $c w e$ | $c w u ̈ ~$ |
| DAT | cwej | $c w e$ | $c w u ̈ ~$ |

The list of all other numerals is given below:

| 1 | äs |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2 | cwe |
| 3 | dräj |
| 4 | fiyr |
| 5 | fynf $/$ fymf |
| 6 | zähs |
| 7 | zejwa |
| 8 | aht |
| 9 | noün |
| 10 | can |


| 11 | älf |
| :--- | :--- |
| 12 | cwelf |
| 13 | dreca |
| 14 | fjyca |
| 15 | funfca |
| 16 | zähca |
| 17 | zymfca / zynfca |
| 18 | ahca |
| 19 | niöenca |
| 20 | cwencik |
|  |  |
| 21 | anäncwencik |
| 22 | cwejäncwencik |
| 23 | dräjäncwencik |
| 24 | fjyräncwencik |
| etc. |  |
|  |  |
| 10 | can |
| 20 | cwencik |
| 30 | dresik |
| 40 | fjycik |
| 50 | funfcik / fumfcik |
| 60 | zähcik |
| 70 | zymfcik |
| 80 | ahcik |
| 90 | niöencik |
| 100 | hundyt |
| 1000 | toüzyt |
| 1000 | 000 milon |
|  |  |

### 3.5.2 Ordinal

Wymysorys displays the following ordinal numbers that all are inflected according to the adjectival declensional patterns (see section 3.3). One should note the peculiar behavior of the adjective jys'ter 'first' which in the third adjectival declension, in the neuter nominativeaccusative singular displays the form in $-a$, viz. jyśta, besides the indeclinable form jyśt:

|  | masculine | feminine | neuter | plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| NOM | s'Nüśas jyśter kłop | s'Jüzas jyśty bow | s'Jüza jyśt/-a måkja | s'Jüza jyśty kyndyn |
| ACC | s'Nüśas jyśta ktopa | s'Jüzas jyśty bow | s'Jüza jyśt/-a måkja | s'Jüza jyśty kyndyn |
| DAT | s'Nüśas jyśtum kłop | s'Jüza jys'ter bow | s'Jüza jyśtum måkja | s'Jüza jyśta kyndyn |

If the noun is definite the inflection of the numeral is regular, i.e. weak (cf. the sixth adjectival pattern). These forms are also employed if the numeral appears independently without an accompanying noun, i.e. 'the first', 'the second', etc.

|  | masculine | neuter | feminine | plural |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| NOM | der jyśty kłop | s jyśty måkja | dy jyśty bow | dy jyśta / jyśty kłopa |
| ACC | dan jyśta kłopa | sjyśty måkja | dy jyśty bow | dy jyśta / jyśty kłopa |
| DAT | ym jyśta kłopa | ym jyśta måkja | yr jyśta / jyśty bow | yn jyśta kłopa |

The other cardinal numerals are as follows:

| $1^{\text {st }}$ | jyśty |
| :--- | :--- |
| $2^{\text {nd }}$ | ander |
| $3^{\text {rd }}$ | dryty |
| $4^{\text {th }}$ | fjydy |
| $5^{\text {th }}$ | fymfty, fynfty |
| $6^{\text {th }}$ | zähsty |
| $7^{\text {th }}$ | zejwdy |
| $8^{\text {th }}$ | ahty |
| $9^{\text {th }}$ | noündy |
| $10^{\text {th }}$ | candy |
|  |  |
| $11^{\text {th }}$ | alfty |
| $12^{\text {th }}$ | cwetfty |
| $13^{\text {th }}$ | drecyty |
| $14^{\text {th }}$ | fjycyty |
| $15^{\text {th }}$ | fumfcyty, funfcyty, fufcyty |
| $15^{\text {th }}$ | zächcyty |
| $17^{\text {th }}$ | zymfcyty, zynfcyty |
| $18^{\text {th }}$ | ahcyty |
| $19^{\text {th }}$ | niöencyty |
| $20^{\text {th }}$ | cwenciksty |
|  |  |
| $21^{\text {st }}$ | änäncwenciksty |
| etc. |  |


| $10^{\text {th }}$ | candy |
| :--- | :--- |
| $20^{\text {th }}$ | cwenciksty |
| $30^{\text {th }}$ | dresiksty |
| $40^{\text {th }}$ | fjyciksty |
| $50^{\text {th }}$ | funfciksty |
| $60^{\text {th }}$ | záhcikty |
| $70^{\text {th }}$ | zymfciksty |
| $80^{\text {th }}$ | ahciksty |
| $90^{\text {th }}$ | niöenciksty |
|  |  |
| $100^{\text {th }}$ | hyndyty (hyndyśty) / hundyty |
| $1000^{\text {th }}$ | toüzyty (toüzynsty) |

### 3.5.3 Numeral substantives

Numeral substantives express the concept of a noun associated with a number: ajncer 'number one, a/the one', cwajjer 'number two, a/the two', etc.

| 1 | äjncer |
| :--- | :--- |
| 2 | cwäjer |
| 3 | dräjer |
| 4 | fjyrer |
| 5 | fymfer, fynfer |
| 6 | zähser |
| 7 | zejwer |
| 8 | ahter |
| 9 | noüner |
| 10 | cyner |
|  |  |
| 11 | alfer |
| 12 | cwelfer |
| 13 | drecyner |
| 14 | fjycyner |
| 15 | fufcyner, funfcyner, fumfcyner |
| 16 | zähcyner |
| 17 | zymfcyner |
| 18 | ahcyner |
| 19 | niöencyner |
| 20 | cwencikjer |
|  |  |
| 21 | änäncwencikjer |
|  |  |
| 30 | dresikjer |


| 40 | fjycikjer |
| :--- | :--- |
| 50 | fufcikjer, funf |
| 60 | zähcikjer |
| 70 | zymfcikjer |
| 80 | ahcikjer |
| 90 | niöencikjer |
|  |  |
| 100 | hundyter |
| 200 | cwehundyter |
| 1000 | toüzyter |
| 1000 |  |

[^24]
## 4. Non-declensional word classes

Non-declensional word classes are adverbs, adpositions (in most cases, prepositions), conjunctions (connectors), particles (discourse markers) and interjections. What unifies all these categories is the fact that they are neither declined (i.e. inflected in cases as nouns, pronouns and adjectives) nor conjugated (i.e. inflected in person and tense, aspect or mood as verbs). In this respect, adverbs are partially exceptional as they may derive from inflected word classes.

### 4.1 Adverbs

Adverbs constitute a heterogeneous group of words that may originally derive from declensional classes such as nouns, adjective and participles, as well as from complex expressions, for instance from prepositional or postpostional phrases. From a semantic perspective, adverbs can be divided into, at least, four main types: adverbs of time, adverbs of place and adverbs of manner (including adverbs of degree). As in adjectives, there is three degrees of comparison in adverbs: positive, comparative and superlative.

### 4.1.1 Adverbs of time

Adverbs of time are words that express the time when something happens, happened or will happen. Below, a list of the most common adverbs of this type is provided. In this review, in several instances, an adverb corresponds to what was originally a postpositional composite (e.g. dernöh, dernöht and dernöhta 'later' [der + nöh/t/ta]) or the neuter singular form of an adjective (e.g. rys' 'early, firstly' or jyśter 'once, first, before').

| byśtenik | 'all the time, always' |
| :--- | :--- |
| cyjür | 'last year' (related to the noun jür 'year') |
| dancik | 'all the time, always' |
| den-wen | 'sometimes' |
| derzänk | 'then, at that time' |
| dernöh | 'later' |
| dernöht | 'later' |
| dernöhta | 'later' |
| ejwergestyn | 'the day before yesterday' |
| ejwermün | 'the day after tomorrow' |
| et | 'now' |
| eta | 'now' |
| gestyn | 'yesterday' |
| grod | 'just' |
| gryht | 'right now, soon' |
| gryhta | 'right now, soon' |


| hjyta | 'seldom, infrequently' |
| :--- | :--- |
| hojer | 'this year' |
| hoüt | 'today' |
| hynt | 'last night' (rarely used) |
| ind | 'always' |
| inda | 'always' |
| indäncik | 'all the time, continuously' |
| jyśter | 'once, first, before' |
| kämöt | 'never' (lit. 'at no-time"; related to möt 'time') |
| öft | 'often' |
| miöehysmöt | 'sometimes' (related to the noun möt 'time') |
| mün | 'tomorrow' |
| ni | 'never' |
| nö | 'still' |
| nöht | 'later, then' |
| nöhta | 'later, then' |
| nymer | 'never' |
| ryś | 'early, firstly' |
| śpöt | 'late' |
| śpyt | 'late' (rarely used) |
| stäjd | 'steadily, often' |
| stejd | 'steadily, often' |
| wejder | 'again, once more' |
| ynäncik | 'all the time, continuously' |
| yndäncik | 'all the time, continuously' |
| yndäncuk | 'all the time, continuously' |
| ymer | 'always' |
| ymjemtag | 'ever, any time' |
| i |  |
| yt | yta |

Sometimes, an adverbial expression is a remnant of an inflected noun, typically declined in the genitive case which is unproductive in the modern language:

| feröwyts | 'in the afternoon, before evening' |
| :--- | :--- |
| s'mügiys | 'in the morning' |
| s'öwyts | 'in the evening' |

In certain cases, an adverbial locution corresponds to a noun phrase, usually composed of a noun (e.g. jür 'year', möt 'time, occasion' and naht 'night'), on the one hand, and an adjective or pronoun (used adjectivally) on the other hand:

| dos jür <br> jes jür | 'this year' <br> 'last year (lit. that year)' |
| :--- | :--- |
| idys möt <br> ani amöt <br> hefa möt | 'always (lit. every time)' <br> 'never (lit. any time)' <br> je naht |
| 'often (lit. many times)' |  |
| dy gancy cäjt | 'last night (lit. that night)' |
| 'all the time' |  |

Temporal concepts typical of adverbs can also be conveyed by means of propositional phrases or even more complex constructions:
à jür y dam
ym ftügja jür
ym mügja
nö àr cäjt
fjym öwyt
fu jür cy jür
amöt uf dy cäjt
hoüt cy tag
'a year ago'
'last year (lit. in the year that passed)'
'in the morning'
'later, then, afterwards (lit. after a time')
'before the evening'
'from year to year, habitually'
'sometimes, from time to time'
'nowadays'
4.1.2 Adverbs of place

Below, a list of the most frequent adverbs of place is given. Once more, some of these lexemes descend from postpositional phrases (dernawa 'nearby, close') or from neuter forms of adjectives (e.g. wäjt 'far' or unwäjt 'near').

| anöh | 'behind, at the back (state and/or motion)' |
| :--- | :--- |
| cyryk | 'back, backwards (motion)' |
| dernawa | 'nearby, close' |
| diöt | 'there' |
| dö | 'here' |
| döhejn | 'over there' |
| dunda | 'down, on the bottom' |
| dyhynda | 'behind, at the back' |
| dyna | 'inside' |
| ejweron | 'everywhere' |
| föna | 'in front, at the front, ahead' |
| har | '(to) here, hither (motion)' (rarely used) |
| hejn | 'from here, hence (motion)' (rarely used) |


| hyna | 'inside' |
| :--- | :--- |
| hynda | 'behind, at the back' |
| njynt | 'nowhere' |
| nejwer | 'to the other side' |
| nöndüsik | 'very closely, nearby' |
| nönd | 'close' |
| nuf | 'up, upward (motion)' |
| nynder | 'closer, to here (motion)' |
| oüz | 'out, outside' |
| rejwer | 'to this side' |
| roüs | 'out(side) (motion)' |
| unda | 'down, beneath, below' |
| uwa | 'up, above' |
| unwäjt | 'near, not far away' |
| wäjt | 'far away' |
| ynham | 'home (motion)' |
| ynwik | 'inside' |
| ywik | 'inside' |

Certain adverbs of place have a more specific sense referring to a concrete place in Wilamowice:

| duwa | 'at the main square in Wilamowice' |
| :--- | :--- |
| nuf | 'to the main square in Wilamowice' |

Commonly, spatial concepts are expressed analytically by means of prepositional phrases:

| y kam üt | 'nowhere (lit. in no place)' |
| :--- | :--- |
| for zäjt | 'beside, near(by)' |
| hynderwäjz | 'at the back' |

### 4.1.3 Adverbs of manner

There are few words in Wymysorys that have been specialized as adverbs of manner:

| akurat | 'exactly, right' |
| :--- | :--- |
| detnik | 'fast, quickly, swiftly' |
| giöe | 'completely, totally' |
| giöer | 'completely, totally' |
| grodok | 'almost (only)' |
| gynoü | 'exactly, right (now)' |
| hefa | 'a lot, may' |
| jok | 'only' |


| liwer | 'gladly, willingly' |
| :--- | :--- |
| tongzum | 'slowly; late' |
| ok | 'only' |
| nok | 'only' |
| widenok | 'clearly, evidently' |
| wing | 'little' |
| wu | 'well; sure' (rarely used) |
| wut | 'well; sure' (rarely used) |
| hyba | 'perhaps' |

However, most adverbs of manner correspond to uninflected forms of adjectives or originally neuter forms of adjectives:

| áncik | 'only, exclusively' |
| :--- | :--- |
| atsum | 'diligently' |
| awa | 'nicely' |
| bang | 'boringly, unpleasantly' |
| bekwem | 'nicely, comfortably' |
| biöewys | 'barefoot' |
| güt | 'well, OK' |
| tong | 'long' |
| śejn | 'great, beautifully' |
| śtäht | 'badly' |
| śprungys | 'quickly, fast' |

Adjectives in $-i k,-n i k,-i h$ and $-i s$ are particularly productive for derivation of adverbs:

| btütik <br> cwejfähtik | 'in a bloody manner' <br> 'twofold, bi-' |
| :--- | :--- |
| fjetnik <br> paradnik | 'timidly, timorously' <br> 'proudly' |
| genclih | 'completely, entirely' |
| fotis' | 'falsely' |

A few lexemes are used to indicate degree and typically accompany adjectives or adverbs:

| zjyr | 'very' | zjyr hefa | 'very much' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ganc | 'completely, very' | ganc nönd | 'very closely' |

To express the meaning 'too, excessively', constructions with $c y$ are used:

| cy fejt | 'too much, to many' |
| :--- | :--- |
| cy zjyr | 'too much' |
| cy wing | 'too little' |
| cy śpöt | 'too late' |
| cy räjf | 'too ripe' |

As was the case with adverbs of time and place, prepositional phrases can be used in an adverbial function expressing manner:

| cy ftäjs | 'deliberately' |
| :--- | :--- |
| cy füs | 'afoot, on foot' |
| cy trüc | 'defiantly, contrarily, despite' |
| cym gytyk | 'luckily' |
| cy krig | 'out of spite' |

The adverbs (or particles) of affirmation and negation are $j u$ ' $y$ es' and $n y$ ' $n o(t)$ ', respectively.

### 4.1.4 Comparison of adverbs

Apart from being found in the positive degree - thus exhibiting the forms such as those introduced so far - adverbs (especially adverbs of manner, which are more susceptible for comparison) can appear in the comparative and the superlative.

The regular comparative form of adverbs exhibits the ending -er that contrary to adjectives (which also use this ending to mark the comparative degree) is invariable: śejner 'more nicely, more beautifully'. The superlative is formed by means of the ending -sta: and the introductory entity ym, e.g. ym śejnsta 'most nicely, most beautifully'.

| POS | COM | SUP |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| śejn 'nicely' | śejner 'more nicely' | ym śejnsta 'most nicely' |
| wing 'little' | wingjer 'less' | ym wingsta 'least' |

It is also possible to derive the comparative and superlative form analytically by means of the comparative and superlative of the adverb fejt 'much', i.e. mejer 'more' and ym másta 'most':

| POS | COM | SUP |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| unfertriöetik 'unbearably' mejer unfertriöetik 'more unbearably' ym másta unfertriöelik 'most unbearably' |  |  |

Some adverbs modify the root vowel in the comparative and superlative:

| POS |  | COM | SUP |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| fejt | 'much' | mejer | ym másta |
| güt | 'well' | beser | $y m$ besta |
| hefa | 'a lot, many' | (mejer is used) | $y m$ hacta (ym mȧsta is used) |
| kotd/ka | d 'coldly' | ketder | ym ketdsta |
| nönd | 'near' | nynder | ym nyndsta |
| öem | 'poorly' | amer | $y m$ amsta |
| räjh | 'richly’ | reher | $y m$ rehsta |
| rys' | 'early, first' | ejer | $y m$ ejsta |
| śejn | 'nicely' | s'yner | ym śynsta |
| ---- |  | tiwer 'gladly' | ym tiwsta |
| śpöt | 'late(ly)' | spyter | ym śpytsta |
| wàjt | 'far' | weter | $y m$ wäjtsta |
| --- |  | ---- | $y m$ lecta 'lastly' |
| ---- |  | ---- | -jyśt / jyśter 'firstly, first, before’ |
| wiöem | 'warmly' | wamer | -ym wamsta |
| zjer | 'very' | ---- | $y m$ zjynsta |

: wiöem-wamer-ym wamsta (ciepły), räjh, reher, ym rehsta (bogaty), öem, amer, ym amstabiedny, kołd/kałd-kełder ym kełdsta- zimny

### 4.2 Prepositions

Below, an alphabetically arranged list of the most common prepositions is given:

| by | 'at' |
| :--- | :--- |
| cwys'a | 'between' |
| $c y$ | 'to' |
| $f u$ | 'from; of' |
| fjy | 'before, in front of' |
| fjyr | 'for' |
| diöh | 'through' |
| ejwer | 'above' |
| gük | 'despite' |
| gükja | 'despite' |
| -hotw | 'because of, due to' |
| hynder | 'behind, at the back of' |
| ka | 'towards, to' |
| myt | 'with; by means of' |
| nawa | 'near, close to' |
| nö | 'after' |
| $o$ | 'from' |


| over | 'above' |
| :--- | :--- |
| śtat | 'instead of' |
| troc | 'despite' |
| uf | 'on; onto, to' |
| un | 'without' |
| under | 'under, between' |
| undyr | 'under' |
| wegja | 'because of, given, due to, for' |
| wejder | 'against' |
| $y$ | 'in, inside; into, to' |
| $y n$ | 'in, inside; into, to' |

The postpositional element -hotw with the meaning 'because of, due to' is only used in composites with pronouns: merhotw 'because of me', derhotw 'because of you' or zerhotw 'because of her'.

Various prepositions appear in pronominal adverbs where they follow the pronoun der, thus acting as, at least originally, postposition. In most such cases, it is possible to use alterative periphrastic constructions built of a preposition and a pronoun. While original postpositional complexes (now fused into a single word) are unproductive, analytical prepositional locutions are fully productive.

| derben | 'for that, therefore' (cf. by dam) |
| :--- | :--- |
| dercwys'a | 'in between, on the other hand' |
| derfjyr | 'for that, in exchange' (cf. fjyr dos) |
| derfön | 'from that' (cf. fu dam) |
| dernawa | 'beside, nearby' |
| dernöh | 'after that, later' |
| dernöhta | 'after that, later' |
| derwäjt | 'during that, in that time' |
| dyrym | 'therefore' |
| derzänk | 'then, during that' |
| derzejder | 'from then, since then' |

Pronominal adverbs may also preserve the genitive case of the original pronoun, which nowadays is entirely lost. This occurs in composites with the adposition wegja, which originally governed the genitive case: deswegja (des + wegja). One may also use the prepositional phrase wegja dam.

Currently, prepositions govern either the dative or the genitive case. Most propositions govern the dative, for instance cy 'to' (cyr ty 'for (the) tea'), nö 'after' (nöm krig 'after the war'), myt 'with' (mytum cug 'with the train'), fu 'from, of' (dy bow fum bjygjamàster 'the wife of the mayor') or fjyr 'for' (fjym öwyt 'before the evening'). A few prepositions that can be used both in a locative sense (i.e. expressing the idea of being in/at/on) and an allative sense (i.e. expressing the sense of motion to/towards/into/onto)
govern two cases. In the locative static function, the dative case is used, while in the allative dynamic function, the accusative is employed.

Various prepositions combine with the reduced (clitic) forms of the definite article, e.g. bym [dat.sg.ms], byn [dat.pl] and byr [dat.sg.fm]. The list of such composites is given in section 3.1.1.

Entities that are formally identical with some prepositions and adverbs are also used as verbal prefixes giving rise to highly common, complex or phrasal verbs: ufmaha 'open' (cf. Present maht uf), nejwerkuma 'cross' (cf. Present kumt nejwer), hynderłön 'leave (behind)' (cf. Present lyt hynder), cümaha 'close, lock’ (cf. Present maht cü). In these functions, such words are generally analyzed as verbal particles, typical of Germanic languages.

The word cü (for instance found in phrasal verbs such as cümaha 'close' or cürejgln 'lock') may also function independently with the meaning 'close(d)'.

### 4.3 Conjunctions

The list below provides the most common lexemes that function as conjunctions in Wymysorys:

| den | 'because' |
| :--- | :--- |
| denöh | 'however, although' |
| derzejder | 'since, from the time when' |
| do | 'that; in order to/that; because' |
| döh | 'however, albeit' |
| gük | 'although, albeit' |
| gükja | 'although, albeit' |
| oba | 'or; whether' |
| oder | 'but' |
| op | 'if; whether', |
| wäjt | 'because, since; as soon as; as long as' |
| wen | 'when, as' |
| wenägłäj | 'even though, even if' |
| wengłäj | 'even though, even if' |
| wenoügłäj | 'even though, even if' |
| wenyhgłäj | 'even though I..., even if I...', |
| wendergłäj | 'even though you..., even if you...', |
| wendygłäj | 'even though you..., even if you...', |
| wenzygłäj | 'even though she..., even if she...', |
| wenwergłäj | 'even though we..., even if we...' |
| wi | 'as soon as; as' |

The conjunctions mentioned above belong to the original Germanic lexicon. Additionally, Wymysorys possesses two conjunctions that have been borrowed from Polish. Both are extremely frequent:

| bo | 'because' |
| :--- | :--- |
| no bo | 'because; well then' |

The conjunction bo 'because' (corresponds to a homophonous Polish lexeme bo) is the most common backward causative and/or explicative conjunction in the ethnolect:

Yhy ho dos bihta bo koüft yh ejs 'I have the book because I bought it' Dos lid ej śejn bo ejs höt à melodyj 'This song is beautiful because it has a melody’

Equally common is the backward connector no bo 'because, since':

Yhy wá dos kiöefa no bo yhy wyt dos 'I will buy it because I want it'.

The locution no bo - 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 within the same sentence. Rather, it connects relatively independent sentences or introduces a sentence that stands on its own:

No bo wos kon yhy maha? 'Well then, what can I do?'

### 4.4 Particles

There are four words - three of them borrowed from Polish - that function as particles or discourse markers, namely, no, to (also no to), źe and ju.

The most common of them is no, homophonous with Polish no. As its Polish equivalent, no appears in a broad range of contexts, usually with an intensifying, emphatic force:

No gejźe śun! ‘Go now!’ (cf. Polish No idż!).
This word is also employed to draw the attention of the interlocutor to a particular component of the senses, approximating the function of a topic marker:

No meńć, kum nảj '(You) Man, come here!’
No mảkja, konsty wymysiöeryś kuza? ‘(You) Girl, can you speak Wymysorys?’

It may also be used with the sense of 'well, then':

No güt! ‘Well then’ (cf. Polish No dobrze).

Lastly, it can be employed in order to introduce and/or to mark the beginning of a sentence:

No wos wytsty? ‘What do you want?' (cf. Polish No co chcesz?)
No fràtik 'Of course' (cf. Polish No owszem)
No ny? 'Not?' (cf. Polish No nie?)

A similar range of uses is provided by no to (a compound of no and to 'then'; regarding the particle $t o$, see further below):

No to s'öwyts mäj mama ziöet... 'And then, in the evening, my mom says...’
No to gejźe śun! ‘Go now!’
No to güt! 'Well then'

The word to (from Polish to), which is found in the locution no to discussed above, is extensively used in Wymysorys as a linker between the conditional or temporal protasis and the apodosis. Functioning as a "forward connector" with a force similar to 'so then', it introduces the consequence. The particles to and no to may alternate with do and no do, which may be Germanic origin (cf. Als ich dort war, da kam er in German).

Wen wyt kuma der nökwer, to wà'h um ziöen dy byst ny 'When the neighbor comes, I will tell him that you are not here'
Wen dy mer hetst gyhulfa cyjür, to wje'h oü der hylfa 'If you had helped me last year, I would help you too'

The next particle discussed here, the entity źe, usually appears as a bound morpheme, i.e. as the suffixes -źe, also pronounced and possibly written as $-\dot{z} e$ and $-c i e$. It has been borrowed from the Polish intensifying particle $\dot{z} e$ common in Polish varieties spoken in the adjacent geographic areas. This entity is extensively employed in polite intensified requests, being typically suffixed to the imperative form of a verb: gejże 'go!', kuźée 'talk!', fercytźe 'tell!' or kumtże näj 'come!'. It likewise appears in polite fixed expressions such as skiöekumtże / skiöekumcie 'welcome!'. Sometimes, however, it is used as an independent word, politely intensifying the request: ret mih źe 'save me, rescue me!'. The particle źe is also found in the directive forms of the $1^{\text {st }}$ and $3^{\text {rd }}$ persons: Gejwer źe 'Let's go!' and Zuta zy źe dö kuma 'May they come here / Let them come here!'.

The word $j u$ (which can be used with the sense of 'yes!') is also used to emphasize a given statement, be it affirmative or negative: Ju har wyt kuma 'He will certainly come'.

### 4.5 Interjections

The last group of non-declensional word classes is formed by interjections and onomatopoeias, which constitute an expressive and pragmatic type of lexicon. Most of such words are of Polish origin although they also bear some similarity with German interjections.

To be exact, the interjections $a h$ 'oh, ah', oh 'oh!', oj 'oh! wow!' and $e j$ 'hey!' both formally and semantically (or pragmatically) correspond to the Polish words ach, och, oj and $e j$, respectively. Swearwords and pejorative expressive vocabulary have also been borrowed from Polish, for example pśjokrew ‘[vulg.] damn, hell!' (from Polish psia krew) and pric 'go way!' (from Polish precz). In addition, most (if not all) common onomatopoeias used when addressing animals have also been imported from Polish, for instance: 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). There is a possibility of Polish origins in interjections such as piśka (used to chase away a cat) and śćjona-śćjo (used to pasture cows or to stop them; cf. Andrason 2014b).

## 5. Verbs

Verbs are a category that can be inflected in tense, aspect, mood and voice, as well as in person and number. However, not all types of verbs can be conjugated in this manner. Some are more nominal and/or infinite (e.g. infinitive and participle). Moreover, while certain finite verbal constructions are synthetic, others are formed analytically by means of auxiliaries and/or periphrases.

### 5.1 Infinitive

There are two infinitives in Wymysorys, namely the Infinitive I and the Infinitive II. The Infinitive I can appear under two forms, taking either the ending $-n$ or $-a$. The distribution of these two infinitive markers is complementary.

The infinitive in $-n$ is found in five cases:
a) the verbal stem ends in a vowel, e.g. cin 'pull', hon 'have', gan 'give', tjyn 'learn' and bawjän 'play';
b) the verbal stem ends in a diphthong, e.g. błäjn 'be, become' and gejn 'go';
c) the verbal stem ends in the consonants $-n$ if it follows a vowel, i.e. when the stem ends in -Vn, e.g. grenn 'cry';
d) the verbal stem ends the consonant $-l$ that follows another consonant, i.e. after the class -Cl, e.g. cybrykln 'pokruszyc';
e) the verbal stem ends $-u t$, e.g. cwäjfutn 'doubt'.

The infinitive in $-a$ always appears in the remaining instances:
a) the verbal stem ends in a single consonant other that $n$ and $t$, e.g. $z y c a$ 'sit', maha 'do', boda 'bathe', rüfa 'call', broka 'brake, crumb', kuma 'come', kena 'know', asa 'eat', bata 'pray', tiwa 'love' and kuza 'talk')'
b) the verbal stem ends in the consonant $l$ which is preceded by any vowel other than $u$, e.g. bycota 'pay';
c) the verbal stem ends in a consonant cluster other than -Cl, e.g. enda 'finish', málda 'announce', śtarwa 'die', hüsta 'cough', tanca 'dance' and ahta 'respect';

Although most verbs ending in $-V n$ take the infinitival ending $-n$, some use the Infinitive in a. Such verbs are: cjyna 'be angry', ciöena 'fence', ftena 'smile, laugh', gryna 'curd', gyna 'wish', gywyna 'earn', kyna 'can', nyna 'lie', śpona 'engane (horses)', śpyna 'spin', trena 'unravel' and their composites. Additionally, the verb huta 'catch up' (and its composites) does not comply with the rule given above and derives its Infinitive by means of the ending $a$.

After a palatal consonant, the infinitive marker commonly takes the form -ja: cajgja 'show', ftigja 'fly', krigja 'get', wekja 'wake' and málkja 'milk'. The classes $n g$ and $n k$ also
frequently take the ending $-j a$ as may be seen from the examples such as brengja 'bring', hengja 'hand', zyngja 'sing', denkja 'think', and trynkja 'drink'. However, various verbal stems ending in $n g$ and $n k$ employ the Infinitive in - $a$ : fanga 'catch' or danka 'thank').

As far as its semantics are concerned, the Infinitive I expresses an action, an activity or a situation that is simultaneous or posterior to the reference time of the sentence.

The Infinitive II is formed by means of the Infinitive I of the verb zajn 'be' (usually found with inchoative verbs and verbs of movement) or hon 'have' (found with all other verbs, especially the transitive ones) and the past participle of a lexical verb, for instance: zäjn kuma 'to have come' and hon gymaht 'to have done'. The Infinitive II introduces actions, activities and situations that are anterior to the reference time.

### 5.2 Participle

The only participle that is productive in Wymysorys is the Past Participle. This construction it is not a past participle sensu stricto, as it does not indicate time. It is rather a resultative participle, typically intransitive and, if possible, de-transitive and therefore passive. The active participle is lost.

There are two main types of the Past Participle. One type is derived from weak verbs (the so-called weak Participle) and the other type is formed from strong verbs (so-called the strong Participle). The weak Participle is formed by adding the prefix $g y$ - and the ending $-t$ (less commonly $-d$ ) to the verbal base or stem: gymaht 'done' (from the verb maha 'do') and gywutd 'wanted' from the verb weta 'want'. The strong participle is derived by the using the prefix $g y$ - and the ending $-a$ or $-n$, with a possible vowel fluctuation (so-called ablaut), for instance gybroha 'broken' (from bräh(j)a 'brake'), gyhanga 'hung' (from hengja 'hang'), gytriöen 'carried' (from triöen 'carry') and gycün 'pulled' (from cin 'pull'). In the strong Participle, the forms in $-a$ are much more common than those in $-n$, which are limited to stems ending in a vowel (gyzan 'seen' from zan 'see', gyśtiöen 'hit' from śtön 'hit', gygryn 'cried' from grenn 'cry') or a diphthong (gyhoün 'harvested' from hoün 'harvest' and gyblejn 'stayed, remained' from błäjn 'stay, remain').

The modification of the vowel found between the forms of the Infinitive and Past Participle also appears in weak verbs with a so-called Rückumlaut (brin 'burn' - PART gybrant 'burned’, brengja 'bring' - PART gybröht 'brought' or dynkja 'seem' - PART gydoüht 'seemed') and in some Preterite-Present verbs (wysa 'know' - PART gywöst 'known'). A review of possible forms of the vowel alternation found in the Participle of strong verbs, Rückumlaut verbs and Preterite-Present verbs will be provided in section 5.3 below). ${ }^{40}$ In some cases, the prefix $g y$ - is either missing or, at least, optional. For instance, it does not appear if the verb already includes an unaccented prefix, for instance, by- and cy-. Additionally, several verbs offer two equally admissible variants: one with $g y$ - and other without it: (gy)kuma 'come', (gy)gasa 'eaten' or (gy)gan 'gone'.

[^25]As mentioned above, the Past Participle exhibits a resultative, intransitive and, if possible, de-transitive and, thus, passive value. It can be used attributively (i.e. as an epithet qualifying a noun) or predicatively (i.e. after a verb, especially copula verbs zäjn 'be', wada 'be, become' and bläjn 'remain, be'). It most cases, it expresses a state acquired due to the previous accomplishment of an action. The Past Participle is commonly used in the language in various verbal constructions such as the Perfect (yhy ho gymaht 'I have done'), Pluperfect (yhy hot gymaht 'I had done'), the Future I Perfect (wa / wà hon gymaht 'I will have done'), Conjunctive I Perfect (yhy het gymaht '(if) I had done'), Conjunctive II Perfect (yhy wje hon gymaht '(if) I had done)' and three resultative proper formations: ej gymaht 'is done', wjyd gymaht 'is being / will be done' and błajt gymaht 'is done'. It is also regularly used in the passive voice derived by means of auxiliaries zäjn, wada and błàjn (cf. Andrason 2010a, 2011, 2013b and 2014c).

### 5.3 Synthetic finite constructions

There are three synthetic verbal constructions (tenses) in Wymysorys: Present, Preterite and Conjunctive I.

### 5.3.1 Present $^{41}$

The Wymysorys Present is a typical Germanic synthetic present, a cognate construction to the German Present tense or English Simple Present. The morphological elements that characterize the Present are: personal endings and a possible fluctuation of the radical vowel.

All the verbs with the exception of Preterite-Present predicates use the set of personal endings in the Present tense that is tabulated below. One should note that the $1^{\text {st }}$ person singular fails to be marked by any overt ending.


The distribution of the two alternative variants that are found in the $1^{\text {st }}$ and $3^{\text {rd }}$ person plural is analogous to that offered by the Infinitive I (cf. section 5.1). In other words, verbs whose Infinitive I ends in $-a$ adopt the ending $-a$ in the $1^{\text {st }}$ and $3^{\text {rd }}$ person plural of the Present, whereas verbs whose infinitival ending is $-n$ take the suffix $-n$ in these persons. This can be illustrated by the conjugation of two verbs: maha 'to do' and gejn 'to go':

[^26]|  | maha |  | gejn |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | SG | PL | SG | PL |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | mah | maha | gej | gejn |
| 2 | mahst | maht | gejst | gejt |
| 3 | maht | maha | gejt | gejn |

The rules concerning the personal endings presented above apply to a majority of verbs. However, verbs that end in a dental consonant ( $-s,-z,-t,-d$ and $-s$ [ $[6$ ) exhibit certain phonetic peculiarities if their stems are followed by a Present tense dental ending (i.e. $-t$ or $-s t$ ). To be exact, in the $2^{\text {nd }}$ person singular, the verbs in $-s$ (e.g. hása 'be called') display the ending with one $-s$, i.e. $-s t(s+s t>s t)$, for instance häs $+s t>h \dot{a} s t$ [hast] 'you are called'. The same phenomenon appears in verbs whose stem ends in $-z$ (e.g. kuza 'to talk'). In such cases, the combination $z+s t$ is pronounced as [st]. However, the resulting class is written $-z t$ : $k u z+s t>$ kuzt [kust] 'he talks'. The behavior of verbs that end in a consonant and $-s$, i.e. -Cs (e.g. kaksa 'cluck') follow the pattern of the verbs in $-s$. Predicates that end in $-s$ [ [c] behave similarly and exhibit the same form in the $2^{\text {nd }}$ and $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular and in the $2^{\text {nd }}$ person plural. Verbs that end in $-t$ (e.g. wota 'wade, ford') exhibit the form with one $-t$ in the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular and in the $2^{\text {nd }}$ person plural. In other words, the personal ending $-t$ merges with the consonant $-t$ of the stem, yielding a form with a single dental sound: wot $+t>$ wot [vot] 'he wades'. If the final consonantal class is $-s t$ (e.g. hüsta 'cough'), all the forms of the singular and the $2^{\text {nd }}$ plural are identical: hüst. Verbs in $-d$ (e.g. boda 'to bathe') behave similarly to the rules typical the verb in $-t$ with the distinction that the merger of the personal ending and the stem consonant is written $d$, although pronounced [ t ]: bod [bot] 'he bathes, you bathe'.

A noticeable exception to the personal endings presented above is the class of Preterite-Present verbs. Since these predicates employ the morphology of the Preterite in order to derive a present meaning, they exhibit the set of endings that are typical of the Preterite. However, due to the fact that now the personal endings found in the Present and Preterite are highly similar and that the difference affects only the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular, the divergence between Preterite-Present and other verbs of the Present tense is minimal. That is, in Preterite-Present verbs, the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular is identical to the $1^{\text {st }}$ person and fails to be marked by the personal ending -t: har kon 'he can' (cf. the $1^{\text {st }}$ person yhy kon 'I can'; an analysis of other peculiarities of these verbs is presented further below in this section).

In Wymysorys, personal pronouns commonly follow a verb and take an unaccented form (cf. the section 3.4 dedicated to pronouns). As a result, they can be fused with the verb, delivering what superficially appears as a set of new personal endings. However, such forms are not personal inflectional endings sensu stricto, but rather unstressed pronominal suffixes or clitics agglutinated to a verbal stem. The use of the personal suffix -wer in the first person plural causes the regular endings $-a$ and $-n$ to disappear. In other words, the suffix -wer is incorporated directly to the stem: compare hower with wjyr hon (both with the meaning 'we have') as well as gejwer with wjyr gejn (both signifying 'we go'). The suffixes $-h$ and $-z$ seem to appear only with verbs that end in a vowel or a diphthong, for instance gejh (or gej’h) 'I
go' and mahaz (or maha'z; the suffix $z$ is pronounced [s]) 'they do' and bejh (or bej'h) 'I am'. The full pattern of personal suffixes that derive from genuine personal ending and pronominal suffixes is as follows:

|  | SG | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |
| 1 | $-h$ | $-w e r$ |
| 2 | $-s t y$ | $-t e r$ |
| 3 | $-t \dot{a}$ |  |

The Present tense may also exhibit a modification of the radical or thematic vowel of a verb. In general, the plural endings that have been presented above are always added to the verbal stem found in the Infinitive. Thus, the radical or thematic vowels of the plural Present are identical to those found in the Infinitive I. This implies that, as mentioned above, the forms of the $1^{\text {st }}$ and $3^{\text {rd }}$ person plural are formally identical to the Infinitive I: gejn 'we/they go; to go' and maha 'we/they do; to do'. However, in the singular, the correspondence between the vowel offered in the Infinitive and in the Present is more complex. Most verbs form their Present by substituting the infinitive suffix ( $-a$ or $-n$ ) with the set of personal endings given previously and, hence, offer the same vocalic structure. Nevertheless, there are many verbs that modify the structure of their root or stem. It is possible to distinguish five types of verbs that use a different vowel in the singular:
a) vowel mutation verbs;
b) verbs whose infinitive ends in -nn;
c) some verbs in -yn;
d) three irregular verbs zäjn 'be', hon 'have' and wada/wan;
e) Preterite-Present verbs.

The largest group of verbs that modify their root vowel is constituted by vowel mutation verbs. In this class of verbs, all the forms of the plural and the $1^{\text {st }}$ person singular are regular and, hence, unaffected by vocalic modifications. On the contrary, the forms fo the $2^{\text {nd }}$ and $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular exhibit changes in the quality and/or quantity of the vowel. It is possible to distinguish some ten classes of these verbs depending on the quality of the vowel that undergoes the mutation: $a, \dot{a}, i, o, \ddot{o}, u, \ddot{u}, i \ddot{o} e, e j$ and $o \ddot{u}$ verbs. The $a, \dot{a}$ and $i$ types are well represented, whereas the other classes only consist of a very few verbs.

The most common type of the vowel mutation predicates are verbs that exhibit the vowel $a[\mathrm{a}]$ in the root. This vowel may undergo five possible mutations, yielding:

- $y$ [i]: e.g. asa 'eat' - 2 SG yst, fergasa 'forget' - 2 SG fergyst, gan 'give' - 2 SG gyst, nama 'take' -2 SG nymst (this is by far the most frequent vowel mutation);
- ej [ej]: e.g. hatda 'hold' - 2 SG hetdst and taza 'read' - 2 SG tejzt;
- jy [ii]: e.g. wafa 'throw' - 2 SG wjyfst;
- $\quad i$ [i]: e.g. zan ‘see’ - 2 SG zist;
- $\quad e$ [e]: e.g. baka 'bake' - 2 SG bekst.

Predicates that have the root vowel $\dot{a}$ [a] mutate this vowel into $y$ [ i$]$, for instance $\operatorname{bra} \dot{a}(j) a$ 'brake' - 2 SG bryhst, dräśa 'beat' - 2 SG dryśt, màlkja 'milk' - 2 SG mylkst or śpràh(j)a 'speak' - 2 SG śpryhst. Some verbs with the radical vowel $i$ exhibit a mutation in oü [œу]: bigja 'bow' - 2 SG boügst, cin 'pull' - 2 SG coügst and fligja 'fly' - 2 SG ftoügst. Other monophthongs that are fond in the verbal root are seldom mutated. A few verbs in $o$ [ o ] mutate into $e$ [e] (e.g. fota 'fall' - 2 SG fetst and möla 'paint' - 2 SG mytst). Verbs in $\ddot{o}$ infrequently adopt the vowel $y$ [i] (e.g. łön 'let, allow' - 2 SG lyst and stöfa 'sleep' - 2 SG styfst). Very few verbs in $u$ mutate this vowel into $y$ [i] (e.g. kuma 'come' -2 SG kymst) and, lastly, verbs in $\ddot{u}$ rarely display the vowel $i$ [i] (e.g. rüfa 'scream' - 2 SG rifst).

The mutation may also affect predicates that contain a diphthong as their root vowel. For instance, verbs in iöe $\left[^{\mathrm{y}} \varnothing œ\right.$ ] display the form $j e[j e]$ in the $2^{\text {nd }}$ and $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular (e.g. fiöen 'go, travel' - 2 SG fjest and triöen 'carry, bear' - 2 SG trjest), verbs in ej [ej] infrequently mutate it into $\dot{a} j$ [aj] (e.g. tejgja 'lie, be reclined' - 2 SG tàj $(g) s t$ ) and a few verbs in oü seem to offer two possible mutated forms, in je [je] (loüfa 'run' - 2 SG ljefst) or in iöe (łoühta 'shine, glitter' - 2 SG liöehst). All the types of vocalic mutations are summarized in the following table:

| Basic vowel | Umlauted vowel |
| :--- | :--- |
| $a$ | $y, e j, j y, i, e$ |
| $\dot{a}$ | $y$ |
| $i$ | oü |
| $o$ | $e$ |
| $\ddot{o}$ | $y$ |
| $u$ | $y$ |
| $\ddot{u}$ | $i$ |

The second class of verbs that exhibit change in their vocalic pattern are verbs whose roots end in $n-$ and, thus, whose Infinitives displays the form in -nn, e.g. ann [an(:)] 'harvest'. These verbs lengthen the root vowel in the $1^{\text {st }}$ person singular: yhy an [a:n] 'I harvest'. On some occasions, the lengthening surfaces as a diphthongization of the root vowel: yhy gräjn 'I cry' (cf. the Infinitive grenn 'cry') and yhy śajn 'I shine' (cf. the Infinitive śenn 'shine').

The third type involves verbs whose Infinitives end in an unstressed class $-y n$ [in], e.g. dutyn 'get crazy, mad' or regjign 'cackle'. Such verbs exhibit two stems: the stem in $-y$ and the stem in -er. The former appears in all the persons but the $1^{\text {st }}$ person singular, where the latter is found: 2 SG du dutyst 'you get crazy' but 1 SG yhy duter 'I get crazy' or $2 \mathrm{SG} d u$ regiyst 'you cackle' but 1 SG yhy regjer 'I cackle'. This vocalic alternation is a result of the phonetic process affecting the last consonant of the stem and the personal endings. That is, in all such verbs, the morpheme er was original and appeared in all the persons. However, in cases where the element $e r$ was followed by a consonant, the class regularly evolved into $y C$.

The fourth class contains three auxiliary verbs whose inflectional paradigm is highly irregular. To be exact, the verb hon 'have' exhibits an irregular vocalic pattern $\ddot{o}[\varnothing]$ in the $2^{\text {nd }}$ and $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular. The verb zäjn 'be' is highly irregular. It not only modifies its vowel exhibiting three possible forms ( $e j, y$ and $a j$ ) but also uses entirely different suppletive stems. The conjugation patterns of the verbs zajin and hon are as follows:

| zäjn 'be' |  | hon 'have' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| SG | PL | SG | PL |
|  |  |  |  |
| bej | zäjn | ho | hon |
| byst | zäjt | höst | hot |
| ejlys | zäjn | höt | hon |

The verb wada is even odder, as it exhibits two entirely alternative paradigms: one is short and the other is long. The distribution of these two patterns is governed by the following principle: if the verb is employed as a genuine auxiliary of the Future tense and, thus, is followed by an infinitive, the "short" forms appear. If, however, it is used as a semantically full verb with the meaning 'become, be, occur' and is not followed by an infinitive, longer, phonetically less reduced forms are employed. This longer paradigm is also found in the Passive where the predicate wada is followed by the Past Participle. The two inflectional patterns are as follows:

| wada as an auxiliary verb | wada as a semantically full verb |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| SG | PL | SG | PL |
| wa /wáa | wan | wad | wada |
| wyst | wat | wjydst | wad |
| wyt | wan | wjyd | wada |

The fifth class of verb that exhibit some change in the quality and/or quantity of the root vowel in the Present - if compared to the Infinitive or the plural forms - consists of PreteritePresent verbs. As already mentioned, from a morphological perspective, these predicates display the forms of the strong Preterite, even though they are used semantically in the function of a present tense. Accordingly, they exhibit one of the most evident characteristics of the strong Preterite, i.e. the ablaut. To be exact, the forms of the Present singular are morphologically equivalent to the forms of the Preterite singular of the strong verbs, whereas the forms of the Present plural correspond to the plural of the strong Preterite. One should note that these verbs have the same form in the $1^{\text {st }}$ and $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular with no ending, as is regular in the Preterite. The complete list of the Preterite-Present verbs with their alternation is tabulated below (regarding Preterite-Present verbs consult Andrason \& Król 2014b and 2015a):

| Infinitive | SG | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| djyfa 'must, have to' | djef | djyfa |
| kyna 'can' | kon | kyna |
| müsa 'must, have to' | mü(s) | müsa /misa |
| mygja 'may, want' | miöe / möht / myht | mygja |
| tejgja 'be suitable' | tejg/toüg | tejgja |
| wysa 'know, can' | wäs / wä | wysa |
| zula 'shall' | zo / zut | zuła |

The verb weta 'to want' is another verb that exhibits a vowel mutation similar to that offered by Preterite-Present verbs. That is, it displays a different vowel in the singular (wyt) and plural (weta). It also exhibits the suffix-less ending in the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular ( $w y t$ ), typical of Preterite-Present verbs. However, from a diachronic perspective, this verb is not a PreteritePresent verb.

As far as its semantics are concerned, the Present tense commonly expresses present actions or activities, which can be currently ongoing, progressive or continuous and durative, iterative or habitual:

Wos mahst dü? 'What are you doing?'
Yhy gej y dy śül dräj möt yr woh 'I go to school three times a week'.
A customary action or situation expressed by the Present can also span from a definite moment in the past, yielding uses that correspond to the category of an inclusive present perfect:

Yhy wön y Wymysoü wi'h uf dy wett kom 'I have lived in Wilamowice since I was born'

The Present tense is also able to express general, gnomic truths as well as a modal idea of ability and/or dispositionality:

Dy mákja y Wymysoü zäjn zjyr śejn 'The girls in Wilamowice are very beautiful' Yhy kuz wymysiöeryś 'I can speak Wymysorys'

The Present is likewise employed to introduce future actions and activities, both in main and subordinate clauses:

Y piöer tag fiöen dy kyndyn wag 'In a few days, the children will leave'

In subordinate clauses with a future reference, it can also function as a future perfect. Furthermore, the Present can be used as a praesens historicum in narrating past events"

Gestyn yhy bej dö uf dar śtuw... 'Yesterday, I was on the roof'
Since the rule of consecutio temporum may be violated in Wymysorys, the Present frequently appears in subordinate clauses that are introduced by the Preterite or the Perfect (when this form is used with the force of a past tense), introducing past imperfective (progressivecontinuous, iterative-habitual or durative) actions or activities (for a more in-depth analysis of the semantic potential of the Present and its place in the TAM system, see Andrason 2013b, 2014c):
$\dot{A}$ ziöet do a tejzt dos bihta 'He said that he was reading that book'

### 5.3.2 Preterite

In conformity with the grammars of most Germanic languages, it is possible to distinguish two formal subtypes of the Preterite in Wymysorys, namely the weak and the strong Preterite.

### 5.3.2.1 Weak Preterite

The weak Preterite is most commonly formed by adding the dental suffix $-t$ directly to the stem: maha 'to do' - yhy maht 'I did' and zej mahta 'they did'. This marker persists in all the persons of the weak Preterite. However, some weak verbs seem to prefer the suffix -d: kyna 'can' - yhy kund 'I could' and zej kynda 'they could', weta 'want' - yhy wutd 'I wanted' and zej wutda 'they wanted' and zula 'shall' - yhy zuld 'I should, ought' and zej zutda 'they should, ought'.

The personal endings in the weak Preterite slightly differ from those used in the Present. To be exact, the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular does not take any personal ending and, thus, is identical to the $1^{\text {st }}$ person singular. Furthermore, the forms of $1^{\text {st }}$ and $3^{\text {rd }}$ person plural always end in $a$ and are likewise morphologically indistinguishable.

|  | SG | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |
| 1 | - | $a$ |
| 2 | $s t$ | $a$ |
| 3 | - | $t$ |

As a result, the verb maha 'to do' displays the following inflectional pattern in the Preterite:

|  | maha'do' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | SG | PL |
| 1 | maht | mahta |
| 2 | mahtst | maht |
| 3 | maht | mahta |

Verbs whose Infinitive and Present stems end in a dental or a sibilant consonant exhibit certain peculiarities. Verbs whose stems end in a dental consonant ( $t$ and $d$ ) merge this sound with the Preterite suffix -t: wota 'wade, ford' - yhy wot 'I waded' and wjyr wota 'we waded'; or boda 'bathe' - yhy bot 'I bathed' and wjyr bota 'we bathed'. The $2^{\text {nd }}$ person singular is pronounced [ $\widehat{\mathrm{tst}}$ ] and spelled $t s t$ and not $c t$ as is usually done in the ethnolect. The same rules apply to verbs that end in a class composed of a consonant other than a sibilant and a dental, e.g. fatda 'fold, enfold': yhy fatt, dü fattst and wjyr fatta. However, if the verb ends in a class formed by a sibilant and dental, the forms of the all persons in the singular and of the $2^{\text {nd }}$ person plural are identical, i.e. in -st: hüsta 'cough' - yhy, dü, har and jyr hüst. The full inflectional patterns of the verbs ending in a dental consonant can be represented as follows:

|  | boda 'bathe' | wata 'wade' | fatda 'fold' | hüsta 'cough' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Singular |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | bot | wot | falt | hüst |
| 2 | botst | wotst | fattst | hüst |
| 3 | bot | wot | falt | hüst |
| Plural |  |  |  |  |
| 1 | bota | wota | fatta | hüsta |
| 2 | bot | wot | falt | hüst |
| 3 | bota | wota | falta | hüst |

The Participle of the verbs in a dental consonant merges the final dental consonant with the participial suffix -t: bota - PART gybot, wata - PART gywat, fatda - PART gyfalt and hüsta - PART gyhüst.

Verbs whose stems end in a sibilant ( $s, z, \dot{s}$ or a class ending in $s$ ) offer another anomaly that is analogous to the behavior of predicates in -st, discussed above. Namely, these verbs fail to differentiate between the three persons of the singular and the $2^{\text {nd }}$ person plural. All such persons display the identical forms in $-s t$, $-z t$, -s't or $-C s t$, as is illustrated by the examples given below. In other words, the chain of the input elements $-S$ (any sibilant) $+t-$ (Preterite suffix) $+-s t$ (personal ending of the $2^{\text {nd }}$ person singular) or $-t$ (personal ending of
the $2^{\text {nd }}$ person plural) are realized as $-S t$ being, thus, morphologically indistinguishable from the $1^{\text {st }}$ and $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular, in which the class $S t$ is part of the stem.

```
kuza 'talk' toüśa 'change' kaksa 'cackle, cluck'
```

Singular

| 1 | kuzt | toüśt | kakst |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 | kuzt | toüśt | kakst |
| 3 | kuzt | toüśt | kakst |
| Plural |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| 1 | kuzta | toüśta | kaksta |
| 2 | kuzt | toüśt | kakst |
| 3 | kuzta | toüśt | kaksta |

There is an important group of weak verbs that exhibit a vowel change in the Preterite as well as in the Participle when compared with the form of the Infinitive. Such verbs are usually referred to as Rückumlaut verbs. Depending on the vowel that is displayed in the Preterite and Participle, 9 subtypes of Rückumlaut predicates may be distinguished. The types with the vowel $a, \ddot{u}, \ddot{u}$, $\ddot{o}$, oü and $i \ddot{o} e$ in the Preterite and Participle are quite common, whereas the types in $o, e$ and $u$ are represented by one verb each. The paradigms of the six classes can be presented as follows (Andrason \& Król 2015a):

|  | Infinitive | Preterite |  | Participle |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $3{ }^{\text {rd }}$ Singular | $3{ }^{\text {rd }}$ Plural |  |
| Preterite in $a$ | kena 'know' | kant | kanta | gykant |
| Preterite in $\ddot{u}$ | rjyn 'move' | rüt | rüta | gyrüt |
| Preterite in $\ddot{u} e$ | hjyn 'hear' | hüet | hüeta | gyhüet |
| Preterite in $\ddot{O}$ | brengja 'bring' | bröht | bröhta | gybröht |
| Preterite in oü | dynkja 'seem' | doüht | doühta | gydoüht |
| Preterite in iöe $^{\text {en }}$ | boühja 'boil' | biöeht | biöehta | gybiöeht |
| Preterite in o | zeca 'plant' | zoct | zocta | gyzoct |
| Preterite in $e$ | bäjhja 'confess' | beht | behta | gybeht |
| Preterite in $u$ | hyngjyn 'starve' | hungyt | hungyta | gyhungyt |

The last subclass of the weak Preterite is the group of Preterite-Present verbs. As already explained, the Present of these verbs exhibits the morphology typical of the strong Preterite, being characterized by ablaut and Preterite personal endings. The Preterite (i.e. the forms that are semantically used as the Preterite) and participial forms of these verbs are secondary and
follow the weak conjugation. In various cases, the root vowel undergoes mutation (cf. Andrason \& Król 2014b and 2015a):

| Infinitive |  | Preterite |  | Participle |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $3{ }^{\text {rd }}$ singular | $3^{\text {rd }}$ plural |  |
| djyfa | 'should, must' | diöft | diöfta | gydiöft |
| kyna | 'can' | kund | kunda | (gy)kund |
| müsa | 'must, have to' | müst | müsta | (gy)müst |
| mygja | 'may, want' | möht | möhta | gymöht |
| tejgja | 'be suitable' | töht / toügt | töhta / toügta | gytöht |
| weta | 'want' | wutd | wutda | gywuld |
| wysa | 'know' | wöst | wösta | gywöst |
| zuta | 'shall' | zutd | zutda | gyzutd |

### 5.3.2.2 Strong Preterite

The second major morphological group in the Preterite consists of strong verbs. ${ }^{42}$ In general terms, the strong Preterite differs from the weak paradigm in three features: slightly different personal endings, the absence of the dental "tense" suffix, and the presence of ablaut. First, as far as the endings are concerned, in the $1^{\text {st }}$ and $2^{\text {nd }}$ person plural, two forms appear, i.e. $-a$ and $-n$, of which the former is far more common. The ending $-n$ is only found with a few verbs, such as fercejn 'they forgave' (from the verb fercäjn), gryn 'they cry' (from the verb grenn 'cry': gryn-n > gryn), blyn 'they became, remained' (from the verb błäjn 'become'), śryn 'they shouted' (from the verb śräjn 'shout'), gön or gon 'they gave' (from the verb gan 'give'). The complete chart of the endings of the strong Preterite is tabulated below:

|  | SG | PL |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  |  |  |
| 1 | - | $t / n$ |
| 2 | $s t$ | $a / n$ |
| 3 | - | $t$ |

The two inflectional patterns - as far as the ending are concerned - can be illustrated by the Preterite of the verb bigja 'bend' and gan 'give':

[^27]| bigja 'bend' |  | gan 'give' |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | :--- | :---: |
|  | SG | PL | SG | PL |
| 1 | bug | buga | go | gon |
| 2 | bugst | bugt | gost | got |
| 3 | bug | buga | go | gon |

Second, strong verbs do not display the suffix $t$ in their Preterite forms, contrary to the weak paradigm where this morpheme is regularly used: bigja 'bend' - bug 'he bent', gan 'give' go 'he gave'. Instead of using a suffix, the strong Preterite is marked by means of ablaut or the alternation of the radical vowel in the Infinitive, the Preterite singular and the Preterite plural. In fact, it is this vocalic modification that is the most distinctive feature of the strong Preterite. Depending on the type of the vocalic modification in the singular of the Preterite, it is possible to distinguish eight classes of the strong verbs: 1) verbs with the vowel $o ; 2$ ) verbs with $\ddot{u}$; 3) verbs with $\ddot{u}$ and/or $i$; 4) verbs with $u$; 5) verbs with $\dot{a}$; 6) verbs with $\ddot{o} e$; 7) verbs with $a$; and, lastly, 8) verbs with $\ddot{0}$. Each one of the first five classes includes numerous verbs, whereas the last three groups are poorly documented and contain only a few verbs.

Class 1 includes verbs that derive their Preterite singular by modifying the root vowel found in the Infinitive to the vowel $o$. There are two subtypes of this group of verbs, depending on the vowel employed in the plural. One type (1.1) includes predicates whose Preterite plural exhibits two interchangeable alternative variants, i.e. in $\ddot{o}$ and in $o$. The other type (1.2) consists of verbs whose plural vowel is invariably $o$. The first subgroup exhibits four different varieties of the Participles, i.e. in $o, u, a$ and $\dot{a}$. The second subgroup displays two kinds of vowels in the Participle: $o$ or $\ddot{o}$.

Class 1: Preterite singular in o
1.1 Preterite plural in $\ddot{o}$ and $o$

| INF | PRET.SG. | PRET.PL | PART. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bräh(j)a | broh | bröha /broha | gybroha | 'break' |
| nama | nom | nöma /noma | gynuma | 'take' |
| fergasa | fergos | fergösa /fergosa | fergasa | 'forget' |
| zyca | zos | zösa /zosa | gyzasa | 'sit' |
| tejgja | tog | töga / toga | gyłàn | 'lay' |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 1.2 Preterite plural only in o |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | PRET.SG. | PRET.PL | PART. |

Class 2 consists of predicates that alternate the radical vowel of the Infinitive with the vowel $\ddot{u}$ in the Preterite singular. All of these verbs also display the vowel $\ddot{u}$ in the Preterite plural. As a result, the quality of the vowel remains identical in all the forms of the Preterite. Depending on the vowel exhibited in the Participle, six subclasses can be distinguished: $\mathrm{V}_{1}$ (i.e. the vowel that is identical to the vowel displayed in the Infinitive), $a, \ddot{u}, u, \ddot{\partial}$ and $o$ :

Class 2: Preterite singular and plural in $\ddot{u}$

| INF | PRET.SG. | PRET.PL | PART. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| baka | büh | büha | gybaka | 'bake' |
| hengja | hüng | hünga | gyhanga | 'hang' |
| feljyn | felü | felün | felün | 'lose' |
| śpanga | śpüng | śpünga | gyśpanga | 'buckle' |
| hywa | hüw | hüwa | gyhöwa | 'elevate' |
| flisa | ftüs | ftüsa | gyftosa | 'flow' |

The third class contains verbs that modify their root vowel in the Preterite into $\ddot{u}$ and/or $i$. The vowel employed in the Preterite plural is identical to that used in the singular. One subtype includes verbs that show two optional forms in the Preterite singular and plural: one in $\ddot{u}$ and another in $i$. The other subtype includes predicates that only exhibit the vowel $i$.

Class 3: Preterite singular and plural in $\ddot{u}$ and $i$
3.1 Preterite in $\ddot{u}$ and $i$

| INF | PRET.SG. | PRET.PL |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| fota | fit /fül | fiła / füla |  |  |
| hylfa | hilf / hülf | hilfa / hülfa | PART. <br> gyfota <br> gyhulfa | 'fall' |
| 3.2 Preterite in $i$ |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| INF | PRET.SG. | PRET.PL | PART. |  |
| hoün | hiw | hiwa | gyhoün | 'harvest' |
| śtejn | śtind | śtinda | gyśtanda | 'stand' |

Class 4 contains the Preterite verbs in $u$. Even though the majority of such forms display the same vowel (i.e. $u$ ) in the plural (subtype 4.1), four predicates exhibit a different vowel ( $\ddot{u}$, o or $\ddot{0}$ ) in the plural (subtypes 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, respectively). Within the first subgroup, most verbs show the vowel $u$ in the Participle, albeit other vowels are also possible (e.g. $a, \mathrm{~V}_{1}, o, \ddot{\partial}$ ).

| Class 4: Preterite singular in $u$ |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4.1 Preterite plural in $u$ |  |  |  |  |
| INF | PRET.SG. | PRET.PL | PART. |  |
| bynda | bund | bunda | gybunda | 'bound' |
| trynkja | trunk | trunka | gytrunka | 'drink' |
| zatca | zutc | zutca | gyzatca | 'salt' |
| tanga | tung | tunga | gytonga | 'tap into' |
| śisa | śus | susa | gyśosa | 'shoot' |
| bigja | bug | buga | gyböga | 'bend' |
| 4.2 Preterite plural in $u$ and $\ddot{u}$ |  |  |  |  |
| INF <br> zoüfa <br> cin | PRET.SG. <br> zuf <br> cug | PRET.PL <br> zufa / züfa <br> cuga / cüga | PART. <br> gyzöfa <br> gycün | ‘drink' <br> 'pull' |
| 4.3 Preterite plural in $o$ |  |  |  |  |
| INF <br> krihja | PRET.SG. kruh | PRET.PL <br> kroha | PART. <br> gykroha | 'crawl' |
| 4.4 Preterite plural in $\ddot{O}$ |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{INF} \\ & \text { rihja } \end{aligned}$ | PRET.SG. <br> ruh | PRET.PL röha | PART. gyroha | 'smell' |

The Preterite forms in $\dot{a}$ belong to the fifth class. Most such verbs exhibit the vowel $y$ in the plural forms (type 5.1). The predicates that are included in this subclass display two kinds of the vowels in the Participle, namely $y$ or $e j$. Additionally, there are a few verbs that offer the vowel $i$ (type 5.2) or $e j$ (type 5.3) in the plural.

Class 5: Preterite singular in $\dot{a}$
5.1 Preterite plural in $y$

| INF | PRET.SG. | PRET.PL | PART. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| bäjsa | bàs | bysa | gybysa | 'beat' |
| làjn | $t \dot{a}$ | tyn | gytejn | 'borrow' |
| 5.2 Preterite plural in $i$ |  |  |  |  |
| INF <br> śtàjhja <br> càjgja | PRET.SG. <br> śtàh <br> cäg | PRET.PL <br> śtihja <br> cigja | PART. <br> gyśtihja <br> gycejgja | ‘slip' <br> 'show' |
| 5.3 Preterite plural in ej |  |  |  |  |
| INF <br> fercäjn | PRET.SG. fercà | PRET.PL fercejn | PART. <br> fercejn | 'forgive' |

The three remaining classes are only represented by eight verbs. Class 6 includes four verbs that show the Preterite in iö/iöe. The predicates fertjerwa 'get bad', śtarwa 'die' and wada 'become' display the vowel iö (fertjerwa - fertiörw - fertiörwa, śtiörw - śtiörwa - gyśtiörwa and wiöd - wiöda - gywiöda), while zäjn offers the form with iöe (wiöe - wiöen ${ }^{43}$ - gywast). Class 7 contains three verbs that exhibit the vowel $a$ in the Preterite singular: hoün 'hit' (jat / jot - jata - gyhoün), śtäjgja 'get on' (śtàg - śtigja - gyśtejgja) and śynda 'flay' (śand - śanda - gyśenda). Class 8 includes two verbs that offer the vowel $\ddot{o}$ : bytrigja 'deceive' (bytrög bytröga - bytröga) and ferdrisa 'be sad' (ferdrös - ferdrösa - ferdrasa / ferdrosa). The vowel found in the Preterite plural tends to be analogical to that of the singular in most verbs that belong to these classes. ${ }^{44}$

The Preterite - both weak and strong - most commonly expresses definite past events. Such past actions can be near (immediate), general or remote:

Yh go mih oüs y 1950 jür 'I got married in 1950'

Within a past time frame, the Preterite can introduce both perfective actions (entire, bounded, unique or punctiliar events) and imperfective activities (past progressive, continuous, iterative, habitual and durative):

[^28]Wi wiöe'h klin kuzt yh myta eldyn wymysiöerys' 'When I was a child, I used to talk to my parents in Wymysorys'.

Moreover, the Preterite can be used as a present perfect, especially as an experiential perfect and anti-perfect:

Yhy wiöe ni kả möt hynder granc 'I have never been abroad'

Less frequently, the Preterite is employed in the function of a resultative present perfect:

Eta kom der nökwer ‘The neighbor has just arrived’.

Lastly, the Preterite can act as a pluperfect, thus introducing past events or situations that occurred before other past actions: ${ }^{45}$

Har śtiörw śun wi der dökter kom 'He had died before the doctor came' (Andrason 2013b).

### 5.3.3 Conjunctive I

The Conjunctive I is a residual category in Wymysorys. Only a few verbs possess forms of the Conjunctive I. Such predicates are the three auxiliary verbs zajn 'be', hon 'have', and wada 'become' as well as some modal verbs, such as djyfa 'should, must', kyna 'can', zuła 'shall', mygja 'can/may', müsa 'must' and weta 'want'. The corresponding Conjunctive forms of the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular of all these verbs are: wje, het, wjed, diyft, kynd, zełd (zyłd), myht, müst/mist and wyld (weld), respectively. The forms of the Conjunctive I of the remaining predicates have been lost. The personal endings of the Conjunctive I are identical to those found in the Preterite. Accordingly, the $1^{\text {st }}$ and the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular are identical, being unmarked for personal ending. In the $1^{\text {st }}$ and the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person plural, nearly all verbs select the ending $a$ (heta, djyfta, kynda, zełda (zytda), myhta, müsta/mista and wyłda (wełda). It is only the verb zajpn where the ending $n$ (wjyn) is employed. The two types of endings are illustrated below (Andrason 2013b).

|  | hon 'have' |  | zájn 'be' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | SG | PL | SG | PL |
| 1 | het | heta | wje | wjyn |
| 2 | hetst | het | wjest | wjyt |
| 3 | het | heta | wje | wjyn |

[^29]Given the scarcity of forms, the Conjunctive I is rather seldom found. If it is employed, it tends to appear in conditional protases, where it conveys the idea of real counterfactuality. Accordingly, the Conjunctive I introduces conditions that are contrary to a current situation, even though there is still a possibility for those conditions to be fulfilled:

Wen yh gietd het, wje'h mer dos kiöefa 'If I had money, I would buy this' Wen yh jung wje, wje'h śejn zäjn 'If I were younger, I would be beautiful'

The Conjunctive I can also express counterfactual real wishes, functioning as an unlikely optative:

$$
\text { Wen yh } \dot{a} \text { kynd wje 'If (only) I were a child' }
$$

Additionally, this construction introduces mild orders and requests:

Yhy wetd wysa 'I would like to know'

It may also appear - even though infrequently - in conditional apodoses:

Wen yh gield het, wje 'h śejn 'If I had money, I would be beautiful'
Nevertheless, the use of the Conjunctive I in main clauses and especially in conditional apodoses is infrequent. In these contexts, the Conjunctive I is usually replaced by an analytical construction - Conjunctive II (see section 5.4). Lastly, the forms of the Conjunctive I of the verb zajjn 'be' and hon 'have' seem to be more common than the other Conjunctive I forms of the predicates because these two verbs are regularly used as auxiliaries in other modal constructions, such as the Conjunctive I Perfect (see section 5.4.6), Conjunctive II (section 5.4.7) and Conjunctive II Perfect (section 5.4.8; Andrason 2013b).

### 5.4 Analytic finite constructions ${ }^{46}$

Apart from the three synthetic finite categories described in the previous section, the verbal system of Wymysorys includes a variety of analytical finite constructions, such as:

[^30]

### 5.4.1 Perfect

The Perfect is an analytic formation that is composed of the verb hon 'have' or zäjn 'be', which are inflected in the Present, and of the Past Participle which appears in its invariant neuter singular form or supine. In general terms, inchoative and movement verbs employ the auxiliary zajn, whereas with all the remaining predicates the verb hon is used. These two possible patterns are given below:
kuma 'come'
SG

| bej gykuma | zäjn gykuma |
| :--- | :--- |
| byst gykuma | zäjt gykuma |
| ej gykuma | zäjn gykuma |

maha 'do'
SG PL

| ho gymaht | hon gymaht |
| :--- | :--- |
| höst gymaht | hot gymaht |
| höt gymaht | hon gymaht |

The Perfect is commonly employed in two functions typical of a present perfect, i.e. as a resultative perfect or as a perfect of current relevance:

Yta ej grod gykuma der nökwer 'The neighbor has just arrived'
Less frequently, this construction can also be used with the sense of an existential possessive resultative proper and as an inclusive perfect:

Yhy ho dy kyh ufgyroümt 'I get the kitchen as clean'
The Perfect also expresses the meaning of an experiential perfect:
Yhy bej ni kȧ möt hynder granc gywast 'I have never been abroad'

The Perfect is also used as a past tense. Although, in this function, the formation usually introduces perfective events, it can sometimes be employed with a durative or habitual sense.

Der jyśty kyng höt ufgyboüt Krök hefa jür y dam 'The first king of [Poland] built Cracow many years ago'

However, the sense of a non-perfective past (either durative or habitual) is more commonly conveyed by the Preterite. The Perfect is also found in the function of a pluperfect:

Gestyn wi ej kuma dy nökweryn, ho'h śün ufgyroümt dy kyh 'Yesterday, when the neighbor came, I had already cleaned the kitchen'

Lastly, the Perfect construction sometimes expresses immediate future events: ${ }^{47}$
Yhy ho dos gymaht ym oügabtyk 'I will have done it in a little while!'

### 5.4.2 Pluperfect

From a formal perspective, the Pluperfect is similar to the Perfect, being a periphrasis compounded of the auxiliary hon 'have' or zajjn 'be' and the Participle (supine). The distribution of the two auxiliaries is analogous to that found in the Perfect. The formal difference between the Pluperfect and the Perfect consists in the following: in the Pluperfect, the auxiliary verbs hon 'have' and zajn are inflected in the Preterite while in the Perfect they appear in the Present. The two types of the Pluperfect are tabulated below:

| kuma 'come' |  | maha'do' |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | SG | PL | SG | PL |
| 1 | wiöe gykuma | wiöen / wün gykuma | hot gymaht | hota gymaht |
| 2 | wiöest gykuma | wiöet / wüt gykuma | hotst gymaht | hot gymaht |
| 3 | wiöe gykuma | wiöen / wüt gykuma | hot gymaht | hota gymaht |

In its principal use, the Pluperfect expresses the idea of past anteriority. Accordingly, it introduces activities that have occurred before other past events:

Yhy hot dos śun gymaht wi der nökwer kom 'He had done it before the neighbor came'

The construction frequently expresses past events in reported speech, where it is headed by a clause with the verb in the Preterite or the Perfect. Furthermore, the Pluperfect can denote past remote actions with no undertones of anteriority:

Dos hot yh gyśrejwa 10 jür ym dam 'I wrote it 10 years ago'

[^31]
### 5.4.3 Future $\mathrm{I}^{48}$

The Future I consists of the auxiliary verb wan 'become, be, occur' inflected in the Present tense and the infinitive of a main lexical verb, e.g. yhy wa (wà) maha 'I will do'. It should be noted that the short variant wan - and, thus, short inflected forms - are regularly employed (i.e. wa, wyst, wyt, wan and wat) instead of the "longer" verb wada and its forms (i.e. wad, wjyd, wjydst or wada).


Most commonly, the Future I expresses future activities, both imperfective (progressivecontinuous, iterative-habitual and durative) and perfective (unique, bounded and punctiliar). When used as a future, the construction denotes events that may refer to any moment in the future, either immediate or distant:

Mün wa'h krigja à pakta 'Tomorrow, I will receive a packet'

The Future I frequently appears in reported speech, following an introductory verb in the Preterite or the Perfect. In such cases, the Future I functions as a future in the past and introduces activities that are prospective from a past perspective. This usage may sometimes be accompanied by modal nuances of possibility and probability:

## $\dot{A}$ höt gyziöet do' $\dot{a}$ wyt dos maha 'He said that he would do it'

The Future I is also employed in the sense of a future perfect, thus expressing future actions and situations that will occur before other future activities:

Wen wyt kuma der nökwer, to wa'h um ziöen dy byst ny 'When the neighbor comes, I will tell him that you are not here'

Additionally, the formation appears in conditional protases, where it conveys the meaning of real factuality. In this environment, it expresses events that are viewed as possible and/or likely:

Wen yh wa kuma, dy wyst mer hylfa 'If I come, you will help me'

[^32]Lastly, the Future I is sometimes used with a modal force of certainty, indicating that a present activity is certain (and not with the values of a future tense, as typical of this construction):

Har wyt kuza güt wymysiöeryś 'He certainly speaks good Wymysorys’

### 5.4.4 Future I Perfect

The Future I Perfect is a periphrasis formed by the verb wan 'be, become' (the short variant) and the Infinitive II, which in turn consists of the Infinitive of the auxiliary hon 'have' or zäjn 'be' and the invariable Participle - the supine. As in the Perfect and Pluperfect, inchoative and movement verbs usually employ the auxiliary zajn, while the remaining verbs especially the transitive predicates - select the auxiliary hon.

|  | kuma 'come' |  | maha 'do' |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | SG | PL | SG | PL |
| 1 | wa / wȧ zäjn gykuma | wan zäjn gykuma | wa/wà hon gymaht | wan hon gymaht |
| 2 | wa / wȧ zäjn gykuma | wan zäjn gykuma | wyst hon gymaht | wat hon gymaht |
| 3 | wa / wȧ zäjn gykuma | wan zäjn gykuma | wyt hon gymaht | wan hon gymaht |

The Future I Perfect principally conveys the idea of future anteriority. Accordingly, the Future I Perfect expresses future events that precede other future activities:

Wen yh s'mytagasa wa'h hon gykoht, woh abysta rün 'When I have cooked the lunch, I will rest a little'

It can also be found in main clauses, where being accompanied by temporal adverbial expressions, it indicates that a state will be achieved at a given time in future. In these cases, the construction functions as a future resultative proper or future resultative perfect:

Ym cwelf wyt dy züp gykoht zäjn 'At 12, the soup will be cooked'
Additionally, the Future I Perfect can indicate that a future action will happen certainly, especially in the immediate or near future:

Mün mäj nökwer wyt hon gykoüft à oüta 'Tomorrow, my neighbor will certainly buy a car'

Lastly, the Future I Perfect may refer to past activities depicting them as certain or likely:

Ejs wyt hon gyśtöfa 'She certainly slept / she must have slept / I am sure, she (has) slept'

### 5.4.5 Future II

The Future II is composed of the auxiliary verb zuła 'shall' inflected in Present (observe that zuta is a Preterite-Present predicate) and the Infinitive I of a lexical verb. It is, thus, formally analogical to the Future I with the difference that instead of the auxiliary wan, the verb zula is used. The inflectional pattern can be tabulated in the following manner:

| maha 'do' |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | SG | PL |
| 1 | zo maha | zula maha |
| 2 | zost maha | zult maha |
| 3 | zo maha | zula maha |

The Future II offers a stronger modal value than the Future I. Such modal nuances can be optative, volitional and/or generally epistemic. Particularly common are deontic modal undertones or the ideas of obligation and necessity:

Zy zula kiöefa arputn 'They shall / should / let them buy potatoes'
With a relatively equal frequency, the future sense is accompanied by epistemic nuances of probability:

Har zo mih byzihja mün 'He shall visit me tomorrow / He will probably visit me tomorrow'

When the Future II is used in the $1^{\text {st }}$ person singular, it may additionally express the intention of offering oneself for something. If it is directed to the $2^{\text {nd }}$ person singular or plural, the construction exhibits a force similar to an imperative:

> Dy zost dos maha! 'You shall do it / Do it!'

Furthermore, the Future II (just like the Future I) can be employed with a past reference. In such cases, it expresses prospective events, functioning as a future in the past:

Der dökter ziöet do yh zo rün 'The doctor said that I should rest'

The auxiliary zula (inflected in the Present) may also be used with the Infinitive II yielding a more modally marked counterpart of the Future I Perfect:

## Yhy zo zäjn gykuma 'I shall have come'

### 5.4.6 Conjunctive I Perfect

The Conjunctive I Perfect is formed by inflecting the auxiliary verb hon 'have' in the Conjunctive I, i.e. het, and by using the Participle (or the supine) of a main lexical verb, for example yhy het gymaht '(if) I had done' or yhy het gykuma '(if) I had come. This means that contrary to other compound (or analytical) perfect constructions (Perfect, Pluperfect and Future Perfect) the Conjunctive I Perfect does not employ the verb zajn as the auxiliary. Thus, the formation does not exhibit two sub-types depending on the lexical verb. Verbs that use the auxiliary zäjn in Perfect, Pluperfect and Future Perfect, employ han 'have' in Conjunctive I Perfect.

| kuma 'come' |  |  | maha 'do' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | SG | PL | SG | PL |
| 1 | het gykuma | het gykuma | het gymaht | heta gymaht |
| 2 | het gykuma | het gykuma | hetst gymaht | het gymaht |
| 3 | het gykuma | het gykuma | het gymaht | heta gymaht |

Most frequently, the Conjunctive I Perfect expresses counterfactual unreal activities. With this sense, it commonly appears in conditional protases and apodoses, introducing events and situations that are contrary to the actual state of affairs and, since belonging to a past time frame, impossible to change:

Wen dy mer dos hetst gyziöet gestyn, het yh ju mytum gykuzt 'If you had told me this yesterday, I would already have talked to him'

Sometimes, this construction is employed in order to convey counterfactual unreal wishes:

Wen yh dos het gywöst! ‘If (only) I had known this!’

### 5.4.7 Conjunctive II

The Conjunctive II is an analytical construction composed of the auxiliary zájn in the Conjunctive I (e.g. yhy wje) and the Infinitive I of a main lexical verb: yhy wje maha '(if) I did'. It is regularly used with verbs that do not form the synthetic Conjunctive I. However, certain verbs that do appear in Conjunctive I (e.g. wje 'would be' < zäjn 'be') seem to prefer the analytic variant (e.g. wje zäjn 'would be') if they are not employed as auxiliaries. The full inflectional paradigm is given below:

| maha 'do' |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | SG | PL |
|  |  |  |
| 1 | wje maha | wjyn maha |
| 2 | wjest maha | wjyt maha |
| 3 | wje maha | wjyn maha |

From a semantic perspective, in most cases, the meaning of the Conjunctive II is equivalent to the Conjunctive I. The Conjunctive II may, in fact, be viewed as an analytical counterpart of the Conjunctive I, or its substitute for verbs that lack the synthetic forms of Conjunctive I. This means that the Conjunctive II is usually found in conditional periods, both in protases and apodoses, where it conveys the idea of real counterfactuality. To be exact, it introduces events and situations that are contrary to reality but still have potential to occur:

Wen yh wje hon gield, wje'h mer kiöefa à grusy hyt 'If I had money, I would buy myself a big house'

However, the Conjunctive II seems to be significantly more frequent in conditional apodoses than its synthetic equivalent, the Conjunctive I. The Conjunctive II can also (like the Conjunctive I) express a real optative shade of meaning:

Wen yh wje hon gietd! 'If (only) I had money!'

### 5.4.8 Conjunctive II Perfect

The Conjunctive II Perfect is an analytic expression. It is formed by means of the Conjunctive I of the verb zäjn (e.g. wje) and the Infinitive II of a lexical verb. As explained previously, the Infinitive II consists, itself, of the Infinitive of the auxiliary zajn or hon and the uninflected form of the Participle (the supine) of a main verb. Accordingly, the form of the Conjunctive II Perfect is wje hon gymaht '(if) I had done / I would have done' or wje zäjn gykuma '(if) I had come / I would come'. The complementary distribution of the verbs zäjn 'be' and hon is analogous to the pattern that was presented above when discussing the Perfect and other perfectal constructions (the Pluperfect, Future I Perfect and Conjunctive I Perfect).

|  | kuma 'come' |  | maha 'do' |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | SG | PL | SG | PL |
| 1 | wje zäjn gykuma | wjyn zäjn gykuma | wje hon gymaht | wjyn gymaht hon |
| 2 | wjest zäjn gykuma | wjyt zäjn gykuma | wjest hon gymaht | wjyt gymaht hon |
| 3 | wje zäjn gykuma | wjyn zäjn gykuma | wje hon gymaht | wjyn gymaht hon |

In general terms, the Conjunctive II Perfect is a semantic and functional counterpart of the Conjunctive I Perfect. Accordingly, it conveys the idea of unreal counterfactuality in conditional protases and apodoses and in optative contexts:

Wen yh wje hon gybaka, wje'h śun otys hon gymaht 'If I had cooked (it), I would already have it all done'

The Conjunctive II Perfect can likewise function as a future perfect in the past:
$\dot{A}$ ziöet do har wje dos hon gymaht 'He said that he would have done this'
However, in contrast to the Conjunctive I Perfect, the Conjunctive II Perfect is able to introduce real (although improbable) activities:

Wen yh wje hon ym 5 gybaka, wje'h myt djyr gejn 'If I am done cooking at 5, I would go with you'

### 5.4.9 Progressive

The Progressive is a periphrastic construction that consists of the auxiliary zajn 'be', which is mostly inflected in the Present (although it can also be found in the Preterite and other verbal tenses) and the infinitive of a main lexical verb, e.g. yhy bej maha 'I am doing'. This construction is not frequent. In fact, it is seldom used with the verb maha given below in the table. Probably, one of the most common predicates that are employed in the Progressive is hiöera 'to wait'.

| maha 'do' |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | SG | PL |
| 1 | bej maha |  |
| 2 | byst maha |  |
| 3 | ej maha | zäjn maha |
| zäjt maha |  |  |
| zäjn maha |  |  |

In cases where the auxiliary zäjn is inflected in the Present, the Progressive typically functions as a progressive or continuous present. Accordingly, it introduces present progressive actions and continuous activities:

Diöt ej a klop kuza 'There is a man talking'
Yhy bej hiöera uf dejh 'I am waiting for you'

The same form may also be used as a future progressive category:

Yhy wa diöt zäjn hiöera uf dejh ‘I will be waiting for you’

If the auxiliary zajn is inflected in the Preterite, the periphrasis expresses past progressive or continuous activities:

Wün zy zyca àn fercyła 'They were sitting and narrating/telling (stories)'

### 5.4.10 Resultatives

The Resultative constructions are three analytical locutions that are formally indistinguishable from the Passive (cf. section 5.5). The Resultative is thus formed by an auxiliary verb expressing the idea of being, becoming or remaining, and the uninflected Participle (the supine) of a main lexical verb that in its Infinitive form is transitive. It is possible to distinguish three types of such formations depending on the auxiliary verb used: the Resultative with zaijn 'be', with wada 'be, become, will be' (observe that in the Present, the long variant is employed) and with bläjn 'remain, be'. Most commonly, in the Resultative formations, the three auxiliaries appear in the Present offering the following inflectional patterns.

|  | zäjn Resultative | maha 'do' | błäjn Resultative |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | wada Resultative |  |
|  | SG |  |  |
| 1 | bej gymaht |  | wad gymaht | błäj gymaht |
| 2 | byst gymaht | wjydst gymaht | błajst gymaht |
| 3 | ej gymaht | wjyd gymaht | blajjt gymaht |
|  | PL |  |  |
| 1 | zäjn gymaht | wada gymaht | bläjn gymaht |
| 2 | zäjt gymaht | wad gymaht | blȧjt gymaht |
| 3 | zäjn gymaht | wada gymaht | błäjn gymaht |

The three Resultative constructions are de-transitive: they are derived from underlying transitive verbs but in the Resultative form offer intransitive patientive value: ejs ej gymaht 'it is done', ejs wjyd gymaht 'it will be done' or ejs błäjt gymaht 'it is/remains done'. The three types principally express a resultative proper value: they introduce a static situation viewed as resulting from a previously performed action. The differences between them mainly concern the temporal reference and a possible dynamic perfectal reading.

If the auxiliary appears in the Present tense, the zajn Resultative is typically employed as a resultative present stative. In this function, it introduces present static situations that result from previously performed activities:

Dos hoüz ej eta gyboüt 'Now, the house is built (i.e. it stands as built)'

However, this construction can also denote dynamic anterior (perfectal) events that are currently relevant for the present state of affairs, thus approximating the category of a passive present perfect:

Der klop ej derśtön 'The man has been killed'
Additionally, the zäjn Resultative with its auxiliary in the Present may denote definite past actions:

Dy śtuw ej can jür y dam gymölt 'The room was painted ten years ago’

One should note that from a formal perspective, the zäjn Resultative is identical with the intransitive Perfect of inchoative and movement verbs. The main difference is that the Resultative - as defined here - is a de-transitive construction, while the Perfect can be active.

If the wada Resultative exhibits the auxiliary inflected in the Present, it typically introduces future resultative situations although it can also convey the value of an actual, habitual or atemporal present:

Mün wjyd dy hyt gymött 'Tomorrow, the house will be painted'
Stiln wada fu hulc gymaht 'Chairs are made out of wood'.

Lastly, the błäjn Resultative with its auxiliary inflected in the Present conveys resultative stative values with no dynamic (present perfect) interpretations:

Dos hoüz bläjt śun gyboüt 'The house is already built (i.e. it stands ready)'

Both the wada Resultative and the błäjn Resultative fail to provide a past resultative sense (on other senses and uses of the three constructions, see the next section dedicated to the Passive Voice). ${ }^{49}$

### 5.5 Passive voice ${ }^{50}$

It is possible to distinguish three major ways of expressing a passive meaning in Wymysorys, which all consist of an auxiliary verb and a Participle that remains uninflected, as it appears in a predicative position following a copula verb. The three types of the Passive voice differ in the auxiliary verb that is employed: zäjn 'be' (e.g. es ejs gymaht 'it is done'), wada

[^33]'become, be, occur' (e.g. ejs wjyd gymaht 'it will be done') or błäjn 'be, remain' (ejs błäjt gymaht 'it is done'). These auxiliaries can themselves be inflected in various tenses, appearing most commonly in the Present, Future I, Preterite, Perfect and Pluperfect. The three passive locutions found in Wymysorys correspond to three principal manners of expressing the passive meaning that are available in the Germanic family. That is, the formation with zajin parallels the English usage, e.g. it is done. The construction with wada is equivalent to the German locution es wird gemacht. The expression with blän approximates the passive voice typical of Scandinavian languages such as dit blev gjort 'it was done' in Swedish.

Although the three passive periphrases are semantically similar, their exact meaning in the above-mentioned tenses is slightly distinct. The principal difference between the Passives with zäjn and wada pertains to the fact that only the former can provide stative values. On the contrary, the Passive with wada seems to be invariably dynamic. Additionally, the wada Passive (but not the zajn Passive) with its auxiliary in the Present tense commonly expresses future events: ejs wjyd gymaht 'it will be done'. As far as the błäjn Passive is concerned, this variant presents the behavior that is similar to that of the Passive with zajnn, typically expressing stative meanings. However, in contrast with the zajin Passive, the locution ejs błajt gymaht 'it is done' (with the auxiliary verb in the Present) does not convey past or dynamic perfect senses available with the periphrasis ejs ej gymaht 'it has been done / it was done'. In the following sections, all the senses conveyed by the three Passive constructions will be described in detail.

### 5.5.1 Zäjn passive

Depending on the tense of the auxiliary, the Passive formed around the verb zajn provides a broad range of meanings. If the auxiliary is used in the Future I (e.g. ejs wyt zajin gymaht), ${ }^{51}$ the construction express various future functions (simple, progressive, perfect and stative):

Mün wyt dos hoüz zájn gymött a ganca tag 'Tomorrow the house will be painted the whole day (i.e. someone will be painting it)'
Ym mytag wyt śun dos mytagasa zäjn gykoht 'At noon, the lunch will already be cooked’

If the auxiliary stands in the Present (e.g. ejs ej gymaht), the expression approximates a simple, progressive and stative present passive, as well as a passive equivalent of a present perfect:

Dos hoüz ej śun gyboüt 'The house is already built / has been built'

[^34]Accordingly, the periphrasis offers two possible readings: one static (in this reading, the house appears as ready to move in) and the other dynamic (in this reading, the dynamic action of constructing the house has finished). The same locution can convey the value of a present progressive passive, indicating that a given action is being performed at the very moment of speaking:

Wos höt zih dö? Dos hoüz ej eta gymölt 'What is happening over there? The house is now being painted (i.e. someone is painting it)'

Furthermore, the zajn passive with the auxiliary in the Present can introduce regular, habitual or universal events and activities, functioning as a passive equivalent of a simple present:

Dy oüta zäjn gyrjyt diöh dy benzyn 'Cars are propelled by gas'
Additionally, the same construction can be employed in an explicit past environment indicating definite past passive situations, perfective or stative:

Dos hoüz ej can jür y dam gyboüt ‘The house was constructed ten years ago’

If the auxiliary zäjn is inflected in the Preterite (e.g. ejs wiöe gymaht), the periphrasis commonly functions as a passive past, either simple or stative, as well as a present perfect passive:

Dos hoüz wiöe can jür y dam gyboüt 'The house was / had been constructed ten years ago'
Dos wiöe ká möt gymaht 'This has never been done'
In addition, the same structure can display a past progressive or durative sense, quite opposite to the value mentioned previously:

Gestyn wiöe dy wand gymött à ganca tag 'Yesterday, the wall was being painted the whole day'.

With the auxiliary in the Perfect (e.g. ejs ej gywast gymaht), the zajin Passive most frequently functions as a present perfect passive, simple past passive and pluperfect passive:

Zejhźe! Dos hoüz ej gywast ufgyśtelt 'Look, the house has been constructed'

Lastly, if the auxiliary zäjn appears in the Pluperfect (e.g. ejs wiöe gywast gymaht), the construction functions as a pluperfect passive (i.e. as a passive counterpart of the pluperfect), offering both dynamic and stative readings.

### 5.5.2 Wada passive

If the auxiliary wada is inflected in the Future (e.g. ejs wyt wada gymaht), the wada Passive indicates future events (be they simple, progressive or anterior):

Wymysiöejer śpröh wyt nymer ny wada fergasa 'The Wymysorys language will never be forgotten'
Mün wyt dos hoüz wada gymött à ganca tag 'Tomorrow the house will be painted the whole day'.

With the auxiliary in the Present (e.g. ejs wjyd gymaht), the periphrasis is employed as a passive equivalent of a simple, progressive or perfect future, being thus semantically identical to the sequence ejs wyt wada gymoht mentioned above:

Wymysiöejer śpröh wjyd nymer ny fergasa 'The Wymysorys language will never be forgotten'
Mün wjyd dy hyt gymölt a ganca tag 'Tomorrow, the wall will be painted the whole day'

The same construction can also function as a dynamic, simple or progressive present passive:

Wu ej s'oüta? S'wjyd eta grod gyryht 'Where is the car? It is being repaired (i.e. someone is repairing it)'
Dy oüta wada gyrjyt diöh dy benzyn 'Cars are propelled by gas (i.e. gas serves to propel cars)'

It should be noted that in the Present the forms of the variant wada are regularly used, e.g. wjyd ( $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular) and wada ( $3^{\text {rd }}$ person plural).

If the auxiliary verb appears in the Preterite (e.g. ejs wiöd gymaht), the wada Passive commonly expresses the meaning of a simple, progressive and perfective past passive. In all such cases, the meaning is invariably dynamic:

Dos hoüz wiöd can jür y dam gyboüt 'The house was built/had been built ten years ago'

The same passive formation can also be employed with the force of a present perfect, indicating anterior events, either resultative or experiential, that are currently relevant:

S'oüta wiöd śun ny gyryht 'The car has not yet been repaired'

In cases where the wada Passive uses the auxiliary in the Perfect (e.g. ejs ej gywiöda gymaht), the entire sequence appears with the sense of a present perfect passive and perfective past passive:

Zejhźe! Dos hoüz ej śun gywiöda reperiyt 'Look, the house has already been reconstructed'
Dy kjyh ej can jür y dam gywiöda ufgyśtelt 'The church was constructed ten years ago'

Lastly, if the auxiliary is inflected in the Pluperfect (e.g. ejs wiöe gywiöda gymaht), the locution regularly functions as a pluperfect passive.

### 5.5.3 Błäjn passive

The błajn passive is the least common passive periphrasis in Wymysorys. If the auxiliary błäjn is inflected in Future I (e.g. ejs wyt błäjn gymaht), the construction indicates passive future events, be they simple, progressive, perfect(ive) or stative:

Dy śtrös wyt błäjn gyryht 'The street will be repaired'

With the auxiliary in the Present (e.g. ejs bläjt gymaht), the locution expresses simple, progressive and resultative-stative present situations:

Dos hoüz błajt śun gyboüt 'The house is already built (i.e. it stands ready)'

However, this construction seems unable to denote perfect or past activities in contrast with the $z a \dot{j} n$ Passive. If the auxiliary appears in the Preterite, the błäjn Passive expresses past values (simple, progressive and stative):

Gestyn, der klop blà derśtön ‘The man was killed yesterday’
Additionally, the same expression can act as a present perfect passive. With the auxiliary in the Perfect (e.g. ejs ej gyblejn gymaht), the wada construction provides the values of a present perfect passive and a past passive (be it simple, progressive or perfective):

Dos hoüz ej can jür y dam gybtyjn ufgyśtelt 'The house was built 10 years ago'
At last, in cases where the verb blajn is inflected in the Pluperfect (e.g. ejs wiöe gybtejn gymaht), the periphrasis conveys the sense of a pluperfect passive:

Dos hoüz wiöe gyblejn ufgyśtelt bocàr cäjt, wen der krig oüsbroh 'The house had been built before the war began'

Directives are constructions that introduce orders, commands and/or suggestions. In grammar books, directive forms that refer to the $2^{\text {nd }}$ person singular and plural are referred to as the category of an imperative. If the order, advice or suggestion is directed to the $1^{\text {st }}$ or $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular and plural other denominations are usually employed (hortative for the former and jussive for the latter).

In Wymysorys, commands and orders are conveyed by several constructions of a different origin and structure. Therefore, from a purely formal perspective, it may be legitimate not to consider directive expressions as constituting a unified conjugation. However, given the semantic orientation of this grammar, we shall group them into a coherent paradigm - the Directive. The Directive is a notion that embraces forms expressing commands or orders directed to a person or a group of persons. Depending on the receptor of the command, the Directive can be addressed to the $1^{\text {st }}$, the $2^{\text {nd }}$ and the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular and plural. As will be evident from the subsequent discussion, the Directive forms of the $2^{\text {nd }}$ person singular and plural, as well as that of the $1^{\text {st }}$ plural are synthetic. On the contrary, the Directive of the $1^{\text {st }}$ person singular and the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular and plural are analytic.

The Directives that refer to the second person singular or plural correspond to what in most grammars of Germanic languages is termed as the Imperative. The form of the Imperative singular is derived from the $2^{\text {nd }}$ person singular Present devoid of its personal ending -st. Alternatively, the Imperative singular is identical to the verbal stem or a form without the infinitive marker $-a$ or - $n$. For example, the Imperative of the verb gejn 'go' is gej 'go!' and the Imperative of the verb maha 'do' is mah 'do!'. However, several verbs offer a special form of the Imperative exhibiting the mutation of the radical stem. Almost always, the verbs that use a different vowel in the Imperative if compared to the Infinitive are vowel mutation verbs of the Present tense. Sometimes, the vowel of the Imperative corresponds to the mutated vowel found in the Present: lejz! < taza 'read' (cf. Present lejzt) or śtyt! < s'tata 'steal' (cf. Present śtytst). However, in many cases, the Present and the Imperative employ different vowels. Most typically, the vowel found in the Imperative surfaces as the diphthong $e j$ :
ejs! 'eat!' < asa 'to eat' (cf. 2 SG Present yst), frejs! 'devour!' < frasa 'to devour' (cf. 2 SG Present fryst), fergejs! 'forget!' < fergasa 'to forget' (cf. 2 SG Present fergyst), brejh! 'brake!' < bräh(j)a 'to brake' (cf. 2 SG Present bryhst), nejm! 'take!' < nama 'to take' (cf. 2 SG Present nymst), trejt! 'walk!' < trata 'to walk' (cf. 2 SG Present trytst), gej! 'give!' < gan 'to give' (cf. 2 SG Present gyst), grejw! 'dig!' < growa 'to dig' (cf. 2 SG Present grywst); zejh! 'see!' < zan 'to see' (cf. 2 SG Present zist); wejf! 'throw!' < wafa 'to throw' (cf. 2 SG Present wjyfst); bejk! 'bake!' < baka 'to bake' (cf. 2 SG Present bekst); and ślejs! 'close' < śtisa 'to close' (cf. 2 SG Present śtoüst). Sometimes, a different vowel is used: ku! 'come!' < kuma 'come' (cf. 2 SG Present kymst). The $2^{\text {nd }}$ person Imperative of the verb zajin is bej 'be!'.

The Imperative plural is identical to the $2^{\text {nd }}$ person plural, thus regularly displaying the ending -t: gejt! 'go!', maht 'do!' and kumt 'come'. However, some exceptional cases with vocalic mutation can also be found. For instance, the Imperative gräjnt! 'cry!' exhibits a radical vowel that is different from the $2^{\text {nd }}$ plural of the Present grent and Infinitive grenn
(see, however, the $1^{\text {st }}$ singular with a vowel mutation, i.e. gräjn). Analogically, wäst! 'know!' differs from the $2^{\text {nd }}$ plural wyst of the verb wysa 'know' (however, note that the $1^{\text {st }}$ person singular $w \dot{a}(s)$ 'I know' exhibits a change in the quality of the root vowel). The Imperative plural is used as a polite direct form.

The Imperative of the $2^{\text {nd }}$ person singular and plural can be emphasized - thus, rendering the command more intense - by means of the particle źe adopted from Polish (cf. the frequent use of the particle $\dot{z} e$ in Małopolska). This element may be suffixed to the verb: gejźe! 'go! [sg.]’, gejtźe! 'go! [pl.]’, kumźe! ‘come! [sg.]’ and kumtźe! ‘come! [pl.]’. It may also be used as a free morpheme: hylf mer źe 'help me!'. Sometimes, the morpheme źe adopts the form -će: skiöekumće (from skiöekumtźe) 'welcome!'.

The Hortative is the Imperative form directed to the $1^{\text {st }}$ person. From a formal perspective, the Hortative plural is an "inverted" form of the $1^{\text {st }}$ person plural of the Present. Compare the "inverted" Present gejwer 'we go' with the Hortative gejwer! 'let's go'. It is, thus, identical to the verbal stem accompanied by the personal suffix -wer: gej- + wer > gejwer 'let's go' and mah- + wer > mahwer 'let's do'. If the pronoun ( - )s follows the Hortative, the Hortative form appears as $-y$ 's' in accordance with a phonetic rule operating in the ethnolect whereby er $+s$ develops into ys': howy's 'let's have it!' (cf. hower! 'let's have!').

The Directives of the $1^{\text {st }}$ person singular (Hortative singular) and the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular and plural (Jussive) are formed analytically by means of the modal verb zula 'shall' and the Infinitive I of a lexical verb. Thus, these constructions are similar to the Future II. However, in the Hortative, the nominative forms of personal pronouns (e.g. yhy 'I', har 'he' and zej 'they') regularly follow or are agglutinated to the modal auxiliary ( $z o$ in the singular and zula in the plural), thus appearing as unstressed and/or reduced: $z o^{\prime} h$ and $z o{ }^{\prime} \dot{a}$. As a result, the Hortative plural appears as zo'h kuma 'let me come!, may I come!', the Jussive singular as zo'à kuma 'let him come!, may he come!' and the Jussive plural as zuła zy kuma 'let them come!, may they come!'.

The complete pattern of Directive constructions can be tabulated in the following manner:

|  | gejn 'go' |  | maha 'do' |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
|  | SG | PG | PL |  |
| 1. zo'h gejn | gejwer | zo'h maha | mahwer |  |
| 2. gej | gejt | mah | maht |  |
| 3. zo' a gejn | zula zy gejn | zo'a maha | zula zy maha |  |

As has been explained, the Directive is used in order to introduce commands, requests and suggestions. The value of an order is the most patent in the Imperative proper (the $2^{\text {nd }}$ person singular and plural). The forms of the $1^{\text {st }}$ person have a hortative nuance rather than an imperative force. The forms of the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person offer a strong optative sense apart from being able to express commands and orders. The three forms that employ the auxiliary zuta 'shall' are also semantically related to the sense offered by this - inherently modal - predicate. That
is, they express soft necessity and suggestions. Orders and commands can be rendered milder if the auxiliary zula is employed in the Preterite $(z u t d(a))$ instead of the Present.

## 6. Syntax

Various elements of syntax have already been discussed in the sections dedicated to nouns (e.g. the issue of possession), adjectives (e.g. the syntax of the six declensional types of adjectives), pronouns (e.g. adjectival and pronominal uses) and verbs (e.g. the formation and usage of analytical constructions). In this chapter, three other questions typically associated with syntax will be described: word order, negative concord and sequence of tenses. ${ }^{52}$

### 6.1 Word order

The word order in Wymysorys is significantly less rigid than in Standard High German and other West Germanic languages. However, this does not imply that the word order is free in the manner analogous to the situation found in Polish, where constituents may occupy almost any position within certain constraints. For instance, in Polish, the sentence Widziatem [verb V] tadna [adjective A] dziewczynę [noun N] 'I saw a beautiful girl' [lit. gloss: I-saw beautiful girl] may also be constructed as:

| Ladna | $[\mathrm{A}]$ | widziatem | $[\mathrm{V}]$ | dziewczyne | $[\mathrm{N}]$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Dziewczyne | $[\mathrm{N}]$ | widziatem | $[\mathrm{V}]$ | tadna | $[\mathrm{A}]$ |
| Ładnq | $[\mathrm{A}]$ | dziewczyne | $[\mathrm{N}]$ | widziatem | $[\mathrm{A}]$ |
| Dziewczyne | $[\mathrm{N}]$ | tadna | $[\mathrm{A}]$ | widziatem | $[\mathrm{V}]$ |
| Widziatem | $[\mathrm{V}]$ | dziewczyne | $[\mathrm{N}]$ | tadna | $[\mathrm{A}]$ |

In Wymysorys, however, the sentence corresponding to Dziewczyne [N] widziatem [V] tadna [A] is not possible (** Śejn zoh yh a mákja). Neither is it possible to formulate a sentence equivalent to Do [preposition P] starego [A] wszedtem [V] domu [N] 'I entered an old house' [lit. to old I-entered house].

In general terms, the Wymysorys word order, rather than being of either the Polish type or the Germanic type, is a composition of the 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. The other is characteristic of Slavic and gives the users relative freedom in moving the constituents of a clause, possibly by imitating various uses found in Polish. However, rather than constituting mutually excluding organizations, the two systems (i.e. the Germanic one and the Polish one) should be imagined as extremes of a continuum within which a speaker can operate by employing a more German-like word order or a more Polish-like structure of the sentence. As a result, the "completely strict" and "completely free" types of word order are only two possibilities within a broad range of realistic usages. Consequently, although in this section the two types will be described and presented as separate, it is important to acknowledge that they

[^35]constantly mix. This means that speakers can "travel" along the abstract continuum by intermingling Germanic and Slavic properties and/or rules.

The German-like syntactic rules can be observed in the following features exhibited by the ethnolect:
a) The subject appears directly after the inflected verb if another constituent is fronted (or the verb comes in the second position; the so-called V2 rule):

Yta ej der nökwer grod gykuma
'The neighbor has just arrived'
Gestyn bła der klop derśtön
'Yesterday, the man was killed'
b) The subject follows the verb if the subordinate clause precedes the main clause (this is also a subtype of the V2 rule):

Wi yh wiöe klin, kuzt yh myta etdyn wymysiöerys' 'When I was little, I used to talk to my parents in Wymysorys'
c) In yes-no questions, the verb precedes the subject (inversion):

Kuzt der büw myta etdyn? 'Did the boy talk to the parents?'
d) There is no inverted subject-verb order in subordinate clauses introduced by a conjunction:

Wi yhy wiöe y Wymysoü, kuzt yh wymysiöerys' 'When I was in Wilamowice, I talked in Wymysorys'
e) The participle or the infinitive may be detached from the finite verb (for instance an auxiliary) and placed after the object:

Zy zuła arputn kiöefa 'They will buy potatoes'
f) In subordinate clauses, the inflected verb may be placed at the end, after its object and/or prepositional constituent:

Yh taz à bihta wu dü mjyr gylejn höst 'I am reading a book that you have lent me'
Yhy wön y Wymysoü wi'h uf dy wett kom 'I have lived in Wilamowice since I was born'
Har kuzt do har śun dos maht 'He said that he had already done it' Wen yh jung wje ... 'If I were younger...'

The Polish-like word order is characterized by constituents' relative freedom. Accordingly, it differs from the usage observed in Standard High German, which is consistent with the rules outlined above. This free type of word order is patent in the following properties:
a) 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:

Yta ej grod gykuma der nökwer 'The neighbor has just arrived' Wen wyt kuma der nökwer, yhy wá dos maha 'When the neighbor comes, I will do this'
b) The expected inversion of the subject and verb (for instance, if another constituent is fronted or if the main clause follows a subordinate clause) is absent and thus the rule of V2 (i.e. verb in the second position) is not upheld:

Mün mäj nökwer wyt hon gykoüft da oüta 'Tomorrow, my neighbor will certainly buy a car'
Gestyn der klop blả derślön ‘The man was killed yesterday’
Gestyn wi der nökwer kom, yhy kuzt myta eldyn 'Yesterday when the neighbor came, I was talking to my parents'
Dos yhy hot gyśrejwa 'I have written that'
c) 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 with Standard High German. In other words, the object may be located outside the "brackets" established by the auxiliary and infinitive/participle, which is also a tendency in Polish:

Hoüt's mügjys ho yh gykoüft a brut 'Today in the morning I bought a loaf of bread'
Der jyśty kyng höt ufgyboüt Krök ‘The first king [of Poland] built Cracow’ Zy zuła kiöefa arputn ‘They will buy potatoes’
Yh mü fjetik maha s'öwytasa 'I will have to prepare the dinner'
Mün wȧ’h krigja à pakta 'Tomorrow, I will receive a packet'
d) The subject-verb order in subordinate clauses can be inverted contrary to the rule operating in Standard German:

Wi wiöe yh klin, kuzt yh myta etdyn wymysiöerys' 'When I was little, I used to talk to my parents in Wymysorys'
Gestyn wi ej kuma der nökwer, śtüf yh 'Yesterday, when the neighbor came, I was sleeping'

Wen wyt kuma der nökwer, wä’h dos maha 'When the neighbor comes, I will do it'
e) 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 starts with a verb: żyt sobie król 'once upon a time, there was a king' [lit. gloss: lived him king]:

Wün zy zyca àn fercyła 'They were sitting and narrating’
f) In contrast with a rule of Standard High German, the inflected verb does not need to be placed at the end of the subordinate clauses but may occupy the second position, right after the subject, thus imitating the word order of the main clause:
$\dot{A}$ ziöet do 'á śun höt dos gymaht 'He said that he had already done it'
$\dot{A}$ ziöet do 'á śun höt gyłaza dos bihta 'He said that he had read this book'
Dü wyst ny roüsgejn wen dy ny ufroümst dy gancy hyt 'You will not leave before you have cleaned the whole house'
$\dot{A}$ höt gyziöet do' $\dot{a}$ wyt dos maha 'He said that he would do it'
$\dot{A}$ kuzt do' $\dot{a}$ wyt kiöefa s'brut 'He said that he would buy the bread'
g) A complex three-member verbal sequence may offer the following order: inflected verb + infinitive + participle. In this manner, in contrast to the typical order in Standard High German (ich werde gemacht haben 'I will have done' and es wird gemacht werden 'it will be done') Wymysorys 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'):

```
Mün mäj nökwer wyt hon gykoüft a oüta 'Tomorrow, my neighbor will buy a
car'
Dy wand wyt zäjn gymölt `The wall will be painted'
Mün wyt dy hoüz wada reperjyt 'Tomorrow, the house will be reconstructed'
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It seems that the German(ic) word order is more common in spontaneous conversations between native speakers of Wymysorys. However, the Polish word order is not uncommon. It is particularly common in multilingual contexts, for instance in conversations where both Wymysorys and Polish are used.

### 6.2 Negative concord

As was the case with word order, two systems of expressing negative meaning operate in Wymysorys: one German and the other Slavic.

One system reflects the German(ic) usage where a single, more specific negative marker is sufficient to express negation. Accordingly, a single negative word (e.g. $k \dot{a}$ 'no, no one', njynt 'nowhere', nimanda 'no one' or nist 'nothing') is sufficient to mark the clause or sentence as negative, so that there is no need to employ the general particle $n y$ 'not'.
> $S^{\prime}$ ej $\boldsymbol{k} \dot{\boldsymbol{a}}$ roümas 'There is no place' Yhy ho ké cajt 'I don't have time'
> Njynt ej's àzu güt wi bym foter àn ber müter 'Nowhere is better than my mother and fathers'"
> Har kuzt wymysiöerys' myt nimand 'He did not speak Wymysorys with anyone'
> Ufer Bejt ej der śpytut, y Wymysoü ej kȧner 'The hospital is in Biała; in Wilamowice, there is none'

The other system is typical of Slavic and Polish. Accordingly, as in Polish, a specific negative word such as ká 'no, no one', njynt 'nowhere', nimanda 'no one' or nist 'nothing' is accompanied by the general negative particle ny 'not'. This type of usage is referred to as a negative concord. In negative concord, two negative words are employed in a clause in order to intensify or specify its negative meaning, but not to cancel it. As mentioned above, typically, one negative word is the general negator (in the case of Wymysorys, ny 'not') while the other is a more specific negative adverb or pronoun:
$\dot{A}$ meńć wu nist ny zit 'A man who cannot see anything / who can see nothing' Ny renćá fjyr nimanda! ‘Don’t vouch for anyone! / Vouch for no one!'
Ma djef nimanda ny śiöehja 'One should not scare anyone'
Yhy gej njynt ny 'I don't go anywhere / I go nowhere'
Yhy ho ká ránaböga ny gyzan 'I haven't seen any rainbow / I have seen no rainbow'
Har wyt nimanda nist ny gan 'He doesn't want to give anything to anyone'

The phenomenon of negative concord 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 (Nikt [none/no one] z nich nigdy [never] nigdzie [nowhere] nie [not] byt 'None of them has ever been anywhere'). While common in the Slavic family, double negation used in the sense of negative concord is less frequent in West Germanic languages. In particular, negative concord is absent in Standard German. However, it is found in Southern American English, African American English and various regional and lower-class dialects of British English. It likewise appears in Low Franconian dialects, in certain regions of Netherlands and Belgium, in Bavarian and (much more regularly) in Afrikaans. Double negation also existed in Middle High German from which it may have persisted to Yiddish.

Although, as explained previously, a single negative word may be used in order to convey a negative meaning, double negation - following the Polish norm - always resolves
into a negative. To be precise, the interpretation of the sentences in which two negative words coexist as being affirmative is impossible in Wymysorys.

Wjyr kyna nist ny maha 'We cannot do anything / We can do nothing' (** We can do something'

### 6.3 Consecutio temporum or the sequence of tenses

The rule of consecutio temporum or the 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 subordinate clauses. The most prototypical environment where this principle appears crosslinguistically is that of reported or indirect speech. In West Germanic languages, such as Standard High German, Dutch, and English (as well as in North Germanic languages), the rule of sequence of tenses is usually observed. In Wymysorys, however, it is not compulsory. Once more, it seems as if speakers were bestowed with two systems: one genuine (West) Germanic and one Slavic.

On the one hand, Wymysorys may follow the German usage and respect the sequence of tenses. This is especially true in cases where the Pluperfect, the Conjunctive II and the Conjunctive II Perfect forms are used in subordinate clauses, being introduced by a main clause containing verbs in the Preterite or Perfect tense (in a past sense):

Har kuzt do har sun hot dos gymaht 'He said that he had already done it' $\dot{A}$ ziöet do har wje der hylfa 'He said he would help you' $\dot{A}$ ziöet do har wje dos hon gymaht ' He said that he would have done this'

On the other hand, the rule of consecutio temporum is commonly not observed, exactly as in Polish, where it almost never operates. For example, the Present tense in Wymysorys is frequently employed in subordinate clauses of indirect speech that are introduced by the Preterite or the Perfect with a past tense force. In such cases, the Present expresses past imperfective actions or situations and semantically corresponds to the Preterite. 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 Perfect:
$\dot{A}$ ziöet do á lejzt dos bihta 'He said that he was reading (lit. is reading) that book'
Har kuzt do har śun dos maht 'He said that he had already done it (lit. did)' $\dot{A}$ höt gyziöet do'à wyt dos maha 'He said that he would do (lit. will do) it' A kuzt do'à wyt kiöefa s'brut 'He said that he would buy (lit. will buy) the bread'

## 7. Language contact

Wymysorys cannot adequately be described if the phenomenon of language contact and the relation to Polish and German are not explained. Wymysorys is characterized, on the one hand, by being constantly blended with Polish and, albeit less so, German in everyday conversations and, on the other hand, by a systematic incorporation of Polish and, once more to a significantly lesser degree, German traits into its own phonetics, lexicon and grammar. This has led to the situation that the Germanic character of Wymysorys has been weakened. The language has partially adapted to its linguistic Slavic environment and may be viewed as a type of mixed-language.

### 7.1 Conversational types ${ }^{53}$

Due to a significant use of Polish and German elements, the realistic Wymysorys language cannot be equaled with the "pure" Wymysorys core - a type of a genuine Wymysorys language. When talking in Wymysorys, native speakers are regularly engaged in five situations (to a degree idealized because they are treated separately), which can all occur within a single conversational unit:
a) speakers employ "pure" Wymysorys;
b) speakers use Wymysorys with Polish (standard/dialectal) integrated or nonintegrated loans;
c) speakers use Wymysorys with German (standard/dialectal) integrated or nonintegrated loans;
d) speakers engage in conversations typical of codeswitching (Wymysorys alternates with Polish or German);
e) Vilamovians employ Polish or German slots, which can be either pure or impregnated with Wymysorys, adjusted or non-adjusted, loans.

All such conversational situations have been modelled as a continuum of five prototypical attitudes (based on three prototypical linguistic systems: Wymysorys, Polish and Germanic) which gradually transform into one another, thereby increasing or decreasing their degrees of idealized "Wymysorys-ness", "Polish-ness" and "German-ness" (mostly in its Austrian version). In this model, realistic Wymysorys emerges as a portion of this cline: It spans from the section associated with pure Wymysorys to the section where Polish and German adjusted and/or non-adjusted loans (both standard and dialectal) gradually increase, without reaching the stage of interlanguage and/or codeswitching. This definition accounts for the fact that, albeit based upon the genuine Wymysorys grammatical core, the ethnolect in its contemporary state is full of Polish and, albeit to a lesser extent, German integrated loans and greatly tolerates non-adjusted imports and larger chunks, directly introduced from Polish or

[^36]German, as well as codeswitching. The lesser degree of German influence perceived nowadays stems from the strong Polonization and disconnection from German(ic) influence during the period of Communism. However, as the revitalization of Wymysorys advances, the number of Polish features may decrease and the tendency towards Slavization of the ethnolect inverted.

A variant that could be referred to as pure Wymysorys is mostly used by speakers who were born before 1927 and who did not go to the German school during World War II. These informants seem to employ an "uncorrupted" version of the language, i.e. the variety with no evident and/or radical Polish and German imports.

Cy wos kymt der menć uf dy wett, wi àzu mü'à śtarwa 'Why does a man come to the world, if he must die?'

Although fragments of pure Wymysorys can appear, such a pure variety cannot be viewed as synonymous with the realistic language. Pure Wymysorys is rather an artificial and idealized construct which fails to exhaust the lexical and grammatical richness of the ethnolect. In realistic situations, Wymysorys always contains at least a minimal number of originally nonWymysorys elements.

A highly common conversational type includes situations where speakers use imports from Polish in their variety of Wymysorys. Even the most proficient informants, including those born before 1927, employ Polish loans and grammatical features. The Polish component constitutes a relevant part of the system. The nature of this influence will be explained in detail in section 7.2. At this stage, it should be noted that among all Polish imports the most relevant are stabilized and fully adjusted entities morphologically and/or phonetically. Such items have been adjusted to the Germanic character of the ethnolect and are shared by the majority of the speakers (especially, by the most proficient ones), thus failing to be idiolectal ad hoc borrowings. They have penetrated the Wymysorys language and currently constitute its typical features. In general, it is possible to distinguish at least 500 nominal, adjectival and verbal lexemes borrowed from Polish that are well-integrated into the morphology and phonetics of Wymysorys.

Bürokabość maht mả fun äjgyzoüwyta bürokaśtykla 'You make a beetrootsoup from pieces of sour beetroot'
Dy kyndyn bäwjän zih gan myter bol 'The children enjoy playing with a ball'
The speakers also employ non-adjusted Polish elements which are identical to their Polish sources. Although direct and unassimilated, neither phonetically nor morphologically, some of such Polish entities have entered into customary usage, being shared by all the speakers. Of the most evident examples of direct Polish elements in Wymysorys is the class of adverbs. This category includes numerous lexemes that reflect Polish adverbs in -nie: njespodźjanje 'unexpectedly' or raptownje 'suddenly' (nearly homophonous with niespodzianie and raptownie in Polish). The equally important direct and phonetically unadjusted Polish imports
are the conjunctions bo 'because', no bo 'then; so then; therefore' and the particle to '(so) then', which are all used extensively.

> A ej njespodžjanje yn ham kuma gyfiöen 'He has unexpectedly come home' Di ejwerbot zy śun, no bo wos kon dy müter fjy s'kynd? 'She already excused her; how can the mother be guilty for [the wrong doing of] the child?'

Some Polish imports - either adjusted or unadjusted - are dialectal, for example, nouns such as klop 'man' or kśeśćjänjin 'Christian' exhibit the stop constant $k[\mathrm{k}]$ (instead of the fricative ch [x], characteristic to Standard Polish) in analogy to the situation found in various dialects of Małopolska:

Mäj klop höt à gancy floś brantwäjn ufgytopyt ‘My husband has already drunk a whole bottle of vodka'

Apart from imports that can be regarded as stabilized (i.e. that are common and typical of all the speakers), Vilamovians may always include any other Polish word, either unadjusted or adjusted (e.g. maszynista 'train-driver') in their conversations. As this Polish influence is idiolectal and/or ad hoc, the number of all possible Polish imports is virtually open and limitless.

The native speakers can also impregnate their language with adjusted or direct German imports. Although this phenomenon is particularly characteristic of speakers who were born after 1927 and attended the German school during the Second World War, some elder informants also show German features. Nevertheless, due to the profound Polonization in the time of the Communist regime, German imports are less frequent than the Polish ones. The majority of the adjusted borrowings are purely lexical and typically involve nouns (for instance wjytśoft 'commerce; farm' from German Wirtschaft) and adjectives or adverbs (for instance gyferlih 'dangerous' from German gefährlich). An example of the German influence that is more grammatical corresponds to the use of the demonstrative pronouns dar, dos and $d i$ in the function of relative pronouns (instead of the genuine Wymysorys relative pronoun $w u$ ) or to the use of the genitive forms of possessive pronouns, which have been lost in the ethnolect:

> Zej krigt dy wjyrtśoft 'She got the farm'
> Di mäjsta dojcza di hojt grenn... 'Most Germans who cry today...'
> Dy śü mäjner foter 'My father's shoe'

As was the case with adjusted borrowings, unadjusted German imports usually involve lexicon, in particular nouns (zwilling 'twin'), adjectives and/or adverbs (wirklich 'really') and fixed idiomatic expressions (zu mir allein 'to myself'). Sometimes, speakers use German numerals instead of the genuine Wymysorys numerals (Yh bej gybün neunzehnhundert einunddreisig 'I was born in 1931'). Most of such unadjusted forms are idiolectal and/or ad hoc.

The presence of Polish and/or German features can be intense, to such an extent that the conversation takes the form of an insertional codeswitching. Even though Wymysorys does constitute the basis of such communications, Polish or German imports are so intense that the combination of the Wymysorys component with Polish and German features in one sentence or utterance produces Wymysorys-Polish or Wymysorys-German mixed grammatical systems. Most of these cases arise in an ad hoc manner and/or idiolectically. They are also viewed by native speakers as linguistic hybrids distinct from what in their opinion constitutes "correct" Wymysorys.

Wen... wajhe ...wen der cug dö wyl fiöen, to dar, dar maszynista, wo diöt ej by dam, wajchę przektada do yta ej dö śnej, ny? A wen's zih ny wyt gan cükuma, kon' $\dot{a}$ może wykoleić 'When... the lever...when the train is going to leave, then the driver, who is there, he moves the lever, and there is snow. And when it [the train] won't be able to pass through, it can derail'

Speakers can likewise mix, in a relatively equal proportion, Polish or German properties with the genuine Wymysorys features. In such cases, speakers alternate larger sections of relatively pure Wymysorys (or rather Wymysorys impregnated by adjusted Polish and/or German elements) with fragments produced entirely in Polish and, although less frequently, in German. The cases of such alternational codeswitching are relatively frequent and can be found even when natives talk to each other:

Dy Pöła wułda yns cynistmaha, es wor tragedisch nach dem krieg 'The Poles wanted to destroy us; it was a tragedy after the War'

The last type of conversational situation is represented by instances where speakers use Polish as the leading idiom, i.e. as the language that frames the conversation. In such cases, it is not uncommon that Wymysorys features are introduced into the Polish structure. Most of such imports are unadjusted, although they may sometimes be adapted to the Polish morphology or phonetics. The same holds true for German, if the conversation is conducted in this language: ${ }^{54}$

Ufum miedza chodzila twoja mama z wózkiem 'Your mother walked with a perambulator (a pram) on the field'
Ich bin dir fräjnd 'I am your friend'

[^37]
### 7.2 Polish influence ${ }^{55}$

Although Wymysorys exhibits traits that are typical of Standard German and/or that were borrowed from it, it is the influence from Polish that has played a leading role in the modern history of the ethnolect. Polish has greatly contributed to the development of Modern Wymysorys and to its Slavic-like nature, quite particular among Germanic languages. The Polish impact may be seen in phonetics, lexicon (referential and functional) and core grammar, including syntax.

### 7.2.1 Phonetics

The following features of the Wymysorys phonetic system have been introduced from Polish:
a) The presence of the fronted close-mid central unrounded [? $]$. This sound is highly common in Wymysorys, being found not only in loanwords from Polish (e.g. ryź 'rice' from $\mathrm{P} r y \dot{z}$ ), but also in the genuine Germanic vocabulary (e.g. battyn 'panhandle' or myt 'with'). It is regularly used as the vowel of the prefix $g y$ [gi] in past participles (e.g. gybröta 'baked') and in other verbal prefixes (e.g. by- as in bynama 'call' or cy- as in cybràhja 'break up').
b) The presence of a complex system of postalveolar fricatives and affricates typical of Polish. As explained in the chapter dedicated to phonetics, Wymysorys includes three series of postalveolar / palatal fricatives and affricates, of which two are borrowed from Polish:

- laminal alveolo-palatal consonants [c], [z], [tc], and [dz] (sometimes analyzed as soft, higher-pitched, brighter and more-hissing)
- laminal flat postalveolar consonants [s], [z], [ts], [dz] (sometimes analyzed as hard, non-palatal, lower-pitched, duller and more-hushing)

In the genuinely Germanic vocabulary, speakers frequently employ the soft palatal postalveolar series of [c], [z], [tc] and [dz], for instance śtrös 'street', menćć 'man' and gyhüźum 'disobedient, naughty'. Although this alveolo-palatal pronunciation is predominant, being preferred by the most speakers, in certain cases, laminal flat postalveolars (especially [s] and [z]) can also be used. For instance, the word stàht 'bad' can be pronounced with the consonant [6] or [s] (in addition to the genuine Germanic pronunciation with [J]) and thus with realizations that gradually decrease the palatal effect of softness.

Polish loanwords with postalveolars are usually adapted to the tendency described above and pronounced by using the soft alveolo-palatal series even if their Standard Polish counterparts include laminal flat consonants: wrzesień 'September'

[^38](originally pronounced with a hard $[\underline{z}]$ ) has been incorporated into the Wymysorys vocabulary as wźeśyń, i.e. with [z].

However, certain words tend to preserve their original hard Polish pronunciation, thus contravening the adaptation rule mentioned above: bezbożnik 'ungodly person' or $g z ̇ y h ~ ' s i n '$.

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 Wymysorys lexemes (instead of palatalo-alveolars), might be related to a dialectal phenomenon found in parts of Małopolska, so-called siakanie.
c) The use of the alveolo-palatal consonant [ n ], spelled in accordance with the Polish norm as $n$ or $n j$. This sound can be found both in Polish loanwords (e.g. babinjec 'meeting of women; old woman') and genuine Germanic lexemes (e.g. ferwyńća 'curse, blaspheme' or meńć 'man'.
d) The use of the voiceless velar fricative [ x$]$ in the initial position. Because of the incorporation of Polish words that begin with $[x]$, the original phonetic rule whereby $/ \mathrm{h} /$ was pronounced as $[\mathrm{h}]$ word-initially and as $[\mathrm{x}]$ elsewhere has been weakened. Although the etymologically correct pronunciation of $[\mathrm{h}]$ in the initial position in Germanic words can still be found, such words may also be uttered by employing an " $h$-sound" typical of Polish, i.e. [x]. That is, lexemes such as hund 'dog' or hand 'hand' can use both [ h ] and [ x ], the former being historically correct, while the latter is influenced by Polish. Additionally, in the vocabulary borrowed from Polish, the initial " $h$-sound" is commonly rendered as [x], e.g. hrapän 'snore'. However, [x] word initially may also be etymological and suggest a potential Dutch origin of Wymysorys (Wicherkiewicz 2003, Ritchie 2013).
e) The lack of aspiration in plosives $[\mathrm{p}]$, $[\mathrm{t}]$ and $[\mathrm{k}]$.
f) The presence of a labialized velar approximant [w], which is typical to Polish, where it evolved from an older velar $l$. In Wymysorys, the sound [w] (spelled in the Polish fashion as $t$ ) is extensively used in genuine Germanic words where, on various occasions, it has replaced the older l: tjyn 'study, learn, teach', gywyntik 'usual, common', läter 'ladder' or głoz 'glass'. It is likely that one is dealing with an internal evolution of the language, which is possibly encouraged by an analogous development in Polish.

### 7.2.2 Referential lexicon

The referential lexicon is the most evident indication of the Polish influence on the Wymysorys language. This group of words consists of lexemes that have either concretephysical referents (i.e. words characterized by a high degree of referentiality or referential prototypicality) or conceptual-abstract referents (i.e. words with a low degree of referentiality
or referential non-prototypicality). This class of imports includes nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.

The most typical Polish lexemes that have penetrated Wymysorys language are nouns. Most commonly, substantives are adjusted to the phonetic and morphological system of the ethnolect. The borrowed nouns correspond to various semantic types, categories or domains, such as:
a) Plants: maślok (< P maślak) 'Suillus, slippery jack'; ogürki (< P ogórek) 'cucumber’; papereć ( $<\mathrm{P}$ paproć) 'fern’;
b) Animals: köwut (< P kobyła) 'mare'; łosoś ( $<\mathrm{P}$ losos') ‘salmon’; matp (< P malpa) 'ape';
c) Food: káśa (< P kasza) 'grits, grouts'; kwas (< P kwas) 'sour drink'; opłatki (< P optatek) 'communion or Christmas wafer';
d) Persons: cudzoźjymjec ( $<\mathrm{P}$ cudzoziemiec) 'foreigner'; cüdok ( $<\mathrm{P}$ cudak) 'weirdo, odd man'; dźiwok ( $<\mathrm{P}$ dziwak) 'freak, weirdo', pijok ( $<\mathrm{P}$ pijak) ‘drinker, drunkard’; poganin ( $<\mathrm{P}$ poganin) 'pagan’; dühowjyństwo ( $<\mathrm{P}$ duchowieństwo) 'clergy’; halastra (< P hałastra) 'rabble, mob';
e) Professions: pogünić (< P poganiacz) ‘driver, herdsman’; kołodźej (< P kołodziej) 'wheelwright'; niöerki (< P nurek) 'diver, plunger'; päni (< P pani) 'female teacher'; priöebość (< P proboszcz) 'parson, parish priest’; rycyż ( $<\mathrm{P}$ rycerz) 'knight'; seńdźja (<P sędzia) 'judge';
f) Proper names: Jäśki (< P Jaś, Jasiek); Józia (< P Józia); Jyndra (< P Jędrzej, Jędrek); Káśka (< P Kaśka);
g) Family members: klop ( $<\mathrm{P}$ chłop) 'man, husband'; kumpán ( $<\mathrm{P}$ kompan) 'friend'; kuzynk (< P kuzynka) 'cousin'; macoha (< P macocha) 'stepmother';
h) Body: ćüprin (< P czupryna) 'head of hair'; düpski (< P dupski) 'arse'; pálski ( $<\mathrm{P}$ palec) 'finger, thumb'; pàlüh ( $<\mathrm{P}$ paluch) 'finger, thumb';
i) Instruments: moźdźjyż (< P moździerz) 'mortar', kädź ( $<\mathrm{P}$ kadź) 'tub, vat'; wytryh and wydryh ( $<\mathrm{P}$ wytrych) '(pass/skeleton) key';
j) Clothing and other objects: tśewik (< P trzewik) 'shoe'; kapelüśs (< P kapelusz) 'hat'; ketih ( $<\mathrm{P}$ kielich) 'goblet, cup', namjot ( $<\mathrm{P}$ namiot) 'tent';
k) Buildings: waśtat (< P warsztat) 'workshop';

1) Events and dates: Anjelsko (< P [Święto Matki Boskiej] Anielskiej) ‘Porziuncola Day’; bjyźmowànje (< P bierzmowanie) 'confirmation’; Buoźe Ćjàto (< P Boże Ciało) 'Corpus Christi'; grüdźjyń (< P grudzień) 'December’; wyżinek (< P wyżynki) 'harvest, harvest festival';
m) Weather phenomena: potop (< P potop) 'deluge, flood’; küźäwa (< P kurzawa) 'heavy clouds';
n) and other lexemes, including abstract concepts: kora (< P kara) 'penalty, punishment'; menka ( $<\mathrm{P}$ męka) 'suffering'; nodźeja ( $<\mathrm{P}$ nadzieja) 'hope' or strah ( $<$ P starch) 'fear'. ${ }^{56}$

The substantives borrowed from Polish are well-integrated into the Wymysorys morphology. They are declined in cases and/or follow the rules of the plural formation, employing the endings typicality found in the ethnolect, namely $-a,-j a$, $-n$ or $\varnothing$. For instance, bürok 'beetroot' ( $<\mathrm{P}$ burak) derives its plural by adding the ending $-a$, i.e. büroka. The word pstrong 'trout' ( $<\mathrm{P}$ pstrag) forms the plural by means of $-j a$ (i.e. pstrongja) and köwut 'mare' ( $<\mathrm{P}$ kobyła) by using $-n$ (i.e. köwutn).

In this adaptation of Polish nouns to the Wymysorys phonetic and morphological system, the following phenomena can be distinguished:
a) Various substantives that display the vowel $a$ [a] in Standard Polish exhibit $o$ [ 0 ] in their Wymysorys forms: cegloż 'brickmaker' ( $<\mathrm{P}$ ceglarz) and skorb 'treasure' ( $<\mathrm{P}$ skarb). This may stem from the fact that underlying input forms are dialectal with [0] instead of the standard [a] (cf. Żak 2013);
b) Certain nouns that have the fricative velar consonant $[\mathrm{x}]$ in Polish display a velar plosive $k[\mathrm{k}]$ : ktop 'man' ( $<\mathrm{P}$ chtop) and kröst 'scab' ( $<\mathrm{P}$ chrosta). This may also be conditioned by the dialectal forms used in Małopolska (cf. Żak 2013;
c) Various feminine nouns that end in $-a$ in Polish lose this vowel when imported into Wymysorys, for instance köwut 'mare' (< P kobyta) and matp 'ape' (< P matpa). This may have its roots in the general rule of Wymysorys whereby feminine nouns in the singular do not end in $-a$ but exhibit a consonant as their final element. The ending $-a$ is rather employed to derive their plural. Thus, in order to preserve the gender of the feminine substantives without transgressing the rules of the Wymysorys nominal morphology, the vowel $a$ is eliminated in the singular (matp 'an ape)', being only used as a plural marker in accordance with the main tendency of the feminine declension (matpa 'apes');
d) A group of nouns have been derived from underlying Polish plural forms, or are backformations from the original Polish plural. This class contains words in $-k i$ in the

[^39]singular, such as fjotki 'a violet', which correspond to Polish singular in -ek (P fiotek) and plurals in $-k i$ ( P fiotki). Thus, the singular of the Wymysorys lexeme is formally identical to the Polish plural. However, it is also possible that the singular form fiotki is a backformation form of the Wymysorys plural fiotkja. That is, when used in the plural, the Polish plural fiotki was reshaped to fiotkja. It exhibited the ending $-a$ typical of masculine nouns and thus adjusted to the morphology of this lexeme to the rules of Wymysorys. Once the form fiotkja has been stabilized, a new singular noun, i.e. fiotki (analogical to the pattern SG ryk [ric] - PL rykja and SG śü - PL śüja) was derived;
e) Some words have reduced complex consonant clusters, thus offering a less troublesome pronunciation: gancoż 'potter' ( $<\mathrm{P}$ garncarz) 'potter'. There are also cases of an ependetic vowel (papereć 'fern' < P paproć) and apheresis (kośerka 'midwife' < P akuszerka);
f) Polish imports may be employed with genuine Wymysorys suffixes, most commonly with the diminutive morpheme -la: babela (a diminutive that is composed of the Polish element baba and the suffix -la), Stahela (Stah [from Polish Stah] + la), and ćüprinla (ćüprin [from Polish czupryna] + la).

The phenomena mentioned above are tendencies and cannot be understood as fixed rules. For example, feminine nouns may preserve the original -a (kälina 'viburnum' from Polish kalina or käśa 'grouts' from Polish kasza).

Like nouns, verbs constitute a quantitatively relevant group of Polish loanwords. There are three main classes of Polish verbal imports, depending on the ending used in Wymysorys:
a) The first class is formed by verbs in $\dot{a} n$ (derived from Polish infinitives in $-V \dot{c}$ ). The group of $\dot{a} n$ verbs may itself be split into various subtypes that reflect their exact Polish source:
i) verbs in -ać (e.g. blonkản zih < P błakać się 'wander', drenowán $<\mathrm{P}$ drenować 'drain', düfän $<\mathrm{P}$ dufać 'believe', dümjän $<\mathrm{P}$ dumać 'think');
ii) verbs in -aćl-ić (e.g. bảwjän < P bawić and -bawiać 'play', bȧwjän zih $<\mathrm{P}$ bawić się and -bawiać 'play', dwojän $<\mathrm{P}$ dwoić and $-d w a j a c ́$ 'doubt' or gardzän < P gardzić and -gardzać 'despise';
iii) verbs in -ićl-yć (e.g. düdnjän < P dudnić 'resound', ożyjän $<\mathrm{P}$ ożyć 'come alive', trüdzän < P trudzić się 'toil, trouble';
iv) verbs in -eć (e.g. ślenćán and śljynćȧn < P slęczeć 'tarry')
v) verbs in -ać (e.g. śjednjän < from dialectal siednać ‘sit down').
b) The second class includes verbs in -owàn related to the Polish infinitive in -ować: öefjarowàn < P ofiarować 'offer', priöeroköwȧn < P prorokować 'prophesy',
prüźnowàn < P próżnować 'idle', rurkowȧn < P rurkować 'fold' or rysöwàn $<$ rysować ‘draw'.
c) The third class contains verbs in -Cn. The only member of this class is derived from the Polish infinitive in yć: nużutn $<\mathrm{P}$ nużyć 'tire, grumble'.

During the incorporation of Polish verbs to Wymysorys, the following adjusting phenomena can be observed:
a) The correspondence between the Wymysorys vowel [ 0 ] and Standard Polish [a], e.g. nowidzän < P nawiedzać 'visit';
b) The use of the velar stop [k] in Wymysorys instead of the Standard Polish fricative consonant [x], e.g. karlän < P charlać 'cough';
c) The simplification of complicated clusters of consonants, e.g. namjynjän $<\mathrm{P}$ nadmieniać 'hint' [cf. the loss of d], ks'yśán < P wskrzeszać 'resuscitate' [cf. the elimination of the initial class ws-], nabżnjän < P nabrzmieć 'swell' [cf. the assimilation of $m$ to $n$ due to the postalveolar consonant $\dot{z}$;
d) Although certain Polish verbal prefixes can be preserved (cf. skidän 'spill' [from Polish $s$ - $+k i d a c ́]$ ), there are frequent cases where the Polish verbal base is accompanied by a genuine Wymysorys prefix, for instance ufhapàn 'catch up, grab' (uf- + hapän form dialectal Polish chapać) and cyśjekän 'cut off' (cy + śjekän from Polish siekać). This procedure is common and productive in Wymysorys. For example, the verb kidàn 'spill' (from Polish kidać) - besides being admissible with the Polish perfective prefix $s$ - as in skidàn - may also employ Germanic prefixes ferand $c y$-, thus appearing as ferkidàn 'spill' or cykidàn 'spill out'. This technique constitutes the best means of preserving the perfective value of an underlying Polish verb in Wymysorys;
e) Some verbs that are reflexive in Polish may lose this feature in Wymysorys if the ethnolect already includes in its repertory an equivalent genuine Germanic nonreflexive verb: güzdrän 'dawdle' (compare with the Polish reflexive verb guzdrać się but a non-reflexive genuine Germanic predicate zoüma), jonkän 'stammer' (cf. Polish jakać sie and genuine Wymysorys droka). However, there are many verbs that preserve their reflexivity. For instance, bäwjän zih matches the Polish form bawić się even though a semantically analogous Wymysorys verb śpejła is not a reflexive one;
f) The incorporation of Polish verbs into the class of - $\dot{a} n$ verbs in Wymysorys has resulted in the formation of an entirely new, previously non-existing subclass of $-n$ infinitives, i.e. pluri-syllabic predicates whose stem ends in $-\dot{a}$. In this manner, a new conjugational paradigm has been formed. If one takes as an example the verb pytän
'ask' (from Polish pytać), the forms of the Present tense are the following: SG pytä, pytäst, pytät; PL pytän, pytät, and pytän; the Participle is pytät 'asked' (usually without the prefix $g y$-), the Perfect is dü höst wynokwjät 'you have discovered'; and the Preterite is pytät, pytätst, pytät in the singular and pytäta, pytät, pytäta, in the plural.

Adjectives and adverbs constitute the third important class of Polish imports. Most adjectives that are borrowed from Polish are assimilated into the adjectival system of the Wymysorys language:
a) Polish adjectives in $-y$ usually exhibit the ending $-i k$, which is the most common adjectival morpheme available in Wymysorys: jäłowik 'arid' from Polish jałowy. In this manner, during their adaptation to the Wymysorys system, Polish adjectival forms in $-y$ substitute this ending with a genuine Wymysorys suffix - which, phonetically, is not very distant from the original Polish ending - delivering mixed Polish-Wymysorys compositions: the adjectival base is Polish but the suffix is either genuinely Wymysorys or of a blended Polish-Wymysorys origin;
b) All the loanwords that were adjectives or participles in -ny in Polish display the ending -nik, another characteristic adjectival morpheme in Wymysorys: sprytnik 'cunning, smart' from Polish sprytny. As the entity -nik is a typical adjectival morpheme in Wymysorys, the Polish adjectives in -ny, by analogy, could have been expanded by this adjectival class in order to fit them into the hosting system. 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 morpheme -ny fused with the Wymysorys suffix -ik into -nik, which is homophonous with the common adjectival marker -nik. Both phenomena may have co-occurred and encouraged each other;
c) Certain adjectives use the ending -iś in their adapted forms: łakümiśs (< P takomy) 'greedy' and niklinis' (< nikty) 'feeble'. Here, the Polish ending may have been replaced by another common adjectival ending -iś, phonetically similar to the Slavic form;
d) Sometimes the Polish ending $y$ has been eliminated as in gtüh ( $<\mathrm{P}$ gluchy) 'deaf'. This technique duplicates certain suffix-less Wymysorys adjectives such as klin 'small, little', grus 'big' or otd 'old'.

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 adverbial system of Wymysorys by employing the same endings as those offered by adjectives: -ik -nik, -iś and $\varnothing$ (i.e. noending). In these cases, the adverb formally coincides with an uninflected neuter form of the corresponding adjective. This means that if used in an uninflected form as a modifier of a
verb or an adjective (thus, in an adverbial position/function), all the adjectives mentioned in the preceding paragraph can function as adverbs. The other class includes more direct adverbial imports from Polish. The majority of the members of this group are lexemes that reflect Polish adverbs of manner in -nie: njespodźjanje ( $<\mathrm{P}$ niespodzianie) 'unexpectedly' or raptownje ( $<\mathrm{P}$ raptownie) 'suddenly'. A similar direct importation may be found in the following cases: a) words that reflect Polish adverbs in $-t$ : akurat ( $<\mathrm{P}$ akurat) 'exactly' and nawet ( $<\mathrm{P}$ nawet) 'even, still, yet, self'; b) words that correspond to Polish adverbs in -em: hürmem ( < P hurmem) 'all together' and raptem ( $<\mathrm{P}$ raptem) 'suddenly'; and c) other adverbial lexemes: hyba ( $<\mathrm{P}$ chyba) 'maybe, possibly’ and poprostu ( $<\mathrm{P}$ po prostu) 'simply, directly'.

### 7.2.3 Grammar

The Polish language not only affects Wymysorys at the lexicon level but is also visible in the grammatical core of the ethnolect. To be exact, the Slavic influence is found in the functional lexicon (i.e. words that do not have a concrete or conceptual referent; e.g. conjunctions, particles and interjections), in morphology and in syntax.

The functional lexicon of Polish origin includes the following conjunctions, connectors or particles: bo 'because, as, since' (borrowed from a homophonous Polish form bo) no bo 'because; so then, well, well then' (from a homonymous expression in Colloquial Polish no bo), no 'then' (from Polish no), no to 'then, so then' (from an identical Polish locution no to) and to '(so) then' (equivalent to Polish word to; for a more detailed description of the uses of these words, see section 4.4). Apart from the direct Polish loanwords mentioned above, the Polish language has influenced the usage of certain genuine Wymysorys lexemes. For example, the functions of the Polish conjunction $\dot{z} e$ explain the range of uses offered by the Wymysorys word do 'that'. This conjunction, which is a cognate to the German $d a \beta$, besides appearing as a complementizer with an expletive sense 'that', can be employed with a purposive-final value or a causal force similar to 'since, due to the fact that'. These two latter uses are developed by analogy to $\dot{z} e$ in Polish (However, it is also possible to hypothesize a German influence from constructions such as Da die Menschen dumm sind):

Yh ho gybata dy tohter do zy mir zo oüswośa 'I have asked my daughter to help me' (cf. Polish Poprositem córkę żeby mi pomogła)
Do di toüt dut zäjn... 'Because the people are stupid...' (cf. Polish Jako że ludzie sa głupi)

A similar phenomenon is found in the case of the conjunction wi. In Wymysorys, this word is employed in functions that correspond to the uses offered by its Polish homologue jak. Accordingly, wi is not only used as an interrogative and exclamatory adverb 'how?, how!' or as a linker in comparison of the first degree, but also appears after adjectives and adverbs in the comparative degree and in subordinated clauses where it introduces the reason or the cause:

Har ej kläner wi zäj brüder 'He is smaller than his brother'
Wi yh ym oüta wiöe, zoh yh a meńća 'As I was in the car, I saw a man'
The Polish language has also penetrated the domain of interjections and onomatopoeias, which constitute an expressive and pragmatic type of lexicon. To be exact, interjections such as $a h$ 'oh, ah', oh 'oh', oj 'oh, wow' and $e j$ 'hey' are borrowed Polish words ach, och, oj and $e j$, respectively. Various swearwords are of Polish origin (e.g. pśjokrew '[vulg.] damn, hell!' from Polish psiakrew) as well as onomatopoeias used to address animals (kići-kići 'here kitty kitty' $<\mathrm{P}$ kici kici, prr 'whoa' < P prr or wjo-wiśta 'gee-up' < P wiśta wio).

The Polish influence is also visible in morphology, both inflectional and derivational. As far as inflection morphology is concerned, the Polish component may be recognized in the regular use of the vocative case with kinship nouns: VOC mümy! 'mom!' (cf. NOM müm), VOC büwy! ‘boy!’ (cf. NOM büw), VOC bowy! ‘wife, woman’ (cf. NOM bow), VOC poty! 'godfather' (cf. NOM pot), VOC toüty! 'people!' (cf. NOM toüt) and VOC knàhty! 'lad' (cf. NOM knäht). Although the exact morphological origin of this ending is not Polish - the ending derives from a hypocoristic suffix - the development of diminutives used in a vocative function into a genuine vocative case ending might have been stimulated by the presence of the category of vocative in the Polish, where it is productive and frequent.

The derivational morphology of a Polish origin is more visible. The ethnolect possesses a number of derivational suffixes that have been borrowed from Polish. The most relevant are the following:
a) The suffixes -ok or $-a k$. The former reflects the dialectal form while the latter matches the Standard Polish form. Both are frequently used in nicknames, e.g. Hytok or Marińćok. However, they can also be employed with genuine Germanic stems: Präjz 'Prussian' > Präjzok 'Prussian';
b) The suffixes $-s k i(<\mathrm{P}-s k i)$ and $-c k i(<\mathrm{P}-c k i)$. These morphemes appear in proper names, especially in surnames and nicknames, such as Holećki or Jaśićki;
c) Diminutive suffixes -uś (< $\mathrm{P}-u s ́)-s ́ j u(<\mathrm{P}-s j u)-s ́ a /-z ́ a(<\mathrm{P}-s i a$ and $-z i a)$, -ćo ( $<\mathrm{P}-$ $c i o$ ) and $-c ́ a(<\mathrm{P}-c i a)$. The most frequent of them are $-u s ́$ (found even in proper names of Germanic origin, e.g. Linküś or Götüśs) and -śju (likewise found with genuine Germanic lexemes, e.g. kacuśju 'kitty' (a diminutive of koc 'cat') or kynduśju (diminutive of kind 'child')). The other diminutives tend to appear with Polish bases or are direct loans from Polish: Jaśu (< P Jasiu), Stảśjü (< P Stasiu) and Juźa (< P Józia);
d) The verbal suffix -owän which (as explained in section 2.2) descends from the Polish infinitive form in -ować. This ending has been fully "nativized" and may be employed with genuine Germanic bases, such as krankowán 'be sick, weak', a compound of the entity krank 'sick, weak' and -owän;
e) The suffixes -źe (also pronounced and written as -że and -cie) borrowed from the Polish intensifying particle że: gejźe 'go!’, kuźe 'talk!', fercytźe 'tell!', or kumtźe nàj ‘come!’, ret mih źe ‘save me, rescue me!’ (cf. section 4.4);
f) The suffix -naśćje found in numerals: wifutnośćje 'how many times' (< wifut + P aście).

As far as the syntax is concerned, the influence of Polish can be observed in the relatively free word order, the use of the negative concord and the possible lack of the rule of sequence of tenses (cf. chapter 6 where these three syntactical phenomena have been explained in detail). Another case of the syntactic (or morpho-syntactic) influence is the development of novel tenses. To be exact, apart from regular future tenses formed with auxiliaries wada/wan and zula (Future I and Future II), for which equivalents may easily be found in numerous Germanic languages, the ethnolect has also developed an alternative way of conveying the future meaning. This alternative future tense corresponds to a periphrasis consisting of the auxiliary wada/wan and the Participle. This formation structurally matches the Polish expression będzie pisat - composed of the inflected auxiliary verb with future senses (będzie) and a past participle (napisat) - which is a paradigmatic future tense in Polish (cf. Andrason 2010b, 2016b):

Yhy wá gybata dy nökweryn 'I will ask the neighbor' (instead of the regular wa bata 'will ask' or wa hon gybata 'will have asked')

Another example of a new tense is alternative form of the Conjunctive II (wje + Infinitive). Instead of the infinitive, the novel construction contains the Participle, paralleling the Polish past conditional bytby napisat, which is formed by the conditional auxiliary (bytby) and a past participle (napisat). This construction is very infrequent.
...wje'h ju mytum gykuzt 'I would already have talked to him' (instead of the regular wje kuza 'would talk' or het gykuzt 'would have talked') ${ }^{57}$

### 7.2.4 Hybridization

Hybridization is a type of double marking narrowed to a language-contact situation. Hybridization understood in this manner constitutes a special case of borrowing, transfer or language intertwining whereby a hybrid is an item whose form can be traced to two ancestral forms of the same level as that of the hybrid. For instance, one morpheme derives from two underlying morphemes and one lexeme derives from two original lexemes. At least one of the

[^40]ancestral forms (i.e. the entities that underlie the hybrid) has existed in a different language. The hybrid form does the grammatical job that is conveyed by the two historically underlying forms which have equally descended from two languages. In other words, identical (or highly similar) semantic or functional information conveyed by two different forms in two different languages is expressed by a form that mixes formal properties of these two ancestral forms (Andrason 2015b:3-5).

Hybridization operates in Wymysorys at various levels:
a) At the level of morphemes: a hybrid morpheme is created by combining and fusing morphemes that exist in Wymysorys and in Polish. For instance, the plural ending -ja as in rozinkja 'raisins' is a product of the plural ending -i from Polish (cf. rodzynk-i) and the Wymysorys ending $-a$. In a similar vein, the adjectival endings -nik, -ik and -is' found with Polish loanwords may be fused forms of the input Polish and Wymysorys suffixes: -ny + -ik (grymáśnik 'picky' < P grymaśn-y + -nik), -y + -ik (upartik 'obstinate' < P upart-y + -ik) and $-y+-i s '$ (takümis' 'greedy' < P takom-y $+-i s ́$; cf. Andrason 2015b:5-8);
b) At the level of lexemes: two words are combined into one lexeme. The most evident example is kapelüs'hüt 'hat' which is a compound of one Polish loanword (i.e. kapelüs' < P kapelusz) and one genuine Wymysorys lexeme (i.e. hüt), both with the identical meaning, i.e. 'hat'. Another typical case is gazytcaijtung 'newspaper' - a hybrid formed by gazyt (< P gazeta) and cajtung 'newspaper'. Hybrids are also found in the class of adverbs. For instance, inok 'only' is a combination of the Germanic lexeme nok 'only' and the Polish words ino or jeno 'only'. There are also multiple cases of an unstabilized, idiolectal and ad-hoc hybridization at lexeme level, found in colloquial speech, e.g. chtopak büw 'boy' (i.e. the Polish word chlopak 'boy' + the Wymysorys word büw 'boy'; cf. Andrason 2015b:8-9);
c) At the level of phrases or clauses: an entire phrase or clause is uttered twice, first in Wymysorys and next in Polish, or in the inverse order. For examples, in the sentence kon' $\dot{a}$ może 'it is possible', the first locution kon' $\dot{a}$ 'it can/is possible' is followed by identical Polish form może 'it can, it may'. Another example is Hösty śun äny ufum na $o k u$ ? 'Do you have anyone (i.e. a girl) in mind? / Have you chosen anyone? (lit. 'Do you have anyone on the on eye. In this sentence, the Wymysorys proposition uf 'on' is echoed by the Polish preposition na 'on'. The redundant intercalation of similar information in Wymysorys and Polish at the phrase and clause level seems to be as common as it is at the lexeme level, constituting one of the particularities of the colloquial language (cf. Andrason 2015b:9-10). ${ }^{58}$

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### 7.3 A mixed language ${ }^{59}$

Given its close relation with Polish, it has recently been proposed that Wymysorys can be regarded as a Germanic-Slavic mixed language, relatively advanced on the cline(s) of mixing. Although the ethnolect originated as an exemplary member of the West German family and although the bulk of its components are still West Germanic, nowadays it exhibits a more marked Slavic character due to the prolonged and intense contact with Polish and its dialects. The proposal to treat Wymysorys as a mixed language stems from the fact the ethnolect exhibits various properties that are typical of mixed languages, be they socio-historical, sociolinguistic or purely linguistic.

Wymysorys exhibits the following socio-historical features that are typical of the genesis of mixed languages:
a) A prolonged and intense contact with Polish which, albeit with certain intervals, has been a dominant tongue of the adjacent region;
b) The regular bilingualism or multilingualism of the speakers of Wymysorys that has persisted for six or five hundred years;
c) The introduction of Polish features due to expressive needs rather than because of communicative necessity;
d) A possible use of Polish characteristics in order to mark intergroup ethnic identity and to distinguish Wymysorys from both German and Polish.

The ethnolect is also characterized by certain sociolinguistic properties that are exemplary of mixed languages:
a) Wymysorys regularly appears in situations of codeswitching. In fact, the use of codeswitching may be viewed as a typical trait of the realistic Wymysorys language (cf. section 7.1). In conversation in which Wymysorys is employed, both insertional and alternational types of codeswitching are found. While the former is crosslinguistically found only at very initial stages of mixing and on its own does not lead to mixed linguistic systems, the latter commonly gives rise to mixed languages and persists during the internal development of a given mixed language;
b) The regular use and access to codeswitching gives the speakers of Wymysorys the possibility to employ resources available in their two native tongues (i.e. in Wymysorys and Polish) consciously and creatively.

[^42]Lastly, the ethnolect exhibits several linguistic properties (both lexical and grammatical) that are typical of mixed languages:
a) The presence of Polish features is significant qualitatively, as the Polish influence affects all the levels and areas of the language. It is found in phonetics, lexicon and in core grammar, both in morphology and syntax;
b) The presence of Polish features is also significant quantitatively, as the number of borrowings is large. The imported vocabulary adds up to some six hundred fully stabilized words (Andrason 2014b, 2015a);
c) There are cases of hybridized forms that are built of both Wymysorys and Polish components but that function as fused and indissoluble novelties;
d) Due to the mixing, Wymysorys does not simplify its structure, but on the contrary increases the input complexity of its West Germanic source. The structure of the ethnolect (be it phonetic, lexical or grammatical) is more complex because its draws from two alternative systems: one Germanic and one Slavic. Additionally, since in various cases, fused novelties (lexical, morphological or syntactic) are also available, three optional strategies exist for a given semantic concept or grammatical category.

To conclude, if the mixing of languages is imagined as a continuum leading from less intermingled systems to profoundly mixed systems, Wymysorys (as it emerged at the beginning of the $20^{\text {th }}$ century) can be located between the intermediate zone of mixing and the section that corresponds to an advanced stage of mixing. However, the language is still mainly Germanic and current revitalization efforts that aim at restituting a more pure version of Wymysorys may reverse its mixing with Polish and its incorporation or maintenance of Slavic characteristics. ${ }^{60}$

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Sections 1.1, 1.2 and 1.4 of this chapter draw from various papers published by Alexander Andrason and Tymoteusz Król, especially from 'The semantics of the Vilamovicean verbal system - Part 1 (empirical study)' published in Studia Linguisticae Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis 130 (Andrason 2013b), 'A fuzzy model of the Vilamovicean language’ published in Sorbian Revue 48 (Andrason \& Król 2014c); ‘Vilamovicean - a Germanic-Slavic mixed language?' published in Studies in Polish Linguistics 10/2 (Andrason 2015a); ‘A note on the morphology of the Vilamovicean verb - principal parts' published in Language Documentation and Description 13 (Andrason \& Król 2016)1 and "Modern Vilamovicean - complex decay of a case system" published in Oxford German Studies 45 (Andrason 2016b).
    ${ }^{\frac{1}{2}}$ Compare with the previous estimates of two hundred speakers (Andrason \& Król 2014c).

[^1]:    ${ }^{3}$ There is, however, no consensus on the exact origin of the first wave of settlers.

[^2]:    ${ }^{4}$ It should be noted that even though the town is situated not far from Upper Silesia, the influence of Slavic Silesian Language on this language has been very limited. This probably stems from the fact that the state border separated Wilamowice from Silesia until 1918 and that, even when forming part of the Polish state, Wilamowice belonged to the administrative province of Lesser Poland and not Silesia.

[^3]:    ${ }^{5}$ One must keep in mind that the exact question in the survey on which the aforementioned numbers are based was: What is your nationality, German or Polish? This means that the interpretation of these results is more complex.

[^4]:    ${ }^{6}$ Additionally, within the same project, a Picture-dictionary of Wymysorys was published in 2015 and a Wymysorys textbook for children will appear in 2016.

[^5]:    ${ }^{7}$ Alternatively, instead of being a case of borrowing, the change from [ h$]$ to $[\mathrm{x}]$ word initially may constitute a language-internal development. Indeed, this type of change has occurred in some Germanic languages, e.g. in Flemish.

[^6]:    ${ }^{8}$ The analysis of the vowels derives from an unpublished preliminary study conducted by Alexander Andrason, Sylwester Jaworski and Tymoteusz Król. In this study, the formants of the vowels produced by native speakers have been measured and represented in the vocalic space diagram. An alternative study has been elaborated by Jarosław Weckwerth "Samogłoski proste (monoftongi) jezzyka wilamowskiego - cechy widmowe" (Dziedzictwo jezzykowe Rzeczypospolitej, pp. 1-5; www.inne-jezyki.amu.edu.pl). The state of the Wymysorys phonetics at the beginning of the $20^{\text {th }}$ century, consult Kleczkowski (1920). For other, less comprehensive discussions see Lasatowicz Wicherkiewicz (2003) and Ritchie (2012).

[^7]:    ${ }^{9}$ For a further discussion of orthography and other spelling conventions see Wicherkiewicz 2003 and Ritchie 2012).

[^8]:    ${ }^{10}$ In some older papers and publications, the grapheme $a$ was used.

[^9]:    ${ }^{11}$ This table has been adapted from Andrason (forthcoming).

[^10]:    ${ }^{12}$ For a further discussion of articles, consult Andrason (forthcoming).

[^11]:    ${ }^{13}$ The chapter dedicated to nouns draws from an article "Morphological case systems of the Vilamovicean noun - from the $20^{\text {th }}$ to the $21^{\text {st }}$ century" written by Alexander Andrason and published in Studies in Polish Linguistics 9/1: 1-19 (Andrason 2014a).

[^12]:    ${ }^{14}$ From a historical perspective, this type of plural should be classified as belonging to class M-3.1, since the words in -er originally experienced a mere addition of the ending $n$. Their plural forms in $-y n$ stem from a widespread phonetic process found in the ethnolect, whereby the class -ern evolved into $-y n$. In this publication, Class M-3.3 is posited as independent mainly for pedagogic purposes. This observation also applies to classes F 3.3 and N-3.3 that include feminine and neuter nouns in -er, respectively.

[^13]:    ${ }^{15}$ For a further discussion of the inflectional system of nouns, see Andrason (2014a).

[^14]:    ${ }^{16}$ The section dedicated to the number, gender and case inflection of adjectives is based on the paper "The case system of the Vilamovicean adjective - from description to explanation" written by Alexander Andrason and published in Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics 42: 37-54 (Andrason 2013a).
    ${ }^{17}$ The three first classes can be viewed as strong declensions. Nevertheless, it is uniquely class 1 that displays the typical pronominal ending (viz. $s$ ) in the neuter nominative-accusative singular, while the two remaining types (classes 2 and 3 ) tolerate forms that are less representative of pronouns, i.e. ending-less forms.
    ${ }_{18}$ A significantly more common variant is śejn kyndta.

[^15]:    ${ }^{19}$ For more a more comprehensive discussion of the inflectional categories of adjectives as well as for the analysis of diachronic tendencies and grammaticalization processes in the adjectival system, consult Andrason (2013a).
    ${ }^{20}$ The chapter on pronouns contains fragments adapted from a study published by Alexander Andrason and Tymoteusz Król in Brünner Beiträge zur Germanistik und Nordistik 28: 93-122 (cf. Andrason \& Król 2014a).

[^16]:    ${ }^{21}$ This form is an intermediate variant between ejs and the suffixed $s$, with a slightly audible vocalic $e$ sound.
    ${ }^{22}$ See the comment in footnote 3, above.
    ${ }^{23}$ These forms are very similar to the full pronouns. However, they diverge from full pronouns as far as the stress is concerned. The reduced pronouns yns/c are unstressed and show a possible weakening of the root vowel.
    ${ }^{24}$ The forms $j u ̈ h$ and $\ddot{u} h$ are free variations.
    ${ }^{25}$ The form $j y r$, similar to the full pronoun $j y r$, is unstressed and pronounced with a short $y[i]$.

[^17]:    ${ }^{26}$ The suffixes $-j \dot{a},-m$ and $-r$ are found after a vowel, whereas the forms $-\dot{a}$, $-u m$ and $-e r$ appears following a consonant.
    ${ }^{27}$ If the pronoun $-s$ follows the consonant $r$, the two sounds are usually pronounced as $\dot{s}$.
    ${ }^{28}$ The form $-n$ and $-n a$ are found after a vowel, while the suffix $-a$ appears following consonant.

[^18]:    ${ }^{29}$ These two forms offer the following distribution: $j e$ is used as an adjective (i.e. accompanying and qualifying a noun), while jena is employed as a genuine pronoun (i.e. independently without any accompanying noun or in a predicative position).
    ${ }^{30}$ The forms in the dative singular feminine - i.e. zyta or zyty and zytnikja or zytnikjy are free variations.

[^19]:    ${ }^{31}$ In cases where two types of $k \dot{a}$-forms are found, the short variant is used adjectively (i.e. in an attributive function when qualifying a given noun), while the long variety appears in a pronominal function (i.e. when $k \dot{a}$ appears independently, without an accompanying noun or in a predicative function).

[^20]:    ${ }^{32}$ The form ida is used adjectively, whereas idys appears independently, i.e. as a genuine pronoun 'every one'.

[^21]:    ${ }^{33}$ However, in the singular masculine nominative, there are two further variants: der and dyr.
    ${ }^{34}$ The declension of wylhjer is fully analogical to its more common counterpart wyhjer. Therefore, only the inflection pattern of wyhjer is given.
    ${ }^{35}$ The plural forms wyła or wyty and wyhja or wyhy are free variations.

[^22]:    ${ }^{36}$ In parentheses, the forms typical of the pronominal (accented) variants are provided.

[^23]:    ${ }^{37}$ The three forms are interchangeable free variants.
    ${ }^{38}$ For more examples and other less regular variants of pronouns, consult Andrason \& Król (2014a).

[^24]:    ${ }^{39}$ Concerning evolutionary trends in the declensional system of the modern version of Wymysorys as compared to the language from the beginning of the $20^{\text {th }}$ century, consult a paper published by Andrason in German Oxford Studies 45 'Modern Vilamovicean - complex decay of a case system'(2006b).

[^25]:    ${ }^{40}$ Since the forms of irregular participles (i.e. participles of strong verbs, Rückumlaut verbs and PreteritePresent verbs) are in Germanic languages usually treated together with the forms of the Preterite as so-called principal parts, the morphological subtypes of the participles of these three classes of verbs will be presented in section 2.2 dedicated to the Preterite.

[^26]:    ${ }^{41}$ In this section, the fragments dedicated to the morphology of the Present tense draw from the article "A contribution to the documentation of a nearly extinct language - Present Tense morphology in Modern Vilamovicean" published by Alexander Andrason and Tymoteusz Król in Studia Linguistica 33: 7-22 (Andrason \& Król 2014b).

[^27]:    42 The discussion dedicated to strong verbs is based on the paper "A note on the morphology of the Vilamovicean verb - principal parts" published by Alexander Andrason and Tymoteusz Król in Language Documentation and Description 13.

[^28]:    ${ }^{43}$ One also finds the form wün.
    ${ }^{44}$ For a comprehensive review of strong verbs, see Andrason \& Król (2016).

[^29]:    ${ }^{45}$ For a detailed comparison of the semantic potential of the Preterite and Perfect see Andrason (2010a).

[^30]:    ${ }^{46}$ The discussion in this section draws from the article "The semantics of the Vilamovicean verbal system - Part 1 (empirical study)" published by Alexander Andrason in Studia Linguisticae Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis 130: 7-39 (Andrason 2013b).

[^31]:    ${ }^{47}$ For differences in the uses of the Perfect and the Preterite, consult Andrason (2010a)

[^32]:    ${ }^{48}$ For a more detailed analysis of the expressions of futurity, consult Andrason (2010b).

[^33]:    ${ }^{49}$ For more examples of analytic verbal constructions and for a cognitive analysis of the entire TAM system, see Andrason (2013b, 2014c).
    ${ }^{50}$ The present section is based on the paper "The Vilamovicean Passive" published by Alexander Andrason in Linguistica Copernicana 5: 221-242 (Andrason 2011).

[^34]:    ${ }^{51}$ In this section and in sections 5.5.2 and 5.5.3, to illustrate the structure of various passive constructions, all the different examples of this sentence will be given. All such forms contain the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person pronoun ejs 'it', a (tense-aspect) auxiliary inflected in the $3^{\text {rd }}$ person singular, and the participle of the verb maha 'do'.

[^35]:    ${ }^{52}$ The present chapter draws from two studies authored by Alexander Andrason: "The Polish component in the Vilamovicean language" (published in GLOSSOS 12: 1-38; Andrason 2014b) and "Vilamovicean - a GermanicSlavic mixed language?" (published in Studies in Polish Linguistics 10/2: 57-85; Andrason 2015).

[^36]:    ${ }^{53}$ The section dedicated to the conversational types found in Wilamowice derives from the paper "A fuzzy model of the Vilamovicean language" published by Alexander Andrason and Tymoteusz Król in Sorbian Revue 48: 265-292 (Andrason \& Król 2014c).

[^37]:    ${ }^{54}$ For a systemic analysis of the relationship that exists among all the conversational types, see Andrason \& Król (2014c).

[^38]:    ${ }^{55}$ The present section draws from the study "The Polish component in the Vilamovicean language" published by Alexander Andrason in GLOSSOS 12: 1-38 (Andrason 2014b).

[^39]:    ${ }^{56}$ For another review of lexical borrowings, see Żak (2013).

[^40]:    ${ }^{57}$ For a significantly more exhaustive discussion of the Polish influence (with a more comprehensive list of forms imported from Polish), see Andrason (2014b) and Żak (2013). For a detailed analysis of the alternative forms of the Future tense and the Conjunctive II, consult the article "Where Germanic and Slavic meet - a note on new Polish-based tenses in the Vilamovicean language" published in Germanoslavica 27 (Andrason 2016a).

[^41]:    ${ }^{58}$ For a more detailed treatment of the phenomenon of hybridization, see Andrason (2015b).

[^42]:    ${ }^{59}$ The discussion in section 7.3 is based on the article "Vilamovicean - a Germanic-Slavic mixed language?" published by Alexander Andrason in Studies in Polish Linguistics 10/2: 57-85 (Andrason 2015a).

[^43]:    ${ }^{60}$ For a more comprehensive analysis of Wymysorys as a mixed language, refer to Andrason (2015a).

