



**Polish Borrowings in Wymysorys**  
A Formal Linguistic Analysis of Germano-Slavonic  
Language Contact in Wilamowice

Alexander Andrason

Dissertation towards the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
2021



**UNIVERSITY OF ICELAND**  
**SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES**

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FACULTY OF ICELANDIC AND  
COMPARATIVE CULTURAL STUDIES

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University of Iceland  
School of Humanities  
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## ABSTRACT

The present dissertation concerns formal aspects of Polish borrowing in 21<sup>st</sup>-century Wymysorys – a minority Germanic language spoken by a few dozen people in the town of Wilamowice in Poland. By drawing on modern borrowing theories and his own empirical studies conducted *in situ*, the author documents, describes, and explains all cases and types of Polish borrowings that may currently be found across the Wymysorys sound system, lexicon, and grammar. The evidence demonstrates that Polish has influenced Wymysorys to a significant extent, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative impact surfaces in the high type frequency of linguistic elements that have been borrowed. The qualitative impact transpires in the wide range and diversity of the parts of the language being affected, whether in the sound system (Polish has affected phonetics, phonology, phonotactics, and prosody, in addition to consonants and vowels), lexicon (Polish has affected nearly all lexical classes, both content and functional, and most of their sub-types), and grammar (Polish has affected derivational and inflectional morphology, morpho-syntax, and syntax). The extent of the Polish influence is such that the original typological profile of Wymysorys and its Germanic essence could be viewed as compromised: the Wymysorys language shifts towards a blended Germanic-Slavonic profile.

## ÁGRIP

Þessi ritgerð fjallar um formlega lántöku úr pólsku í nútíma vymysorysku – germönsku minnihlutatungumáli sem talað er af nokkrum tugum manna í bænum Wilamowice í Póllandi. Verkið, sem byggir á nútímalegum kenningum um lántöku og rannsóknum sem gerðar voru á staðnum, skjalfestir, lýsir og útskýrir öll tilvik og gerðir pólskrar lántöku sem er að finna í málfræði og orðasafni vymysorysku 21. aldar. Gögnin sýna að pólska hefur haft mikil áhrif á vymysorysku, bæði meginlega og eigindlega. Meginleg áhrif koma fram í hárrí tíðni tungumálaþátta sem hafa verið fengnir að láni. Eigindleg áhrif sjást á fjölbreytileika þeirra hluta tungumálsins sem hafa orðið fyrir áhrifum, hvort sem það er hljóðkerfi (pólska hefur haft áhrif á hljóð (bæði samhljóð og sérhljóð), hljóðkerfi, hljóðskipun og hljómfall), orðmyndunar- or beygingarkerfi (pólska hefur haft áhrif á formgerð orða, bæði afleiðslu og beygingar), orðskipun (pólska hefur haft áhrif á setningagerð) eða orðasafn (pólska hefur haft áhrif á næstum alla orðflokka og flestar tegundir þeirra). Umfang pólskra áhrifa eru slík, að telja verður að upprunaleg gerð vymysorysku og germanskur kjarni hennar eigi á hættu að hverfa, þar sem tungumálið færir í átt að blönduðu germansk-slavnesku sniði.

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

P.	Polish
TAM	tense-aspect-mood
Wym.	Wymysorys
*	reconstructed
**	ungrammatical



## PREFACE



## PREFACE

The origins of this dissertation go back to the summer of 2008 when I flew from Iceland to Poland to meet Tymek Król – then, a fifteen year-old speaker of Wymysorys. Seeing Tymek for the first time at the bus stop in Wilamowice, I did not know that I was going to encounter in him a wonderful friend, fall in love with the language he spoke, and embark on a fascinating journey – the study and research of a unique variety of the Germanic linguistic family. Since then, I have worked intensively on the documentation, description, and analysis of Wymysorys grammar and lexicon, conducted numerous fieldwork activities, and published 19 articles and a grammar book on the language – all of this in close collaboration with Tymek.

During my research activities, I became fascinated with a particular aspect of Wymysorys – its prolonged and intense contact with Polish. I have documented several contact-related features of Wymysorys in phonetics, lexicon, and grammar, analyzed blended Wymysorys-Polish conversations, and the mixed Germanic-Slavonic character of the language. With the increased knowledge of Polish elements in Wymysorys, I gradually realized that a thorough study of Wymysorys-Polish language contact, in particular, a comprehensive analysis of Polish borrowings in Wymysorys, was necessary. In January 2008, I decided to undertake such a study in the form of a doctoral dissertation.

After more than a decade of research on Wymysorys, this dissertation necessarily draws on my previous studies dedicated to Wymysorys-Polish language contact and Polish borrowings in Wymysorys. In particular, parts of the articles “The Polish component in the Vilamovicean language”, “Vilamovicean – A Germanic-Slavic mixed language?”, “Slavic-Germanic hybridization in the Vilamovicean language”, and “Where Germanic and Slavic meet – A note on new Polish-based tenses in the Vilamovicean language”, published respectively in *Glossos* (2014), *Studies in Polish Linguistics* (2015), *Words and Dictionaries* (2015), and *Germanoslavica* (2016), are reused in certain sections and chapters of the present work. However, this dissertation provides a significantly larger and much more nuanced examination of Polish borrowings than my previous studies did. From the beginning, it was envisioned as an original and autonomous research activity rather than a collection of already published works – a legacy project that concludes nearly 15 years of my studies on Wymysorys. Pieces of the evidence collected during my doctoral research and analyzed in the present dissertation have already been included in my two recent articles: “Wymysorys”, that was published in *Rethinking Verb Second* (2020), and “Complexity of endangered minority languages – The sound system of Wymysorys”, that should appear this year in *Contemporary Research in Minority and Diaspora Languages of Europe*.

This dissertation would not have been possible without two people: Tymek Król and Nkosiyomzi Haile Matutu. I am eternally indebted to Tymek Król – my collaborator, frequent co-author, and dearest friend. It was he who inspired me to conduct research on Wymysorys and sustained this passion for years through his genuine and generous friendship. To Nkosiyomzi Haile Matutu – my fiancé and the true love of my life – I owe not giving up in the most critical moments and always believing in my goals. He is the fire that propels me, the light that directs me, and the breeze that calms me.

I would also like to thank Prof. Jón Axel Harðarson who supported my idea of writing this dissertation and assisted repeatedly with his invaluable experience; Dr Justyna Olko who made my visit to the University of Warsaw possible – one of the highpoints of my academic career and a necessary step in my doctoral research; Andrzej Żak who read parts of this dissertation and shared with me his excellent comments; and Lauren Onraët and Jessica van den Brink who helped me with the intricacies of the English language. I am profoundly grateful to all my Wilamowian friends who generously shared with me their knowledge of Wymysorys and have become the source of some of the most beautiful moments of my life. Fieldwork in Wilamowice has always been an enormous pleasure and never felt like “work”. Last but not least, I am thankful to the parents of Tymek Król – Ewa and Gabriel – who opened the doors of their home (and their kitchen) to me and treated me like a member of their family.

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Above all, I am grateful to my mother and father, who passed away so many years ago. It is thanks to you that I have discovered *Сашко*. The pain caused by your absence has only increased with time.

*The Dziupla*  
Stellenbosch  
August 2020

PART I

INTRODUCTION



## CHAPTER ONE

### 1. Introduction

“It’s the start that’s difficult” said Vladimir while waiting for Godot (Beckett 1954:41). Estragon disagreed, suggesting that one could start from anything. “Yes, but you have to decide” insisted Vladimir (*ibid.*). Estragon agreed. Vladimir was right: it is not easy to begin telling a story. Especially, if this story is years-long research that has taken one to so many places, people, and times. Let me thus listen to Estragon and simply start somewhere; let me tell you about Wymysorys and the endeavor of a young man who fell in love with this language more than a decade ago.

The present chapter initiates my story – this dissertation. First, I will present my field of research and describe the background that is, in my view, necessary to fully understand my study (section 1.1). Subsequently, I will state the topic or problem, formulate broad goals and objectives, and explain the structure of my dissertation (section 1.2).

### 1.1 Wymysorys

This research is about Wymysorys – a minority Germanic language that is spoken in the small town of Wilamowice (Wymysou̯), which is situated in southern Poland, in the Bielsko County of the Silesian Voivodeship, some 80 kilometers from Kraków. In this section, I will describe the two critical facets of Wymysorys that should already be obvious from the previous sentence: its inherited Germanic-ness (section 1.1.1) and its inevitable contact with Slavonic languages, in particular, Polish (section 1.1.2).

#### 1.1.1 Wymysorys as a Germanic language

Wymysorys is a member of the Germanic family – its western branch, to be exact (Kleczkowski 1920; Putschke 1980; Wicherkiewicz 2003; 2013; Ritchie 2012; Źak 2016:131; [www.ethnologue.com](http://www.ethnologue.com); [www.glottologue.org](http://www.glottologue.org)). Together with various High German varieties – both Central and Upper – Wymysorys forms part of the Elbe (Irmionic) group of the West-Germanic branch (Ritchie 2012:7, 9).<sup>1</sup> Within the realm of High German varieties, Wymysorys

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<sup>1</sup> The classification of West Germanic and the various German dialects is the messiest (Stiles 2013) and the most controversial (Ringe 2006:213) among all sub-groups and branches of the Germanic family. Although various tree models have been proposed, the best manner to approach the West Germanic branch is to consider it as a continuum of dialects – certainly with a phylogenetic foundation – that have experienced close contact through the centuries (Durrell 2006a:54; Ringe 2006:213-214). However, even the areal relationship of dialects and languages within this branch is highly complex and, in various respects, passionately debated (Durrell 2006a:54; Stiles 2013; Fulk 2018:17-18, 25-26). According to one theory, West Germanic is split into three sub-groups:

is regarded as a dialect of Central German, specifically its eastern sub-group (Kleczkowski 1920; Mojmir 1930-1936; Putschke 1980:478; Wiesinger 1983; Morciniec 1984; 1995; Lasatowicz 1992; Wicherkiewicz 2003:5-14; Lewis 2009; Ritchie 2012:9, 86; Louden 2020:808).<sup>2</sup> Within the East Central German branch, Wymysorys is grouped with other dialects spoken east of Upper Saxony and German Lusatia, thus being classified as a Silesian German variety (Kleczkowski 1920; Wicherkiewicz 2003:3).<sup>3</sup> Specifically, together with dialects

---

North Sea Germanic (e.g. (Old) English, (Old) Frisian, Old Saxon, Low German), Weser-Rhine Germanic (e.g. (Old) Low and High Franconian, Dutch), and Elbe Germanic (also referred to as ‘Alpine Germanic; e.g. Alemannic and Bavarian; Henriksen & van der Auwera 1994:9; Durrell 2006a:54; Harbert 2007:8; Besch & Wolf 2009:273; see also Salmons 2012:85). The tripartite model of West Germanic – in the form explained above or with certain minor variations – is widespread in scholarship (see König & van der Auwera 1994; Harbert 2007). However, it is far from being unproblematic because of controversies regarding the demarcation between the northern and southern parts of the branch, and the position of the intermediate members such as Old Saxon, Old Low, and High Franconian (Rübekeil 2017:996). A slightly divergent model of the fragmentation of West Germanic – also influential in current scholarship – proposes a binary split into two poles at a diachronic level and a more gradient relationship at a synchronic level. Accordingly, West Germanic is historically divided into North-Sea Germanic – which, as previously explained, includes Old Frisian and Old English and their successors, as well as Old Saxon and Low German – and Upper German-Franconian (or various types of High German) (Nielsen 1998:57; 2015:262). Thus, the internal split of the West Germanic branch with the “most validity” is Ingwaeonic versus non-Ingwaeonic (Stiles 2013; see also Rübekeil 2017:996). In this model, Dutch – as well as Old Saxon and Low German – occupy transitional positions between the two sub-branches (Nielsen 2015:262; cf. Van Bree 1987). That is, they mix both Ingwaeonic and non-Ingwaeonic features, albeit in different proportions (Stiles 2013). Some of these non-Ingwaeonic features are attributed to “High Germanization” or the radiation of High German varieties towards North-Sea varieties in later historical periods (Stiles 2013). As a result, the lowest tier of the model reveals a continuum of varieties from more Ingwaeonic to more non-Ingwaeonic. Alternatively, the first West Germanic dialectal split occurred when the predecessors of Frisian and English separated from Proto-West Germanic. The remaining varieties referred to as Proto-German subsequently split into Old High German (the predecessor of Middle High German and modern High German varieties) and Old Saxon / Old Dutch (the predecessor(s) of present-day Low German and Dutch; Jones & Jones 2019:5). Overall, in some aspects, the tree models have little relation to the actual synchronic classification, which draws on typological similarities exhibited by modern West Germanic languages and their dialects (Henriksen & van der Auwera 1994:9). Nevertheless, although alternative topographic, more wave-like, representations have been proposed (Salmons 2012:85; Stiles 2013), standard cladistic models are commonly used.

<sup>2</sup> The division into Lower, Central, and Upper German is primarily synchronic, although it certainly has a diachronic foundation (see Jones & Jones 2019:5-7). That is, all German dialects tend to be categorized along a dialectal continuum spanning from the north (Low Germanic, which is a member of the North Sea or Ingwaeonic branch in the cladistic tree models) to the south (Upper German) through the center (Central German). Upper and Central German dialects form the High German group. Low German includes North Low Saxon, varieties spoken in Schleswig and Holstein, Westphalian and Eastphalian dialects (Niebaum 1980:458-464), varieties used in Brandenburg and adjacent areas (Mecklenburgish and Markish), as well as Pomeranian and Low Prussian (Stellmacher 1980:464-468). Upper German comprises North Upper German dialects such as South Franconian, East Franconian, and North Bavarian (Streßner 1980:479-482); West Upper German dialects, e.g. those found in Switzerland and France (Kleiber 1980:482-486); and East Upper German dialects such as Central and South Bavarian (or Austrian). Central German is divided into two main sub-branches: Western, including Central Franconian (e.g. Ripuarian and Luxembourgish) and Rhine Franconian (e.g. Hessian and Palatine; Beckers 1980:468-473), and Eastern, which is the most relevant for Wymysorys (see next footnote) (Putschke 1980:474-478), as well as various transitional varieties (see Keller 1960; Kloss 1983; Jones & Jones 2019:7). The main classification criterion for this continuum is the so-called “High German Consonant Shift” (Eisenberg 1994:349; Henriksen & van der Auwera 1994:10; Durrell 2006b:44). Low German is unaffected by this change, Central German is affected partially, and Upper German has undergone this change either entirely or nearly entirely (Eisenberg 1994:349; Henriksen & van der Auwera 1994:10-11; Jones & Jones 2019:5-7; Fulk 2018:25-26, 30-31). Due to the very nature of continuum models, and the reciprocal influences experienced by West Germanic languages, this south-north progression of the High German Consonant Shift is gradual and thus the dialectal split itself is fuzzy.

<sup>3</sup> The other clusters of dialects of East Central German are: Thuringian (central and north varieties), Upper Saxon (Meißen variety, North Upper Saxon, and *Erzgebirgisch*), Lusatian-New-Markish (i.e. *Lausitzisch-Neumärkisch* spoken in the center and south of Brandenburg, itself divided into South Markish, New Markish, and Lusatian),

spoken in Bielsko (Bielitz), Biała (Biala), and the other Silesian German enclaves – e.g. those that were spoken in Szywno (Schönwald; currently Bojków) and Gościęcín (Kostenthal) – Wymysorys constitutes a class of secondary Silesian island varieties (Kleczkowski 1920:7, 160; Wiesinger 1980:497-498; 1983:911; Wicherkiewicz 2013:5). Similar to the dialect of Szywno, Wymysorys is defined as an intermediate variety between non-diphthongized and diphthongized dialects, with significantly more features typical of the former type than of the latter (Kleczkowski 1920:157, 160). Furthermore, like the other members of the Bielsko-Biała linguistic enclave – and possibly some extinct varieties that were spoken further to the east – Wymysorys belongs to the Silesian-Galician cluster of Silesian German dialects (Kleczkowski 1920:158). Within this cluster, it forms a group of the so-called “countryside” varieties together with dialects spoken in Górny Lipnik (Kunzendorf), Hałcnów (Alza), Wapienica (Lobnitz), Międzyrzecze Górne (Ober-Kurzwald), and Bystra (Bistray) (ibid.).

Diachronically – and in agreement with its typological vicinity to other Silesian vernaculars – Wymysorys is a successor of Middle High German, which itself descends from Old High German (Kleczkowski 1920:155; 1921; Wiesinger 1980:496, 498; 1983:911-912; Morciniec 1984; 1985; 1995; Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997:308; Wicherkiewicz 1998a:206; Rautenberg 2000:1295-1296; Wicherkiewicz & Olko 2016:19; Żak 2016:132). Old High German was spoken from the 8<sup>th</sup> until the 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century (Sonderegger 1979:180-181; 1980:569-570; 1987; Henriksen & van der Auwera 1994:11; Jones & Jones 2019:11-14; ; Besch & Wolf 2009:135-144; Schmid 2017:11-12; Fulk 2018:30-31). It was not a discrete language but rather a dialect cluster spoken in the area confined between the Danube and Main rivers, and in Thuringia (Sonderegger 1980:569-571, 575; Henriksen & van der Auwera 1994:11; Jones & Jones 2019:7-10; Schmid 2017:11-12; Fulk 2018:30). During the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, Old High German developed into Middle High German (Sonderegger 1979:182-183; Lindgren 1980:580-581; Henriksen & van der Auwera 1994:11; Schmid 2017:3, 29-36), which lasted until the 14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Like its predecessor, Middle High German lacked uniformity, constituting an umbrella term for all dialects that underwent the second consonant shift, either entirely or partially (Jones & Jones 2019; Schmid 2017:29).<sup>4</sup>

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Bohemish, North Moravian (*Mährisch*), and High Prussian (Putschke 1968; 1980:477; see also Bergmann 1990). These last three dialects are sometimes considered subtypes of Silesian (Sonderegger 1979). There are two hypotheses of the formation of East Central German, which is inherently tied to colonization processes (Putschke 1968; 1980:475; see also Bergmann 1990:290-291; Besch & Wolf 2009:62-71). According to one hypothesis, East Central German descends from a colonial, levelled variety that arose in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries in the March or Margravate of Meißen, as a result of the interaction of dialects brought by the settlers (Frings 1957; cf. Putschke 1980:475; Besch & Wolf 2009:62-63). The other theory rejects the idea of the mixing of settlers’ dialects (Putschke 1968; 1980:475). Instead, East Central German features would be traced back to dialects spoken in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries in Central Thuringia. The levelling process would have affected the dialects of the pre-colonial burgward or castellany system and would have lasted from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Putschke 1980:475). This means that the first German settlers “already brought with them the linguistic characteristic of the East Central German colonial koine” (Bergmann 1990:290-291) – the so-called “Ausgleichssprache”, in Putschke’s words (1968:122).

<sup>4</sup> Regarding Silesian German, the Bielsko-Biała dialect, and other linguistic enclaves in Silesia see Weinhold (1853; 1887), Bukowski (1860), Waniek (1880; 1897), Pautsch (1901), von Unwerth (1908), Gusinde (1911; 1912), Schönborn (1912), Hanke (1913), Graebisch (1920), Kuhn (1928; 1935; 1967), Kuhn & Schlauer (1930), Wackwitz (1932), Jungandreas (1933; 1937), Weiser (1937), Weinelt (1938), Friemel (1938), Peuckert (1950), Bluhme (1964), Mitzka (1968), Trembacz (1961; 1971), Schmitt (1965-1967), Teßmann (1968), Menzel (1972),

Given its dialectal position and historical background, Wymysorys is fairly closely related to Modern Standard German (Chromik & Dolatowski 2013; Chromik & Wicherkiewicz 2014; see also Kleczkowski 1920; Mojmir 1936; Lasatowicz 1992; Ritchie 2012; see also Louden 2020:816). Indeed, according to some scholars, Wymysorys exhibits an unmistakable German character (Wicherkiewicz 2003:15; Ritchie 2012:19).<sup>5</sup>

Although the main line of the genetic classification of Wymysorys in the Germanic family is relatively unproblematic – as explained in the previous section, scholars agree to its East Central German frame and Middle High German origin – the filiation of the language spoken in Wilamowice is more complex. This stems from the fact that Wymysorys distinguishes itself from the other members of the Bielsko-Biała linguistic enclave, as well as from the Galician-Silesian and Upper Silesian dialects, by alleged Flemish, Frisian, or even Anglo-Saxon traits (Kleczkowski 1920; 1921; Wiesinger 1983; Morciniec 1984; 1995; Ryckeboer 1984; Lasatowicz 1992; Wicherkiewicz 2003; Ritchie 2012). Such phonological, lexical, and grammatical peculiarities, and a less canonical German character exhibited by Wymysorys, have sometimes led scholars to grant this language a particular position among closely related varieties (cf. Hanslik 1907:50 in Wicherkiewicz 2003:18; see also Młynek 1907:8-10; Latosiński 1909:13, 266-270; Kuhn 1981; Ryckeboer 1984:25-26; Wicherkiewicz 2003:15-19). Specifically, according to Kleczkowski (1920:153), while the East Central German substance of Wymysorys is obvious, the language also exhibits some minor or less significant (“mniej ważne”) Low and Upper German traits. A similar opinion is expressed by Ritchie (2012). Even though principally an Elbe (Irmionic) and East Central German dialect, Wymysorys has certain features typical of North Sea (Ingvaeonic) languages (cf. also Żak 2016). In light of this, it is sometimes hypothesized that Wymysorys is partially related to (Middle) Franconian dialects, in addition to its Middle High German and East Central German phylogenetic frame. It would thus be, to an extent, a relative of the western(most) varieties of Central German (Wicherkiewicz 2003:3; cf. Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997:308; Wicherkiewicz & Zieniukowa 2001:492-493).

The East Central German essence of Wymysorys and its genetic relationship to both Silesian and Modern Standard German – all being descendants of Middle High German – need not be perceived as conflicting with certain non-Central and/or non-High German traits possibly exhibited by this language. On the contrary, mixed features found in Wymysorys are expected

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Wurbs (1981), Ullman (1982), Kneip (2000), Morciniec (2012), Dolatowski (2015; 2016; 2017). See also Besch et al. (1983).

<sup>5</sup> As with Wymysorys, Modern Standard German descends from Old High German and subsequently Middle High German or, rather, its variety spoken in the court of Saxony in the late Middle Ages (Eisenberg 194:349; Henriksen & van der Auwera 1994:11). Due to socio-political and linguistic reasons – e.g. the economic and political relevance of Saxony, its use in Luther’s Bible translation and during the reformation, and an intermediate dialectal position between Low German and Upper German, which eased its understanding by speakers of other German varieties – a later variant of this language, known as (Early) New High German, became accepted in other parts of the German-speaking territory in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (Eisenberg 1994; Henriksen & van der Auwera 1994:11; Johnson & Braber 2008:22-26). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, New High German developed into Modern New High German or Modern Standard German (Eggers 1980:603-608; Henriksen & van der Auwera 1994:11; Schmid 2017:3; on the history of German and/or its periodization, see Bach 1970; Sonderegger 1979:164-177; Schildt 1991; von Polenz 1991; Russ 1994:10-16; Besch & Wolf 2009; Salmons 2012).

given its previously mentioned colonial origin (Morciniec 1984; 1995; 2002:415-416; Wicherkiewicz 2003; see also Weinreich 1958). To begin with, Silesian German, to which Wymysorys certainly belongs (Kleczkowski 1920; 1921), had, itself, a complex origin. Even though Silesian descends from the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century varieties of Middle High German and its crux was likely formed by the medieval dialects spoken in Thuringia and Upper Saxony, a number of Middle Franconian features may have also penetrated the language (see Keller 1960; Bach 1970:103; Ullman 1982). Therefore, Silesian German shares features not only with Upper Saxon and Thuringian dialects but also, albeit to a lesser degree, with Franconian dialects, including Central and Rheine Franconian (Bach 1970:102-103). Being a Silesian variety, it is natural that Wymysorys exhibits a comparably complex origin, thus drawing on more than one source dialect. In other words, even though during the First German Colonization between 1250-1300, the majority of the original speakers of Wymysorys might have mainly arrived from one region, most likely – at least originally – from Thuringia and Franconia (Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997:308; Wicherkiewicz 1998a:206; 2003; Wicherkiewicz & Zieniukowa 2001:491-493; Żak 2016:132; see also Putschke 1980:498), some colonists could also have originated from other regions, e.g. more western and/or northern parts of today's Germany, even Flanders, Friesland, or Wallonia (Wicherkiewicz & Olko 2016:17; Louden 2020:816). Because of this, the emerging Wymysorys language would have acquired certain linguistic peculiarities typical of the dialects spoken by those, probably less numerous migrants, incorporating them into the dominant frame of Middle High German and the emerging East Central German.

This is consistent with the ethnic profile of the First German Colonization, which started in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and which reached what is now the Wilamowice area around 1250-1300 (Putschke 1980:498). Although many settlers came from Lusatia and Saxony, some may also have arrived from the area of the middle part of the rivers Main and Rhine (Kaindl 1911; Kuhn 1981). Moreover, this migratory wave possibly included additional groups of Dutch, Flemish, and Walloon origins (Wicherkiewicz 2003:7-8; Wicherkiewicz & Olko 2016:18). For instance, there is evidence that some Flemish settlers stayed in Silesia during their journey to Transylvania in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and that Walloon settlers resided in Ślęza (Zobtenber) (Wicherkiewicz 2003:8). Drawing on linguistic data (e.g. toponyms) as well as economic and legal history (Weinhold 1887:201-207; Kaczmarczyk 1945), some argue that Flemish and Walloon colonists had lived in Silesia even before the actual arrival of German settlers of the First Colonization (Weinhold 1887; Inglot 1929:504; Bardach 1980:6; Wicherkiewicz 2003:8-9; see also Schwarz 1950; Zientara 1975; Irgang 1993; Irgang; Bein & Neubach 1995).

The ethnic and linguistic complexity of Wymysorys is further complicated by the fact that the main groups that participated in the 13<sup>th</sup>-century colonization did not come to Wilamowice directly from Thuringia, Upper Saxony, Lusatia, or even Franconian territories. Rather, the settlers came from the already colonized Silesia where they had stayed previously – their Thuringian and Franconian origin thus being only indirect (Kleczkowski 1920:7; Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997:308; Wicherkiewicz 1998a:206; Wicherkiewicz & Zieniukowa 2001:492-493). Therefore, the immediate origin of the Wymysorys colonists, as well as those

of other Silesian-Galician enclaves, were likely some types of Silesian (levelled or unlevelled) varieties (Putschke 1980:497). However, even from there, settlers might have brought features that were atypical of the eastern variety of Middle High German, as colonists mixed and/or interacted. These additional fluxes of settlers may have originated from Bavaria, Austria, Hesse, or elsewhere (Lasatowicz 1992; Chromik & Dolatowski 2013).<sup>6</sup>

Thus, Silesian German emerged from varieties spoken by medieval colonists who originated from various parts of the German states, as well as Holland, Belgium, or even France (Morcinienc 1984; 1995; 2002:415-416; Chromik & Dolatowski 2013). As Silesian was, to a degree, a linguistic conglomerate (Morciniec 2002:471) – more diverse originally than in later periods when various dissimilarities were levelled out – such non-Middle High German and non-Central German elements found sporadically in Wymysorys should not be viewed as problematic. Quite to the contrary, they are fully expected. They are not, however, sufficient to question the East Central German dialectal classification of Wymysorys and its Middle High German origin.

### 1.1.2 Contact with Polish

Since its origin, Wymysorys has remained in close contact with Slavonic languages that have predominately been spoken in the area around Wilamowice. Given the placement of Wilamowice in the westernmost part of Lesser Poland – some 80 kilometers from its capital, Kraków – and near eastern Upper Silesia, the most relevant Slavonic languages are Polish<sup>7</sup> and its Lesser Polish and Silesian border dialects<sup>8</sup> (Wicherkiewicz 1998a:207; 2003:403). This contact has been intense and has persisted for some nine centuries.

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<sup>6</sup> For an overview of the history of Wilamowice consult Latosiński (1909), Bilczewski (1936), Rosner (1977), Barciak (2001), and Wicherkiewicz (2003).

<sup>7</sup> Polish is an East Lechitic language belonging to the western branch of the Slavonic linguistic family. East Lechitic (which comprises Polish and Polish-Silesian) together with North Lechitic (Kashubian and Slovincian) and West Lechitic (Polabian) form the Lechitic subgroup of West Slavonic (Stone 1993a:759; Polański 1993; Długosz-Kurczabowa & Dubisz 2006:48-49; Sussex & Cubberley 2006:89). Apart from Lechitic, West Slavonic contains two subgroups: the Lusatian (Upper and Lower Sorbian) and the Czecho-Slovak group (Czech, Slovak, Moravian, and Lach) (de Bray 1980:336-337; Stone 1993b:593-594, 682-683; Długosz-Kurczabowa & Dubisz 2006:48-49). (Originally, between the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup> century, West Slavonic was differentiated into Lechitic and Lusatian (Sorbian). In the 9<sup>th</sup> century, it incorporated the third sub-group, Czecho-Slovak, which had been separated from the South Slavonic languages (Długosz-Kurczabowa & Dubisz 2006:47-51).) The East Slavonic languages, in turn, constitute one of the branches of the Slavonic linguistic family, which also includes South Slavonic (Macedonian, Montenegrin, Bulgarian, Serbian, Bosnian, Croatian, Slovenian, and Old Church Slavonic) and East Slavonic (Russian, Belarussian, and Ukrainian, as well as Ruthenian and Rusyn, which are usually viewed as a single language complex) (Schenker 1993:60, 115-117; Huntley 1993:125-126; Sussex & Cubberley 2006:2, 4-5, 43-46; Długosz-Kurczabowa & Dubisz 2006:28; Schuster-Śewc 2014:1163-1164). Even though the above tripartite model is commonly used in scholarship (see Janda 2006:415), the fragmentation of the Slavonic languages that would historically be more accurate is more complex, being related to the so-called three migration waves of the Slavonic peoples (for detail, see Długosz-Kurczabowa & Dubisz 2006:45-49; Dejna 1973:45-46, 49-57; Sussex & Cubberley 2006:43).

<sup>8</sup> Polish has four main dialects (Dejna 1973:235-241): a Greater Polish dialect (*wielkopolski*) in the west, around Poznań and Gniezno (Dejna 1973:248-254); a Masovian dialect (*mazowiecki*) in the center around the capital city Warsaw and northeast from it (Dejna 1973:241-248); a Silesian dialect (*śląski*) in the southwest around Katowice and Opole (Dejna 261-266; Rothstein 1993:754-755; Sussex & Cubberley 2006:526-527), and a Lesser Polish dialect (*małopolski*) in the southeast around the former capital Kraków (Dejna 1973:254-261). Silesian Border dialects are transitory varieties spoken in the easternmost part of Silesia along the frontier with southwestern

In the 13<sup>th</sup> century – the time when the original German(ic) settlers arrived in what would later become Wilamowice – the area of Bielsko-Biała was ruled by Silesian Piast princes (those of Cieszyn (Teschen) and Oświęcim (Auschwitz)) under the dominion and authority of the Kingdom of Poland (Wicherkiewicz 2003:9). In 1327, these Silesian rulers swore their loyalty to the Czech king (Morciniec 1984; Wicherkiewicz 2003:9). The region of Bielsko-Biała remained part of Upper Silesia until the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In 1457, the eastern portion of the Bielsko-Biała region – where Wilamowice was located – was incorporated into the Polish kingdom as the western part of Lesser Poland (Wicherkiewicz 2003:9). This new border was crucial for future divergence between colonial German varieties, being responsible for the gradual, partial, or total Polonization of the dialects in the Polish zone during the next 400 years, and the inverse Germanization of previously Polish-speaking areas in Lower, Middle, and Upper Silesia, where Polish was still widely spoken in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (ibid.; Czapliński 2007). The Polonization of the westernmost part of Lesser Poland – previously an eastern part of Upper Silesia – intensified in the 17<sup>th</sup> century when the Bielsko-Biała area became, once more, Catholic due to Counter-Reformation (Wicherkiewicz 2003:10). Silesia, in contrast, remained Protestant.<sup>9</sup> Although, the absorption of Lesser Poland into the Austrian Empire after the partition of Poland in the 18<sup>th</sup> century partially contained the expansion of Polish – at least in the administrative and educative domains – the Austro-Hungarian rule recognized Polish as the official language of Galicia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This again created favorable grounds for the Polonization of the territory adjacent to Wilamowice (Kuhn 1970:11, 17; Wicherkiewicz 2003:10). In 1875, Polish was reintroduced to the to the municipal administrative and educational sectors in Wilamowice. At that time, Wymysorys children were, from the beginning of their school careers, instructed in Polish, although from the second grade onwards, they were also taught German or, in fact, Wymysorys (Wicherkiewicz 2003:10). Moreover, several Polish activists came to Wilamowice from Lesser Poland, advocating the use of Polish and the strengthening of ties between Wilamowians and Poles.<sup>10</sup> At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps to counteract these Polonization processes, local enthusiasts intended to improve the status of Wymysorys by upgrading it to a literary language, which could subsequently lead to its more official usage. As a literary language, Wymysorys expanded to narrative and poetry, was

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Lesser Poland. Additionally, after the Second World War, new mixed dialects emerged in the west and north, on the previously German territories (Rothstein 1993:755). These new varieties have greatly approximated the literary standard, losing the truly dialectal traits brought by the post-war migrants (Paryl 1978; Homa 1979, 1982, 1998; Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995:86-87). To be accurate, the dialectal status of Silesian is disputed and many regard this variety as a language. One should also note that the term ‘Silesian’ may refer to two distinct linguistic systems: an East Central German variety/dialect/language and a West Slavonic variety/dialect/language. In cases where a confusion could arise, I will use the terms ‘Silesian German’ and ‘Silesian Polish’ respectively.

<sup>9</sup> Current research confirms that religion could have played a significant role in shaping the Wymysorys language. Even now, evangelical Protestant speakers exhibit a tendency to use more German loanwords than Catholic speakers, for whom Polish is the liturgical code (Hornsby 2016:87).

<sup>10</sup> The late 19<sup>th</sup> century shows a gradual decline of Wymysorys speakers in the town: in 1880, 92% of the population spoke Wymysorys; in 1890, 72%; and in 1900, only 67% (Wicherkiewicz 2003). However, in 1910, this number increased again to 73% (ibid.). 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. However, these data are relatively consistent with the research conducted by Neels (2012; 2016) according to which, in the Interbellum period (1918-1939), approximately 25% of the inhabitants of Wilamowice did not speak Wymysorys with their parents at home.

given a system of explicit rules of grammar, and acquired its own orthography (see Młynek 1907; Latosiński 1909; Smólski 1910; F.G. & Schmidt 1913; and several works authored by Biesik that were most likely written between 1913 and 1924).<sup>11</sup> However, literary production did not become significant and the proposed orthography (or rather one of them) failed to be adopted by all members of the community. Crucially, the written language did not enter the official and formal domains. Given the above, there is little doubt that Wilamowians were fluent speakers of Polish since at least the 17<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. the time of the Counter-Reformation when church services in the town began to be conducted in Polish, and possibly even earlier.<sup>12</sup> The presence of Wymysorys-Polish bilingualism continued and was evident in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, as illustrated by books written by Waniek (1880), Młynek (1907), and Latosiński (1909), as well as poems written by Biesik (see Wicherkiewicz 2003).

During the Interbellum, i.e. between 1918 and 1939, the relevance of the Polish language in the administrative, economic, and education sectors increased further. At that time, Wilamowice formed part of the reborn Polish state and was ascribed to the administrative province of Lesser Poland. Polish predominated in all official contexts: in administration and official municipal services, in education at primary school, and, as had been the rule before, in church, during mass, prayers, and sacraments (Neels 2016:114-116).<sup>13</sup> In primary school in Wilamowice, Wymysorys pupils usually studied in mixed classes with Poles – the inhabitants of the neighboring villages. The communication between the two groups was often in Polish (Neels 2016:116). Secondary schools were located outside the town. In all of them, Polish was the language of instruction and the immense majority of students were Poles (Neels 2016:116). Wymysorys in turn predominated in informal situations: at home within the family context, in most quotidian interactions with other members of the community, and at work (Neels 2016:114-115). Overall, the Wilamowian community was proficient in both Wymysorys and Polish, and both languages were spoken extensively before World War II – although, as explained above, they specialized in distinct situations and were used for different communicative purposes (Neels 2016:111, 116, 125).<sup>14</sup>

Although slowed down during World War II,<sup>15</sup> the Polonization of Wilamowice intensified after the fall of Nazi Germany, especially in the period between the mid-1940s and late-1950s.

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<sup>11</sup> The oldest work printed in Wymysorys was a collection of songs, poems, and folk tales published by Jacob Bukowski in 1860 (cf. Wicherkiewicz 2003:26). The oldest fragments in Wymysorys known to date appeared in Franz Augustin's chronicle from 1842 (Augustin 2007; Chromik 2016:96; Wicherkiewicz & Olko 2016:21). Phonetic elements of Wymysorys were also mentioned by Waniek in his 1880 description of the Silesian German sound system.

<sup>12</sup> The first explicit mention of the Wymysorys-Polish bilingualism of the Wilamowice inhabitants appeared in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In a report in *Gazeta Warszawska* (1853:4), Józef Łepkowski states that, while preserving their own strange ("dziwny") language, "[d]o obcych mówią po polsku, [...], modlą się po polsku" ('to foreigners they speak in Polish, [...] they pray in Polish'). Note, however, that Piszczowice (Schreibersdorf) and Stara Wieś (Altdorf) might have been Polonized into the 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> century (Wicherkiewicz 2003:9).

<sup>13</sup> Even outside the official context of church and school, communication with priests and teachers was always expected to be conducted in Polish (Neels 2016:114-115).

<sup>14</sup> Wymysorys-Polish code-switching was also a common feature in Interbellum Wilamowice (Neels 2016:125).

<sup>15</sup> Note that, while Polish was banned from official domains during World War II, Wymysorys appeared in certain formal situations – even though German, rather than Wymysorys, was the code that substituted Polish as the official language in the community. In general, the usage of Wymysorys was not only tolerated but also encouraged, the language being perceived as a type of German (Neels 2016). For instance, Wymysorys was

Because of the persecution suffered by Poles at the hands of the Nazi invaders during the war, all traces of “German-ness”, including Wymysorys, were perceived extremely negatively and as undesirable, thus needing to be eliminated (cf. Neels 2016:117). The use of the Wymysorys language was officially banned in 1946 by the local Polish authorities, and any expression of Wymysorys culture, including traditional costumes, was prohibited (Wicherkiewicz 2003:11-12; see also Król 2018 and Maryniak & Król 2019). In the years that followed the war, Polish became the sole language used in any type of public context in Wilamowice. It dominated education, administration, work environments, and all official or semi-official communication (Neels 2016). Polish was the sole medium of instruction at the primary school in Wilamowice and the children were only permitted to speak to each other and their teachers in Polish. The same held true for secondary schools that were located outside Wilamowice and characterized by a clear Polish ethnic profile. Since, after the war, most youths continued their studies at a secondary level, young Wilamowians were exposed to Polish education for a much longer time than was the case for their parents or grandparents. Mobility within with region and the country – both now characterized by a dominant Polish ethno-linguistic profile – also intensified greatly. The number of mixed marriages increased similarly (Neels 2016:118, 127). Lastly, the presence of industry in post-war Poland became much more visible. As a result, increasingly more Wilamowians sought jobs in factories, mines, and workshops – where Polish was generally spoken – rather than in family-run agricultural businesses, in which Wymysorys could be used (Neels 2016).

The severe repressions lasted until 1956 when, after deep political changes that had taken place in Poland and other communist countries, the Wymysorys language and its culture were officially rehabilitated (Neels 2016:118). However, by that time, the position of the language had been severely damaged (ibid. 125-126). Out of the fear of deportation, jail, or political, social, and economic exclusion, the older generation and the child-bearing generation were reluctant to “restore” the previous status of their language and to speak Wymysorys freely. Moreover, although the overall political situation improved, the perception of Wymysorys and Wilamowians among Poles was far from favorable (Andrason & Król 2016a; Neels 2016). As a result, the use of Wymysorys remained common only in conversations that involved members of the older generation and were carried out in secrecy (Neels 2016:116, 118). Members of the middle generation adopted the attitude of diglossia. They mixed Polish and Wymysorys in their interactions with parents and among themselves (ibid. 114). With partners and children, their preferred code was Polish (ibid.). For young children, Polish was the language in which they were predominantly addressed at home. In general, Wymysorys was no longer the dominant language in the family (ibid. 114, 118). Its use in unofficial public situations also decreased substantially. In official contexts, the language disappeared almost entirely (ibid. 114-115). Overall, as a result of the various external political, sociological, and economic factors, the community shifted entirely to Polish for official contexts, and nearly entirely for unofficial public contexts during the first two decades after the war (Neels 2016). It was only within unofficial familiar situations that Wymysorys continued to be used, albeit in a greatly reduced form (ibid.).

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extensively used during school breaks, replacing previous Wymysorys-Polish code-switching. It was also more commonly used in administration and during lessons at school, apart from being widely preferred in the context of family and in various non-official situations, as had been typical before the war (Neels 2016:114-115).

With the generations born after 1970, Wymysorys entered into a stage of critical endangerment, where the transfer from parents to children ceased entirely (Neels 2016:120).<sup>16</sup> The deterioration of the position of Wymysorys continued in the two last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the Polish language and culture predominated in Wilamowice and the larger region, with Wymysorys being employed very rarely. In 2000, only 4% of some 3000 inhabitants of the town could speak Wymysorys (Wicherkiewicz 2003:13). The most optimistic estimates of speakers (of varying degrees of competence) suggested that, around 2010, their number ascended to 100 (Wicherkiewicz & Zieniukowa 2001:47) or even 200 (Andrason & Król 2014a; 2016a). However, there were probably less than 50 that were fully proficient: 41 according to Ritchie (2016:73), fewer than 40 according to Louden (2020:816), 30 according to Mętrak (2019:11), and 20 or 25 according to Chromik (2016:91) – and this number was steadily decreasing year after year (Andrason & Król 2016a). Those who could speak Wymysorys were generally very advanced in age, with most speakers born before 1940. All of them were also speakers of Polish and their proficiency in Polish was equal to that of any other native Polish speakers. Accordingly, the only generation that was fluent in Wymysorys included grandparents or great-grandparents. Younger speakers were practically monolingual (Neels 2012; 2016:123), with a noticeable exception of Tymoteusz Król born in 1993. With regard to its position in the town, Wymysorys was absent from all types of official public contexts and – barring a few exceptions – was not used in unofficial public contexts (Neels 2012:132; 2016:114-115). The same fading of the language was observed in an unofficial personal context, e.g. in the family environment. Wymysorys was almost never used in communication with children and siblings, while its usage between partners was extremely rare (Neels 2016:114-115).<sup>17</sup> All of this made Wymysorys one of the most vulnerable Germanic languages in the world. Many linguists – including myself – and the Wymysorys community itself saw that it was practically unavoidable that the language would disappear within 10 or 15 years (Wicherkiewicz 1998b, 2000; Morciniec 1999; Wicherkiewicz & Zieniukowa 2001, 2003).

Contrary to the post-war tendencies described above and the various predictions concerning the imminent and inevitable extinction of Wymysorys, the language has re-emerged with considerable force in the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This renaissance is principally due to the activities carried out by Tymoteusz Król and the various revitalization programs conducted by scholars from Polish and foreign universities.<sup>18</sup> All such revitalization programs – which have

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<sup>16</sup> This general switch to Polish was possible mainly because the parent post-war generation was fully bilingual (Neels 2016:126). It should also be noted that in the 1970s, when the Communist regime was overall less oppressive, and in the 1980s, when it gradually drifted towards its inevitable collapse, the oppression of the Wymysorys language and culture decreased even further. Wilamowians celebrated their customs and established links with communities in Western Europe where they were warmly welcomed. Nevertheless, the ill sentiment towards Wymysorys and the harassment of Wilamowians persisted long after the repressions ended, continuing until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Even in the first and the second decades of the new millennium, this harassment was painfully experienced by Tymoteusz Król, the youngest speaker of Wymysorys (Król 2016:56-57; see further below).

<sup>17</sup> As was usually the case, Wymysorys was excluded from personal prayers (Neels 2016).

<sup>18</sup> In 2003, Król founded the Circle of Wymysorys Culture and started his first revitalization initiatives (Wicherkiewicz & Olko 2016:34). In 2011, he started to teach Wymysorys to local children informally, as well as adults and students from other towns. This laid the foundations for the true breakthrough in the linguistic situation of Wymysorys a few years later, when Król's teaching activities were institutionally supported by two

involved grassroots activists, administrative authorities, educational bodies, and national and international scientific organizations, as well as mass media – have generally been successful (Wicherkiewicz & Olko 2016:41). These revitalization activities have greatly improved the visibility of Wilamowice, contributing to an increased interest in the town and its culture and language. Crucially, they have played a decisive role in the popularization of the acquisition of Wymysorys among the local population. Currently, Wymysorys is still used in the family to a rather residual extent. However, the popularity of the language appears to be increasing steadily in unofficial public contexts, e.g. in the streets, clubs, community gatherings, and parties (own data). It is also employed at school, although not as the vehicular language but rather as one of the subjects offered to students. Significantly, its presence in the educational environment is tolerated and encouraged. Wymysorys also appears, although rarely, in certain municipal administrative services and documents (Król *p.c.*). In its totality, Wilamowice may be developing towards some type of renewed bilingualism – gradually abandoning the generalized monolingualism that reigned after World War II – and functional complementarity with Polish. Bilingualism is currently promoted (at least to a certain extent) in administration (e.g. in the municipal office), education (i.e. at the local school), and – with a certain resistance – religion (at church) (Wicherkiewicz & Olko 2016:43). Increasingly more Polish Wilamowians, who were previously monolingual, can understand the language passively, and some are even able to speak it, albeit to a (very) limited degree. As a result of the wide-range revitalization initiatives, the changed socio-political climate, and the developments explained above, the extinction of the Wymysorys language may be prevented, or at least considerably decelerated. Certainly, the rampant and seemingly unstoppable decay of Wymysorys has been hindered. However, the future of the language is still uncertain as the number of proficient native speakers continuously decreases. It is also unclear whether the new speakers will learn the language sufficiently, to the degree of being able to transmit it to the next, new generation of “native” speakers (cf. Neels 2016).

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, Wymysorys has coexisted not only with Standard Polish but also with other local dialects of Polish, in particular those of Lesser Poland and the Silesian border (Wicherkiewicz 1998a:207; 2003:403; Żak 2016:133-138, 141). In the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Polish dialects had a strong presence in the areas adjacent to

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Polish universities: Warsaw University and Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (Wicherkiewicz & Olko 2016:37). Wymysorys – taught by Król – was officially introduced to the curriculum of the local school in Wilamowice in 2014. As of 2016, around 30 children were learning Wymysorys. That same year, the first official examination of the Wymysorys language was organized at the Faculty of Liberal Arts at the University of Warsaw, which has since offered a fully recognized course in Wymysorys to its students. Recently, the teaching activities have been expanded even further by engaging more teachers and attracting a more diversified group of students and pupils (for details, see Wicherkiewicz & Olko 2016:37). The institutionalized revitalization of Wymysorys started in 2013 with the project *Endangered languages: Comprehensive models of language revitalization* carried out at the University of Warsaw (Wicherkiewicz & Olko 2016:35). Other projects conducted at the University of Warsaw included *Documentation of the language and cultural heritage of Wilamowice* and *Creation of a touristic cluster in the Wilamowice Commune at the basis of Wymysiöeryś* (Wicherkiewicz, Król & Olko 2017:8-9). The project *Dziedzictwo Językowe Rzeczypospolitej* carried out at the University of Adam Mickiewicz in Poznań between 2012 and 2014, collected, systematized, and made available online (see the website [www.inne-jezyki.amu.edu.pl](http://www.inne-jezyki.amu.edu.pl)) a great bulk of information on Wymysorys. In 2013, scholars from Polish and international universities, as well as local activists, funded the Wymysorys Academy (*Wymysiöeryśy Akademij*).

Wilamowice, as demonstrated by the common use of a dialect in Piszczowice, a village situated some three kilometers from Wilamowice (Grabowski 1849; Kosiński 1891). Nevertheless, Standard Polish was also present. It was taught at school and constituted the language of the church and administration.<sup>19</sup> After World War II, the pressure of Standard Polish greatly intensified, while the position of dialects weakened. As a result of industrialization, mass media (television and radio), extreme migratory movements, and longer schooling periods, which not only included primary education but also often continued at the secondary and tertiary levels (Neels 2016), Standard Polish gained in relevance in the town at the expense of the dialects. Currently, the average inhabitant of Wilamowice typically uses Standard Polish rather than a dialectal variety. Younger generations, who no longer speak Wymysorys (fluently), use Standard Polish almost exclusively (Zieniukowa 1998; Wicherkiewicz & Zieniukowa 2001; own data). However, certain dialectal traits, especially in the realm of phonology, may still be heard in the speech of older Wilamowians, including those who maintained their ability to speak Wymysorys (Wicherkiewicz 2003:404; Żak 2016). Even though noticeable, such traits do not characterize the language of all or even the majority of present-day Wymysorys speakers. As mentioned above, most Wilamowians, even those who speak Wymysorys, employ Standard Polish as their Polish variety of choice.<sup>20</sup>

## 1.2 The present research

Having established Wymysorys as the general field of my study and explained the socio-historical background of this language, I will proceed to the other tasks envisaged in my introductory chapter. In this section, I define the precise topic of my research and its main aims (section 1.2.1), describe the corpus on which this research draws (1.2.2), and present the structure of my dissertation with which I plan to achieve the aims I have designed (1.2.3).

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<sup>19</sup> Note that teachers, priests, and public servants or officials (see, for instance, Młynek and Latosiński themselves) were often not original Wilamowians, but rather came from other parts of Lesser Poland.

<sup>20</sup> It should be noted that Wymysorys speakers have not only been bilingual, with Polish being their second language, but for a long period of time, the community has been trilingual – most Wilamowians also spoke Modern Standard German (Andrason & Król 2016a:129; Neels 2016:118). Modern Standard German, usually an Austrian version, was certainly – albeit to a distinct extent – used in the town in the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and many spoke it fluently (see Kleczkowski 1920; Mojmir 1930-1936; Andrason & Król 2016a). During the partition of Poland from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century until 1918, administration, education, and trade have all at some point necessitated the use and knowledge of German. This is reflected in the above-mentioned note from the 1853 *Gazeta Warszawska*. Łepkowski observed that, apart from Polish, Wilamowians used German when addressing foreigners. The knowledge of German was also widespread among Wilamowians during the Interbellum, between 1918 and 1939 (Neels 2016:111). The use of German by – and, in fact, Germanization of – Wilamowians reached its apogee during the Second World War. Wilamowians used German daily in a range of situations, and young children acquired German as their second native language instead of Polish (Neels 2016:116-117). The acquisition of German abruptly ceased after World War II and the post-war generations are generally unfamiliar with German, at least to the extent of their ancestors. Symptomatically, the only young, truly native speaker of Wymysorys in the 21<sup>st</sup> century – Tymoteusz Król – is also trilingual, being fluent in German as well as Wymysorys and Polish. The older generation who speaks Wymysorys is generally proficient in German (own data).

### 1.2.1 Topic

The socio-historical background of Wymysorys presented in the previous section and, in particular, the Germanic essence of this language and its prolonged and intense interaction with Polish, suggests that language contact constitutes an unalienable feature and, probably, the most fascinating aspect of Wymysorys. Therefore, it is evident to me that the study of Wymysorys-Polish *language contact* should lie at the heart of my research.

Given my own expertise and previous experience in *formal linguistics*, and the lack of any compressive studies of the formal aspects of Wymysorys-Polish language contact, the area to which I could contribute the most concerns the effects this areal interaction may have had on language structure, i.e. the sound system, lexicon, and grammar.

The study of formal aspects of Wymysorys-Polish language contact could involve research on a number of linguistic phenomena, for instance, Wymysorys-Polish code-switching, the influence of Wymysorys on the structure of the Polish variety used by Wymysorys speakers, and the possible formation of mixed language(s) by the new generation of Wilamowians. Having previously documented certain types of borrowings and being particularly interested in the permanent aspects of the Wymysorys language – significantly more than in idiolectal episodes of code-switching or spontaneous language mixing, and more than in the structure of Polish – my research will center on the problem of Polish *borrowing* in Wymysorys.

Although my analysis of formal aspects of Polish borrowing in Wymysorys will draw on diachronic data, as it inevitably concerns the changes that have taken place in the language and thus its historical development, I will focus on the Wymysorys language that is used currently, i.e. in *the 21<sup>st</sup> century*. As I will explain in detail in the next section, the reason for this lies in the fact that, for the last 15 years, I have conducted wide-ranging research activities dedicated to the contemporaneous variety of Wymysorys rather than its earlier stages, especially that which used to be spoken in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early-20<sup>th</sup> centuries, several texts of which have been preserved to modernity.

To conclude, the present research concerns formal aspects of Polish borrowing in 21<sup>st</sup>-century Wymysorys. I aim to document, describe, and explain all cases and types of Polish borrowings that may currently be found in Wymysorys, thus providing a comprehensive, descriptive, and explanatory account of this phenomenon.

## 1.2.2 Corpus

In order to document, describe, and explain formal aspects of Polish borrowing in 21<sup>st</sup>-century Wymysorys, I will primarily draw on a comprehensive corpus that I have developed over the course of more than 15 years of fieldwork activities conducted in Wilamowice, often in collaboration with Tymoteusz Król. This corpus emerges from and contains innumerable field notes, pages of questionnaires, and hundreds of hours of audio and video recordings.

The linguistic material that forms my corpus has been extracted by means of two types of procedures. On the one hand, a number of sentences, constructions, uses of lexemes, and manners of pronunciation have deliberately been elicited. For instance, I conducted interviews during which native speakers were asked to translate words or expressions from Polish or German into Wymysorys (or vice versa). Alternatively, native speakers performed “tests” that could reveal specific grammatical features, or the participants could comment on their language choices. On the other hand, I recorded all types of conversational situations in which native speakers talked freely in Wymysorys: they told stories, discussed their lives, sang, recited poems and prayers, and conversed with each other in an uninterrupted manner.

In total, 65 informants participated in my fieldwork and contributed to the compilation of my corpus. They were the only remaining native and, at least relatively, proficient speakers of Wymysorys residing in Wilamowice. In Addendum A, I provide the complete list of these participants. Nearly all of them were born in the third or fourth decade of the last century.<sup>21</sup> It is their varieties that jointly form what can be regarded as contemporary Wymysorys – a non-purist and non-prescriptive conglomerate of “Wymysoryses” used by native speakers in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Recently, a new group of young speakers has been growing due to the revitalization efforts of Król and his teaching activities in the town. Their language is heavily impregnated with Polish (their mother tongue) and, to a lesser extent, with English and German (two languages taught at schools) (Król 2015:25-26). For instance, the expression *s'ej hefa loüt* ‘there are [lit. is] many people’ used by such speakers is a replica of *jest dużo ludzi* in Polish, while *wjyr fiöen mytum träjñ* imitates the English construction *we go by train* (Król 2015:25). As the native language of these speakers is not Wymysorys but Polish, their competence in Wymysorys is limited. Therefore, the Wymysorys variety of this group will not be incorporated in this dissertation as evidence of certain features or tendencies currently operating in the language.

<sup>22</sup> My fieldwork activities and the extensive documentation has also been used as the foundation of the Wymysorys standard language. This Wymysorys standard was “designed” to counterbalance the idiolectal, area-lectal, and sociolectal diversity of the language, and thus to provide some type of uniformity, necessary in teaching, which constitutes the crucial element in revitalization programs (cf. Król 2015). This standardized version of Wymysorys has developed after excluding various person-dependent idiosyncrasies and idiolectal *hapax legomena*; constructions that are generally very infrequent; forms that have emerged due to more recent contact with Polish or German; as well as structures that most likely reflect the lack of full proficiency in the language, thus being perceived by the most proficient speakers as ungrammatical. This standard language – which also uses the standardized orthography (see below) – has been adopted in contemporary literary texts (e.g. Król 2009; Ritchie 2014; Majerska 2015) and has gradually been introduced to materials developed for educational and revitalization purposes, grammars, and dictionaries (Andrason & Król 2013; 2014c; 2016a; 2016b; Król, Majerska & Wicherkiewicz 2016; Król n.d. (a)). This fact has, in turn, contributed to the further spread and popularity of Standard Wymysorys, especially among the new wave of younger speakers (Król 2015:24). This version of Wymysorys constitutes a fairly purified variety, artificial to an extent. Because of such purist and variant-reducing endeavors, this standard variety often exhibits a conservative character, being relatively close to the Wymysorys of the pre-1945 period – in fact, a fully intentional goal of its creators and propagators (see Andrason & Król

While the immense majority of my corpus is spoken, the examples extracted will be presented in written form. In my presentation, I will follow the spelling convention that was gradually developed by Król in the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. I have previously employed this orthography in the various articles devoted to the Wymysorys grammar that have been published since 2010 (see e.g. Andrason 2010a-b; 2011, 2013a-b; 2014a-c; 2015a-c; 2016a-b; 2020a; Andrason & Król 2013; 2014a-c; 2016a-b). The same spelling is also used in the majority of literary texts that have been written in Wymysorys and published recently (Król 2011; Ritchie 2014; Majerska 2015). Currently, this manner of writing may be considered to be the official orthography of Wymysorys. It is widely employed in teaching materials (Król, Majerska & Wicherkiewicz 2016), dictionaries (Andrason & Król 2013; Król n.d. (a)), and grammars (Andrason & Król 2016a; forthcoming), which jointly constitute what could be regarded as the Wymysorys standard language (see footnote 22 above). In Addendum B, I explain the main rules of this orthography, drawing on my Wymysorys grammar, published in collaboration with Król (Andrason & Król 2016a).<sup>23</sup> However, when quoting directly from older Wymysorys sources, especially Młynek (1907), Latosiński (1909), Kleczkowski (1920; 1921), Mojmir (1930-1936), and Biesik (as edited by Wicherkiewicz 2003), I will preserve the original orthography of those texts.

### 1.2.3 Structure

With the topic of my research established, my aims designed, and my corpus determined, I now explain how I will accomplish what I have planned – a comprehensive, descriptive, and explanatory account of Polish borrowing in the sound system, lexicon, and grammar of Wymysorys – i.e. how my dissertation is going to be structured.

To begin with, I need to formulate precise research questions. To do so, I must first establish knowledge gaps and controversies permeating Wymysorys scholarship (see chapter 2), and next design an appropriate theoretical framework – a theory of borrowing (chapter 3). Once my research questions are clearly articulated, I will introduce my evidence, drawing on the corpus described above. I will describe Polish borrowings in the sound system of Wymysorys (chapter 4), in the different types of its lexicon (chapters 5 and 6), and in the different modules of its grammar (chapters 7, 8, and 9). Having presented the evidence, I will review my findings and evaluate them within the adopted framework. This will enable me to answer the research questions and suggest further implications and contributions to Wymysorys scholarship and the broader theory of borrowing (chapter 10). Lastly, I will formulate my conclusions and suggest avenues for future research (chapter 11).

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2016a). Nevertheless, Wymysorys used currently, in its totality, should not be equated with the Wymysorys standard. The former is, as explained above, a combination of *all* varieties of Wymysorys attested currently in the town, including the standardized one. The latter, on the contrary, constitutes only one of the many types of Wymysorys, or its registers, used presently.

<sup>23</sup> This standard orthography *grosso modo* is a continuation of Biesik's spelling conventions, also taking into account annotations used by Kleczkowski (1920; 1921) and Mojmir (1930-1936), and enhancing all of them with certain innovative solutions. Regarding the history of Wymysorys spelling, consult Wicherkiewicz (2003) and Ritchie (2012, 2016).



PART II

THEORY



## CHAPTER TWO

### 2. Literature review

To anyone who has known Wymysorys – currently and in the past – the influence of Polish on the Wymysorys language system has been evident. The present chapter reviews scholarly literature related to Wymysorys-Polish language contact, including borrowing, by adopting both an analytical and a synthetic procedure. First, I will present a detailed history of research dedicated to the influence of Polish lexicon and grammar on the Wymysorys language system (section 2.1). Subsequently, I will identify limitations and controversies prevalent in contact-related Wymysorys scholarship in order to determine the critical gaps in knowledge that ultimately substantiate the need for this study (section 2.2).<sup>24</sup>

#### 2.1 The history of scholarship dedicated to Wymysorys-Polish borrowing

Wymysorys-Polish borrowing phenomena – and thus the influence of Polish on Wymysorys – have been noted by various scholars since the beginning of research on the Wymysorys language. These phenomena were discussed before World War II in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (see Waniek 1880; Młynek 1907; Latosiński 1909; Kleczkowski 1920; 1921; Mojmir 1930-1936), and subsequently after the war in the late 20<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries (see Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997; Wicherkiewicz 1998a; 2003; Ritchie 2012; Żak 2013; 2016; 2019; Andrason 2014c; 2015a; 2015b; 2016a; 2020a; forthcoming (b); Andrason & Król 2014a; 2016a). In this section, I will describe the details of Wymysorys-Polish language-contact studies, with a particular emphasis on the publications related to borrowing, from their timid inception almost 200 years ago until their relative proliferation in the second decade of this millennium.

##### 2.1.1 Scholarship before World War II

Wymysorys-Polish language contact and the influence of Polish on the Germanic system of Wymysorys were first mentioned in a chronicle from 1848 authored by Karl Franz Augustin – a priest in Wilamowice (Augustin 2007; Chromik 2016:96). Without providing much

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<sup>24</sup> This division of Wymysorys scholarship into two types, pre-war and post-war, may seem artificial. It is, however, deliberate and reflects essential differences between pre- and post-war Wymysorys and the respective approaches used to research Wymysorys-Polish language contact. Pre-war publications analyzed a language that was relatively safe and entertained a balanced functional complementarity with Polish (Neels 2016; Andrason & Król 2016a). All such studies were developed with a rather rudimentary theoretical apparatus – a large part of them being written by amateurs with no linguistic training. In contrast, post-war publications examine Wymysorys at the verge of its extinction after severe and prolonged persecutions (see section 1.1.2). Most of these studies focus on the contemporary form of Wymysorys, which, in several aspects, diverges from the pre-war variant. Furthermore, all such works are written by scholars trained in linguistics or philology.

argument, Augustin (2007:225, 589) notes that, although Wymysorys has maintained its German character, it has also been mixed with Polish, the dominant language spoken in the area around Wilamowice (cf. Chromik 2016:96).

The influence of Polish on Wymysorys was briefly mentioned by Gustav Waniek in his description of the Silesian German sound system, *Zum Vocalismus der schlesischen Mundart*, published in 1880.<sup>25</sup> Waniek (1880:9, 20) observes that the impact of Polish on Silesian German varieties, including Wymysorys, is visible in the lexicon, especially in nouns (e.g. *nauczyciel* ‘teacher’) and verbs (e.g. *uczyć* ‘learn’). In contrast, phonetics – the focus of his research – seems to be affected to a much lesser extent. Crucially, several divergences from a canonical (Silesian) German sound system that Waniek observes (e.g. changes in accentuation) need not, in his opinion, be attributed to borrowing from Polish but may constitute language- or family-internal developments.

The first, more careful, discussion of Wymysorys-Polish language contact and borrowing can be found in Młynek’s 1907 study, *Narzecze wilamowickie (Wilhelmsauer Dialekt. Dy wymmysuaschy Gmoansproch)*. According to Młynek, having lived among Slavonic people – i.e. Poles and the so-called “górale”, the ethnic group of the Beskidy mountains<sup>26</sup> – the original medieval German allegedly used by Alemannic speakers has assimilated features characteristic of the Slavonic languages spoken in the area, such as sounds, words, grammatical forms, or expressions (Młynek 1907:9-10). If not for the intonation and rhythmicity of Wymysorys, the language would, in Młynek’s opinion, give a Slavonic rather than Germanic impression, despite the majority of its features nonetheless being of German character (ibid.). Consequently, Wymysorys is viewed as consisting of two layers, namely German(ic) and Polish. The German(ic) layer characterizes phonetics, intonation, and accentuation, as well as a large part of the lexicon (ibid. 11). The Polish layer, like the German(ic) layer, concerns the pronunciation of certain phonemes – both vowels and consonants (e.g. *ł* is pronounced in a Polish manner (ibid. 12), and several sibilants and affricates are borrowed from Polish) – and lexicon, of which one-third is apparently of Polish origin. Borrowing phenomena are similarly evident in syntax which, according to Młynek, is predominantly Polish in character (Młynek 1907:12).<sup>27</sup>

The relevance of the Polish language for the development of Wymysorys and its contemporary structure was also noted by Latosiński (1909) in his 450-page monograph dedicated mainly to the historical and socio-cultural aspects of Wilamowice. The observations made by Latosiński generally concord with Młynek’s views discussed above. To begin with, the phonetic module is one of the parts of the language that exhibits the heaviest borrowing-related phenomena. This can be illustrated by the transfer of the consonants *ć, ś, ź, ż, ń,* and *ł*, as well as the presence of the vowel *y* – all very common in Wymysorys (Latosiński 1909:272-273). However, contrary to the opinion expressed by Młynek (1907), Latosiński (1909) argues that Polish also

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<sup>25</sup> See also *Dialekt der Deutschen im vormaligen Oesterreichisch-Schlesien* written by Waniek in 1897 and reprinted in Wagner’s *Der Beeler Psalter* in 1935.

<sup>26</sup> Młynek (1907:9) uses the term “Horvats”.

<sup>27</sup> Młynek (1907:12) also includes in his list of features adopted from Polish to Wymysorys, “polski sposób myślenia”, i.e. the so-called “Polish way of thinking”.

affected the “melody” of Wymysorys. That is, instead of the harsh pronunciation (“ostre i szorstkie tony”; *ibid*:272) typical of old German(ic) varieties, Wymysorys adopted a softer, more melodious Slavonic pronunciation, even though the essence of the language remained Germanic (*ibid*:271-273). Similar to Młynek’s proposal (1907), for Latosiński (1909:272), lexicon is another area deeply affected by contact with Polish, as many lexemes (e.g. proper names, nouns, and verbs) were borrowed from this language. Additionally, Latosiński (*ibid.*) identifies traces of Polish influence in morphology and syntax, for instance, in the use of negative concord (the so-called “double negation”); the presence of the particle *że* in the imperative; and the word order in negative imperatives (e.g. *ny mahże* ‘don’t do (it)’). Likewise, the semantics of certain constructions and morphemes (e.g. diminutive suffixes) seems to reflect the Polish usage. Overall, according to Latosiński (1909:272), the Polish influence on the Wymysorys language has been substantial.

The impact of Polish and, more generally, Slavonic languages (e.g. Czech) on Wymysorys was fully acknowledged by Kleczkowski (1920; 1921), the true pioneer of Wymysorys grammatical scholarship. In the first volume of his grammar, Kleczkowski (1920:167-181) devoted 15 pages to the issue of Wymysorys-Polish borrowing. As did his predecessors, i.e. Młynek (1907) and Latosiński (1909) (consult also Waniek 1880 and Gusinde 1911; 1912; cf. footnote 31 below), Kleczkowski (1920) pays the greatest attention to the lexicon sourced from Slavonic languages, and makes the important distinction between two types of lexical loans, depending on the period in which they were borrowed. The first, less abundant, type includes loanwords that were adopted by Wymysorys from Old Polish or Old Czech. They arguably date from the 13<sup>th</sup> century and are shared by other Silesian German varieties, e.g. the dialect of Szywna, and in some cases, Modern Standard German (Kleczkowski 1920:167). The other type – significantly more numerous – contains more recent loanwords that were borrowed solely from Polish. According to Kleczkowski (*ibid.*), the two waves of Polish lexemes incorporated into Wymysorys came both from literary Standard Polish, through its use at church and school, and from the local dialects of Lesser Poland.

The differences between the two waves of loanwords are not only historical; they are also reflected in the properties of the lexemes when integrated into the Wymysorys language system. Lexemes of the first wave behave like other German words by having undergone the same phonological evolution, e.g. diphthongization and the loss of *r* [r]. Therefore, their forms may differ quite radically from the Polish sources (Kleczkowski 1920:167). In contrast, lexemes of the second wave are only minimally formally differentiated from Polish and its dialects (*ibid.* 174).<sup>28</sup> Inversely, such words fail to have developed according to the phonological tendencies operating in Wymysorys. For instance, their vowels do not conform to the rules of the Wymysorys vocalic system and *r* is maintained (*ibid.*160-173). However, certain adaptive mechanisms, phonological and/or morphological, have also operated during the transfer. As far as the phonology of the loanwords is concerned, Kleczkowski notes occasional changes in the accentuation of a word due to the loss of the final vowel or syllable

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<sup>28</sup> Various alleged divergences from Standard Polish can be linked to dialectal, especially Lesser Polish, forms (Kleczkowski 1920:173).

(ibid:174) and – extremely infrequently – direct adaptations to the common German accentuation pattern where the stress falls on the first syllable (ibid). As far as morphology is concerned, the following modifications in loanwords are identified: the feminine singular ending *-a* is often lost; the adjectival feminine singular ending *-a* is replaced by *-o*; the neuter singular ending *-o* is lost; the masculine suffix *-ek* and the feminine *-ka* are replaced by *-ki*; and in a few cases, the gender of a lexeme is altered (ibid:174-176). Nevertheless, in their totality, morphological changes are infrequent, as mentioned above, due to the vast majority of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs being preserved in their original Polish forms (ibid. 174).

According to Kleczkowski (1920:168), the semantic range of Wymysorys words of Polish origin is wide. Nonetheless, the vast majority of such lexemes tends to relate to determined semantic domains. The most relevant of them involve agriculture, quotidian life and foods, local flora and fauna, family and proper names (e.g. nicknames and toponyms), as well as church and school – the latter two being essential Wilamowian institutions in which Polish was used. As previously noted by Waniek (1880), the word classes that contain the largest number of Polish-sourced lexemes are nouns and, to a lesser extent, verbs. In contrast, adjectives, particles, conjunctions, and adverbs borrowed from Polish are much less numerous (ibid. 168, 177). Furthermore, it is not only individual lexemes that have been introduced from Polish – borrowing may also concern fixed expressions and entire sentences or utterances.

Contrary to Młynek (1907) and Latosiński (1909), Kleczkowski (1920:181) views the Polish influence outside the lexicon as minimal. A few possible non-lexical cases of borrowing mainly pertain to phonology: the treatment of voiced and voiceless consonants; the de-labialization of labial constants; the presence of the velar *ł* [ɫ] (ibid. 13, 125-126); and the manner of accentuation in which pitch plays a more prominent role than strength (ibid. 181). Nevertheless, in Kleczkowski's opinion, most of the above-mentioned traits stemmed from genuinely German(ic) processes which had merely been reinforced by contact with Polish. Morphological loans are even more exceptional, with the most significant being the transfer of Polish diminutive suffixes. According to Kleczkowski (1920; 1921), the impact of Polish on Wymysorys syntax is even more marginal. The syntactic system of Wymysorys is purely ("czysto") German (ibid. 1920:181). Traits that are less typical of Modern Standard German – such as the presence of negative concord, partially free word order, and a possible absence of *consecutio temporum* (Kleczkowski 1921:3, 6, 9) – are apparently not areal features imported from Polish. Instead, they are etymological, being inherited or developed from Middle High German (ibid. 39-41).<sup>29</sup>

The impact of Polish on the Wymysorys language structure was also observed by Herman Mojmir – the "father" of Wymysorys lexicology. In his monumental (nearly 650 pages in length) *Wörterbuch der deutschen Mundart von Wilamowice*, which was published between 1930 and

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<sup>29</sup> According to Kleczkowski (1920:179-180), Polish influence on Wymysorys is also noticeable in the role that Polish has played in introducing original Latin, French, Italian, and even German words into the Wymysorys lexicon as secondary borrowings. Less common secondary borrowings – which again were most likely incorporated by the intermediacy of Polish – came to Wymysorys from Yiddish, Romanian, Turkish, Greek, and Russian (ibid:181).

1936, Mojmir identifies a large number of Polish lexemes that have penetrated Wymysorys vocabulary.<sup>30</sup> Out of all Polish loanwords, nouns are particularly abundant. Additionally, the brief outline of a Wymysorys pronunciation provided in the introductory section of the dictionary, as well as the various examples illustrating the use of lexical entries, suggest certain Polish influence on phonetics: the relevance of palatalization and the presence of the palatal consonants *ś, ź, ć, ċ, ʒ, ʒ̣, and ʒ̣̣*; the use of dental and velar laterals, i.e. *l* and *ʎ*, respectively; and the grammaticality of accent on the penultimate syllable in loanwords, morphology (e.g. suffixes *-ok* and *-oż*), and syntax (see Mojmir 1930-1936:xiii-xv).<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> In the work on this dictionary, Mojmir was guided and editorially supervised by Adam Kleczkowski and his assistant, Heinrich Anders. Kleczkowski *de facto* completed the dictionary after Mojmir's death and the loss of a part of the original manuscript (cf. Wicherkiewicz & Olko 2016:25). Additionally, a dictionary and a grammar written by Młynek might have existed, as well as another dictionary, *Wörterbuch der Mundart von Wilamowice*, authored by J. Biba and F. Rosner, which is mentioned by Kleczkowski (1920:7) and Mojmir (1930-1936) (cf. Wicherkiewicz 2003:28; Wicherkiewicz & Olko 2016:22). The manuscripts of these texts (if they really existed), which must have contained information on Wymysorys-Polish language contact, are lost.

<sup>31</sup> Our knowledge of certain linguistic aspects of Wymysorys, which can in turn suggest some language transfer from Polish, also draws on excellent dialectological studies dedicated to the languages of East German settlements, including Silesian German and the dialects of the Bielsko-Biała enclave, that were pursued and advanced by several scholars in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Among them, the most relevant for the study of Wymysorys are two books authored by Konrad Gusinde: *Eine vergessne deutsche Sprachinsel im polnischen Oberschlesien – Die Mundart von Schönwald bei Gleiwitz* (1911) and *Schönwald – Beiträge zur Volkskunde und Geschichte eines deutschen Dorfes im polnischen Oberschlesien* (1912). Gusinde did not deal with Wymysorys *per se*, instead offering a highly valuable description of the dialect spoken in Szywałd. Nevertheless, because of the possible relatedness of the two varieties (cf. Kleczkowski 1920) and their similar socio-historical context, the Polish impact on Szywałdzki/Schönwaldisch was likely paralleled by similar contact-induced changes in Wymysorys. Gusinde identifies three types of borrowings (of two layers, namely older and younger; 1911:146): lexical loans, especially nouns and concepts related to agriculture, animals, nature, food, tools, as well as proper names and nicknames of persons (1911:141, 146-148; 1912:15); morphological loans, e.g. suffixes such as *-q̄k < -ak* and *-ořš, -q̄rš < -arz* (ibid. 1911:83, 147); and phonological loans, e.g. the development of *l* to *u/q* (ibid. 104-105) and accentuation (ibid. 150). All of these contact-related features concord with the transfer tendencies in Wymysorys identified by Kleczkowski (1920). (Polish influence on other Silesian German dialects has also been studied by Hoffmann (1909; 1910), Rother (1913), and Kaisig (1927).)

The other relevant scholars who studied Silesian and/or Bielsko-Biała dialectology before the end of World War II were: Leo Rzeszowski who in his paper, *Die deutschen Kolonien an der Westgrenze Galiziens* published in *Zeitschrift für österreichische Volkskunde* (1908), quoted fragments of texts in local dialects (possibly Halcnovian); Friedrich Bock (1916a; 1916b) whose *Der Liega-Jirg: Gedicht in der Bielitzer Mundart* and *Die Bielitzer Mundart und der Liega-Jirg* (both reprinted by Wagner in 1935) contained texts written in the Bielsko-Biała dialect and spelled in a phonetic manner (e.g. the above-mentioned *Der Liega-Jirg* 'Jirg, the liar'); Wiktor Kauder, who edited several volumes dedicated to the Bielsko-Biała enclave and the Polish part of Silesia (see *Die deutsche Sprachinsel Bielitz-Biala* (1923); *Der deutsche Bauer in der Sprachinsel Bielitz-Biala* (1927); *Deutschum in Polish-Schlesien – Ein Handbuch über Land und Leute* (1932); and *Das Deutschtum in Polen: ein Bildband. Das Deutschtum in der Wojewodschaft Schlesien. Das Deutschtum in Galizien* (1937-1939)); Franz Weiser who, in a paper entitled *Zur Mundart der Bielitzer Sprachinsel*, published in *Schlesisches Jahrbuch* (1937), discussed aspects of the Bielsko-Biała dialect; Wolfgang Jungandreas who, in a number of studies, offered important descriptions of grammatical and lexical aspects of Silesian German, including its Upper dialect (see especially *Schlesische Zeitwortbildung* (1923) and *Schlesisches Wörterbuch* (Siebs & Jungandreas 1935-1938)), as well as an analysis of their history and diachrony (see *Texte zur Geschichte der schlesischen Mundarten* (1931) and *Zur Geschichte der schlesischen Mundart im Mittelalter – Untersuchungen zur Sprache und Siedlung in Ostmitteldeutschland* (1937)); Andreas Wackwitz who, in *Die deutsche Sprachinsel Anhalt-Gatsch in Oberschlesien in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (1932), described another island variety of the Silesian dialect spoken in Hołdunów (Anhalt) and Gać (Gatsh); Walther Mitzka (1888-1976), the famous and prolific German scholar, who in several papers (see Mitzka 1943; 1943-1944:104-106, 133; 1963-1965; 1968) dealt with various sociolinguistic and grammatical features of Silesian German, including the dialect used in the Bielsko-Biała enclave and its varieties; and especially Walter Kuhn, who published several articles and books dedicated to the Bielsko-Biała enclave and Silesia, mentioning Wymysorys and emphasizing its German character. (This clashed with the opinions defended by Młynek (1907), Latosiński (1909), and Biesik (1913-1924), who argued for the

non-German origin of Wymysorys and its non-German character and identity.) According to Kuhn, pro-Polish views were mere Polish propaganda (see Kuhn 1928; 1935; 1940; 1967; 1970; and his *oeuvre majeure – Geschichte der deutschen Sprachinsel Bielitz*; Kuhn 1981, see Kuhn & Schlauer 1930). Kuhn's work also included fragments in Wymysorys, such as *Schlof, due Buwla, fest* 'Sleep fast, my little boy', spelled according to the Modern Standard German convention. (Other relevant pre-war studies that are dedicated to Silesian German and contain more or less explicit references to contact with Polish are Weinhold (1853; 1887), Pautsch (1901), von Unwerth (1908), Schönborn (1912), Hanke (1913), Graebisch (1920), Gdynia (1934), Weinelt (1938), and Friemel (1938).)

Indirect and/or, at most, anecdotal and sketchy references to language contact between Wymysorys and Polish may be found in other works published before World War II. These publications often contain collections of dialectal texts, mainly concerning ethnography, anthropology, history, and sociolinguistics, and are dedicated not to the town of Wilamowice specifically, but rather the Bielsko-Biała enclave and/or Silesian German in general. The most relevant among all such works are those authored by Bukowski, Smólski, Anders, Karasek, as well as Wagner. To be exact, Bukowski's book (1860) constitutes the oldest collection of fragments published in Wymysorys (Wicherkiewicz 2003:25). In his publication, Bukowski included four texts on Wymysorys and Wilamowice: A Welmeßajer Steckla 'A Wymysorys piece', A Welmeßajer ai Berlin 'A Wilamowian in Berlin', Der Ochsazug o der Fostnocht ai Paris (A Welmeßajer Gespräch) 'The yoke of oxen on Shrove Tuesday in Paris – A Wilamowicean talk' (as translated by Wicherkiewicz 2003:25), and A Salomon Urtel (Ai Welmeßaa) 'A Salmon judgment – in Wilamowice' (see Wicherkiewicz 2003:25; Wicherkiewicz & Olko 2016:21). These four texts are in addition to more than 40 other songs and poems written in a Biąła dialect of German. Bukowski also discussed grammatical and lexical features of the Galician Silesian variety spoken in the Bielsko-Biała enclave in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, e.g. he compiled a wordlist of more than 700 entries translated into German. A few texts in Wymysorys were published by Smólski, F.G. & Schmidt, and Anders. Smólski (1910), in his work *Kolonie i stosunki niemieckie w Galicji*, included a short song in Wymysorys entitled *An cwa družkyn ana Braut* 'Two bridesmaids and a bride' (ibid. 21). He also quoted several constructions and phrases in Wymysorys, and added their Polish translations. Examples of Wymysorys were also included in F.G. & Schmidt's *Kalender des Bundes der christlichen Deutschen in Galizien* (1913). In the chapter entitled *Wilmesau in Westgalizien*, the authors quoted an original song, *Tanz a hender, on a für* 'Dance one [step] backwards and one forward' (as translated by Wicherkiewicz 2003:28), in addition to the versions of two songs previously published by Bukowski (1860) and Latosiński (1909): *A Welmeßajer Steckla* 'A Wymysorys piece' and *H kannt ae möl ae maekia šyjn* 'Once I knew a beautiful girl', respectively. In 1933, Heinrich Anders – assistant of Kleczkowski at the University of Poznań – published various texts authored by Biesik, the "father" of Wymysorys literature. Anders' book entitled *Gedichte von Florian Biesik in der Mundart von Wilamowice* comprised *Wymysau an wymysojer* 'Wilamowice and Wymysorys people' (including *Cy byljen* 'For information'), *Dy družba* 'The grooms people', *S'wymysojer makia* 'The Wymysorys girl', *S'wymysojerysze* 'Wymysorys', *S'Gregre-gregory* 'St. Gregory's [day]', *An dy wymysojer studanta* 'To the Wymysorys students', and *Liwy Poloncia-zyster* 'Dear Apolonia, sister[-in-law]' (cf. Wicherkiewicz & Olko 2016:31). Karasek (1931:10-13) quotes a tale, *Der Bär, der Lis und der Hase* 'The bear, the fox, and the hare', in addition to two Christmas carols, previously published by Latosiński (1909), i.e. *Saejt gebata, ne hot's fr ejwul* 'We ask you, do not take us amiss' and *Wer waen ojch ae löstik Lid sengia* 'We are going to sing you a joyful song' (see Karasek 1925; 1927). Wagner's two publications, *Der Beeler Psalter* (1935) and *Das Buch der Bielitz-Bialaer Chronika* (1938), have been of critical importance to Upper Silesian and Galician Silesian scholarship. The former book contains a description of the Bielsko-Biała dialect and its dictionary, a presentation of poets from Bielsko-Biała, and a short anthology of their poems. This publication also included an anthology previously written by Bukowski (1860), including several texts in Wymysorys. The latter work focused on the historical and cultural aspects of the Bielsko-Biała region, offering a particular collection of the sources related to the enclave.

Lastly, the historical aspects of the Bielsko-Biała enclave were extensively researched by Erwin Hanslik (1880-1940) who, in his doctoral dissertation entitled *Kulturgrenze und Kulturzyklus in den polnischen Westbeskiden* (1907) and habilitation thesis entitled *Biala, eine deutsche Stadt in Galizien: Geographische Untersuchung des Stadtproblems* (1909), focused on the material and non-material culture of the enclave (see also Hanslik 1910a; 1910b; 1938). (It should be emphasized that contrary to most of the works dedicated to Wymysorys-Polish language contact that are discussed in the present section, the works mentioned in this footnote are of a high scholarly standard.)

### 2.1.2 Scholarship after World War II

After the publication of Kleczkowski (1920; 1921) and Mojmir's (1930-1936) seminal works, the discussion of linguistic transfer from Polish to Wymysorys ceased for more than 80 years. It was only resumed at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by Majewicz (1989) and Wicherkiewicz (1998a; 1998b; 2003), who focused his analysis on the language of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century poet Florian Biesik, and Zieniukowa who, in collaboration with Wicherkiewicz (1997), studied language contact phenomena in Wilamowian anthroponomy. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a new cohort of young scholars advanced the study of Wymysorys-Polish language contact even further by analyzing Wymysorys in its more contemporary and spoken form: Ritchie (2012), who was mainly concerned with the place of Wymysorys within the West Germanic language family; Żak (2013; 2016; 2019), who dedicated himself to the study of the phonetic properties of the Polish imports in Wymysorys; and myself who, alone (Andrason 2014c; 2015a; 2015b; 2016a; 2020a) and in collaboration with Król (Andrason & Król 2014a; 2016a), has described not only Wymysorys-Polish borrowing in lexicon and grammar but also other phenomena related to Wymysorys-Polish contact, such as bilingual hybridizations, code-switching, and language mixing.

The revival of studies on Wymysorys-Polish language contact began in 1997 when Tomasz Wicherkiewicz defended his PhD dissertation entitled *Language, Culture and People of Wilamowice in the Light of Literary Output of Florian Biesik*. This dissertation served as the foundation of the book, *The Making of a Language: The Case of the Idiom of Wilamowice, Southern Poland*, published in 2003. This book offers a philological edition of Biesik's poems – some of which were previously published by Anders (1933) and Majewicz (1989) – and their translation into Polish, English, and German. This monograph arguably constitutes one of the most significant contributions to Wymysorys scholarship in modern times, making its author the true architect of the current Wymysorys renaissance.

Similar to his scholarly predecessors, namely Waniek (1880), Młynek (1907), Latosiński (1909), and Kleczkowski (1920), Wicherkiewicz (1998a; 2003) recognizes the particular relevance of Polish to the Wymysorys lexicon. The (semantic) domains that have specifically been affected by borrowing are those involving kinship terms, names, surnames, nicknames, names of places, flora and fauna, the household, clothing, folklore, religion, school, and names of months (ibid. 1998a:208) – all similar to the domains distinguished by the pre-war scholars. Wicherkiewicz observes that the vocabulary related to children and the emotive-expressive part of the lexicon (e.g. onomatopoeias) are severely influenced by Polish as well (ibid). The semantic type of influence also involves calques, such as *zich fyrwajwa* 'get married' in analogy to *ożenić się* in Polish (ibid. 210). In further similarity to his predecessors, Wicherkiewicz acknowledges borrowing from Polish to Wymysorys in the phonetic module. In his opinion, the most evident phonetic influence of Polish is the presence of *l* [ɫ/w] instead of [l], and that of *y* [i] instead of [u], [y], [i] – although both types of sounds are also found in other German dialects (Wicherkiewicz 1998a:207; 2003). The primary novelty in Wicherkiewicz's work (1998a:210-211; 2003:420) is, however, the identification of contact-induced changes affecting functional lexemes or word classes other than nouns, verbs, and adjectives. This, in particular, concerns conjunctions, e.g. *bo* 'because' and *czy*

‘whether’, borrowed directly from Polish, as well as *do* ‘that’, *wi* ‘as’, and *wu* ‘that, which, who’, of which the respective functional loads may have developed indirectly under the influence of Polish. Another grammatical feature borrowed from Polish and incorporated into the Wymysorys language are suffixes found in proper names and nicknames, and, as previously noted by Kleczkowski (1920), in diminutives, e.g. *-uś*, *-siu/-sia*, *-ciol/-cia* (Wicherkiewicz 1998a:210; 2003:420), as well as the suffixed emphatic particle *-że* (in the singular) and *-cie* (in the plural) (Wicherkiewicz 1998a:210), mentioned earlier by Latosiński (1909:272). Lastly, a few important syntactic properties, such as negative concord, less rigid word order, and the absence of *consecutio temporum*, are similarly attributed to Polish influence (Wicherkiewicz 1998a:211-212; 2003:413-414). This opinion concurs with Latosiński (1909:272) but contrasts with Kleczkowski (1920), who viewed such traits as fully congruent with Middle High German.

Similar to Kleczkowski (1920), although in a more reduced form, Wicherkiewicz (1998a:209-210) enumerates certain adaptive morphological mechanisms that allow for Polish loanwords to be incorporated more efficiently into the structure of the Wymysorys language. As far as nominal loans are concerned, the most evident adaptations consist of the use of the following: the Wymysorys pluralizers *-a* (e.g. *duch-a* ‘ghosts’) and *-n* (e.g. *njewol-n* ‘captivities’), the diminutive suffix *-lal/-la* (e.g. *obroz-la* ‘picture, painting’; see also Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997:312), and the feminine suffix *-yj* (e.g. *paraf-yj* ‘parish’). Verbal loans are integrated through the use of: the Wymysorys infinitive endings *-an*, *-ān*, *-ȳn*; prefixes such as *cy-* (e.g. *cy-šarp-an* ‘tear up, jerk, jiggle’); the prefix *gy-* in the participle (e.g. *gy-wskrzyśa-et* ‘resurrected’); and, in general, the inflection of Polish verbal bases in accordance with the respective Wymysorys paradigms.

Drawing on Kleczkowski’s analysis (1920), Wicherkiewicz (1998a:207) divides Polish loanwords into two categories: older loans, which underwent the regular phonetic evolution typical of native words, and more recent loans, which, with a few exceptions, have failed to undergo changes characterizing Wymysorys phonology. In further similarity to Kleczkowski (1920), Wicherkiewicz (1998a; 2003) identifies two sources of Polish borrowing in Wymysorys: Standard Polish and local dialects. As far as the dialectal subtype of Polish borrowing is concerned, Wicherkiewicz hesitates as to which Polish dialect should be regarded as the origin of transfer. In some publications, he identifies Lesser Polish dialects as the source of transfer (Wicherkiewicz 1998a:207). In other publications, the main source of dialectal loans is attributed to Silesian Polish (Wicherkiewicz 2003:403).<sup>32</sup>

In 1997, Jadwiga Zieniukowa, in collaboration with Wicherkiewicz, published an article that specifically dealt with the Polish influence on Wymysorys names, surnames, and nicknames. The authors note that Wymysorys anthroponomy exhibits strong effects of language contact, with Polish and Germanic (i.e. etymologically Wymysorys) material contributing to both

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<sup>32</sup> Wicherkiewicz has published other influential studies devoted to various aspects of Wymysorys: its sociolinguistics (Wicherkiewicz 1998b); the exposure of Wymysorys to political and social factors and their impact on language loss (Wicherkiewicz 1999); the literary tradition of Wymysorys (Wicherkiewicz 2001); and the origin of the Wymysorys language (Wicherkiewicz 2013).

lexical bases and suffixes (Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997:313). In general, the three-layer naming system (i.e. surnames, given names, and nicknames) that operates in Wilamowice is fully compatible with the systems used in the Polish dialects of Silesia and Lesser Poland (ibid. 309-310).<sup>33</sup> Apart from many bases borrowed from Polish, the authors identify, as potential Polonisms, the suffix *-a* in masculine given names (e.g. *Frana*) found in the Opole region and in Cieszyn Silesia (ibid. 311; cf. Zaręba 1959; Dobrzyński 1966), and the suffixes *-ek* and *-ok* (as well as their feminine variants) widely used in nicknames (e.g. *Luftek* from *luft* ‘air’ + *-ek*; *Putrok* from *puter* ‘butter’ + *-ok*) (Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997:312).<sup>34</sup>

Inspired by the groundbreaking works of Wicherkiewicz and Zieniukowa, a new cohort of young scholars – Ritchie, Żak, Król, and myself – started to research Polish influence on Wymysorys and Wymysorys-Polish borrowing in the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The first was Carlo Ritchie. In his honors dissertation, Ritchie (2012) identified a number of contact-induced features permeating all levels of languages. The most significant features are several nominal loanwords, such as *klap* ‘man’ (from P(olish) *kłop*), in content lexicon (ibid. 49-50) and the development of [ʃ] to [w] in phonetics (ibid. 39). Ritchie also claims that, similar to the situation found in Yiddish, “a number” of morphological features of Wymysorys may be traced to Polish (ibid. 69). In Ritchie’s opinion, even though such Polish-sourced features constitute a fraction of Wymysorys morphology, “they do contribute to the distinctness of the language within West Germanic” (ibid.). This claim is, however, unsupported by examples or a thorough analysis. Additionally, Ritchie suggests that the maintenance of a three-gender system in Wymysorys may be attributed to Polish influence, even though it has also been retained in other Silesian German varieties (ibid. 71).

Wymysorys-Polish language contact, especially in the module of phonetics and phonology, has constituted the center of the scholarship of Andrzej Żak, the second of the researchers of the new wave mentioned above. In general, Żak (2016:142; 2019) regards the impact of Polish on Wymysorys as “noticeable and quite large”. As has previously been argued by other scholars, this impact affects mainly the lexicon and phonetics of Wymysorys, rather than its core grammar (Żak 2013; 2016:141). Nevertheless, certain changes in morphology and syntax may also be attributed to contact with Polish.<sup>35</sup> As a result of the Polish influence – as well as the influence of other languages – Wymysorys speakers apparently view their language as an intermediate or blended language, even though its structural core and origin are Germanic (Żak 2016:143).<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Previously, the system included a fourth layer, i.e. the name of the house (Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997:309-310).

<sup>34</sup> Zieniukowa and Wicherkiewicz authored another article dedicated to the current sociolinguistic profile of the ethnolect and its dynamics (see Wicherkiewicz & Zieniukowa 2001).

<sup>35</sup> As Kleczkowski (1920) did before, Żak (2016:143) also notices the presence of original German, Dutch, French, and Czech loans in addition to Polish ones.

<sup>36</sup> To be precise, Żak (2016:143) employs the term “mixed”. However, he uses this word not in a technical sense to refer to a specific type of contact language – as will be done in this dissertation – but rather in a layman’s sense to denote a language that exhibits features traceable to two (or more) languages.

As far as the phonetic system of Wymysorys is concerned, Żak (2016:135) identifies Polish influence in the pronunciation of certain vowels and consonants. This specifically involves the use of pre-palatal spirants and affricates (e.g. [ʃ] and [tʃ]), and the development of the velar lateral / [ɬ] into the approximant [w] (Żak 2016; 2019:11). By taking Polish and German dialectal literature into consideration, as well as broader typological evidence, Żak demonstrates that the vocalization of [ɬ] to [w] is mainly a contact-induced change. With regard to lexicon, Polish has been the source of numerous words, usually related to the semantic domains of family, food, plants (fruits and vegetables), everyday situations, religion, schooling, as well as the names of months (Żak 2016:136-139) – domains that do not differ from those identified earlier by Kleczkowski (1920), Wicherkiewicz (1998), and myself (see below; Andrason 2014c). In contrast, grammatical borrowings are few – the most significant being, according to Żak (ibid.134), the presence of negative concord (or “double negation” in his terminology), the development of a vocative case, and the use of the particle *że* from Polish *że* (Żak 2016).

In his analysis, Żak notably expands the two-wave model of borrowing, proposed before by Kleczkowski (1920) and subsequently re-used by Wicherkiewicz (1998), and distinguishes between four groups of the loans: those that were transferred “very long ago” and can presently be radically different from their Polish sources; those that were imported later but are viewed as belonging to the Wymysorys language system; those that were borrowed recently and are perceived as Polish words; and idiolectal Polish words that are employed in cases where a Wymysorys lexeme is forgotten (Żak 2016:143).<sup>37</sup> Similar to Kleczkowski (1920), Wicherkiewicz (1998a; 2003; see also Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997), and myself (see further below; Andrason 2014c; 2015a), Żak (2016:141) argues that the dialectal source of Polish loanwords is significant. That is, a large number of features have been transferred to Wymysorys not from Standard Polish but rather from the dialects of Lesser Poland or Silesia. In this regard, Żak’s novelty lies in the solution he gives to the presence of the voiceless postalveolar spirant [ʃ] and the voiceless postalveolar affricate [tʃ] in Wymysorys. Rather than tracing them to Southwestern Lesser Polish or easternmost Silesian varieties, Żak (2016:135) proposes that both sounds had their origin in the variety of Cieszyn Silesia, from which they spread to Wilamowice, ultimately influencing the Wymysorys phonology to a considerable extent. Żak also notes certain adaptive processes operating during the transfer from Polish to Wymysorys, whether phonological (e.g. by using a sound repertoire typical of Wymysorys) or morphological (e.g. by using Wymysorys suffixes or prefixes) (ibid:141-142). Lastly, Żak (2016:139) observes an important contact-related feature of Wymysorys usually left unnoticed in previous grammatical studies or mentioned only superficially (see Młynek 1907; Karasek 1932; Wicherkiewicz 1998a) – that of code-switching.<sup>38</sup> He provides compelling examples of language switches, not only between Wymysorys and Polish (2016:139), but also those involving three languages, i.e. Wymysorys, Polish, and German (ibid. 1439-141). Although

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<sup>37</sup> Żak (2016:143-144, 147) advocates the purification of Wymysorys from Polonisms of all types except the first one (i.e. those imported a “long time ago”). He suggests that the remaining Polonisms be replaced by Wymysorys-based neologisms in order to maintain “the Germanic character of Wymysorys” (ibid:143).

<sup>38</sup> Code-switching and diglossia (or triglossia) have also been researched from a diachronic sociolinguistic perspective by Neels (2008; 2012; 2016; see section 1.1.2).

Żak abstains from any analysis of code-switching in Wymysorys, he observes that its use deliberately constitutes “a play on words” (2016:139).

The last two scholars who have dedicated a large part of their research activities to the study of Wymysorys-Polish language contact and the lexical and grammatical effects thereof are Tymoteusz Król and myself (Andrason 2014c; 2015a; 2015b; 2016a; 2020a; see also Andrason & Król 2014a; 2016a).<sup>39</sup> The most detailed of all the studies authored by me is the descriptive paper published in *Glossos* in 2014 (Andrason 2014c). This article constitutes the most comprehensive review of features borrowed from Polish into the contemporary Wymysorys language to date. In that publication, I propose that Polish has influenced Wymysorys significantly, both in quantitative and qualitative terms. That is, the number of transferred lexemes and features is large, and their diversity considerable – loans being found in all language modules, whether phonology, lexicon, morphology, morphophonology, morpho-syntax, or syntax.

To be exact, with regard to phonology, the following features found in Wymysorys can be attributed to Polish: the presence of the vowel [ɛ̃]/[ĩ]; the series of the palatal postalveolar and laminal flat postalveolar sibilants and affricates; the alveolo-palatal consonant [ɲ]; the replacement of the initial [h] with [x]; and the lack of aspiration. Regarding the lexicon, I have demonstrated that the heaviest borrowing pertains to referential or content vocabulary. This is especially evident in the nominal and verbal modules as the origin of 250 nouns and 120 verbs can be traced to Polish. However, adjectival and adverbial loanwords are also well attested. Additionally, I have shown that Polish-sourced transfer may also be identified in a more functional part of the lexicon, e.g. conjunctions, particles, pronouns, interjections, and onomatopoeias. In the case of morphology, I have attributed two phenomena to Polish influence: the development of the vocative case and the presence of several derivational suffixes. In terms of syntax, I view the free word order of Wymysorys, the use of negative concord, and the lack of rule agreement of tenses (*consecutio temporum*) as the result of contact with Polish. As with the works of Kleczkowski (1920) and Wicherkiewicz (2003) before me, I have identified several strategies that operate(d) – more or less successfully – during the adaptation of Polish loans to the Wymysorys system. In agreement with those two scholars, I have noticed that the source of influence might be both Standard Polish and the local dialects – whether phonological, morphological, or syntactic (Andrason 2014c).

Subsequently, I focused my attention on the various types of hybridizations or Wymysorys-Polish mixed forms used in the Wymysorys language, at the lexical, morphological, and morpho-syntactic levels (Andrason 2015b; 2016a). I also discussed the impact of Polish on Wymysorys syntax in more detail, especially free word order and the violation of V2 (Andrason 2020a). Additionally, together with Król, I studied the conversational types in which

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<sup>39</sup> Either alone or together with Król, I have published a number of other articles dedicated to aspects of Wymysorys grammar: verbal semantics and morpho-syntax (Andrason 2010a; 2010b; 2011; 2013b; 2014b); verbal morphology (Andrason & Król 2014c; 2016b), word order and V2 phenomena (Andrason 2020a); inflectional systems of nouns (Andrason 2014a; 2016b), pronouns (Andrason & Król 2014b), and adjectives (Andrason 2013a). Most of the grammatical information published in these papers was subsequently used in the grammar in Andrason & Król (2016a).

Wilamowians could be engaged, briefly discussing the phenomenon of Wymysorys-Polish code-switching (Andrason & Król 2014a). This research and the qualitative and quantitative extent of Polish borrowing mentioned above have led me to view Wymysorys as a Germanic-Slavonic mixed language (Andrason 2015a; Andrason & Król 2016a).<sup>40</sup>

In order to provide a full review of the studies dedicated to the influence of Polish on the Wymysorys language system, one should not omit the doctoral dissertation presented recently by Marek Dolatowski (2017).<sup>41</sup> Even though Dolatowski's thesis is dedicated to Aljzneriś (Hałcnowski/Alznerisch), it does mention Wymysorys occasionally, as Aljzneriś itself is a close dialectal relative of Wymysorys. To elaborate, Aljzneriś, also referred to as *aljzneriś* and *alzneriś* (Chromik & Dolatowski 2013), is spoken in the village of Hałcnów (Alza) situated 10 kilometers southwest of Wilamowice. It is thus the nearest member of the Bielsko-Biała linguistic enclave, from which Wilamowice has only been separated by Piszczowice (Scheirbersdof) and Stara Wieś (Altdorf) (Wicherkiewicz 2003:9; see also Grabowski 1849; Kosiński 1891). Aljzneriś is indeed the only member of this enclave that has been preserved, albeit in a highly residual form, with the other local German varieties of the Bielsko-Biała enclave and the dialects of Silesian-Galician

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<sup>40</sup> Certain contact features also transpire from other works dedicated to Wymysorys lexicon and grammar in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. First, Wymysorys dictionaries and wordlists – whether in their full or fragmentary forms – reveal the considerable extent of the contribution of Polish to Wymysorys vocabulary (see Gara 2003; Andrason & Król 2013; and Król (n.d.(a))); consult also an online wordlist drawing on various sources and some original data that has recently been made available on Wikipedia ([pl.wiktionary.org/wiki/Kategoria:wilamowski\\_\(indeks\)](http://pl.wiktionary.org/wiki/Kategoria:wilamowski_(indeks))). Second, in his detailed description of the sound system of modern Wymysorys, Weckwerth (2014) suggests that the use of the central vowel [i] (ibid. 3) and the weakening of the distinctive status of vocalic length (ibid. 2) may have been transferred from (or developed under the influence of) Polish. Third, a few contact-induced phenomena, mostly related to the sound system, can be inferred from a study published by Lasatowicz (1992) (see chapter 4).

Apart from featuring in formal linguistic studies, contact-related properties and, especially the synchronic and/or diachronic interaction of Wymysorys with Polish, are mentioned in works dedicated to the sociolinguistic aspects of Wymysorys. A multi-factorial and dynamic sociolinguistic profile of Wymysorys was the topic of the doctoral dissertation written by Rinaldo Neels (Neels 2012; see also Neels 2008) and a BA thesis authored by Król (Król 2015). Other studies addressed more specific sociolinguistic issues: Wymysorys nicknames were analyzed by Król (2006); language visibility was studied by Ritchie (2016); linguistic variation was the focus of the paper authored by Hornsby (2016); linguistic identities, choices, and attitudes were further researched by Neels (2016); and language ideologies were explored by Chromik (2016). Language contact has also been dealt with in works on the genetic filiation and classification of Wymysorys and its historical origin. Among the most relevant contemporary studies devoted to these topics are articles and books written by Morciniec (1984; 1985; 1995; 1999; 2002), who convincingly refutes the popular Flemish/Dutch origin of Wymysorys, the above-cited honors thesis presented by Ritchie (2012), and two online articles authored by Chromik in collaboration with Dolatowski (Chromik & Dolatowski 2013) and with Wicherkiewicz (Chromik & Wicherkiewicz 2014). Occasional mentions of Wymysorys-Polish language contact may also be found in other general – but no less important – descriptions of Wymysorys. These works, which provide exemplary summaries of its social, cultural, and political history, the review of the documentation, literature, and scholarship of the language, as well as the discussion of its current situation and revitalization strategies, were written by Chromik & Wicherkiewicz (2014), Wicherkiewicz & Olko (2016), and Wicherkiewicz, Król & Olko (2017).

Besides studying the language from a sociological angle, the last decades saw an explosion of ethnographic, anthropological, historical, and culture-oriented research on Wilamowice in which the (cultural) contact with Polish is also, more or less, evident (Bittner-Szewczykowa 1999; Rodak 2004; Gara 2007). Wymysorys traditional attire was the object of analysis for Bazielić (2001), Filip (2001), Filip & Król (2009), and Danek (2009a, 2009b). The ethnographic and cultural connection with Flanders was studied by Lipok-Bierwiczzonek (2002), and Filip (2005). In 2001, a new collaborative monograph dedicated to the history, culture, and language of Wilamowice, as well as its geography, flora, and fauna was edited by Barciak (2001).

<sup>41</sup> Certain aspects of Aljzneriś verbal morphology and syntax appeared earlier (2015) in an article by Dolatowski.

having vanished. Therefore, contact properties of Aljzneriś are, in my view, relevant for the study of the influence of Polish on Wymysorys.<sup>42</sup>

Dolatowski (2017) dedicates a separate but brief chapter to language contact in Aljzneriś, considering not only transfer from Polish but also from German (ibid. 262). The contact with the Polish system transpires in entrenched borrowings and idiolectal interferences, as well as in code-switching (ibid. 75-76; 263). These contact-related phenomena are visible in all modules of the language: phonetics/phonology, lexicon, morpho-syntax, and syntax (ibid. 263). In the phonetic and phonological module, Dolatowski (2017) attributes the following features to Polish influence: the realization of [ç] as [ε] (ibid. 108, 263); the presence of [i] instead of [ə] (ibid. 263); the use of [ε] and [tε] in Polish loanwords (ibid. 108); and the palatalization of certain consonants, especially [k], [l], [n], [ŋ], and [ʃ] (ibid. 109). In the lexicon, several content words, especially nouns (e.g. *klop* ‘man’ – cf. P. *chłop*), have been transferred from Polish, while a number of idiomatic expressions are direct lexical calques of their Polish equivalents (e.g. *uf* ‘em *pfahrt raita* ‘ride a horse’ – cf. P. *jechać na koniu*). Semantic calques are also visible in the functional part of the Aljzneriś lexicon. In particular, the use of the preposition *no(h)* ‘after’ (ibid. 179), the conjunction and preposition *vi(h)* ‘how’ (ibid. 190, 197), and the relative *vo* ‘what, which’ (ibid. 178-179) follow the Polish usage (ibid. 267-268). A number of functional words have also been transferred from Polish, e.g. the particle (*no*) *to* ‘so then’ (cf. P. *no to*) (ibid. 194, 198) and the conjunction *bo* ‘because’ (cf. P. *bo*) (ibid. 196-198). In terms of morpho-syntax, Polish is viewed as the source of the following phenomena: the modification in grammatical gender of the word *makia* from neuter to feminine (cf. P. *dziewczyna*; ibid. 264); the subject-less usage of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-person plural (e.g. *da hota schfein gehalta* ‘there [they] have kept pigs’, i.e. ‘one kept pigs / pigs were kept’; ibid. 155, 266); the absence of subject with verbs inflected in other persons, especially 2<sup>nd</sup>-person singular (e.g. *vi-feil kücher velst?* ‘How many rolls do you want?’; ibid. 266);<sup>43</sup> negative concord or, in Dolatowski’s terminology, “double negation” (ibid. 260-261, 266-267);<sup>44</sup> and case government or the selection of a specific preposition with a verb (e.g. *interesihren mit* ‘be interested in’ and *schtarva uf* ‘die of’, constructed according to *interesować się* + instrumental and *umierać na* in Polish; ibid. 267). The word order of Aljzneriś has also been affected by Polish in the sense of becoming relatively free (ibid. 261). This free constituent order has led to – or surfaces through – the following more specific

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<sup>42</sup> Albeit less ample and less splendid, the revival of the Aljzneriś language and culture can be regarded as concomitant with the renaissance of Wymysorys literature and scholarship. After World War II, Aljzneriś texts appeared in various studies published by Karl Olma (1963; 1983; 1988). Indeed, Olma (1914-2001) can be regarded as the “father” of literary Aljzneriś, holding the position similar to that of Biesik for Wymysorys. Especially significant are Olma’s *Heimat Alzen – Versuch einer Chronik über 550 Jahre bewegter Geschichte* (1983) and *Alza – Wu de Putter wuor gesalza – Gedichte und Lieder einer untergehenden Mundart* (1988), which deal with the history of the Halcnovian dialects and its speakers. A Polish study devoted to Halcnow, entitled *Halcnow od A do Z – Szkice z historii i współczesności*, was published in 2015 by Kominiaik. Certain aspects of contact between Polish and Aljzneriś are also noted on the website [www.inne-jezyki.amu.edu.pl](http://www.inne-jezyki.amu.edu.pl) that has been developed within the project *The Linguistic Heritage of the Rzeczpospolita* (see Chromik & Dolatowski 2013), as well as in recent articles published by Maryniak & Król (2019) and Mętrak (2019).

<sup>43</sup> It is also possible that the verbal ending *-st* and the postposed subject pronoun have merged (Dolatowski 2017:266).

<sup>44</sup> Negative concord could also be a relic of Middle High German. Nevertheless, the fact that negative concord only appears with Polish informants suggests the Polish source of this phenomenon (Dolatowski 2017:260-261, 266-267).

phenomena attributed to contact with Polish: the violation of V2 order (ibid. 269), the placement of the second member of the verbal construction (a participle or an infinitive) in a non-final position (ibid.), and the non-final position of the inflected verb in subordinate clauses (269).<sup>45</sup> In conclusion, according to Dolatowski (2017), even though both the length and intensity of contact with Polish and the transfer of grammatical features could suggest that the influence of Polish on Aljzneriś is strong (ibid. 197), Aljzneriś is much more resistant to contact-induced changes than Wymysorys is (ibid. 269).<sup>46</sup>

## 2.2 Limitations of the scholarship dedicated to Wymysorys-Polish borrowing

Despite the high value of the studies on linguistic contact between Wymysorys and Polish discussed in the previous section, the areal interaction of these two languages and the impact of Polish on the lexicon and grammar of Wymysorys have thus far not been dealt with in a satisfactory manner.

In the vast majority of the works mentioned above, the question of the linguistic influence of Polish on Wymysorys constitutes a peripheral issue. References to borrowing in those publications are marginal, being either limited to a few paragraphs (e.g. Latosiński 1909:270-271) or, more commonly, fragmentized to a number of brief remarks that are spread across an entire text (Waniek 1880; Młynek 1907; Wicherkiewicz 2003:413-414, 420-421, 427, 431-433; Ritchie 2012; Dolatowski 2017).<sup>47</sup> In a small number of studies devoted more expressly

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<sup>45</sup> Other grammatical changes, e.g. the use of *i* ‘and’ (Dolatowski 2017:256), are idiolectal interferences and cannot be attributed to the language system (ibid. 269).

<sup>46</sup> In the post-war period, apart from featuring in a number of studies on Wymysorys and Aljzneriś, contact with Polish has also been dealt with in works dedicated to other members of Silesian German. For instance, Polish influence has extensively been studied in the dialect of Szywnałd, especially with regard to its phonetic system (Trambacz 1973; see also Trambacz 1961; 1971; Tworek 2016; Lasatowicz & Tworek 2018). More or less explicitly, contact with Polish has also been examined in other Silesian varieties (see Chromik 2013; 2019; Księżyk 2008; 2017) or Silesian German holistically (Menzel 1954; 1972; Rospond 1957; Bellmann 1967; Olesch 1987; Chmiel 1988; Kryszczuk 1989; Morciniec 2002; 2012; Chrobak 2010; Nyenhuis 2013). When discussing the issue of the linguistic influence of Polish on Silesian German (including Wymysorys), one cannot exclude the various articles published by Janusz Siatkowski on German-Slavonic language contact (Siatkowski 1992a; 1992b; 1997; 2000; 2003), often dedicated to specific forms such as suffixes (Siatkowski 1992c; 1994a; 1998; 1999) or prefixes (1994b). The quintessence of Siatkowski’s research was the book *Studia nad słowiańsko-niemieckimi kontaktami językowymi*, published in 2015, in which the author deals with several aspects of that contact, particularly lexical influences (Siatkowski 2015:283-354) and grammatical influences (ibid. 55-282). Lexical influences concern primarily hybridized forms, idiomatic expressions, and a number of lexemes. Grammatical influences concern the incorporation and often grammaticalization (productivization) of Slavonic suffixes (e.g. *ak*, *ač*, *ik*, *nik*, *(l)ik*, *(n)ica*, *uś*, *ski/cki*, and *awa*; ibid. 55-239), the adaptation of adjectives and adverbs (ibid. 245-255), the borrowing and adaptation of verbs (ibid. 239-245), and interferences in morphology (e.g. in inflection and derivation; ibid. 255-280).

Lastly, language contact phenomena and the influence of Slavonic languages, including Polish, on a Germanic linguistic system have constituted a pervasive topic of research in the scholarship of Yiddish – another High German variety. Works of Uriel Weinreich (1953; 1955; 1958), Max Weinreich (2008), Wexler (1963; 1987; 1991; 2002), Geller (1993; 1994; 1999; 2010; 2015), as well as Joffe (1965), Stankiewicz (1985), Prince (1997), Hansen & Birzer (2012), Fleischer (2014), Kahn (2015), Shishigin (2016a; 2016b), and Arkadiev (2017) have all deeply advanced our understanding of the extent of Slavonic contribution to the Yiddish sound system, lexicon, and grammar. I will refer to these publications throughout my dissertation.

<sup>47</sup> In some of those cases (cf. Wicherkiewicz 2003; Ritchie 2012; Dolatowski 2017), the marginalization of Wymysorys-Polish language contact stems from the specific topic explored by the authors and therefore should not be regarded as a limitation of the book or dissertation.

to Wymysorys-Polish language contact, scholars tend to restrict their discussion to a particular language module, grammatical phenomenon, or types of words – for instance, syntax (Andrason 2020a), hybridization in morphology and morpho-syntax (Andrason 2015b; 2016a), and proper names (Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997), respectively – or adopt an even more atomic perspective, focusing on a single verbal construction (Andrason 2016a) or a single phoneme (Żak 2019). Only in sporadic cases has borrowing from Polish to Wymysorys been approached more holistically, taking into account both lexicon and grammar (see Kleczkowski 1920; Wicherkiewicz 1998a; Andrason 2014c; 2015a; Andrason & Król 2016a; Żak 2016).

Whether in studies dedicated to specific aspects of transfer or in those that deal with language contact more holistically, the analysis of Polish loans in Wymysorys cannot be viewed as adequate. The main limitations stem from a descriptive, incomplete, unsystematic, and lexicon-centered character of such analyses, as well as from the little attention being paid to the linguistic adaptation of loans and the methodical delimitation of their standard or dialectal sources. To begin with, the influence of Polish on Wymysorys is usually presented in a purely descriptive manner. That is, scholars merely provide lists of the observed forms transferred from or influenced by Polish. Such lists of possible borrowings may be short (Wicherkiewicz 1998a; Żak 2013; 2016; see also Młynek 1907; Latosiński 1909; Wicherkiewicz 2003; Andrason 2015a; Andrason & Król 2016a) or relatively long (Kleczkowski 1920; Andrason 2014c), the former strategy being much more pervasive. Nevertheless, in no publication, including those that formulate quantitative generalizations, do researchers offer exhaustive inventories of Polonisms in Wymysorys. This practically renders it impossible to evaluate with precision the extent of the impact of Polish on the Wymysorys system, and invalidates any quantitative assertions proposed thus far. Even more importantly, in no case has an attempt been made to explain the interaction between Wymysorys and Polish – and thus the presence of Polish elements in the Wymysorys system – in a principled manner that would go beyond an ordinary description. In particular, no study systematically analyzes Wymysorys-Polish language contact utilizing current approaches to borrowing (see next chapter). This applies not only to older studies that, due to the time of their publication, are now methodologically outdated, but also permeates all modern works, even those that focus on Wymysorys-Polish borrowing and/or describe it holistically (e.g. Żak 2013; 2016; Andrason 2014c; 2015a; see also Andrason & Król 2016a). Moreover, most studies center their attention on Wymysorys lexicon (e.g. Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997; Wicherkiewicz 1998a; 2003) in which the identification of areal features is the least problematic. In contrast, the analysis of transfer in core grammar is usually marginal, often being limited to a few sentences (Młynek 1907; Latosiński 1909; Wicherkiewicz 1998a; 2003) or paragraphs at most (Kleczkowski 1920). The noticeable exceptions – far from being comprehensive and systematic – are the few studies dedicated to phonetics/phonology (Andrason 2014c; Żak 2019), morphology and morpho-syntax (Andrason 2014c; 2015b; 2016a), and syntax (Andrason 2014c; 2020a). Similarly, the discussion of the adaptive mechanisms operating during transfer is often omitted (Młynek 1907; Latosiński 1909; Ritchie 2012) or presented in a sketch manner (Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997; Wicherkiewicz 2003). In cases where such a discussion is slightly more detailed, it is

developed with no systematic theoretical considerations (cf. Wicherkiewicz 1998a; Żak 2013; 2016; Andrason 2014c). Lastly, the examination of the standard and dialectal component in Polish sources is superficial. It is generally limited to sweeping statements and generalizations that are unsupported by careful analysis, often drawing on older, equally incomplete studies (see for instance Wicherkiewicz 1998a; 2003; Andrason 2014c; Żak 2013; 2016). Scholars do not provide details of the extent to which Standard Polish and its dialects have respectively contributed to Wymysorys, and thus which component – if either – is decisive in the Wymysorys language system.

Given the above-mentioned considerable limitations of the studies devoted to Wymysorys-Polish language contact, it is not surprising that a number of controversies currently permeate Wymysorys scholarship. I will enumerate below the most relevant of them.

- (a) Scholars disagree on the extent to which Polish has influenced the Wymysorys language system. Some propose that the impact and borrowing are (extremely) heavy (Latosiński 1909; Andrason 2014c; 2015a; Andrason & Król 2016a; Żak 2016). Others regard them as less significant, though still relevant (Młynek 1906). Yet other authors seem to view Polish influence as a secondary feature in Wymysorys, especially as far as core grammar is concerned (Kleczkowski 1920; Ritchie 2012). Lastly, some researchers avoid any generalizations concerning the overall scale of Wymysorys-Polish borrowing and the size and scope of transfer from Polish to Wymysorys (e.g. Wicherkiewicz 1998a; 2003).
- (b) Scholars disagree on which language modules of Wymysorys are impacted by borrowing and/or what the extent of such impact on each particular module is. While some authors restrict Polish influence to vocabulary, others propose that Polish has affected the Wymysorys language in its totality, i.e. on all levels, including phonetics/phonology, morphology, and syntax, and that this affect has been profound. In other words, although all scholars can agree that the impact of Polish on Wymysorys lexicon remains unquestionable, they differ in opinion when examining evidence related to the remaining modules of the Wymysorys language system. For instance, Polish borrowing in phonetics/phonology is viewed as significant by Latosiński (1909), Andrason (2014c), and Andrason & Król (2016a), while for Młynek (1907), the Wymysorys sound system remains mostly “German”. Polish influence on Wymysorys morphology and syntax is viewed as substantial by Młynek (1907), Andrason (2014c; 2015a; 2015b), and Andrason & Król (2016a). For others, morphology and syntax seem to be less profoundly affected (see Latosiński 1909; Wicherkiewicz 1998a; 2003; Żak 2013; 2016), or to a marginal – perhaps nearly insignificant – extent (Kleczkowski 1920).
- (c) Although the dialectal source of Polish loans in Wymysorys has been recognized by most scholars (Kleczkowski 1920; Wicherkiewicz 1998a; 2003; Andrason 2014c; Żak 2016; 2019), the determination of the exact variety (or variety cluster) that underlies

this source remains controversial. Most scholars attribute the non-standard Polish component in Wymysorys-Polish contact to Lesser Polish dialects (Kleczkowski 1920; Wicherkiewicz 1998a:207; Andrason 2014c; Andrason & Król 2016a). Occasionally, however, Eastern Silesian dialects (Wicherkiewicz 2003:403) or the variety of Cieszyn Silesian (Żak 2016:133-135) are viewed as the sources of Polish dialectal loans in Wymysorys – either globally (i.e. in the entire phonetic module) or within a single feature (e.g. for the sibilant [ʃ] and the affricate [tʃ]).

- (d) Lastly, there are a number of controversies related to a particular type of borrowing or a feature identified. Such disagreements usually concern the areal or genetic origin of a given change, i.e. whether its origin should be attributed to Polish or is rather inherited from Middle High German, thus being a language- and/or family-internal phenomenon. This results in discrepancy regarding which areal features should be identified in the modules of phonetics/phonology, morphology, and syntax. With the exception of Żak (2019), all such controversial assertions are unsupported by a careful areal or historical-comparative discussion. The most problematic features debated in scholarship are: the change of [ɸ] to [w]; the origin of the palatalo-alveolar sibilants and affricates; the origin of the vowel [ɛ]/[i]; the lack of aspiration; the development of the vocative case; the modification in the semantic potential of certain conjunctions and prepositions (e.g. *do* ‘that’, *wi* ‘as’, and *wu* ‘that, which, who’); the presence of free word order alongside V2 order; the use of negative concord; and the lack of rule agreement of tenses (*consecutio temporum*).

The present dissertation aims to rectify the current lacuna in our knowledge of Wymysorys-Polish language contact outlined above. To do so, my study deals specifically and exclusively with the impact of Polish on the lexical and grammatical system of Wymysorys. I will conduct my research in a manner that will allow me to avoid shortcomings of the works published previously. First, the examination of Wymysorys-Polish borrowing will not only be descriptive but also explanatory. I will identify patterns operating in Wymysorys-Polish borrowing and explain the presence of observed regularities and anomalies. Second, the examination of evidence will be comprehensive. On the one hand, the analysis will expand beyond lexicon, reaching all levels and modules of the Wymysorys language system. On the other hand, with regard to lexicon, my analysis will draw on a thorough study of all Wymysorys lexemes attested in my corpus of contemporary Wymysorys. Third, and most importantly, I will develop my study in a principled and systematic manner by anchoring it in the most advanced theories of borrowing currently available in linguistics.

Given the above, the construction of a precise research framework underlying my research is essential. In the next chapter, I will present the main tenets of my approach to borrowing, which will, in turn, allow me to formulate the specific research questions that will subsequently guide the presentation and discussion of my evidence.



## CHAPTER THREE

### 3. Framework

As explained in the previous chapter, the study of Wymysorys-Polish language contact and the evaluation of the impact of Polish lexicon and grammar on the Wymysorys language system – and thus the analysis of Wymysorys-Polish borrowing – will be conducted in a systematic and theoretically principled manner. The present chapter introduces the theoretical principles that underlie and guide my study, with all of them treated holistically as a theory of borrowing. In formulating this theory, I draw on the most recognized and, in my view, most satisfactory approaches to borrowing currently available in linguistic scholarship (especially Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001; Ross 2001; 2006; 2020; Field 2002; Heine & Kuteva 2003; 2006; Aikhenvald 2007; Matras 2007; 2009; 2011; 2015; Sakel 2007; Gardani 2008; 2020; Tadmor 2009; Wohlgemuth 2009; Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015) and, whenever necessary, complement them with the results of my own empirical studies on languages from diverse linguistic phyla conducted during the last five years (Andrason 2008; 2020b; forthcoming (a), (b); Andrason & Visser 2015; Andrason & Vita 2016).<sup>48</sup>

The presentation of this creative and critical synthesis of earlier scholarship and my own research activities will be divided into two parts. In the first part, I will define the phenomenon of borrowing and discuss its broadly understood linguistic and sociolinguistic dynamics (see section 3.1). In the second part, I will describe the main types of borrowings and their respective synchronic and diachronic properties (section 3.2). Subsequently, in light of the adopted framework as well as the gaps and debates permeating Wymysorys scholarship identified in the previous chapter, I will formulate the main and subsidiary research questions, and design a strategy according to which these should be answered (section 3.3).

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<sup>48</sup> This eclectic approach is deliberate and concurs with my adherence (see Andrason 2020b) to the program of methodological promiscuity (Huffer 2010:136; Wilcox 2017) or methodological scavenging (Halberstam 1998:13). The methodological promiscuity adopted in the present study does not consist of cherry-picking theories that would suit my argument. Rather, it emerges as an original synthetic combination of theoretical views that have been pursued throughout decades of research on borrowing and have additionally proven correct in light of my own studies on language contact. Therefore, even though some of the theories quoted disagree in certain respects, I see them – whenever possible – as complementing each other rather than as opposing one another. Overall, following Wilcox's view (2017), the methodological promiscuity adopted in this study should be understood as a sign of the strength and maturity of my approach instead of constituting its weakness. It is a blind and unreflective application of a single theory that often leads to problems, and is responsible for multiple limitations and shortcomings in one's research.

### 3.1 Borrowing and its dynamics

Borrowing is a complex phenomenon that, as with nearly everything in language, can only be properly understood and modelled by adopting a dynamic perspective. In this section, I will formulate a dynamic definition of borrowing, seeking its origin in related yet distinct phenomena (3.1.1), and discuss several linguistic and sociolinguistic factors that facilitate it and progressively cement its presence in a language (3.1.2).

#### 3.1.1 A dynamic definition of borrowing

In general terms, I understand borrowing as an increasingly permanent “change in the [...] inventory” of a recipient language due to the pressure of a donor language (Matras 2009:155). Both the concept of change and the view thereof as increasingly permanent are complex and require further clarification.

As far as the notion of a *change* is concerned, a modification experienced by the recipient language need not only be positive (i.e. incremental/incremental), but can also be neutral (i.e. evenly balanced) or negative (i.e. decremental/decremental). That is, as a result of borrowing, new elements and distinctions may be added to those that already exist; elements and distinctions previously existing may be replaced, restructured, or merely retained; and elements and distinctions may be eliminated (Curnow 2001:413; Aikhenvald 2007:18-21). Changes may also involve modifications in the frequency of elements already existing in the recipient language (Thomason 2015:43; Ross 2020; *contra* Heine 2008:56).

Furthermore, changes that take place in the recipient language may be more overt (less adapted) or less overt (more adapted). In the former case, the borrowed material preserves its original character found in the donor language and inversely disrupts the recipient system, ultimately modifying it, sometimes to a considerable extent (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001:16, 18; Matras 2007:40). One of the most radical effects of such disruptions is metatypy or “a change of linguistic type” (Ross 2001:145) whereby the semantic and syntactic patterns of a recipient language are restructured due to the pressure of the donor language (Ross 1996; 2001:145-146, 156; 2006; 2020). In the other case, the material outsourced from the donor language is adjusted to the recipient language – phonologically, morphologically, and/or syntactically (Gardani 2020) – thus respecting the integrity of the hosting system. As a result, a particular change is more isomorphic and less disruptive (Matras 2007:39).<sup>49</sup> More overt borrowing strategies with

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<sup>49</sup> Overall, integration may range from full to none, through a series of partial types. For instance, as far as inflectional integration is concerned, words may be inflected following one of the native paradigms (full integration), they may preserve their original inflections, sometimes also being marked by the recipient language’s morphemes (partial integration), or they “are not assigned any paradigmatic pattern” (lack of integration; Gardani 2020:100). The borrowing of entire paradigms is a “borderline phenomenon” between partial integration and non-integration (ibid). Similarly, as far as verbs are concerned, integration strategies may involve indirect insertions (i.e. adjustment to the recipient system by means of native verbalizers, affixes, and endings), light-verb insertions (i.e. the borrowed verb is used as a component of a complex predicate with a native light verb carrying inflections), paradigm insertions (the verb is transferred with its original inflections), and direct insertions with no morpho-syntactic adjustment (Wohlgemuth 2009:293; see footnote 52 below).

minimal adaptations are typical of generalized bilingualism. They are also exploited in cases where it is necessary “to gain the approval of the donor language community” (Matras 2007:40). In contrast, more covert strategies with substantial adaptations are typical of the limited extent of bilingualism or generalized monolingualism (ibid.) in the recipient-language community. Lastly, a structural change in the recipient system need not be limited to lexemes and their formal aspects. Even though borrowing concerns the actual structure of words in several cases (Muysken 2000:70; see also Myers-Scotton 2006:209), it may also pertain to parts of words (i.e. phonology and morphology), their configuration into phrases and higher, more abstract, grammatical configurations (i.e. syntax), as well as morphemes, words, and/or the meanings and functions of constructions (i.e. semantics and pragmatics) (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001:2; Aikhenvald 2007:15; Sakel 2007; Matras 2009:236).

The understanding of borrowing as a change that is *increasingly* permanent concerns the gradual entrenchment of borrowed features, both at an idiolectal level (i.e. for a single user) and a sociolectal level (for the entire community). Borrowing is not only an individual object transferred. It is, above all, a process during which portions of broadly understood bilingual (or multilingual) speech gain in pervasiveness, progressively acquiring the status of constant elements in the recipient language system. Borrowing thus constitutes both the endpoint of the entrenchment of the (originally) foreign material and the very continuum that leads to that final entrenchment.

Scholars agree that, in most cases, the starting point of the borrowing continuum explained above, and thus the phenomenon from which borrowing emerges, is code-switching (Matras 2009; Pakendorf 2009; Meakins 2011b; Gardani 2020). Foreign material used spontaneously in individual code-switching events effected by bilingual (or multilingual) speakers, is adopted by monolinguals. This subsequently enables the assimilation of foreign material to the recipient code, its gradual spread, and ultimate stabilization across the entire population (Myers-Scotton 1993:182-207; Matras 2009:110; Haspelmath 2009:38; Velupillai 2015:8; Gardani 2020).<sup>50</sup> This general and, in fact, severely simplified evolutionary link connecting code-switching and borrowing involves a number of more specific continua related to different dimensions and parameters (Matras 2009:111, 113-114). The most relevant of such clines transforming code-switching into borrowing involve: the expansion of transferred elements from bilingual speakers, who initiate the process, to monolingual speakers for whom code-switching is inaccessible;<sup>51</sup> the reduction of all types of transfers, including those of larger phrases and

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<sup>50</sup> It should be noted that the relationship between code-switching and borrowing need not always be strictly diachronic. Sometimes, it is only conceptual. On the one hand, not all cases of borrowing derive from code-switching (see, for instance, lexical calques introduced to a language by institutional bodies, e.g. language academies). On the other hand, not all situations of code-switching necessarily result in borrowing.

<sup>51</sup> The role of bilingual speakers should not be underestimated. Even in cases in which a feature is borrowed “catastrophically”, as well as in communities where monolingualism prevails, bilingualism plays a significant role in borrowing, generally being responsible for its instigation. The few bilingual speakers – or, at least, speakers who are somewhat conversant in the other language – initiate the first and original transfer event of an element from the donor code to the recipient code. Given their social status and relevance in the community, this element may be adopted by other speakers in the community and its usage becomes stabilized (Matras 2009:165). However, the ultimate adoption and stabilization of the transferred element ultimately depends on monolingual speakers, not on bilinguals themselves (Myers-Scotton 2002:238). At the end of the process, when the item is fully integrated, bilingualism ceases to play a significant role.

entire utterances, to the import of single items and/or atomic features; the replacement of conversational stylistic choices triggered by transfers with insertions functioning as default rules with no particular stylistic effects; the increase of the frequency of foreign material from sporadic occurrences as *hapax legomena* to common uses generalized across the entire population; and the structural integration from a non-integrated disruptive transfer to fully integrated non-disruptive loans (Matras 2009:111).<sup>52</sup> Among all the criteria, the last two, i.e. regularity and structural integration, are the most critical (Matras 2009:106).

Taking into consideration all such continua that relate borrowing to its origin in code-switching, the prototype of borrowing – i.e. the endpoint of the borrowing continuum – should exhibit the following properties: it ideally involves monolingual speakers who use a single item referring to a non-specific (i.e. general) concept as a default expression on a regular, fully entrenched, pan-lectal basis; these speakers fully integrate the item into their recipient code phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically, to the extent that the transferred item replaces the element previously employed in the recipient code without triggering any foreign associations and particular stylistic effects (Sankoff & Poplack 1981; Poplack, Sankoff & Miller 1988; Matras 2009:111-114; Haspelmath 2009:38-40; 2015:53). Inversely, a prototype of code-switching – the starting point of the borrowing continuum – exhibits the opposite properties: it involves bilingual speakers who are proficient in both languages; it allows for idiolectal, spontaneous, and conscious insertions of larger compositional units that refer to institutional and/or affectional specific terms; and it produces specific conversational or stylistic effects by reproducing the form and content of the original items as closely as possible, thus preserving their semantics, phonology, morphology, and syntax (Sankoff & Poplack 1981; Matras 2009:101, 111-113; Gardner-Chloros 2009; regarding code-switching see also Myers-Scotton 2002; 2006).<sup>53</sup>

In light of the dynamic relationship coupling borrowing with code-switching and the understanding of the prototypes of these two phenomena as the opposite edges of a single conceptual and diachronic continuum, the precise demarcation of borrowing from code-switching may often be problematic (Myers-Scotton 2002:153-161; Matras 2009:110-114) despite the fact that, as prototypes, code-switching and borrowing are clearly distinct from each other (cf. Sankoff & Poplack 1981; Poplack & Meechan 1998; Muysken 2000; Matras 2009; Gardani 2020). Such problematic cases arise as the entrenchment of foreign material increases and code-switching gradually transmutes into borrowing (Matras 2009:114). The various

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<sup>52</sup> The degree of integration, whether phonological or morphological, is often difficult to estimate. It is not straightforward or universal, but rather depends on the properties of the hosting language and/or on the typological distance between the interacting codes. For instance, the integration is more overt and explicit if the recipient system is morphologically rich and if it is more typologically remote from the donor code (cf. Matras 2009:108). It should be noted that bilingualism and monolingualism are also responsible for the accuracy of the transferred material or its greater adjustment to the recipient code. The greater the level of monolingualism in the recipient-language community, the more advantageous the compromise between the donor system and the recipient system, such that “the burden to maintain a separation of [the] two speech modes” would be eliminated (Matras 2007:40).

<sup>53</sup> According to its standard definition, code-switching is a spontaneous, non-entrenched use of different input languages within a single conversational unit (Matras 2009:101). Code-switching can be insertional, alternational, or congruent (Muysken 2000:4-8), reflecting the relationships of dominance, equality, and similarity, respectively, that exist between the languages involved in the switches (Stam 2017:11).

speech types that comprise material of intermediate profiles of prototypical borrowing and code-switching are logically located in the intermediate area of the continuum.<sup>54</sup>

### 3.1.2 Factors motivating and facilitating borrowing

Whether understood as a developmental cline or its endpoint, borrowing can be motivated and facilitated by multiple factors. These motivating factors constitute the direct cause(s) for borrowing to occur. Facilitating factors enable the episodes of borrowing and/or enhance their advancement and generalization.

At the very least, scholars distinguish between three types of primary motivations that cause borrowing. These motivations are lexico-grammatical, socio-cultural (or ethno-historical; Gardani 2020), and cognitive-psychological in nature. First, due to the presence of lexical or grammatical gaps in the recipient language, speakers may feel the need to use foreign material. That is, because of technological and cultural developments, and/or because of the restriction of the recipient code to determined facets of life and, inversely, its exclusion from others, the recipient code may lack certain concepts or at least fail to encode some semantic domains with specific fully lexicalized or grammaticalized words and constructions. Put differently, there may be semantic and/or categorial lacunas – from the donor language perspective – in the recipient language. Borrowing enables the enrichment of the recipient code by filling in such gaps through the introduction of new lexemes, constructions, distinctions, or meanings (Myers-Scotton 2006:212-214; Aikhenvald 2007:30; Matras 2007:35, 68).<sup>55</sup> Second, speakers may wish to reproduce donor-code material in the recipient language due to the prestige of the donor language. The donor language is often perceived as more prestigious, useful, or attractive (be it socially, economically, culturally, or politically) in the event of asymmetrical contact between languages. Therefore – at least in the opinion of the recipient-language speakers – borrowing upgrades their own status and the position of their speech (Myers-Scotton 2002:238-239; 2006:210-211; 216-217; see also Matras 2009:164; Gardani 2020). Third, the motivation for borrowing may be related to “language processing in discourse” (Matras 2009:164). On the one hand, borrowing can be motivated by “cognitive pressure on the speaker to reduce the mental processing load by allowing the structural manifestation of certain mental processing operations in the two languages to merge” (Matras 2007:34; see also Matras 1998; Elšík & Matras 2006:370). The reduction of language-processing difficulty – especially tasks related to “the selection and inhibition mechanism” (Matras 2009:235) – enables the speaker to “maximi[ze] the efficiency of speech production” (ibid.). On the other hand, borrowing can be motivated by optimality exploration, i.e. by searching for a form or construction that, in the speaker’s view, would express a given meaning or function in the most accurate manner (Matras 2009:243). This accuracy may concern precision and transparency.<sup>56</sup> Drawing on both these points, borrowing can thus be motivated by the goal of bilingual speakers to control their

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<sup>54</sup> Myers-Scotton (2002:153) argues against a distinction between code-switching and borrowing from a synchronic perspective.

<sup>55</sup> It seems that filling in gaps plays a minimal role in the borrowing of morphology (Gardani 2008:88; Thomason 2015:42).

<sup>56</sup> For Matras (2007:68), such cognitive-psychological motivations constitute the primary motivations for borrowing, more relevant than filling in gaps and prestige-related motivations.

speech by “blur[ring in a non-arbitrary, selective, and purposeful manner] the demarcation boundaries between different portions of their overall repertoire of linguistic structures” (Matras 2015:47; see also pages 49-50).<sup>57</sup>

The motivations discussed above explain why speakers opt to borrow certain elements. Without constituting causes of borrowing, the other group of factors pertains to situations that facilitate borrowing – they either enhance it or provide favorable conditions for it. These facilitating factors can be language-external (extralinguistic) or language-internal (intra-linguistic; Thomason 2008; Matras 2009:164-165; Gardani 2020).

To begin with, borrowing is facilitated by a number of language-external factors, i.e. those that lie beyond the properties of lexicon and (core) grammar. One of the most relevant of these factors is the deep and prolonged exposure of the recipient-language speakers to the donor language (Matras 2007:34; 2015:154). In general terms, the more intense and prolonged the contact between the (speakers of) interacting codes, the greater – both qualitatively and quantitatively – the level of borrowing. That is, borrowing pertains not only to (content) lexicon but also to core grammar and, thus, the language structure of the recipient code (Velupillai 2015:81). The contact between the interacting languages is perhaps the strongest in cases of long-lasting bilingualism (or multilingualism). It is therefore not surprising that, as explained in section 3.1.1, persistent bilingualism (or multilingualism) constitutes one of the key social factors empowering borrowing (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001:15; Aikhenvald 2007:37; Matras 2009:165; see footnotes 51 and 52 in the previous section). Other relevant language-external phenomena that facilitate borrowing are: the functional restriction of the recipient code to specific domains of life; the absence of institutional support or commitment towards protective language policies and/or language planning, and the lack of purist language attitudes among the recipient code’s speakers; and a low literacy level or generalized illiteracy of language users (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001:15, 18; Aikhenvald 2007:39, 41; Matras 2009:154, 165, 237). Furthermore, as far as the characteristics of the recipient code’s population are concerned, communities that are small, loosely knit, open, and strongly connected to other communities are more likely to exploit borrowing than communities that are large, tightly knit, closed, and isolated (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001:14-15; Aikhenvald 2007:38; Thomason 2008; Tadmor 2009:58; Grant 2020; Gardani 2020).

The borrowing of elements from a donor language to a recipient language is also facilitated by language-internal factors, i.e. by genuine lexical and/or grammatical properties of the languages involved. Three types of language-internal factors facilitate borrowing. First, borrowing is enhanced by typological similarity or congruence. The more structurally similar and congruent the languages are, the more likely it is that borrowing will involve a wider range of elements, including core grammatical material (Matras 2007:34; 2009:153; Seifart 2015; Gardani 2020; Grant 2020:2, 17). In the opposite case (i.e. that of structural dissimilarity), borrowing is more constrained, often being limited to content words (Field 2002; Matras 2007;

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<sup>57</sup> Although being non-arbitrary, selective, and purposeful (Matras 2015:49-50), this control – and thus borrowing itself – is not necessarily “deliberate or conscious” (ibid. 50).

2009). Congruence in borrowing is typically related to structural analogy and pattern equivalence, particularly word-for-word or morpheme-for-morpheme correspondence (Aikhenvald 2007:28, 33).

Second, borrowing is enhanced by the transparency of the elements being transferred (Moravcsik 1978; Matras 1998; Field 2002; Matras 2007:44; Gardani 2020) and their typological naturalness (Aikhenvald 2007:31). This involves semantic transparency (i.e. monosemy and unfunctionality), structural transparency (i.e. the explicitness of morpheme boundaries) and morphotactic transparency (i.e. syllabicity of the elements) (Aikhenvald 2007:33-34; Gardani 2020).<sup>58</sup> As a corollary of the two dependencies explained above, the transfer from the donor code to the recipient code depends considerably on the recipient code's morpho-syntactic typology, i.e. whether it is analytic (isolating) or synthetic and, within the latter category, whether it is agglutinative or fusional (Field 2002:40-41). Fusional languages are the most receptive, as they tolerate all types of morphemes of the donor code, e.g. independent words, roots, agglutinative affixes, and fusional affixes. Agglutinative systems are incompatible with fusional affixes. They are, in principle, limited to the borrowing of words, roots, and agglutinative affixes. Analytic (isolating) systems are the least receptive. They allow only for the borrowing of words and roots, further reinterpreting the latter as "discrete words" (ibid. 41). In contrast, the transfer of affixes, whether agglutinative or fusional, is disallowed. Overall, "[n]o form or form-meaning set is borrowable from a donor language if it does not conform to the morphological possibilities of the recipient language with regard to morpheme types" (ibid. 41). If an element from the donor language that is incompatible with the recipient language's structure is to be transferred, it must be reanalyzed and adjusted to a structure that is allowed in the recipient language. Typically, it will be assigned the nearest possible position on the hierarchy of morpheme types that is accessible in the recipient language. For an agglutinative system, it is an agglutinative affix; and for an isolating system, it is a function word (ibid. 44-45).<sup>59</sup>

Third, borrowing is enhanced by the pragmatic salience of patterns being transferred and their ability to "negotiate attitudes among the participants in the interaction" (Matras 2015:52). Elements that are highly motivated from a pragmatic perspective, particularly those that "convey evaluations, assessments, the processing of presuppositions, or emotions" (ibid.), are more likely to be borrowed than those elements of which the pragmatic relevance is low (Aikhenvald 2007:26-27). Such salient patterns include, for instance, expressive vocabulary (e.g. interjections and swearwords), forms necessary to perform crucial social routines (e.g.

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<sup>58</sup> In contrast, "portmanteau" elements that have extensive semantic/functional potential, as well as elements requiring the support of other elements to be employed or pronounced, are less borrowable (Aikhenvald 2007:33-34). Similarly, reinforcement, that is, zero-morphemes or morphemes that are short and phonetically weak, are less borrowable than strong morphemes (Gardani 2020).

<sup>59</sup> Although the changes affecting the morpho-syntactic typology of the recipient language – due to the pressure of the donor language – are possible, a transfer from one typological type to another is unlikely (Matras 2002:41; note that in Matras' comprehensive study, there are no cases that exhibit "far-reaching changes in overall morphological typology"; ibid). Even though typological resemblance between the interacting languages eases the borrowing of matter, its effect on pattern replication (see section 3.2 below) is much more limited. Crucially, typology congruence does not constitute a prerequisite of pattern replication (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001:18).

expressions of greetings) (ibid. 27), categories that are culturally crucial and highly frequent (ibid. 29), and elements that structure information in discourse (Matras 2015:52).<sup>60</sup>

### 3.2 Types of borrowings

As mentioned in the previous section, borrowing may involve any type of linguistic material. On the one hand, transferred features may pertain to specific phrases, constructions, words, and parts of words ranging from morphemes to phonemes. On the other hand, it may pertain to meanings and abstract schemas of any complexity level and related to any language module. In this section, I will discuss the different classes of borrowing in terms of the types of linguistic material being transferred and/or affected by transfer. I will begin by discussing the borrowing of matter or the transfer of forms (3.2.1). Subsequently, I will describe the properties of pattern borrowing or the transfer of abstract structures and lexical or grammatical content (3.2.2). Lastly, I will examine borrowing of sounds which, in my view, constitutes a mixed matter-pattern type of transfer (3.2.3).

#### 3.2.1 Matter borrowing

Matter borrowing – or MAT borrowing (Sakel 2007) – corresponds to the transfer of grammatical forms. It takes place in cases where concrete formal elements of the donor language, in their specific phonetic, morphological, and/or syntactic attire, are replicated in the recipient language with a larger or lesser extent of adaptation (Sakel 2007:15; Matras 2009; Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015:3, 5).<sup>61</sup> To be precise, in most cases, matter borrowing implies the borrowing of content – either lexical meaning or grammatical function (Sakel 2007:15). Therefore, it could be referred to as matter-plus-content borrowing. Nevertheless, the borrowing of matter without content is also possible, although examples of this are considerably rare (Sakel 2007:26; for examples, see Curnow 2001:426-427). As is the convention in most scholarly literature, the transfer of matter with or without content will be referred to as ‘matter borrowing’ in this dissertation.

Matter borrowing tolerates the transfer of all types of formal elements. This includes all lexical classes, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, adpositions, connectors (e.g. conjunctions and complementizers), interjections, ideophones (including onomatopoeias), and particles (e.g. modal particles and pragmatic particles), as well as all types of morphemes, e.g. bound or free, content or system-related, and inflectional or derivational. The tendency to be borrowed is, however, dissimilar for such different types of elements. That is, certain lexical classes and types of morphemes are more transferrable than other lexical classes and morphemes. The dependency of borrowing on the grammatical properties of the transferred material – whether lexical or morpho-syntactic – has typically been represented in the form of hierarchies in which items

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<sup>60</sup> This pragmatic salience is related to “the high susceptibility to borrowing of operators that represent ‘high-risk’ points in the communicative interaction, i.e. points of a potential clash between the expectations of the speaker and the listener” (Matras 2009:164).

<sup>61</sup> Matter borrowing has sometimes been referred to by other names, e.g. direct transfer or diffusion, global copying, and transfer of fabric (Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015:3; Gardani 2020).

located higher on the scale (so, more to the left, i.e.  $x \rightarrow$ ) are viewed as “more borrowable” than items that occupy lower positions on the scale (so, more to the right, i.e.  $\rightarrow y$ ).

Such hierarchies of borrowability generally allow for both a synchronic and diachronic interpretation. Synchronically, in any situation of transfer, there should be more elements from the higher level of the scale than those from the lower level. Diachronically, items located higher up in the hierarchy should be borrowed earlier and faster than those located in its lower levels. Therefore, elements located higher up in the scale require a short and less intense period of contact to be transferred, and are also subject to fewer constraints impeding or obstructing borrowing (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:74-76; Field 2002:46-47; Matras 2009:157-156). The synchronic interpretation of hierarchies is less powerful in terms of methodology, as it only concerns the frequency with which a given category may be affected by borrowing (Matras 2007:32). The diachronic interpretation is methodologically stronger, being implicational: “the borrowing of one category is understood to be a pre-condition for the borrowing of another” (ibid.; see also Moravcsik 1978; Curnow 2001:419). Crucially, it presupposes or implies that languages travel certain “predictable pathways” with regard to borrowability (ibid.). Some models are interpretable principally in a synchronic manner (e.g. Thomason & Kaufman 1988; van Hout & Muysken 1994), while others emphasize their diachronic implications (e.g. Moravcsik 1978; Field 2002; Matras 2002; 2007:32-33; 69; 2009; Elšík & Matras 2006). Of course, the two generalizations – i.e. synchronic and diachronic – are not exclusive (Matras 2009:32) and within the cognitive approach to categorization, to which I adhere, they in fact coincide, thus necessarily complementing one another.<sup>62</sup>

All hierarchical models of matter borrowing can be divided into two major classes: local models and global models. Local models propose a number of hierarchies that operate in different modules of language, either separately or in parallel (see Moravcsik 1978; Field 2002). Global models design a single holistic hierarchy traversing the entire lexico-grammatical space of (a) language (see Muysken 1981; 2000; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Winford 2003; Matras 2007; 2009).<sup>63</sup>

Local hierarchies of borrowability abound in the literature. Below, I present those hierarchies that are, in my view, the most influential and the most accurate, and will therefore be the most useful in my own study.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> For a comprehensive review of the borrowing hierarchies posited in scholarship, consult Matras (2009:154-158) and Wohlgenuth (2009:11-17).

<sup>63</sup> This distinction is, of course, not as clear-cut as it may at first appear, with several hierarchies being semi-global (see hierarchies (b), (c), and (d) below). For some scholars, the proposal of a unified absolute hierarchy is not feasible (cf. Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001:19; Curnow 2001:434). However, even they accept the existence and usefulness of local – larger or more constrained – hierarchies (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001:19).

<sup>64</sup> Several assertions formulated in the hierarchies that are presented below may be traced to Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953) who developed the first systematic frameworks for examining the phenomenon of borrowing (cf. Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015:1).

- (a) The first set of influential hierarchies was proposed by Moravcsik (1975; 1978). She contrasted lexical classes and grammatical categories with regard to their propensity to be borrowed across languages and concluded as follows: lexical elements are more borrowable than grammatical elements, including word order; within the set of lexical elements, nouns are more borrowable than non-nouns; free morphemes are more borrowable than bound morphemes; and, at the morphological level, derivational morphology is more borrowable than inflectional morphology. As will be evident from further discussion in this dissertation, the validity of these four hierarchies has largely been maintained in current scholarship (cf. Matras 2009).
- (b) Ross (1988:12) designed another hierarchy of borrowability that is instrumental in scholarship. This hierarchy focuses on the morpho-syntactic properties of transferred elements instead of their lexical classes and combines two of Moravcsik's (1975; 1978) scales, expounding them by a few further parameters. Ross' hierarchy establishes the following relative dependencies: lexemes of an open set → lexemes of a closed set → syntax → non-bound function words → bound morphemes (cf. Curnow 2001:417).<sup>65</sup>
- (c) Drawing on Moravcsik (1975; 1978), Field (2002:36-38) proposes a number of local clines that schematize a decreasing degree of borrowability. Field (2002) maintains Moravcsik's (1978; 1987) scale whereby content words are more borrowable than grammatical items. However, he nuances other local scales, interpreting them in the following manner: nouns are more borrowable than adjectives and verbs (see also Haugen 1950 and Curnow 2001:417, who similarly propose that adjectives are more borrowable than adverbs); function words (independent words and bound roots) are more borrowable than affixes; and agglutinative affixes are more borrowable than fusional affixes (Field 2002:36-38).<sup>66</sup>
- (d) Arguing from the position of a four-morpheme model and in agreement with insertions found in code-switching, Myers-Scotton (2002; 2006:226-229) proposes a set of morpho-syntactic hierarchies. Content lexemes are more borrowable than system morphemes and function words. Within the content lexemes, nouns are more borrowable than verbs. Within system morphemes, early system morphemes are more borrowable than late system morphemes, especially those of an outsider type.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> This hierarchy may be understood as semi-global. Although it encompasses several language modules, it does not take most lexical classes into consideration, thus being incomplete. According to Ross (1988), phonemes occupy the lowest position in the hierarchy of borrowing. I will discuss the borrowing of sounds separately in section 3.2.3.

<sup>66</sup> Field (2000:38) further combines some of these hierarchies into a more comprehensive, semi-global cline: content item → function word → agglutinating affix → fusional affix.

<sup>67</sup> Content morphemes (e.g. nouns and verbs) are referential lexemes able to receive or assign thematic roles (Myers-Scotton 2006:248). Early system morphemes (e.g. determiners, plural markers, articles, satellite prepositions of phrasal verbs) do not participate in the allocation or reception of thematic roles. Rather, they “flesh out the meaning” of content morphemes (Myers-Scotton 2006:268). Late system morphemes (outsider and bridge) are conceptually activated late in linguistic production and their main function is to relate content morphemes, “cementing” them into a clause (ibid. 268-269). Bridge morphemes (e.g. the possessives markers *of* and *'s*) constitute links between phrases, allowing speakers to yield larger constituents (ibid. 269). Contrary to outsider

Additionally, Myers-Scotton (1993:163; 2006:213-217, 231) notices a difference in borrowability between cultural loans (i.e. loans that constitute new concepts for the recipient code) and core loans (i.e. loans that already have their equivalents in the recipient code). The borrowing of the former type is, to a degree, natural and easy; in contrast, the borrowing of the latter type is more constrained and necessitates code-switching and bilingualism (Matras 2009:110).

(e) Drawing on large empirical data, Tadmor (2009) designs a borrowing hierarchy of “semantic fields” (ibid. 64). The domains of religion and belief, clothing and grooming, and house are the most borrowable. The domains of kinship, body, special relations, and sense perceptions are the least borrowable (ibid.). Given the reported evidence, the exact hierarchy is as follows: religion and belief → clothing and grooming → house → law → social and political relations → agriculture and vegetation → food and drink → warfare and hunting → possession → animals → cognition → basic actions and technology → time → speech and language → quantity → emotions and values → the physical world → motion → kinship → body → spatial relations → sense perception (ibid. 64).<sup>68</sup>

(f) Perhaps, the widest and most comprehensive array of local hierarchies has been posited by Matras (2007). He proposes a number of atomic scales for each separate lexical class or language module:

(i) The first class of dependencies concerns nominal structures. Peripheral spatial relations (e.g. ‘around’ and ‘opposite’) are more borrowable than core relations (e.g. ‘in’ or ‘at’) (Matras 2007:42); the markers encoding plurality, diminutive, and agentivity are the most borrowable of all bound morphemes (ibid. 43-44); derivational morphemes are more borrowable than inflectional morphemes (ibid. 43-44; 2009:215); adpositions are more borrowable than bound gender and case markers, which are “the most stable features in the nominal domain” (Matras 2007:44); and unique referents are more borrowable than general/core vocabulary (Matras 2009:161). Overall, the borrowability of nominal modifiers exhibits the following order: derivation marker → classifier → plural marker → definiteness marker → case marker (Matras 2009:218).

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morphemes, they refer to grammatical information that is located inside “Maximal Projection of [their] Head” (Myers-Scotton 2002:73). Lastly, outsider late-system morphemes (e.g. agreement markers and case affixes) are morphemes of which their interpretation depends on the information encoded by constituents located outside the immediate phrase containing that morpheme itself (Myers-Scotton 2006:269-270; see also Matras 2009:132). The dependencies proposed by Myers-Scotton (2002; 2006) can be unified into a single hierarchy: content morphemes → early system morphemes → bridge system morphemes → late system morphemes.

<sup>68</sup> Tadmor (2009:67) also offers a list of 100 most borrowing-resistant lexemes, with the pronouns ‘he/she/it’ and ‘we’ occupying the highest position. Additionally, he compiles the so-called Leipzig-Jakarta list of basic vocabulary (ibid.69-71) – an alternative to the Swadesh list – that is characterized, among other features, by its “resistance to borrowing” (ibid. 71-72). The most prominent class of lexemes includes body parts, common natural phenomena, generic terms for animals, motions, and activities of eating, drinking, and laughing, essential properties such as ‘big’ and ‘small’, ‘old’ and ‘new’, and ‘black’ and ‘red’, as well as personal pronouns (ibid.). The Leipzig-Jakarta list and the Swadesh list overlap to a large extent (ibid. 73).

- (ii) For verbal structures, the transfer of tense, aspect, and mood (TAM) markers is generally uncommon, although this uncommonness is uneven for different parts of the TAM system (Matras 2007:44). From the most global perspective, modality is more borrowable than aspect and Aktionsart, which in turn are more borrowable than tense (ibid. 44-46). Within a modal domain, the borrowability of the different senses exhibits the following hierarchy: obligation → necessity → possibility → ability → desire (ibid. 45). Within a temporal domain, future tense markers are more borrowable than other tenses (ibid. 46).<sup>69</sup> Overall, the borrowability of verbs, as well as all lexical classes other than nouns, is lower than the borrowability of nouns (Matras 2007:47-48; 2009:161).
- (iii) For numerals, cardinal numbers over 10 are more borrowable than numbers below 10 (Matras 2007:50), the more holistic hierarchy exhibiting the following order: above 100 → above 20 → above 10 → above 5 → below 5 (ibid. 51). Ordinal numerals are characterized by an inverse tendency, with lower ordinals being more borrowable than higher ordinals (ibid.52). Overall, the borrowing of numerals is greater in formal contexts than informal contexts (ibid. 51).
- (iv) For connectors and conjunctions, Matras (2007) proposes the following three hierarchies: ‘but’ → ‘or’ → ‘and’ (ibid. 54); concessive, conditional, causal, purpose → other subordinators (ibid. 56); factual complementizers → non-factual complementizers (ibid.).
- (v) For particles and functional vocabulary, the following hierarchical dependencies are proposed: ‘yet’, ‘already’ → ‘still’ → ‘no longer’ (Matras 2007:56); ‘always’ → ‘never’ → ‘now, then’ (ibid. 58); ‘only’ → ‘too’ → ‘even’ (ibid. 56); discourse markers and interjections → other particles (Matras 2007:57; 2009; cf. Curnow 2001:428); positive answer particles → negative answer particles (Matras 2007:58).
- (vi) For adjectives and adverbs, the superlative is more borrowable than the comparative (Matras 2007:59).
- (vii) Lastly, with regard to the borrowing of all types of derivations and inflections, Matras (2007; 2009) proposes the following two dependencies: derivational morphology → inflectional morphology (Matras 2007:24; 2009:157, 209-212);<sup>70</sup> and nominal derivation → non-nominal derivation (Matras 2009:211).<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> As far as voice (e.g. passive, reflexive, reciprocal) and valency increasing/decreasing verbal structures are concerned, the borrowing of those is “almost exclusively pattern-oriented, and usually involve an increase in frequency distribution of an existing option” (Matras 2007:47). Regarding pattern borrowing, see section 3.2.2 below.

<sup>70</sup> The exception being plural markers of which borrowability is significant (Matras 2009:212).

<sup>71</sup> This means that lexical borrowing (i.e. transfer of specific words) does not “constitute a very powerful motivation to replicate derivational procedures” (Matras 2009:211; see also Gardani 2012; Gardani, Arkadiev & Amirdze 2015).

The other class of hierarchies is provided by global models of borrowability. As explained above, global models formulate a single holistic hierarchy that correlates the lexical classes and morpho-syntactic profiles of transferred elements with their susceptibility for borrowing. Three explicit global models are the most influential in scholarship, i.e. that posited by Muysken (1981; 2000), Thomason & Kaufman (1988), and Matras (2007; 2009). Each respective model is briefly explicated below.

- (a) According to the model developed by Muysken (1981; 2000), and later re-used by Winford (2003:53; 2010:176), the probability of lexical-class borrowing decreases in the following order: nouns → adjectives → verbs → prepositions → coordinating conjunctions → quantifiers → determiners → free pronouns → clitic pronouns → subordinating conjunctions. This means that, overall, open lexical classes are transferred more easily than closed lexical classes (cf. Ross 1988 mentioned above).
- (b) Another global model of borrowing instrumental in studies on language contact was proposed by Thomason & Kaufman (1988). Thomason & Kaufman (1988) distinguish between five degrees or levels of borrowability. Borrowability is the highest for content words, and decreases slightly for function words and lexical semantic properties. The borrowability of adpositions and derivational suffixes is more constrained. Even more challenging to be transferred is word order and inflectional morphology. Lastly, significant typological modifications imposed by borrowing are the most difficult to occur (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:74-75; Matras 2009:156). This can be interpreted in the following linear manner: content words → function words → adpositions → derivational affixes → word order → inflectional affixes.<sup>72</sup>
- (c) The most recent global hierarchy was formulated by Matras (2007; 2009) mainly with regard to lexical classes. By unifying some of the local hierarchies, which have been presented in the previous paragraphs, Matras proposes the following global scale of borrowability: nouns and conjunctions → verbs → discourse markers → adjectives → interjections → adverbs → other particles and adpositions → numerals → pronouns → derivational affixes → inflectional affixes (see Matras 2007:24; 2009:157).

In light of all the hierarchies introduced in this section, whether local or global, four major converging points, and thus the most pervasive tendencies in borrowing, may be discerned. First, as far as the meaning of a borrowed item is concerned, content (referential) and cultural elements are more borrowable than functional and core elements (cf. Myers-Scotton 2006:212-217; Tadmor 2009:59).<sup>73</sup> Second, as far as lexical class is concerned, nouns are the most borrowable, while pronouns are least borrowable (cf. Matras 2009; Tadmor 2009:61) –

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<sup>72</sup> Thomason & Kaufman (1988) also include phonetics and phonology in their hierarchy. I will discuss the borrowing of sounds (both in relation to matter and pattern) further below.

<sup>73</sup> Even with regard to the respective size of these two word types, the borrowability of content words is twice as common as that of function words (Tadmor 2009:59).

the position of other lexical classes being more or less controversial.<sup>74</sup> Third, as far as morphological properties are concerned, free morphemes are more borrowable than bound morphemes (cf. Moravcsik 1978; Curnow 2001:419, 426-429; Matras 2009:209-215; Gardani 2020).<sup>75</sup> Fourth, inflectional morphology is less borrowable than derivational morphology (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:74-777; Matras 2009:209-2915; 2015:47, 59-61, 75; Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015:7-9; Gardani 2020),<sup>76</sup> being “likely to be borrowed [only] if it is re-interpreted as derivational, i.e. as modifying meaning rather than syntactic role” (Matras 2015:61).<sup>77</sup> Specifically, inherent inflections or “context-autonomous inflection” (Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015:7), e.g. pluralizers, semantic case markers, TAM and voice morphemes, are more borrowable than contextual inflections or “inflection induced by obligatory syntactic government or agreement”, e.g. grammatical case markers and person, gender, and number markers on verbs (ibid. 7; Gardani 2008; 2012; 2020).<sup>78</sup> As a result, the following cline is usually recognized: derivation → inherent inflection → contextual inflection (Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015:9; Gardani 2020).<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> See, however, Wohlgenuth (2009:291-292) who seriously questions the special position of nouns (especially in relation to verbs). He proposes that the relationship between lexical classes and borrowability is only indirect. Differences in borrowability rather stem from “the very nature of the different word classes’ functions and [...] their discourse frequencies” (ibid. 292). Nevertheless, Tadmor (2009:61) provides convincing empirical evidence demonstrating that nouns are twice as borrowable as other lexical classes. The borrowability of adjectives, adverbs (treated jointly), and verbs is overall similar and always lower than that of nouns (ibid.).

<sup>75</sup> (Heavy) borrowing of free morphemes is also responsible for the transfer of structural elements, e.g. phonological and morphological features (Winford 2005:386-387). In contrast, direct borrowing of structural elements is more likely to occur if the languages in contact are typologically similar (ibid. 387).

<sup>76</sup> Gardani (2020) hypothesizes that prototypical derivations (e.g. verbal nouns, denominal adjectives, de-adjectival nouns) are more borrowable than non-prototypical derivations (agentive nouns, action nouns, and diminutives).

<sup>77</sup> Seifart’s (2013) *A world-wide survey of affix borrowing* contains a relatively significant number of borrowed derivations (see also Gardani 2020). Of the most commonly borrowed derivational morphemes are agentive and diminutive markers and word-class changing morphemes, e.g. adjectivizers (Matras 2015:59; Gardani 2020). In contrast, borrowing of inflectional morphology is exceptional (Matras 2009; 2011; 2015) and only a few clear instances of morphological inflectional loans are attested (Matras 2015:62, 75). These specifically involve aspect markers, pluralizers, classifiers, and markers of definiteness (ibid. 60-61). Furthermore, when attested, the distribution of inflectional loans is restricted. It is usually limited to transferred vocabulary, “[does] not diffuse to inherited lexemes” (ibid. 75), and “[is] employed on a wholesale basis either with a closed class of items [...] or with a particular word class (such as nouns), or with borrowed lexemes belonging to a particular word class” (ibid.). An opposite view is maintained by Thomason (2015:27), who states that matter borrowing of inflections is “considerably more common than one might guess from the general language contact literature”. It arises in cases of close genetic relatedness and typological congruence of the involved languages as well as their intense contact, visible for instance in a high level of bilingualism of speakers (ibid. 472). Matras (2015) concurs, affirming that superficial formal coincidence of morphemes that are functionally related may enhance the borrowability of morphology, including inflections (Matras 2015:64). That is, when a donor code’s inflections and/or derivations are transferred to the recipient code’s lexemes, “it is due to a close structural similarity between the borrowed form and the corresponding inherited affix” (ibid. 75). Such cases are, however, not true instances of matter borrowing but rather invoke processes operating during pattern borrowing based on analogy (ibid.; see section 3.2.2 below). Overall, as observed by Gardani (2020), scholarship lacks comprehensive cross-linguistic studies on matter and pattern borrowing of derivations.

<sup>78</sup> Plural markers occupy an intermediate position between derivation and inflection (Matras 2007:43). As they encode “semantic opposition to singulars at the word level”, they are semantically transparent, which increases their borrowability (ibid.). Regarding inherent and contextual inflections consult Booij (1996). See also Meakins (2011a).

<sup>79</sup> The difference in borrowability of derivations and inflections probably has its roots in distinct motivations underlying the transfer of these two categories (Matras 2015). Inflectional morphology is related to the identity of a bilingual speaker and its purpose is to re-negotiate and re-draw language and social boundaries (ibid. 76).

Overall, morphemes “with a higher degree of functional transparency” are more borrowable than morphemes with lower transparency (Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015:6, drawing on Winford 2003:91-92). Therefore, polysemous morphemes tend to be transferred with functions that are more concrete and transparent (Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015:6).

### 3.2.2 Pattern borrowing

Pattern borrowing – or PAT borrowing (Sakel 2007) – is the other major type of borrowing. In contrast to matter borrowing or the transfer of more or less adapted linguistic forms, pattern borrowing occurs in cases where “only the patterns of the other language are replicated, i.e. the organization, distribution and mapping of grammatical or semantic meaning, while the form itself is not borrowed” (Sakel 2007:15). This general definition alludes to the internal heterogeneity of pattern borrowing which encompasses two classes of relatively distinct, although often intertwined, phenomena: borrowing of structural patterns and borrowing of semantic patterns.<sup>80</sup>

Borrowing of structural patterns involves the replication of constructions and their features that exist in the donor language through the material of the recipient language. In other words, by analogy to a category existing in the donor (model) language, a corresponding category is developed in the recipient language by means of the available elements (Matras 2009:235). Borrowing of structural patterns may occur at the level of a clause, phrase, construction, and word, and thus pertains to both syntax and morphology (Matras 2009). At the clausal level, the transfer may concern the manners of clause combination, the placement of constituents, and generally, word order – probably the most schematic or abstract type of pattern borrowing (Curnow 2001:432; Matras 2009:248, 251). At the phrasal level, the transfer may lead to the formation of new categories, e.g. definite and indefinite articles (Matras 2009:252), and may affect the word order of phrasal constituents, e.g. the position of adpositions (*ibid.* 257) and the relationships between heads and modifiers (e.g. possessive constructions and attributive adjectives; *ibid.* 253). At the construction or word level, the transfer may involve modifications in alignment, e.g. the development of ergative alignment in what was previously an accusative-alignment language (*ibid.* 260) or the development of agglutinative alignment in a fusional system (*ibid.* 262); the development of inflections (e.g. case, tense, aspect, and mood) and derivations (e.g. causative, passive, reflexive) through the expansion of replica affixes or periphrastic constructions (*ibid.* 258, 265); as well as modifications affecting the category of gender (e.g. loss of neuter and change in gender markedness) and number (*ibid.* 264). It also

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Because of its crucial task to mark, initiate, and anchor predication grammar, inflectional morphology “encodes and signals the language choices of the bilingual speaker” (*ibid.* 76; see also *ibid.* 66). In contrast, derivational morphology “modifies meaning and shapes lexical representations” as well as “replicat[ing] procedures of meaning derivation from the source language in the recipient language” (*ibid.* 76). Therefore, due to being far more consequential for the (grammar) system of the recipient language and the identity of its users, transfer of inflectional morphology is dispreferred (Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015:10; Matras 2015:76-77; Gardani 2012; 2020; see also Haspelmath and Sims 2010:100-102). On morphological borrowing see Vanhove et al. (2012).

<sup>80</sup> Pattern borrowing has also been referred to as calque, indirect transfer or diffusion, loan formation, replication, and selective copying (Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015:3; Gardani 2020).

involves loan translations where a donor lexeme is recreated in the recipient system, using its native components (Mott & Laso 2020). It should be noted that most instances of borrowing of structural patterns also imply borrowing of (some) content. This is the most evident in cases where, due to a model construction found in the donor language, a replica expression is coined in the recipient language (*ibid.* 246-247).

Borrowing of structural patterns often results in replica grammaticalization (Matras 2009:238; Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015:3). Conforming to pattern borrowing, in replica grammaticalization, speakers imitate functions associated with a grammatical construction found in the donor language by mapping them onto elements of the recipient language (Heine & Kuteva 2003; 2005; 2006; Matras 2009:239; see also Wiemer & Wälchli 2012 and Gast & van der Auwera 2012). In this process, however, they make use of “more concrete meaning in order to express abstract functions” (Matras 2009:240). In other words, patterns are replicated by means of elements that, in the recipient language, occupy “a less advanced stage of functional-semantic development than its model” in the donor language (Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015:6, drawing on Heine 2012). This creates an impression of the advancement of the replicated structure on its grammaticalization path (Heine & Kuteva 2003; 2005; Andrason 2008; Andrason & Visser 2015). As a result, replica grammaticalization operates as if the speakers of the recipient language had conceptual access to the grammaticalization path travelled by the construction of the donor language (Heine & Kuteva 2003; 2005:92; Matras 2009:239).

In contrast to the borrowing of structural patterns, the borrowing of semantic patterns refers to the transfer of the sole lexical and/or grammatical content of an element. That is, the semantic and/or grammatical potential of an element from the recipient language is modified, e.g. shrunk, extended, or replaced, in order to model the meaning(s) and function(s) of an element from the donor language (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001:2; Matras 2009:246-247, 263-264; Mott & Laso 2020).<sup>81</sup> A highly pervasive type of semantic-pattern borrowing is polysemy copying (Heine & Kuteva 2005:100-103). In its most characteristic case, the entire map of senses and uses of an element from the recipient language is “inspired” by the donor language, leading to a gamut of innovative semantic extensions (Matras 2013:239).<sup>82</sup>

Overall, borrowing of structural patterns is somewhat related to matter borrowing given that it concerns formal properties of constructions. However, instead of involving the transfer of specific morphological forms, as is the case with matter borrowing, it involves the transfer of properties located at a higher level of schematicity or abstractness. In contrast, borrowing of semantic patterns is more distant from matter borrowing since no structural elements are present in transfer, be they specific (as in matter borrowing) or schematic/abstract (as in borrowing of structural patterns).

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<sup>81</sup> This may be stimulated by formal similarities between source and target lexemes and constructions (Mott & Laso 2020).

<sup>82</sup> Polysemy copying is, of course, related to replica grammaticalization. In both, the crucial element is the semantic potential of an item that is being transferred, and the non-arbitrariness of the entire replication (Matras 2009:240).

Apart from their definitional differences outlined above, pattern borrowing distinguishes itself from matter borrowing by other secondary properties. First, when compared to the borrowing of matter, pattern transfer is a “more volatile and opportunistic strategy”, and its course is “more erratic” (Matras 2009:243). Second, to a significantly larger extent than the borrowing of matter, pattern borrowing contributes to the structural convergence between languages (Matras 2009:236), being able to alter (entire) parts of the recipient system (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001:16). Third, pattern borrowing is more dependent upon (intense and prolonged) bilingualism than is the case for matter borrowing, which may take place with limited participation of bilinguals (Sakel 2007:25; Matras 2009:235, 237, citing Silva-Corvalán 1994:133, 168; Ross 2020).<sup>83</sup>

As is the case with matter borrowing, apart from depending on language-external factors, the ease and speed of pattern borrowing are heavily conditioned by language-internal properties of the elements being transferred (Matras 2009:235-237). In general terms, some structural domains are more borrowable than others, the main constraint being “the ability to match a new pattern to available word-forms” (ibid. 235). Despite the fact that the determination of clear dependencies between the properties of a pattern and its borrowability is elusive (ibid. 243) – which is a direct consequence of the erratic behavior of pattern borrowing mentioned above – a few tendencies or structural constraints on the presence and distribution of pattern transfers have been proposed.

As far as content words are concerned, pattern borrowing – especially borrowing of semantic patterns – is relatively common. It even occurs in languages in which the replication of grammatical structures is minimal, as well as in languages which are “shielded” by institutions, e.g. language academies, designed to combat matter borrowing (i.e. direct loanwords) in general (Matras 2009:245). In contrast, with regard to grammar and/or borrowing of structural patterns, transfer is usually more difficult. As mentioned above, it necessitates more intense and prolonged contact, including the pervasive multilingualism of speakers and the isolation of the recipient code (Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Matras 2007:61; 2009:251; Ross 2020). As is the case with matter borrowing, different types of lexical classes and morpho-syntactic structures exhibit a distinct propensity towards pattern borrowing. Overall, the direction of pattern borrowing with respect to grammar seems to proceed “from top to bottom” (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001:17), i.e. from larger units to smaller units, or from inter-clausal structures (coordination and subordination, including complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and relative clauses) downwards to phrases and morphology (ibid. 17-18; Matras 2009:244). Therefore, as argued by Ross (2001:146, 149) and Matras (2009:244), pattern replicability is the highest at the level of sentences and clauses, lower at the level of phrases, and the lowest at the level of words. This

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<sup>83</sup> Pattern borrowing is also often opaque, while the transfer of matter constitutes a more discernible and obvious phenomenon (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001:2; Matras 2009:235). This opaqueness stems from the difficulty in evaluating linguistic evidence related to pattern borrowing. That is, apart from contact, similarities in patterns exhibited by interacting languages may also emerge language-internally, i.e. due to genetic retention or, more importantly, parallel and/or universal developments, where different languages (originally related or not) share their inner dynamics (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001:3). Contrary to pattern borrowing, the identification of which may be controversial and problematic, borrowing of matter is more easily demonstrable.

view complies with the hierarchies formulated earlier by Stolz & Stolz (1996:112), according to whom the convergence of patterns occurs in the following order of ease: discourse → text grammar (text → paragraph → coupling of propositions) → clause grammar (clause → phrase → word coupling) → word grammar (word → morphology).<sup>84</sup> As far as word order is concerned, the linear arrangement of nominal constituents exhibits the greatest likelihood of being affected. The word order of cupula predication (including non-verbal and/or non-lexical predication) is less borrowable. The word order of genuine verbal predications is the least borrowable (Matras 2007:60; 2009:244). Lastly, at word level, while borrowing of morphological matter (especially inflections) is rare and largely dispreferred (see section 3.2.1 above), pattern borrowing of morphology is attested more widely across languages (Matras 2009:258-260; 2015). Arguably, derivational patterns are more borrowable than inflectional patterns (Gardani 2020).

Pattern borrowing is also the principle factor in metatypy (Ross 2001:145-146; 2020; see also Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001:16-18). Similar to the borrowing hierarchy of patterns, metatypy first affects sentences and clauses, next phrases, and lastly words (Ross 2001:146).

### 3.2.3 Borrowing of sounds

The distinction between the two main types of borrowing, i.e. matter and pattern borrowing, and the fragmentation of pattern borrowing itself into its structural and semantic variants, are useful if all the classes of borrowings distinguished are understood in terms of a conceptual continuum rather than three separate categories. This continuum schematizes a gradual decrease of formal aspects implicated in transfer: from the transfer of both an exact and schematic form (matter borrowing) to the lack of any formal aspects of transfer, whether exact or schematic (semantic pattern borrowing), through the transfer of only schematic formal features (structural pattern borrowing). The three borrowing types as described in the previous sections should therefore only be viewed as prototypical cases. Prototypical cases such as these aforementioned three do not embody the entire variations available in language contact. They are mappable onto three distinct points along the continuum, and do not cover the entire continuum of possibilities. What realistically occurs in interacting languages is that a particular case of borrowing is often categorially fuzzy. It involves the simultaneous transfer of matter, abstract pattern, and semantic pattern, exploiting each borrowing type to a different degree (Sakel 2007; see also Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015:7; Gardani 2020). The continuum interpretation of borrowing accounts for such categorially blended instances, as well as the fact that it may sometimes be problematic, difficult, or even meaningless to determine whether one deals with matter or pattern borrowing and whether pattern borrowing is of a structural or semantic subtype.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Note that the hierarchy proposed by Romaine (1995:64) is practically the opposite: lexical items → morphology (derivational → inflectional) → syntax.

<sup>85</sup> For instance, although for some levels of language, the matter-pattern and structure-semantics distinctions are both relevant and meaningful, for other levels, such splits are less significant or even questionable in principle. Indeed, such distinctions usually operate at and beyond morpheme level, especially in morphology and morpho-syntax. Changes related to syntax, especially constituent order, can only be of the pattern type (Sakel 2007:16-17).

Transfer involving sounds and sound systems – i.e. phonetics and phonology – is particularly difficult to classify accurately as either matter or pattern borrowing. Indeed, it can often be analyzed in terms of both borrowing types (Sakel 2007:16-17).<sup>86</sup> The less disruptive the transfer is from a systemic perspective, the more matter oriented it is. For instance, at an individual lexeme level, where a phone, articulation type, stress, or tone of a particular loanword is imported, sound borrowing is usually of a matter type. At a systemic level, where the inventory of phonemes is modified and phonological distinctions and categories are added or lost, sound borrowing is predominantly of a pattern type (Sakel 2007:17-18; see also Grant, Klein & Ng 2020). Therefore, changes in phonetics tend to involve matter borrowing, while changes in phonology involve pattern borrowing. As phonological system-oriented changes, and thus pattern borrowing, generally emerge through the generalization of individual cases of matter replication – i.e. the accumulation of specific loanwords that contain new sounds – the entire distinction between matter and pattern borrowing in the sound system becomes problematic in various cases. Due to the gradient nature of such an accumulative process, the two categories are fuzzy and a neat distinction between them is unattainable.<sup>87</sup>

In general terms, borrowing of sounds proceeds via three routes: (a) an unaltered incorporation of the donor language's phoneme(s) into the recipient language; (b) articulatory adaptation of the donor's phoneme(s) to the recipient system; (c) unaltered incorporation of a new phoneme in lexemes that are borrowed into the recipient language, without incorporating that phoneme into the entire recipient phonological system, or doing so only to a degree (Matras 2007:38; 2009:225).<sup>88</sup> Overall, the convergence of the two systems – and thus the maintenance of the donor language's phonemes – increases with more profound and generalized bilingualism, while integration increases with more instances of monolingualism. Therefore, the fully adaptive route (b) is typical of monolingualism, semi-bilingualism, and attitudes of loyalty towards the recipient language. Again, this connection between unaltered preservation and profound adaptation is gradual – as is the distinction between community bilingualism and monolingualism that underlies it – ranging from a total separation of the systems to their complete overlap (Matras 2009:226).

Although “the range of possibilities of change in the [sound systems] of languages [...] is almost limitless” (Grant, Klein & Ng 2020:75) not all elements are equally borrowable. As is true of the transfer of matter and patterns, borrowability in phonetics and phonology heavily depends on the properties of the item being transferred, e.g. whether it is a consonant, a vowel, or a specific prosodic feature. Several local hierarchies have been proposed in the literature. For instance, scholars agree that the introduction of allophonic variation of a consonantal phoneme due to “the convergence of articulation modes and positions” is one of the most

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<sup>86</sup> It is also insensitive to the structure-semantics distinction of pattern borrowing.

<sup>87</sup> Sometimes, however, phonological pattern-related modifications may be more direct (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001:2; cf. Curnow 2001:426).

<sup>88</sup> Matras (2009:225) distinguishes an additional fourth type related to the “convergence of systems during second-language acquisition” with the adjustment of the donor language's sounds to the system of the recipient language. This occurs in the context of emergent bilingualism in minority languages with a strong identity and a necessity on the part of speakers to acquire the second language.

common sound changes taking place due to borrowing (Matras 2007:38); that consonants are more borrowable than vowels (ibid.37); and that prosodic features are more borrowable than segmental features (ibid. 38-39; 2009:232-233). In light of such local dependencies, the following global hierarchy has recently been proposed by Matras (2009:232): prosody → stress → vowels (vowel length → vowel quality) → semi-vowels and liquids → complex consonants → other consonants.<sup>89</sup> Given that this hierarchy was designed for Romani, it need not operate for all languages. Indeed, as noticed by Matras himself (2009:232), a global hierarchy of sound borrowability may be cross-linguistically erratic.

Additionally, the borrowing of sounds is conditioned by the role that the borrowed item is going to play in the recipient language system and how disruptive the borrowing may be – that is, whether it is assimilated as an allophone or incorporated as a fully-fledged phoneme and whether it affects a single word, a set of loanwords, or the entire sound system. Given these parameters, two types of dependencies have been posited. On the one hand, the borrowability of phonological features in loanwords is greater than the borrowability of independent phonological features (Matras 2007:39). On the other hand, minor phonological features are more borrowable than entire phonemes, which are in turn more borrowable than distinctive phonological features, with deep phonetic modifications being the least transferable (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:74-75; cf. Matras 2009:156).

### 3.3 Research questions and strategy

Having identified the knowledge gaps and main points of the debates concerning Polish borrowings in Wymysorys (see section 2.2), as well as having explained the framework that I have adopted to deal with these shortcomings, I can now formulate the precise research questions that will guide my study.

As explained at the beginning of this dissertation, the principle issue of my research is the determination of the quantitative and qualitative extent of Polish borrowing in Wymysorys. That is, how profound is Polish influence on the Wymysorys language system? Is it highly significant, moderately significant, or rather insignificant? In this evaluation, I will take into consideration not only the most obvious type of borrowing that has permeated Wymysorys scholarship, i.e. the incorporation of Polish forms into the Wymysorys language system; I will also study all the other types of borrowing specified in my framework.

The main research question formulated above warrants two sets of subsidiary inquiries. These sub-questions are of two types. The first type is oriented towards the recipient language and/or the endpoint of the contact process and directly reflects the adopted framework. It concerns the major categories of borrowing, namely matter or pattern, pertaining to the sound system, lexicon, or core grammar, and additive, neutral, or negative in type; their hierarchy (i.e. susceptibility to

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<sup>89</sup> Note that the order of consonants and vowels in this hierarchy diverges from their usual arrangement (compare with the above observation that consonants are more borrowable than vowels; Matras 2007:37, 232).

the borrowing of different lexical and syntactic elements); and the ultimate contribution to the resultant system (i.e. the complexifying or simplifying effects of transfer). To be exact:

- (a) Are both matter and pattern borrowing types attested and, if so, what is their respective share in the totality of Polish influence on the Wymysorys language?
- (b) What types of hierarchies of matter and pattern borrowing emerge in Wymysorys-Polish language contact? And thus, what is their tendency to occur in different lexical classes and morpho-syntactic types?
- (c) What is the proportion of additive, negative, and neutral types of borrowings? And thus, is borrowing an enriching or impoverishing phenomenon?

The second type of sub-question is oriented more specifically towards the donor language (i.e. Polish) and/or the beginning of the contact process and directly engages with the debates and knowledge gaps characterizing Wymysorys scholarship. It concerns specific sources of borrowings, their motivation, and possible adaptations during the process of transfer. To be exact:

- (d) Do the borrowed elements draw on Standard Polish or on Polish dialects?
- (e) What are the motivations for the borrowing of Polish elements in Wymysorys?
- (f) Do elements transferred from Polish tend to preserve their donor-language characteristics or do they lose them in order to fit into the recipient-language system?<sup>90</sup>

To answer the main and subsidiary research questions identified above, I will adopt the following strategy: In the next six chapters that form the evidence part of this dissertation, I will describe the details of borrowing phenomena in different lexical classes, morpheme types, and language modules. First, I will study the Polish influence on the sound system of Wymysorys. Next, I will analyze the transfer of free morphemes. I will examine borrowing in content lexicon (i.e. nouns, verbs, adjective, adverbs, and ideophones) and functional lexicon connectors (i.e. particles, interjections, pronouns, and prepositions). Subsequently, I will study the borrowing of bound morphemes, both derivational and inflectional. Lastly, I will analyze the contact phenomena affecting phrasal- and clausal-level structures, i.e. morpho-syntax and syntax. In all chapters except that dedicated to the sound system, I will provide a comprehensive list of loans, specify their pattern or matter type as well as the various semantic subclasses, determine the origin of the borrowed elements in specific Polish varieties (i.e. standard or dialectal), and identify phonetic, morphological, and syntactic adaptive mechanisms that have operated during transfer. Afterwards, I will review and critically evaluate this evidence, providing conclusive answers to the main research question and the two sets of subsidiary inquiries.

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<sup>90</sup> To be precise, this last sub-question (f) is related to the donor and the recipient codes, and concerns the beginning and the endpoint of the borrowing process.



PART III

EVIDENCE



## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4. Sound system

The sound system is one of the modules of the Wymysorys language that have experienced a profound influence from Polish. Indeed, the Polish impact on Wymysorys phonetics, phonology, and phonotactics has been substantial and varied. It is visible through the introduction of new, previously absent features, the enhancement or propagation of features that originally existed in the language, the preservation of inherited features that have been lost in related languages, and – in contradiction – the elimination of features. In this chapter, I describe in detail the various aspects of the influence of Polish on the Wymysorys sound system, with regard to consonants (section 4.1), vowels (section 4.2), and rules, phonotactics, and prosody (section 4.3).

#### 4.1 Consonants

The consonantal system of Wymysorys has been profoundly altered due to contact with Polish. The most significant and relatively uncontroversial Polish influence concerns: the borrowing of the two series of sibilant fricatives and affricates, i.e. [ɛ], [z], [tɕ], [dʒ] and [s], [z], [ts], [dʒ] (4.1.1); the phonemization of /ʒ/, /dʒ/, and /tʃ/ in light of the above-mentioned transfer of sibilants and affricates (4.1.2); the presence of the alveolo-palatal nasal [ɲ] (4.1.3); the grammaticality of the voiceless velar fricative [x] in word-initial position (4.1.4); the development of the labialized velar approximant [w] from the velarized alveolar lateral approximant [ɬ], as well as the complementary distribution of that [ɬ] with [l] at earlier diachronic stages (4.1.5); and the use of /r/ in a pre-consonantal position and its apical alveolar trill realization.

##### 4.1.1 The system of sibilant fricatives and affricates

One of the most relevant effects of contact with Polish concerns the system of Wymysorys' sibilant fricatives and affricates. Polish is responsible for the presence of two originally foreign series in Wymysorys, having furthermore possibly – and, in a way, paradoxically – contributed to the maintenance of the original German series.

Polish has a complex system of sibilant fricatives and affricates. On the one hand, it possesses “soft” palatal(ized) sounds spelled as *ś/si*, *ź/zi*, *ć/ci*, and *dź/dzi*. On the other hand, it includes “hard” non-palatal sounds noted as *sz*, *rz/ż*, *cz*, and *dż* (Swan 2002:11; Gussmann 2007:75-78; Sadowska 2012:7-8).<sup>91</sup> The sounds of the “soft” series are defined as laminal alveolo-

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<sup>91</sup> In addition, there is also a dental series *s* [s], *z* [z], *c* [ts], and *dz* [dʒ].

palatal (or laminal palatalized postalveolar) and represented by the IPA symbols [ɛ], [z], [t̪ɛ], and [d̪z]. The consonants of the “hard” series are defined – especially by Polish scholars – as postalveolars and represented by [ʃ], [ʒ], [t̪ʃ], and [d̪ʒ] (cf. Biedrzycki 1974; Spencer 1986; Dogil 1990; Jassem 2003; Gussmann 2007; see also Stieber 1962; Rospond 1971; Wierzchowska 1980). The same class of sounds has also been viewed – mostly by Anglo-Saxon and German researchers – as retroflex, the respective consonants being transcribed as [ʂ], [ʐ], [t̪ʂ], and [d̪ʐ] (cf. Keating 1991; Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996; Hamann 2003; 2004; Padgett & Zygis 2003). While the former notation suggests a partially palatalized pronunciation (similar to [ʃ] and [t̪ʃ] in German and English), the latter implies that the tongue shape is concave and apical or subapical. The actual realization of these consonants is, however, neither palatal(ized) nor fully retroflex, but rather laminal and flat – their closest IPA equivalents being [s̠], [z̠], [t̪s̠], and [d̪ʒ̠] (cf. Hamann 2003). In any case, from an acoustic perspective, the contrast between the two series opposes soft/palatal/higher-pitched/brighter/more-hissing sounds with hard/non-palatal/lower-pitched/duller/more-hushing sounds (for details, see Hamann 2003; 2004, cf. also Karaś & Madejowa 1977; Gussmann 2007:75-78).

Due to contact with Polish, the above-mentioned series of sibilants and affricates – i.e. the soft, higher-pitched, brighter, and more-hissing laminal alveolo-palatal consonants ([ɛ], [z], [t̪ɛ], and [d̪z]) and the hard, non-palatal, lower-pitched, duller, and more-hushing laminal flat postalveolar consonants ([ʂ], [ʐ], [t̪ʂ], and [d̪ʐ]) – are extensively used in Wymysorys (Żak 2013; 2016; Andrason 2014c; 2015a). Their Polish origin can be inferred from the particular visibility and stability of those two series in Wymysorys in lexical borrowings from Polish, on the one hand, and their absence in West Germanic languages on the other (cf. König & van der Auwera 1994; Harbert 2007).

Indeed, the presence of the two series is the most evident in lexical borrowings that have been introduced to Wymysorys from Polish. In such cases, the borrowing of Polish sounds emerges as a byproduct of the (nearly) unaltered, from a phonetic perspective, incorporation of particular lexemes. The etymologically correct laminal alveolo-palatal consonants – etymological if compared to Standard Polish – have penetrated Wymysorys through loanwords such as: *ślimok* [ɛ] ‘snail’ (P. *ślimak*), *miżan* [z] ‘deteriorate, waste’ (P. *miziać*), *kić* [t̪ɛ] ‘cat’ (P. *kicia*), and *dżiwok* [d̪z] ‘freak’ (P. *dziwak*). The etymologically correct laminal flat postalveolar consonants are attested in lexemes such as: *öelbzym* [z̠] ‘giant’ (P. *olbrzym*), *twoż* [s̠] ‘face’ (P. *twarz*), and *ćerwiec* ‘June’ (spelled with *ć* but pronounced with [t̪s̠]; cf. P. *czerveniec*), *dżystan* [d̪ʒ̠] ‘have diarrhea (in cows)’ (P. *dżdżystać*). This state of affairs was already common at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as attested by the works of Młynek (1907), Latosiński (1909:271-273), Kleczkowski (1920), and Mojmir (1930-1936), where the two series were present to a certain extent.

Nevertheless, when compared to Standard Polish, the correspondence between the series found in source lexemes and the series used in their Wymysorys adaptations is more complex than suggested in the previous paragraph. First, in Wymysorys, Polish loanwords containing laminal

flat fricatives or affricates are often pronounced by using their soft alveolo-palatal equivalents, despite the “hard” pronunciation of the equivalent lexemes in Standard Polish. For example, the Polish noun *wrzesień* ‘September’ (with a hard [ʒ]) has been incorporated into the Wymysorys vocabulary as *wżeśyń*, i.e. with [ʒ]. In a similar vein, the consonant [ʒ] is used in *jalműżna* ‘alms’, contrary to [ʒ] found in the Standard Polish source *jalmużna*. Analogous phenomena can be observed with the other hard postalveolar sounds: [ɕ] instead of [ʃ], as illustrated by *kása* ‘grits, grouts, porridge’ (cf. P. *kasza*); [tɕ] instead of [tʃ], e.g. *ćarownik* ‘hex’ (cf. P. *czarownica*); [dʒ] instead of [dʒ], e.g. *dźüdo* ‘judo’ (cf. P. *dżudo*); or the cluster [ɕtɕ] instead of [ʃtʃ], e.g. *bość* ‘beetroot soup’ (cf. P. *barszcz*). Overall, the presence of laminal alveolo-palatal consonants in Polish loanwords in Wymysorys is much more common than the use of their flat postalveolar counterparts.

Second – and as indicated by the forms *öelbzym* ‘giant’, *twoż* ‘face’, and *dżystán* ‘have diarrhea (in cows)’ discussed above – Wymysorys speakers can also use a hard variety of a given sibilant fricative or affricate in agreement with their Standard Polish pronunciation (cf. Żak 2013:7). Indeed, certain loanwords seem to favor such hard realization, contravening the adaptation tendency mentioned in the previous paragraph. For instance, the hard pronunciation of the consonant *ż/rz* [ʒ] is usually maintained in the following lexemes: *bażant* ‘pheasant’ (P. *bażant*), *bezbożnik* ‘ungodly person’ (P. *bezbożnik*), *gżyh* ‘sin’ (P. *grzech*), *inżyńyr* ‘engineer’ (P. *inżynier*), *nużán* ‘dive, plunge’ (P. *nurzać*), *rozumnożán* ‘procreate’ (P. *rozmnazać*), *rozgżyśán* ‘absolve’ (P. *rozgrzeszać*), and *rużánec* ‘beadroll’ (P. *różaniec*). The words *pszećiwńik* ‘adversary’ (P. *przeciwnik*) and *depesz* ‘message, telegram’ (P. *depesza*) commonly employ the laminal flat postalveolar consonant [ʃ]. In the following lexemes, the last consonant tends to be pronounced hard, i.e. as [ʒ] or, due to the devoicing process, as [ʃ]: *wengüż* ‘eel’ (P. *węgorz*), *pisküż* ‘weather fish’ (P. *piskorz*), *handlyż* ‘seller’ (P. *handlarz*), *inwentoż* ‘inventory’ (P. *inwentarz*), *ryczyż* ‘knight’ (P. *rycerz*). The hard pronunciation [ʒ] or [ʃ] is also typical in nouns containing the Polish suffix *-orz* (spelled as *-oż* in Wymysorys) that refer to objects, professions, and occupations: *elamentoż* ‘primer’ (P. *elementarz*), *brewjoż* ‘breviary’ (P. *brewiarz*), *konsystoż* ‘consistory, presbytery’ (P. *konsystorz*), *cegłoż* ‘a person who makes bricks’ (P. *ceglarz*), *drućjoż* ‘tinker, a person who makes and repairs small household things’ (P. *druciarz*), *gancoż* ‘potter’ (P. *garncarz*), *grüboż* ‘gravedigger’ (P. *grabarz*). It should again be noted that a soft pronunciation of all the above-mentioned lexemes (and thus the use of the laminal alveolo-palatal [ɕ] and [ʒ]) is also possible even though, for these types of words, it is less common than a hard realization. In contrast, there are no words for which the pronunciation with the hard affricates [tɕ] and [dʒ] would be consistently predominant.

Third, while lexemes that, in Standard Polish, exhibit one of the four hard postalveolars can be pronounced in Wymysorys with their soft alveolo-palatal equivalents, the reverse is not possible. That is, no loanword that, in the Polish language employs an alveolo-palatal fricative or affricate, can be pronounced in Wymysorys with its laminal flat postalveolar counterpart. For example, *dżada* ‘grandfather’ (P. *dziad*) and *nadżeja* ‘hope’ (P. *nadzieja*) – both

pronounced with [d͡z̥] – are never realized as \*\**d͡zada* or \*\**nad͡zeja*, i.e. with [d͡z̥]. This means that the interchangeability of the soft and hard series is unidirectional.

Overall, the dissimilar tendencies regulating the use of sibilant fricatives and affricates in loanwords imply that, at least in this type of current Wymysorys vocabulary, soft alveolo-palatals contrast to an extent with hard postalveolars. Certainly, this contrast is not as canonical as in Polish. Crucially, contrary to the situation attested in Yiddish – another Germanic language with deep Polish influence – the two series did not merge into a single series, nor are they fully equivalent, being used interchangeably.<sup>92</sup>

Although the two series of sibilants and affricates borrowed from Polish are particularly common in Polish lexical loans, they are not restricted to an imported type of vocabulary. In fact, quite the opposite is true, as they may also be used in genuine Germanic words. For example, in lexemes such as *śtrōs* ‘street’, *meńć* ‘man’, *gyhūzum* ‘disobedient, naughty’, and *bod͡ze*<sup>93</sup> ‘bathe!’, speakers may employ the soft alveolo-palatal series of [ç], [z], [t͡ç], and [d͡z̥] or, less commonly, the laminal flat postalveolars, [s], [z], [t͡s], and (if ever) [d͡z̥] (for a similar observation, see Źak 2013:7).<sup>94</sup> This Polish-like realization of sibilant fricatives and affricates attested in Wymysorys contrasts with the pronunciation typically found in inherited vocabulary where the palatalo-alveolars [ʃ], [ʒ], [t͡ʃ], and [d͡ʒ] are usual. It also contrasts with the realization of sibilants and affricates in Standard German and related German dialects, as well as in Middle High German, from which Wymysorys descends. Similar to the native Wymysorys lexicon, in those languages, sibilant fricatives and affricates are usually realized as palatalo-alveolars (Russ 1997:121-122) or postalveolar consonants (Caratini 2009:69-74; Jones & Jones 2019:33-34).<sup>95</sup> It is likely that the Polish-like pronunciation of sibilants and affricates in inherited vocabulary – i.e. as alveolo-palatals or laminal flat postalveolars – has arisen by extension from the lexical borrowings discussed above, where the two series were introduced first and where they are the most common (for a similar conclusion, see Źak 2013; 2016). Accordingly, the incorporation of Polish sounds or phonemes into the recipient inventory of Wymysorys exceeds their transfer in particular loanwords. Borrowing also concerns the individual sounds themselves. However, while in Polish loanwords, a certain degree of phonological opposition between [ç], [z], [t͡ç], [d͡z̥] on the one hand, and [s], [z], [t͡s], [d͡z̥] on the other hand can be detected, no such contrast between the two Polish-based series exists – even minimally – in the genuine Germanic lexicon of Wymysorys.

As a result of the incorporation of the laminal alveolo-palatal consonants [ç], [z], [t͡ç], and [d͡z̥] and the laminal flat postalveolar consonants [s], [z], [t͡s], [d͡z̥], and the simultaneous presence of the palatalo-alveolar series [ʃ], [ʒ], [t͡ʃ], and [d͡ʒ], Wymysorys currently includes three series

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<sup>92</sup> (Standard) Yiddish fails to exhibit, even in Slavonic loanwords, the contrast between the hard and soft sibilant fricatives and affricates (Jacobs, Prince & van der Auwera 1994:394; Jacobs 2005:109-110).

<sup>93</sup> The suffix *-ze* is borrowed from Polish (see section 8.4).

<sup>94</sup> Compare with the increased presence of [ç] and [t͡ç] in Aljzneriś that is generally attributed to contact with Polish. To be exact, in Aljzneriś, [ç] and [t͡ç] are typically preserved in Polish loanwords. Moreover, [ç] has replaced the original consonant [ç̣] in native lexemes (Dolatowski 2017:108, 263).

<sup>95</sup> It should be noted, however, that contrary to the Standard German pronunciation (Wiese 1996; Mangold 2005; Morciniec & Prędoła 2005; Krech et al. 2009), the consonants [ʃ], [ʒ], [t͡ʃ], and [d͡ʒ] in Wymysorys are not strongly labialized.

of sibilant fricatives and affricates. That is, in addition to two series borrowed from Polish, the language has also preserved the series of typical Germanic languages, including Middle High German, Modern Standard German, and German dialects. The Germanic series and at least one of the two Polish series can be used almost interchangeably in all Germanic words and in most Polish loanwords. For instance, originally Germanic lexemes such as the noun *dujć* ‘German’ can be pronounced “hard” with the laminal flat postalveolar affricate [-t͡s̺]; “soft” with the laminal alveolo-palatal [-t͡ɕ̺]; or “semi-soft”/“semi-hard” with the palatalo-alveolar [-t͡ʃ̺]. Out of the three variants, the latter two uses are prevalent. Of these two uses, in turn, the palatalo-alveolar is more common than the alveolo-palatal use (for a similar observation, see Żak 2016:136). As far as the Polish loanwords are concerned, lexemes that contain a hard laminal flat postalveolar consonant in Standard Polish can also be pronounced with the three series: the postalveolar sounds, the alveolo-palatals, or the German-like palatalo-alveolars. The last two realizations are the most common. In contrast, as explained above, words that contain a soft laminal alveolo-palatal sound in Standard Polish can be pronounced with two series only: the Polish “soft” series or the inherited Germanic palatalo-alveolar series. Overall, if all types of lexemes are considered jointly, the palatalo-alveolar pronunciation of sibilant fricatives and affricates (i.e. as [ʃ̺], [ʒ̺], [t͡ʃ̺], and [d͡ʒ̺]) is the most common; the alveolo-palatal pronunciation (i.e. as [ɕ̺], [ʒ̺], [t͡ɕ̺], and [d͡ʒ̺]) is less common; and the postalveolar pronunciation (i.e. as [s̺], [z̺], [t͡s̺], and [d͡z̺]) is least common.<sup>96</sup>

The tendency to substitute the hard postalveolar consonants with their soft alveolo-palatal counterparts in Polish loanwords, and the relatively common use of the latter sounds in inherited Wymysorys lexemes (instead of the original palatalo-alveolars or the flat postalveolars borrowed from Polish), might be related to a dialectal phenomenon found in parts of Małopolska – the so-called “*siakanie*”. *Siakanie* is a process whereby, in certain dialects of Polish, hard postalveolars are replaced by alveolo-palatals, for example, *śklonka* ‘glass’ instead of *szklanka*. This phenomenon is found in Lesser Polish (cf. Małeckie & Nitsch 1934; Pawłowski 1966; 1975; Urbańczyk 1968; Dejna 1973:255-261, 285-354; 1981; Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995:80-81; Kucharzyk 2006; Karaś 2010c), in nearby Cracovian dialects of Lesser Polish (Dejna 1973:255-261, 285-354; Urbańczyk et al. 1991:60-61; Kwaśnicka-Janowicz 2010; see also Kaś 1986; 1988; Sikora 2001), in the northern variety of Żywiec – the northwestern member of the Highlands cluster of Lesser Polish dialects, which extends beyond the southern borders of Kęty and Pisasowice (Karaś 2010a, 2010b) – as well as in the Piszowice variety itself (Grabowski 1849; Kosiński 1891:10-11). Given its geographic spread, *siakanie* may have played an

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<sup>96</sup> In most studies, probably under the influence of Polish spoken by the authors, only two series are distinguished between in Wymysorys: the soft replicating of the laminal alveolo-palatal Polish *ś*, *ź*, *ć*, and *dź* and the hard equivalent to the laminal flat postalveolar *sz*, *ż*, *cz*, and *dź* (see, for example, Wicherkiewicz & Zieniukowa 2001). Nevertheless, the existence of three series of sibilant fricatives and affricates has also been noted. It is particularly evident in Żak (2016:135). He (ibid. 135-136) expands the two traditional series by a third – in his description, postalveolar – series (e.g. [ʃ̺] and [t͡ʃ̺]). Similar to Żak’s findings (2016), according to my analyses, this series (i.e. [ʃ̺], [ʒ̺], [t͡ʃ̺], [d͡ʒ̺]) is the most common of the three sibilant fricative and affricate variants. Additionally, a somewhat similar conclusion may be drawn from the descriptions of Wymysorys sounds provided by Kleczkowski (1920:14-15) and Mojmir (1930-1936:xiv-xv), in which *ś*, *š*, *ś* and *ź*, *ž*, *ź* were distinguished. However, this correspondence is not perfect. Kleczkowski (1920:14-15) and Mojmir (1930-1936:xiv-xv) associate the series *š*, *ž* with a (Silesian/Standard) German pronunciation; that of *ś* with a Polish pronunciation; and that of *ć* with both German and Polish pronunciations. The articulation of *ś*, *ć*, (*ź*, *ź*) is not specified.

important role in establishing the above-mentioned tendencies in Wymysorys in relation to sibilants and fricatives. Accordingly, rather than substitution of hard series with soft series, we deal with a direct borrowing of dialectal forms and sounds – which only later may have allowed the use of the Standard Polish hard series – due to the increasing role of the standard language in the community.<sup>97</sup> The tendency to replace postalveolars with alveolo-palatals in Polish loanwords may also be related to the fact that out of the two sibilant fricative and affricate series found in Polish, the soft one is acoustically more similar to the German-like palatalo-alveolar series. Hence, the use of [ɕ], [ʒ], [tɕ], and [dʒ] instead of [s], [z], [ts], and [dʒ] could also be understood in terms of a partial adaptation of Polish phonemes to the genuine Wymysorys sound system, i.e. [ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ], and [dʒ]. Most likely, the two motivations operated simultaneously, contributing jointly to the current highly common attestation of alveolo-palatals.

It has additionally been proposed that Polish may be responsible for the pronunciation of the sibilant fricatives and affricates as palatalo-alveolars, i.e. [ʃ] and [tʃ] as well as, by extension, [ʒ] and [dʒ] (Żak 2013:7).<sup>98</sup> That is, not only is the pronunciation of the word *ślaht* with [ɕ] or [s] a Polish influence, the pronunciation with [ʃ] (or [ʃʃ] in Żak's (2013) notation) has also developed due to the influence of Polish. This was possible because of another dialectal Polish phenomenon, namely “*sziakanie*”. *Sziakanie* (also known as “*jabłonkowanie*”) – not to be confused with *siakanie* discussed above, which is likely responsible for the vast presence of alveolo-palatals in Wymysorys and their use instead of “hard” postalveolars in Polish loanwords – refers to a change during which the two series of sibilant fricatives and affricates typical of Standard Polish merge into one distinct series. That is, the soft alveolo-palatal series [ɕ], [ʒ], [tɕ], and [dʒ], on the one hand, and the flat postalveolar series [s], [z], [ts], and [dʒ], on the other hand, coalesced into the prepalatal series [ʃ], [tʃ], [ʒ], [dʒ], usually represented as ś, ź, ć, ź (Dejna 1973, Urbańczyk et al. 1991). This change occurs in the Southern Silesian dialects, e.g. around Cieszyn, in Polish dialects spoken in Slovakia, and in the north of the country around Malbork, Lubawa, Ostróda, and in Warmia (Dejna 1973; Urbańczyk et al. 1991:131, 414). In southern Poland, this process took place at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries (Żak 2013:7).

Żak (2013) proposes that the Polish dialect of Cieszyn influenced Wymysorys such that the original sibilants and affricates acquired the pronunciations [ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ], and [dʒ].<sup>99</sup> I suggest instead that *sziakanie* – thus a feature found dialectally in Polish – contributed to the maintenance of the original Germanic sounds rather than being responsible for the replacement of the old phonemes with the new ones imported from Polish. To begin with, *sziakanie* is not a typical phenomenon of western Lesser Poland or eastern Silesia, the area where Wymysorys is spoken (see Dejna 1973). *Sziakanie* is absent around Bielsko-Biała, Oświęcim, Żywiec, and Kęty. The nearest region of *sziakanie* is around Cieszyn, some 50 kilometers from Wilamowice. Therefore, one does not expect that *sziakanie* would have played a significant

<sup>97</sup> This may be supported by the fact that many such words exhibit other dialectal phonetic properties.

<sup>98</sup> In Żak's (2013:7) terminology, these sounds are defined as postalveolar palatalized fricatives and affricates.

<sup>99</sup> Żak (2013) uses the symbols [ʃʃ], [ʒʒ], [tʃʃ], and [dʒʒ] given that [ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ], and [dʒ] refer to flat postalveolar consonants in his paper.

role in the phonology of Wymysorys, let alone that it would have determined the most common pronunciation of the sibilant fricatives and affricates. Even if Wilamowians may indeed have had some contact with inhabitants of Cieszyn, as hypothesized by Żak (2013), I doubt this was sufficient to alter the pronunciation of their mother tongue to the extent that it exceeded the influence of Standard Polish and local Polish dialect(s) which they probably spoke. Moreover, the roots of the phenomenon of *sziakanie* themselves are attributed to German and Slovak influence (Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995:62). That is, certain Polish dialects merged the two series into an intermediate series by imitating the pronunciation found in German or Slovak languages, where [ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ], and [dʒ] are found. Such a merged series is nearly indistinguishable from the German and Slovak sounds – or at least, it constitutes their closest equivalents that can be found in Polish varieties. Therefore, if it has contributed anything to Wymysorys phonetics, *sziakanie* has assisted with the preservation of the inherited palatalo-alveolars. The phenomenon, however, is not the reason for their introduction. As a result, borrowing from Polish would be responsible for the maintenance of phonemes and the eventual complexification of the system of sibilants and affricates in Wymysorys.

#### 4.1.2 The phonemization of /ʒ/, /dʒ/, and /tʃ/

As a result of the changes that have been discussed above and, in particular, because of the incorporation of a large number of lexemes that in their Polish sources contain(ed) *ż/rz/ź/zi* and *dź/dż/dzi*, the status of the phonemes /ʒ/ and /dʒ/ in Wymysorys has been significantly improved. It should be observed that, in Modern Standard German and various German dialects, /ʒ/ and /dʒ/ are usually either classified as peripheral phonemes (Wiese 1996:13; see also Johnson & Braber 2008:101; Caratini 2009:74) or are denied a phonemic status entirely (cf. Kohler 1990; see the absence of /dʒ/ in the phonemic inventories designed by Russ 1994:121-122 and Eisenberg 1994:353-354).<sup>100</sup> They are only found in a few, rather marginal, and recent loanwords, such as *Geni* ‘genius’ or *Garage* ‘garage’ (Russ 1994:122; Wiese 1996:10, 12; Caratini 2009:69-70). Conversely, in Wymysorys, both /ʒ/ and /dʒ/ – irrespective of whether they are actually pronounced as [ʒ]/[dʒ], [ʒ̥]/[dʒ̥], or [ʒ̥]/[dʒ̥] – are highly common. To be exact, /ʒ/ and /dʒ/ are found in a large number of content lexemes borrowed from Polish, of which some may be viewed as essential to the daily vocabulary of Wilamowians. As far as /ʒ/ is concerned, this may be illustrated by *ostriöeźne* ‘carefully’ (P. *ostroźnie*), *mjerżan* ‘be disgusted’ (P. *mierzić*), *możdżyż* ‘mortar’ (P. *moździerz*), *bżim* ‘larch’ (P. *brzem*), *küźawa* ‘heavy clouds’ (P. *kurzawa*), and *kena po rodże* ‘know/recognize by kin’ (P. *po rodzie*). As far as /dʒ/ is concerned, it is exemplified by *grüdźyń* ‘December’ (P. *grudzień*), *dżada* ‘grandfather, old man’ (P. *dziad*), *prądźada* ‘great-grandfather’ (P. *pradziad(ek)*), and *seńdża* ‘judge’ (P. *sędzia*). The sounds /ʒ/ and /dʒ/ also occur in loanwords transferred from other languages, most likely indirectly via Polish, e.g. *küraź* ‘courage’ (when not devoiced at the end of a word) and *(a)wänźjyn* ‘be promoted’. Furthermore, /ʒ/ features frequently in children’s language, as demonstrated by the affective names of animals such as *miżü* ‘cow’, *miżi* ‘cat’, and *māži* ‘piglet’. The pervasiveness of the consonant /ʒ/ is additionally amplified by its use in the focal enclitic morpheme *-że* that can be suffixed to all

<sup>100</sup> For an opposite view, see Fagan (2009:18-19).

types of imperatives, including inherited Wymysorys roots, as illustrated by *gejże* ‘go!’ and *kumże* ‘come!’, as well as by its presence in the diminutive suffixes *-ža*, *-žu*, and *-žü*, e.g. *Juža* and *Nežü* ‘baby Jesus’. Crucially, /ʒ/ and, to a much lesser extent, /d͡ʒ/ appear in inherited Wymysorys vocabulary itself, e.g. *gyhüzum* ‘obedient’, *ježlik* ‘awry’, *bydźjekst* ‘sloppy, messy’, as well as in common Silesian vocabulary of Polish origin, where they had been developing independently from the original Polish source word, e.g. *gyblüdziöer* ‘entrails’ (cf. Silesian German *Plau(t)ze* and Szywnwałd *plautsę*) from *pluca* in Polish. Given their common presence in the Wymysorys language, /ʒ/ and /d͡ʒ/ enter in a broad range of contrasts with other consonants, yielding a number of minimal pairs, e.g. *mižü* ‘cow’ versus *mišü* ‘bear’, *Kaža* ‘proper name’ versus *kapa* ‘a piece of garment used by priests’, *džup* ‘beak’ versus *rup* ‘scab’, and *džada* ‘grandfather, old man’ versus *wada* ‘become, be’. As a result, /ʒ/ and /d͡ʒ/ may currently be considered to be central phonemes in the Wymysorys sound system – fully comparable to the other elements of the phonological core of the language.<sup>101</sup>

Similar observations apply to /t͡ʃ/ which, despite its relative commonness in German, is viewed as a peripheral phoneme (Wiese 1996) “restricted to borrowings and heteromorphemic sequences” (Caratini 2009:69) or is attributed a non-phonemic status (Kohler 1990; Russ 1994:121-122). In Wymysorys, the sound /t͡ʃ/ – realized as [t͡ʃ], [t͡ʃe], or [t͡ʃs] – is highly pervasive. It is found abundantly in vocabulary that is borrowed (*ćüprin* ‘hair’), inherited (*doüć* ‘German’), and mixed or hybrid (*skiöekumće!* ‘Welcome!’). It features in a number of functional morphemes, such as the diminutive suffixes *-ćü* and *-ća* (e.g. *Stāńćü*, a nickname of the Danek family), the nominal suffix *-ćki* (e.g. *Ficki* ‘a nickname of the Foks family’), and the adjectival suffix *-üćik* (e.g. *klinüćik* ‘very small’). It yields a series of contrasts with other phonemes, e.g. *doüća* ‘Germans’ versus *doüma* ‘thumbs’. As a result, /t͡ʃ/ has arguably acquired a full phonemic status in Wymysorys, constituting one of the central phonemes in the language.<sup>102</sup>

#### 4.1.3 The alveolo-palatal consonant [ɲ]

Another consonant of which the presence and systemic status have been heavily influenced by Polish is the alveolo-palatal nasal [ɲ].

The alveolo-palatal nasal [ɲ] – which is spelled in Polish with two complementary graphemes, *ń* and *ni* – is a typical feature of the Polish sound system (Jassem 2003:104). The consonant [ɲ] is common; it appears in both palatal and non-palatal contexts; the alveolo-palatal realization is regular in palatal environments; and overall, the sound entertains a phonemic status in the language (Strutyński 1998; Gussmann 2007).<sup>103</sup>

In Wymysorys, the consonant [ɲ] – regularly spelled as *ń* – is equally common. It is found in three types of lexemes: it appears in Polish loanwords; in genuine Germanic words where it has

<sup>101</sup> A similar increase in the visibility of [ʒ] and [d͡ʒ] and their phonemization have taken place in Yiddish. As in Wymysorys, these two phenomena are attributed to Slavonic influence (Weinreich 2008:533; Krasowska 2019:161).

<sup>102</sup> The phonemization of [t͡ʃ] has also occurred in Yiddish due to the transfer of a large number of Slavonic lexemes (Weinreich 2008:533; Krasowska 2019:161).

<sup>103</sup> This “soft” nasal consonant is also defined in Polish studies as palatal and transcribed as [ɲ] (Gussmann 2007:4).

developed from [ɲʲ], itself a successor of the original cluster *ng/nc*; and in another class of inherited lexemes in which it reflects an older group, i.e. *n + i, j*, or *ć*. As will be explained below, even though the presence of [ɲ] may be attributed to Polish influence, it can also be explained as a result of language-internal processes – most likely enhanced and accelerated by contact with Polish.

A direct Polish influence is the most patent in a large number of words transferred to Wymysorys from Polish, in which the original sound [ɲ] is invariably rendered as such. This can be illustrated by the following nouns: *babińec* ‘meeting of women; old woman’ (P. *babiniec*), *kśeśćjãhin* ‘Christian’ (P. *chrześcijanin*), *průźńok* ‘idler’ (P. *próźniak*), *wendrowník* ‘wanderer’ (P. *wędrownik*), *Ńedźela* ‘a nickname of the Danek family’ (P. *niedziela*), or *wźeśyń* ‘September’ (P. *wrzesień*). The consonant [ɲ] regularly appears in adjectives and adverbs due to the use of the Polish-sourced endings *-ńik* and *-ńe*, e.g. *statećńik* ‘wise’ (P. *stateczny*) and *woźńik* ‘important’ (P. *ważny*), and *parńe* ‘muggy, sultrily’ (P. *parnie*) and *důśńe* ‘stifflingly’ (P. *duszenie*). All such cases attest to the unaltered incorporation of a new phoneme in specific lexemes borrowed into the recipient language (Wymysorys) from the donor language (Polish). This alveolo-palatal pronunciation of *ń* in Polish loanwords was also typical in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, as attested by Latosiński (1909:271-273), Kleczkowski (1920:13, 116, 172-173), and Mojmir (1930-1936).

With regard to [ɲ] found in the inherited lexicon of Wymysorys, the explanation is more complex. In the first class of such words, *ń* currently allows for two realizations: a palatal velar one [ɲʲ] and an alveolo-palatal one [ɲ]. The latter predominates. For instance, in *giń* (the 1<sup>st</sup>- and 3<sup>rd</sup>-person singular of the preterite of the verb *gejn* ‘go’) and *gińa* (the 1<sup>st</sup>- and 3<sup>rd</sup>-person singular of the same verb), *ń* may be pronounced as [ɲ] or, less typically, as [ɲʲ]. However, the palatal velar pronunciation – presently, a less common one – was the rule at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. That is, before World War II, *ń* in words such as *giń* and *gińa* was pronounced only as a palatal velar [ɲʲ], as illustrated by *giń(ń)* and *giń(ń)ja*, where, following Kleczkowski’s orthography, [ɲʲ] is represented by *ń* (Kleczkowski 1920:13, 116-117, 150; see also Mojmir 1930-1936:xiv, 176). The same palatal velar pronunciation was attested in the dialect of Szywałd, as recorded by Gusinde (1911:98-99): *g’ińk* ‘I/he/she/it went’ and *g’ińja* ‘we/they went’. The palatal velar realization [ɲʲ] reflects an even more original velar pronunciation [ɲ]. To be exact, in Middle High German, when used in a cluster with the velar consonants *k* and *g*, the nasal *n* was realized as velar [ɲ] (see *gieng/c* and *giengum*; Paul 2007:150; Jones & Jones 2019:35). Overall, the entire process that has operated in Wymysorys could be represented as follows: [ɲk/ ɲg] > [ɲʲ] > [ɲ]. Certainly, the velarization of [n] to [ɲ] in velar contexts is a common phenomenon that need not – and should not – be explained as a Polish influence. The palatalization of the velar nasal [ɲ] to [ɲʲ] also constitutes a recurrent cross-linguistic tendency which may have operated language-internally in Wymysorys. Indeed, it occurred in the dialect of Szywałd, closely related to Wymysorys, which suggests a dialectal – family-internal – development (compare [ɲ] in *krańkət* ‘illness’ with [ɲʲ] in *šeńk’a* ‘send’ and *g’ehojət* ‘starved’) (Gusinde 1911:98-99). In contrast, even though articulatory proximity may motivate the development from [ɲʲ] to [ɲ], the generalization of the alveolo-palatal realization [ɲ] seems to have been enhanced by language contact with Polish. As noted above, the change has been a recent and relatively fast phenomenon. It took place within, at the most, some 40 years during

the post-war period, coinciding with the increased presence of the Polish language in Wilamowice. In any case, even if language-internal palatalizing processes were still at work, Polish has contributed to their radical acceleration.

A two-source origin – i.e. both language-internal and language-external – seems even more probable for the third type of Wymysorys words that contain [ɲ]. This type includes the inherited Wymysorys lexemes in which an alternative pronunciation, i.e. with [ɲʲ], is currently ungrammatical, e.g. *ferwyńća* ‘curse, blasphemy’ or *meńć* ‘man’. This alveolo-palatal pronunciation [ɲ] was already generalized in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, as illustrated by *knī* ‘knee’ and *meńćła* ‘little man, homunculus’ (Kleczkowski 1920:116; cf. *knī* and *menč* in Mojmir 1930-1936:232, 277). In all those words, [ɲ] developed from an earlier *n* that originally appeared in a palatal environment, specifically, before *ii*, *j*, and *ć* (Kleczkowski 1920:116). Although the development of *n* to [ɲ] in palatal contexts may be explained in terms of borrowing, whereby a palatal(ized) *n* is realized by means of its closest Polish equivalent, i.e. [ɲ] (compare [n] in *pan* ‘sir’ with its palatalized variant [ɲ] in *pani* ‘madam’, due to the presence of *i*), it is more likely that Polish has only reinforced a tendency that was language- or family-internal. First, from a cross-linguistic perspective, the palatalization of *n* in palatal contexts is a common phenomenon. Second, strong palatalization tendencies were operating in the dialect of Szywnańd and in Silesian German dialects in general, especially eastern and diphthongized varieties (Waniek 1880:32, 41; von Unweth 1909:39-40; Gusinde 1911:98, 144). In the variety of Szywnańd, *n* developed into *ń* [ɲ] in a wide range of contexts, much greater than in the case of Wymysorys. Specifically, the full palatalization of *n* to [ɲ] occurred not only in contexts similar to those that are found in Wymysorys, e.g. *meńš* in *k’emeńš* ‘no one’ or *mónchsom* ‘sometimes’, following Gusinde’s 1911:96, 98, 115 notation). It also took place in cases where *n* appeared after a short vowel and before dental consonants – compare *k’eńt* ‘children’ in Szywnańd with *kynt* in Wymysorys (Gusinde 1911:98; Kleczkowski 1920:116).<sup>104</sup> Wymysorys would thus exhibit a similar palatalizing drift, albeit – at least with respect to this type of *n* palatalization – to a more reduced extent.

Overall, [ɲ] may currently be regarded as a fully-fledged and central phoneme in Wymysorys, similar to the situation found in Polish. This contrasts with an allophonic – or, at least, weaker – status of the palatal velar nasal [ɲʲ] and the alveolo-palatal nasal [ɲ] in closely-related German varieties, e.g. the dialect of Szywnańd (Gusinde 1911), and even in the Wymysorys language itself during the period before World War II (Kleczkowski 1920). This systemic relevance of [ɲ] in Wymysorys and its phonemic position draw on three types of arguments. First, because of the large number of relatively recent loanwords with *ń* and the replacement of [ɲʲ] with [ɲ] (or the development [ɲʲ] > [ɲ]), [ɲ] constitutes a highly common element in the Wymysorys sound system. Second, even though [ɲ] still often appears in broadly understood palatal contexts (e.g. before or after a front vowel or palatal consonant), it is also found in a wide range of non-palatal environments, as illustrated by *głyńa* ‘suffice, be able’, *ńof* ‘muzzle’, *żarnjok* ‘a

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<sup>104</sup> Such forms were allegedly also found in Wymysorys at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – see *keńder* (Waniek 1880:32) – although their accuracy is highly dubious. Kleczkowski (1920:116) rejected them, and they are also absent in my database.

type of quern’, *komuñon* ‘communion’, or *ńofa* ‘bark’. Third, [ŋ] appears in a number of minimal pairs where it contrasts with other phonemes, e.g. *ńofa* ‘bark’, *śofa* ‘make, do’, *rofa* ‘clean’, *tofa* ‘touch’; and *głyńa* ‘suffice, be able’, *głyma* ‘burn, smolder’, *głyta* ‘enamel, glaze’. Related to this, in various examples, the same phonetic environment – whether palatal or non-palatal – allows for the use of both [ŋ] and [n], with the nasal element *N* playing a distinctive role. Compare the segment *meNć* in *meńć* ‘man’ with *menćeńik* ‘martyr’, *yNa* in *głyńa* ‘suffice’ with *gyna* ‘wish’, or *No* in *ńof* ‘muzzle’ with *no* ‘well’.<sup>105</sup>

#### 4.1.4 The voiceless velar fricative [x]

Contact with Polish has also altered the distribution and pronunciation of guttural sounds. In particular, the voiceless velar fricative [x] has become grammatical in word-initial position, which has, in turn, altered its complementary distribution with the voiceless glottal fricative [h].

According to one of the rules governing the phonological system of Wymysorys at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the consonant [x] was only found in word-medial and word-final positions, e.g. *maha* ‘do’, *zǎhs* ‘six’, and *dah* ‘roof’. In word-initial position, [h] was obligatorily employed, as illustrated by *hund* ‘dog’ or *hand* ‘hand’ (Kleczkowski 1920:101-107). The two “*h*-type” sounds coexisted thus in complementary distribution (see Ritchie 2013). The same kind of complementarity was attested in the dialect of Szywnałd and other Silesian varieties (von Unwerth 1908:54; Gusinde 1911:84, 89-90), and *grosso modo* operates in Modern Standard German (Russ 1994:121-122; Donaldson 2007:4-5; Fagan 2009:19). However, even at that time, the phonetic or articulatory difference between *h* and *ch* was much “weaker” in Wymysorys than in a contemporary Standard German variety (Kleczkowski 1920:15). As will be demonstrated below, in the Wymysorys spoken currently at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the rules of the complementary distribution of [h] and [x], and the ungrammaticality of [x] in word-initial position have been significantly weakened.

In loanwords that begin with the consonant [x] in Standard Polish – written as *ch* or *h* in accordance with Polish orthography – both *h* varieties can always be used. That is, lexemes such as *handlyż* ‘seller, trader’ (P. *handlarz*), *hüta* ‘steel factory, foundry’ (P. *huta*), *hrapka* ‘wish, lust’ (P. *chrapka*), and *hrapǎn* ‘snore’ (P. *chrapać*) can be pronounced either with [x], which is etymologically correct given the underlying Polish form (observe that Standard Polish only has the [x] sound),<sup>106</sup> or with [h] in agreement with the original phonological rule of Wymysorys explained in the paragraph above. In the former case, one deals with an unaltered incorporation of a new phoneme within a particular lexeme that is borrowed from the donor language into the

<sup>105</sup> It should be noted that the phonemization of /ŋ/ has also occurred in Yiddish. Similar to Wymysorys, this process has arguably taken place under the influence of a Slavonic sound system (Weinreich 2008:533). The palatalization *n* is also common in Aljzneriś, most likely due to contact with Polish (Dolatowski 2017:109).

<sup>106</sup> This [x] may be voiced in certain environments in Polish, surfacing as [ɣ] (Gussmann 2007:4, 85). In certain dialects (e.g. *dialekty kresowe*, i.e. dialects of the former Polish eastern borderlands), *h* designated (and occasionally still designates) the voiced glottal fricative [ɦ] similar to the sound found in Ukrainian (see Pompino-Marschall, Steriopoló & Żygis 2017:350-352) and Czech (see Dankovičová 1999:70) This [ɦ] is not a typical feature of Standard Polish (see Strutyński 1998; Jassem 2003; Gussmann 2007) or of the dialects spoken around Wymysorys.

recipient language. In latter cases, the borrowed lexeme is adapted to Wymysorys phonology and, thus, the word-initial [x] is replaced by [h]. According to my data, the unaltered pronunciation of the *h* sound as [x] is significantly more common than its adaptation to [h].

However, the intrusion of [x] in word-initial position exceeds Polish loanwords. Currently, contrary to the rules outlined above and the etymological pronunciation, genuine Germanic vocabulary containing the initial [h] may be realized with [x]. As a result, words such as *hund* ‘dog’ and *hond* ‘hand’ allow for two types of pronunciation: (a) an etymological pronunciation with the inherited [h], consistent with the complementarity of the two *h* sounds originally operating in the language; and (b) a contact-induced pronunciation with the borrowed [x] that contravenes this complementary distribution.<sup>107</sup> The realization of the word-initial *h* as [x] attests to the transfer of the Polish phoneme as such – not limited to particular words – from the donor language to the recipient language system. Contrary to the case of Polish loanwords (see above), in Germanic vocabulary, the use of [h] is significantly more common than that of [x].

To conclude, because of the incorporation of various Polish lexemes with word-initial [x], both [h] and [x] can currently be used as interchangeable variants in initial onsets in Wymysorys. It is likely that the word-initial [x] first became grammatical in loanwords in which the adaptation to [h] was gradually abandoned. From there, [x] has spread to genuine Germanic vocabulary without replacing [h] entirely. As explained above, while the word-initial [x] commonly appears in loanwords, its presence in the inherited lexicon is limited, with [h] still predominating. This scenario is consistent with tendencies governing the borrowing of sounds, since phonological features in loanwords are more borrowable than independent phonological features (Matras 2009; see section 3.2.3). It also concords with a similar development that has taken place in Yiddish where, under a Slavonic influence, [x] can appear in all positions (including word-initially) and constitutes a separate phoneme (Weinreich 2008:534; see also Wexler 1991).<sup>108</sup>

#### 4.1.5 The labialized velar approximant [w]

The presence of the labialized velar approximant [w] in modern Wymysorys and its development from the velarized alveolar lateral approximant [ɫ] may also be largely attributed to Polish influence. As in the case of [ɲ], Polish has most likely intensified and accelerated the process(es) of which the foundations were already in place in earlier variants of Wymysorys.

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<sup>107</sup> As mentioned above, Polish does not include the sound [h] in its consonantal inventory. In cases, where a foreign word with [h] needs to be introduced to Polish, speakers typically substitute it with [x], which – at least to a Polish ear – constitutes the closest equivalent of [h].

<sup>108</sup> Some scholars propose that the word-initial [x] is also etymological and/or language-internal. Although the change from the word-initial [h] to [x] has occurred in some Germanic languages – e.g. in Flemish, which would perhaps suggest a genetic relationship of Wymysorys with Dutch (cf. Wicherkiewicz 2003; Ritchie 2013) – a language-internal scenario seems unlikely. The complementarity between [h] and [x] was fully operational in Wymysorys and closely related dialects at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and during the Interbellum. In fact, it still operates in Modern Standard German. In German, the only exceptions are loanwords, in which *ch* – pronounced as [ç] – may feature word-initially. The above-mentioned fact that the use of [x] is pervasive in Polish loans, while being much less common in inherited vocabulary, also points to borrowing as basis for the word-initial [x] in Wymysorys.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Wymysorys exhibited two types of *l* sounds: a “light” *l* or the lateral alveolar approximant [l] (also realized as [ɫ] in certain positions), noted by the grapheme *l*; and a “dark” *l* or the velarized alveolar lateral approximant [ɫ], noted as its contemporary Polish equivalent by the grapheme *l*. The former variant was used in certain palatal contexts, especially after a front vowel. The latter appeared in all the other positions (Kleczkowski 1920:125). This consonantal realization of *l* as [ɫ] is explicitly acknowledged by Kleczkowski (1920:13, 121-126) as well as Mojmir (1930-1936:xiv). Less scholarly descriptions offered by Latosiński (1907:271), Młynek (1909:12) as well as Biesik (1913-1924) (see Wicherkiewicz 2003:406) also suggest that Wymysorys *l* was fully analogous to Polish *l* which, at that time, was pronounced in the “literary” standard language as [ɫ] (Szober 1931:118-119; Gaertner 1938:37). The consonantal and, most likely, velar pronunciation of *l* seems also to have been typical in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This may be inferred from Bukowski’s (1860) notation of *l* sounds in Wymysorys through the grapheme *l* instead, e.g. *loit* ‘people’.<sup>109</sup>

Currently, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, all words that used to be pronounced with [ɫ] are regularly produced with the labialized velar approximant or glide [w], which is also spelled in a Polish fashion as *l* (Ritchie 2012:37-40; Andrason & Król 2016a). The pronunciation of *l* as [w] occurs in borrowings from Polish and reflects the contemporary Polish pronunciation of a given word. This may be illustrated by lexemes such as *lazenga* ‘tramp, vagabond’ (P. *lazeęga*) and *łakiimjån* ‘relish’ (P. *łakomić*), where *l* appears word-initially; by *blowatki* ‘Centaurea cyanus, cornflower’ (P. *blawatek*), *opłatki* ‘communion or Christmas wafer’ (P. *opłatek*), *thümok* ‘bundle’ (P. *thumok*), and *blonkån* ‘wander’ (P. *bląkać*), where *l* appears as part of the onset; and by *fjolki* ‘violet’ (P. *fiolatek*), where *l* is found in the coda. The replacement of [ɫ] with [w] is also regular in Germanic words, in all positions, whether initial, medial, or final, e.g. *łjyn* ‘study, learn’, *łäter* ‘ladder’, *głoz* ‘glass’, *gywynlik* ‘usual, common’, and *yl* ‘oil’.

It is difficult to determine precisely when the development of [ɫ] into [w] took place in Wymysorys. On the one hand, as mentioned above, the vocalic (glide) pronunciation is unattested by Kleczkowski (1920; 1921) and Mojmir (1930-1936:xiv). On the other hand, at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, *l* is invariably realized as [w] and never as [ɫ]. Interestingly, the older pronunciation was still attested in 1989 by Wicherkiewicz, who recorded the Wymysorys language of Wilamowians born at the turn of the century (Żak 2019). The last person that maintained the lateral pronunciation had been born in 1918 (ibid.). This suggests that the realization of *l* as [w] is a recent, most likely post-war, development (for similar views, see Ritchie 2012:412 and Żak 2019). However, it is also possible that the pronunciation of [ɫ] as [w] might have occurred earlier than proposed above given certain features exhibited by Polish dialects surrounding Wilamowice. It should be noted that in the Polish variety used in Piszowice, 4 kilometers from Wilamowice, the pronunciation of [ɫ] as [w] (contrary to the norm of Standard Polish) was already generalized in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Kosiński 1891:10). In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, [w] was also used extensively in other Polish dialects adjacent to Wilamowice, both in Lesser Poland (e.g. in Głębowice, 15 kilometers east of

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<sup>109</sup> However, since Bukowski’s orthography heavily drew on Standard High German, the use of the grapheme *l* was by definition precluded. Hence, the relevance of the absence of symbol *l* may be questioned (cf. Ritchie 2012:40).

Wilamowice) and in Silesia (e.g. in Rudzica, approx. 20 kilometers east of Wilamowice) (Dejna & Gala 2001, as cited in Żak 2019; see Szober 1931:118-119; Gaertner 1938:37).<sup>110</sup> It is therefore possible that both realizations – i.e. [ɥ] and [w] – already co-occurred in Wymysorys before World War II. The former pronunciation was likely perceived as historically correct, perhaps as the more prestigious one. The latter must have been viewed as an intrusive novelty, a dialectal and less prestigious variant.

Crucially, the replacement of [ɥ] with [w] in Wymysorys coincides with a similar phenomenon that operated in Polish, known as *walczenie*, whereby the older velar *ł* [ɥ] – the so-called “theatrical” *ł* (*ł sceniczne*) – evolved into the labialized velar approximant or the velar glide [w]. The process of *walczenie* appeared in Polish dialects in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, it began to spread beyond dialects to the standard language, where it only became the norm in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Łoś 1922:142-143; Urbańczyk et al. 1991:372; Gussmann 2007:28). Currently, the pronunciation of *ł* as [ɥ] is perceived as “an affectation” (Gussmann 2007:28) and occurs more regularly only in southeastern dialects (Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995:146; see also Nitsch 1957:46-47, Żak 2019). Significantly, the consonantal [ɥ] no longer appears, not even dialectally, in the Polish variety used in Wilamowice and the adjacent territories (Zieniukowa 1998:200-201; Żak 2016:133-134; 2019).

Overall, the language-contact origin of the current pronunciation of *ł* as [w] in Wymysorys seems highly plausible (Andrason 2014c; Żak 2019) for the following reasons: *walczenie* has operated in dialectal and Standard Polish, leading with no exception to the replacement of [ɥ] with [w]; for more than a century, the development of [ɥ] to [w] was an active process in Polish dialects surrounding Wilamowice; the replacement of [ɥ] with [w] in Wymysorys coincided with the period of the full generalization of [w] in Standard Polish and the inverse elimination of [ɥ]; and this period was also the time when the Polonization of Wilamowice greatly intensified.

Nevertheless, although the replacement of [ɥ] with [w] was heavily influenced by an analogous development that had been taking place in Polish, a language-internal process cannot be ruled out either. Indeed, several Silesian German dialects, e.g. Lower Silesian and diphthongized Silesian varieties, attest to a similar development where a lateral consonant evolved into an approximant (von Unwerth 1908:35; Gusinde 1911:105; Selmer 1933:233-234), which suggests that a family-internal process was at play. In the dialect of Szywna, the change of [ɥ] into the full glide [w], noted *u* and *o*, had already occurred before the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as illustrated by forms such as *g'ēštōua* ‘stolen’ (cf. Wym. *gyštōla*), *hōts* ‘wood, timber’ (cf. Wym. *hulc*), and *faut* ‘field’ (cf. Wym. *fāld*) (Gusinde 1911:104-105; Kleczkowski 1920:125, 161-162). However, as in Wymysorys, the change that took place in Szywna is attributed to Polish influence, specifically, to the Silesian Polish variety used in the Upper Silesian coal basin and industrial region, where [ɥ] developed into [w] even earlier (Nitsch

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<sup>110</sup> The consonantal pronunciation [ɥ] was used in more remote parts of Silesia, especially those adjacent to Czechia (Moravia), approx. 40-50 kilometers southwest of the town (Żak 2019, citing Dejna & Gala 2001).

1909:156; Gusinde 1911:104-105; Kleczkowski 1920:126). The change of [ɮ] into [w] has also occurred in other members of the Germanic family. It took place, for instance, in certain varieties of Swiss German dialects, in addition to the Thuringian, Lusatian, East Low German, Franconian, and Low Franconian dialects (Selmer 1933; Besch et al. 1983:1111–1112; Leemann et al. 2014; Žak 2019). Often, however, the vocalic pronunciation of *l* is viewed as a result of contact with Romance and Slavonic languages, including Polish (Selmer 1933:230, 231, 235-236, 243). Lastly, the vocalization of [l̥] to [w] is a common phenomenon from a cross-linguistic perspective. It has featured not only in Slavonic and Germanic, but also in Romance, Semitic, and other language phyla (Žak 2019).

Consequently, the replacement of [ɮ] with [w] in Wymysorys may have resulted from two drifts. On the one hand, the change likely imitated an analogous development operating in Polish. On the other hand, it constituted a “natural” phonetic process found in other languages including German and Silesian varieties. Most likely, the two motivations – language-external and language- or family-internal – operated simultaneously. That is, Polish significantly fortified and perhaps accelerated the process, the foundations of which were already present at the earlier stages of the Wymysorys language and in closely related dialects (see Selmer 1933 for a similar conclusion).

It is not only the vocalization of the consonantal [ɮ] into [w] that has been enhanced and stabilized in Wymysorys due to contact with Polish. The very use of the dark *l* [ɮ] in Wymysorys in the 19<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and its complementary distribution with the light *l* [l̥] may, at least partially, stem from Polish influence (cf. Latosiński 1909:271; Kleczkowski 1920:125; Žak 2016:135; 2019). In the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup>, and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Polish had two complementary *l*-type consonants or allophones of /l/: the dark [ɮ] and the light [l̥] (Łoś 1922:142-143; Długosz-Kurczabowa & Dubisz 2006). Therefore, the presence of a similar pattern found in Wymysorys at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries could be interpreted as straightforward borrowing from Polish. However, in the process of the velarization of *l* and the establishment of a contrast with the alveolar [l̥], the language- or family-internal drift seems to have played a much more significant role than the properties of the Polish sound system. First, the phonetic context determining the distribution of *l* and *l̥* was different in Wymysorys (and Szywnańd; see below) from that found in Polish. In Wymysorys, the distribution of the two consonants mainly depended on the preceding vowel, contrary to the rule operating in Polish, where the crucial vowel is the one that follows (Kleczkowski 1920:125). Second, the dark velar [ɮ], and its contrast with the light [l̥], was common in closely related varieties of Silesian German (von Unwerth 1908; Selmer 1933:233-234). It was, for instance, typical of earlier stages of the dialect of Szywnańd (Gusinde 1911:105; see also Kleczkowski 1920:125, 161-162). Even though in the dialect of Szywnańd, the distinction between light and dark *l* was lost by the time Gusinde (1911) and Kleczkowski (1920) wrote their grammars – the development of [ɮ] into [w] had been accomplished before the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – its effects were still visible in the behavior of certain vowels (see Kleczkowski 1920:161-162). The formation of a distinction between [l̥] and [ɮ] has also occurred in Yiddish (cf. Weinreich 2008:533), another East Central German variety, although

apparently under a Slavonic influence (Krasowska 2019:161). Such velarizing tendencies found in Silesia may in fact have been brought there by Franconian settlers, whose vernaculars displayed a pervasive velarization of *l* (Selmer 1933:234), and hence need not be attributed to contact with Polish. Indeed, the velarization of *l* is a common phenomenon in West Germanic languages. In the western branch of the Germanic family, it has occurred in English, Dutch, and Frisian, as well as in various German dialects (Selmer 1933; Harbert 2007:56). In German dialects, the velar pronunciation of *l* as [ɫ] – and its complementary distribution with [l] – is extensively present in Swiss, Thuringian, Lusatian, and East Low German, as well as the Franconian and Low Franconian dialects mentioned above (Selmer 1933; Leehman et al. 2014). Third, in relation to the previous observation, the velarization of *l* is common cross-linguistically, being attested in many language phyla, e.g. in Romance, Baltic, and Slavonic.

Consequently, although the velarization of *l* to [ɫ] and its complementarity with [l] in Wymysorys paralleled similar – though not identical – phenomena in Polish, the Polish language more likely reinforced a development that was already in place in Wymysorys instead of having instigated it (for a similar view, consult Selmer 1933:234). The presence of [ɫ] would thus constitute a convergent area feature present in Eastern Europe, both in German and Slavonic languages, as well as in Baltic languages, where it developed under Slavonic influence (Zinkevičius 2006:62, in Žak 2019).

#### 4.1.6 The apical alveolar trill [r]

The final influence of Polish on Wymysorys consonantism discussed in this dissertation is the presence of /r/ in the coda before another consonant and its apical alveolar realization as [r].

In Wymysorys, the original Germanic *r* disappeared in codas, in medial and final positions, before another consonant (Kleczkowski 1920:118-119, 121). In such cases, the consonant *r* was reduced to a schwa and subsequently coalesced with the preceding vowel, e.g. *kjyt* ‘shepherd’ cf. Middle High German *hirte* (ibid:13; de Boor & Wisniewski 1973:32). This triggered a generalized absence of *r* in inflections where, for instance, *-ern* developed into *-yn* (e.g. *mölyn* ‘painters’ < \**mölern* or *ljyn* ‘learn’ < \**ljern*; compare with the forms *Malern* and *lehren* found in Standard High German) and *-ers* into *-yś* (e.g. *fotyś* ‘father [Gen.]’ < \**foters*) (Kleczkowski 1920:118-119). The loss of *r* also occurred in older Polish imports, where *r* developed according to the Wymysorys rules and then disappeared, e.g. *twiöeg* < P. *twaróg* (Kleczkowski 1920:167). This elimination of the medial and final pre-consonantal *r* was similar to that observed in the dialect of Szywnałd and in Kuhländchen German in Moravia, greatly exceeding the loss of *r* in Silesian German in general (Gusinde 1911:102; Kleczkowski 1920:119).

Contrary to the above-mentioned processes which should have led to the total elimination of *r* in pre-consonantal coda positions, pre-consonantal codas with *r* abound in Wymysorys. This fact can only be attributed to contact with Polish. Most likely in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, under Polish influence, and especially via the introduction of a great number of lexemes borrowed from

Polish, *r* reappeared in Wymysorys in medial and final position before a consonant. Since, in older Polish borrowings, *r* was lost in the *-rC* position in accordance with the rules of Wymysorys phonology (see the previous paragraph), such a re-introduction of *r* can primarily be attributed to the younger types of Polish borrowings.<sup>111</sup> The results of this process were fully evident during the Interbellum, being documented by Kleczkowski (1920:119-121) and illustrated by forms such as *niöerki* ‘diver, plunger’ (P. *nurek*) and *kośerka* ‘midwife’ (P. *akuszerka*). Polish was also the source of most cases of the pre-consonantal medial and final *r* in the dialect of Szywnwałd, e.g. *bę(t)šork’ę* ‘pearls’ (P. *paciorki*), *burkan* ‘coo, cur’ (P. *burkać*), and *kurwę* ‘whore’ (P. *kurwa*). After World War II, the introduction of *-rC* classes further intensified as exemplified by the following fully stabilized loanwords: *frájerka* ‘girlfriend’ (P. *frajerka*), *postarcán* ‘cope with, follow’ (P. *po/starczać*), *rurkowán* ‘fold’ (P. *rurkować*), *štürmowán* ‘assault’ (P. *szturmować*), and *tyrknjân* ‘touch, hurt’ (P. *tyrknąć*). Currently, the consonant *r* found in groups of the type *VrC(C)#/-* is tolerated and widely attested in Wymysorys.

Both in the onset and coda positions, as well as in word-initial, medial, and final positions, the Wymysorys *r* is presently pronounced as the apical alveolar trill [r]. The same realization of *r* was attested in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by Kleczkowski (1920:117). This pronunciation contrasts with the way in which *r* is realized in some Silesian dialects and in the variety used in Szywnwałd, where it was not a trill but rather a tap (Gusinde 1911:99; Kleczkowski 1920:13, 117, 121). It also contrasts with the pronunciation of *r* in Modern Standard German where it is realized as the uvular trill [R] or the uvular fricative [ʀ] (Fagan 2007:11-12). In Wymysorys, *r* is never pronounced as a tap, a uvular sound, or a fricative (own data; see also Kleczkowski 1920:121). Given that an apical alveolar trill realization of *r* is typical of Polish (see Jassem 2003; Gussmann 2007:4, 27), it is highly probable that it has developed and been stabilized under the influence of Polish. However, it is also possible that Polish has only – and substantially – contributed to the maintenance of an alveolar dental trill pronunciation of the original *r* as attested in Middle High German (Wright 1917:25; Paul 2007:146; Jones & Jones 2019:35). That is, the etymological pronunciation [r] has been sheltered by the identical pronunciation found in Polish, thus preventing the development into [r̥], [R], or [ʀ] attested in other dialects.

## 4.2 Vowels

The impact of Polish on the inventory of vowels in Wymysorys is significantly more limited than was the case with consonants. The only vocalic sounds of which the presence may be attributed to transfer from Polish are the fronted close-mid central unrounded [ɘ] (4.2.1) and, extremely rarely, the nasal vowels [ɔ̃], [ɛ̃], [ã], and [ɤ̃] (4.2.2).

<sup>111</sup> The presence of a pre-consonantal *r* in a medial and final position in Wymysorys and in the dialect of Szywnwałd is also due to the influence of Standard High German (Gusinde 1911:102; Kleczkowski 1920:119-121).

#### 4.2.1 The fronted close-mid central unrounded [ɘ]

One of the most distinctive phonetic features of Polish is the presence of the fronted close-mid central unrounded vowel *y* [ɘ] (Jassem 2003:105; see also Strutyński 1998:61), traditionally analyzed as a central close unrounded vowel, and transcribed as [i] (Sussex & Cubberley 2006:158; Gussmann 2007:27 61; see also Bąk 1997; Strutyński 1998:59-60, 74; Feldstein 2001:23).

Considering Kleczkowski (1920:12) and Mojmir's (1930-1936:xiii) testimonies, [ɘ] was absent in Wymysorys during the Interbellum. When incorporated into Wymysorys, Polish words with *y* exhibited instead the vowel *i* [i] (e.g. *ricki* 'saffron milk cup' from P. *rydzek*) and the diphthong *aj* [aj] (e.g. *cąjgon* 'gypsy' from P. *cygan*), or – most commonly – were rendered with the grapheme *y* (e.g. *pytán* 'ask' from P. *pytać* and *cygar* 'cigar' from P. *cygaro*) (Kleczkowski 1920:171). However, the grapheme *y* and its long variant *ȳ* stood not for [ɘ], but instead for a closed *e* [e], short or long, respectively; in Kleczkowski's view (ibid. 12, 27), an *e* sound that is close to *i*.<sup>112</sup> In the inherited Germanic lexicon, this *y* [e] was an etymological reflex of the Middle High German *i* (/i/; Jones & Jones 2019:28) as well as, in certain instances, of the umlauted *a*, *u*, and *o* (Kleczkowski 1920:37, 41-43, 50). It also corresponds to the unstressed *e* used in Middle High German (inflectional) endings ([ə]; Jones & Jones 2019:28-29).<sup>113</sup>

Similarly, the dialect of Szywnwałd did not include [ɘ] in its vocalic inventory. The Polish *y* was generally realized as *ī* (e.g. *šrupīne* 'hair, fuzz' from P. *czupryna*), *ēā* (e.g. *podēāme* 'drawbar' from P. *podyma*), or – more commonly – *ę* (e.g. *tsmęk* 'tad, kid' from P. *smyk*) (Gusinde 1911:147). As in Wymysorys, in the Germanic lexicon, the vowel *ę* reflected the Middle High German *i* and, under certain circumstances, the umlauted *a* and *u* (Gusinde 1911:12, 21-24, 32-33). The pre-war Wymysorys *y* also coincides with the vowel *e<sup>0</sup>*, used by Waniek (1880) in his study of Silesian vocalism, which was also a successor of the Middle High German *i* (and *ī*) (ibid. 28, 30-31). This may be illustrated by the following pairs: *gǎšnytta* (Kleczkowski 1920:144) – *gešne<sup>0</sup>tta* (Waniek 1880:30); *šwymma* (Kleczkowski 1920:146) – *šw'e<sup>0</sup>mma* (Waniek 1880:31); *gywynna* (Mojmir 1930-1936:185) – *gewe<sup>0</sup>nna* (Waniek 1880:31). Although *e<sup>0</sup>* was not pronounced in a uniform manner in East Silesian dialects, it did exhibit a tendency towards reductions and contextual modifications, often sounded as "ein wenig breites *ā* mit einer Färbung gegen *ö* hin" (ibid. 12), and was characterized by a central (located between *i* and *u*) and medial ("zum mittleren Gaumen") pronunciation (ibid. 12-13). Overall, similar manners of pronunciation of the Middle High German *i*, as those attested in Wymysorys, were typical of other Silesian varieties. Realization with *i* characterized the Highland, Lusatian, and diphthongized dialects, while realization with *ę* was common in the southeast and Glätzigisch

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<sup>112</sup> When short, it corresponded to *ę* in the dialect of Szywnwałd/Bojków (Schönwald) and other Silesian varieties. When long, it corresponded to *ē* in Szywnwałd and to *ē* in Silesian (Kleczkowski 1920:12).

<sup>113</sup> The vowel [ɘ] also seems absent in Biesik's poems (cf. Wicherkiwicz 2003:406-407). His graphemes *y* and *yy* – corresponding with Kleczkowski (1920:12, 27) and Mojmir's (1930-1936:xiii) *y* and *ȳ* – are interpreted as representing either the sound [i(:)] or the rounded close front vowels [y(:)] and [ɣ] (Wicherkiwicz 2003:406-407). The only author that explicitly identifies the Wymysorys *y* vowel with the Polish *y* at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is Latosiński (1909:271), who was not a trained linguist and whose monograph principally concerned Wilamowian history rather than the language. Due to the fact that Latosiński was a native speaker of Polish – not Wymysorys – I consider the accuracy of his testimony with caution.

dialects (von Unwerth 1908:12-13). To my knowledge, the successor of the Middle High German *i* was not pronounced as [ɐ] in any variety.

While the pronunciation of *y* as [e] (as proposed by Kleczkowski 1920 and Mojmir 1930-1936) and [i] (as argued for Biesik 1913-1924 by Wicherkiewicz 2003) differs from the realization of *y* in Interbellum Standard Polish, it is somewhat similar to the realization of *y* in Polish dialects. That is, before World War II, the contrast between *i* and *y* was less sharp in several dialectal varieties of Polish (Szober 1931:108). In dialects, the vowel *y* was – and sometimes still is – pronounced as a sound intermediate between [ɐ] and [i], as [i], or as a diphthong [ɛj/ij] (Szober 1931:108-109; Urbańczyk et al. 1991:294; Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995:112). This occurs, however, in more northern Polish dialects: in Kaszuby, in a part of Great Poland and Kujawy, as well as in certain varieties spoken in Mazovia (Szober 1931:108; Urbańczyk et al. 1991:294; Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995:112). In Lesser Polish, in contrast, this approximation of *y* to *i*, or their merger, is generally absent. Instead, *y* is lowered to *e*, e.g. *r<sup>e</sup><sub>y</sub>b<sup>e</sup><sub>y</sub>* ‘fishes’ versus P. *ryby* (Urbańczyk et al. 1991:294; Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995:112) or pronounced as in the standard language, i.e. [ɐ]. Indeed, in the dialect of Piszowice, *y* was clearly distinct from *i* in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It mostly corresponded with the Standard Polish *y* (Kosiński 1891:4). However, in agreement with the Lesser Polish tendency mentioned above, some instances of the Standard Polish *y* were also realized in Piszowice as *e* (ibid. 2).<sup>114</sup>

Currently, at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the sound [ɐ] is highly common in Wymysorys. It is found extensively in loanwords from Polish. In such cases, it regularly reflects the original Polish *y*, e.g. *ryż* ‘rice’ (P. *ryż*), *ryczyż* ‘knight’ (P. *rycerz*), *rozynki* ‘raisin’ (P. *rodzynek*), *wyriöedek* ‘villain, degenerate’ (P. *wyrodek*). Additionally, the vowel *y* in Wymysorys often corresponds to the dialectal pronunciation of some Standard Polish *e* vowels that, because of the phenomenon referred to as “*pochylenie*”, were pronounced as *y*, e.g. *pyż* ‘couch grass’ (P. *perz*), *sknyra* ‘stingy person’ (P. *sknera*), *papjyrüs* ‘cigarette’ (P. *papieros*), *bjydok* ‘poor man’ (P. *biedak*). The vowel [ɐ] also widely appears in the genuine Germanic vocabulary of Wymysorys, for example, in *batlyn* ‘panhandle’, *blynd* ‘blind’, *btyn* ‘blow’, *myt* ‘with’. In all cases, where Kleczkowski (1920) and Mojmir (1930-1936) use the grapheme *y*, the pronunciation as [ɐ] (identical to the pronunciation of the Polish *y*) is grammatical and *de facto* predominant.

Furthermore, the vowel [ɐ] is presently used as an alternative to Kleczkowski and Mojmir’s *ə*, which was a reduced schwa-type vowel when short, and a more open vowel when long (see Kleczkowski 1920:12). It should be noted that even at the time when Kleczkowski and Mojmir wrote their seminal books, *y* and *ə* often alternated (Kleczkowski 1920:12; Mojmir 1930-1936:xiii). Currently, although the pronunciation with [ɐ] is still possible in the prefix *gy-* in

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<sup>114</sup> If this *e* was close, the similarity between the dialectal Polish *y* and the Wymysorys *y* (cf. Latosiński 1909:271), in Kleczkowski (1920) and Mojmir’s (1930-1936) phonetic interpretations, could be defended.

past participles (*gybröta* ‘baked’, *gyšproha* ‘spoken’, *gynuma* ‘taken’)<sup>115</sup> and in the other verbal prefixes such as *by-* (*bynama* ‘call’) and *cy-* (*cybráhja* ‘break up’), the realization of *y* as [ɔ] is significantly more common. The Polish-like pronunciation of the earlier vowels *y* and *ə* as [ɔ] was also attested by Wicherkiewicz (2003:467-471) at end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in his phonetic transcription of the first 36 stanzas of Biesik’s poem, that was based on recordings of a contemporary speaker. The exemplary cases in which *y* is transcribed with [ɔ] are: *tragedyj* ‘tragedy’, *wymysojrysz* ‘Wymysorys’, *fy* ‘for’, *yeh* ‘I’, and *kynt* ‘child’.<sup>116</sup>

To conclude, the introduction of [ɔ] to the Wymysorys sound system and this sound’s stabilization should most likely be attributed to Polish influence. This replacement of the Wymysorys *y* [e] (Szynwałd *e*, East Silesian *e*<sup>o</sup>, and Silesian *e/i* in general – all successors of the Middle High German *i*) with [ɔ] – or the development of the former sound into the latter – is a recent, specifically post-war, phenomenon. The change itself started with the incorporation and stabilization of a great number of Polish loanwords with [ɔ]. Subsequently, [ɔ] must have spread to the etymological pronunciation of *y* in inherited Wymysorys vocabulary.<sup>117</sup> The use of [ɔ] instead of the Wymysorys *ə* [ə] is probably even more recent since the original pronunciation with *ə* is still grammatical. This replacement of *ə* [ə] with [ɔ] seems to be motivated by a partial interchangeability of *y* and *ə* that was attested in Wymysorys before World War II, as well as the articulatory proximity of the two sounds. It is significant that, as Polish lacks [ə], [ɔ] is typically used when foreign words containing [ə] are adapted to a Polish manner of pronunciation.

#### 4.2.2 Nasal vowels

Contact with Polish and, in particular, the transfer of Polish lexemes is responsible for an occasional presence of nasal vowels in Wymysorys.

The complex phenomenon of nasalization will be discussed in detail in the part of this chapter dedicated to phonological rules (see section 4.3.4). At this stage, the following should be noted: lexemes borrowed from Polish that, in their Standard Polish form, exhibit an (often optional) nasal vowel [ɔ̃], [ɛ̃], [ĩ], [ã], [ũ], and [ɔ̃] (i.e. their partially nasal or non-nasal realizations are also possible and in fact more usual) may occasionally maintain this input nasal pronunciation in Wymysorys. Examples with nasal vowels [ɔ̃] and [ɛ̃] are more common than those involving [ĩ], [ã], [ũ], and [ɔ̃]. For instance, *wentka* ‘fishing rod’ from P. *wędką*, as well as *Wniebowstompjynie* ‘Ascension Day’ and *Wniebowżyńće* ‘Assumption Day’ that draw on the dialectal pronunciations of P. *Wniebowstąpienie* and *Wniebowzięcie* may be realized with nasal vowels [ɛ̃], [ɔ̃], and [ɔ̃], respectively – that is, [vɛ̃tka], [vɛ̃bɔ̃vstɔ̃pʲɛ̃ɲɛ̃], and [vɛ̃bɔ̃vzɔ̃tɛ̃ɛ̃]. However, such a fully nasal

<sup>115</sup> One should, however, note that after velar stops, e.g. [g], Polish usually fronts the vowel *y* [ɔ] to *i* [i] and palatalizes the preceding velar consonant. This suggests that [ɔ] behaves differently in Wymysorys than in Polish.

<sup>116</sup> Compare with a similar situation in Aljzneriś where, under Polish influence, the original [ə] is pronounced as [ɔ] (noted as [i] by Dolatowski 2017:263).

<sup>117</sup> Perhaps, since some types of *e* were gradually pronounced as *y* [ɔ] (i.e. *ryby* [rɔbɔ]) in Polish varieties spoken around Wilamowice following the rules of Standard Polish instead of [e/ɛ], the change from [e] to [ɔ] in borrowed vocabulary was natural. Once it became the rule, the replacement of [e] with [ɔ] could have easily spread to native Wymysorys words.

pronunciation is exceptional, being generally perceived as excessively pedantic. Much more commonly, Polish nasal vowels are resolved in Wymysorys as oral vowels and non-syllabic nasal vocoid, alternatively analyzed as partially nasalized diphthongs (i.e. [V<sup>̃</sup>]), as oral vowels and nasal approximants (i.e. [V<sup>̃</sup>]), or as oral vowels and nasal consonants (i.e. [VN]) – all of which constitute the typical realizations of nasals in colloquial Polish and/or local Polish dialects. For example, [ɛ̃] in *wentka* ‘fishing rod’ often resolves as [ɛü], [ɛ<sup>̃</sup>]/[ɛ<sup>̃</sup>], or [ɛn], while [ɔ̃] in *Wniebowstompjynie* ‘Ascension Day’ tends to resolve as [ɔ<sup>̃</sup>], [ɔ<sup>̃</sup>]/[ɔ<sup>̃</sup>], or [ɔn]. As a result, vocalic nasality may vary from strong (i.e. a genuine nasal vowel) to virtually lost (i.e. an oral vowel and a nasal consonant) through weak (i.e. an oral vowel with a non-syllabic nasal vocoid (or partially nasalized diphthong) and an oral vowel with a nasal approximant) (see section 4.3.4; cf. Kleczkowski 1920:12; Mojmir 1930-1936:xiii).

The peripheral status of nasal vowels in Wymysorys, already patent in their exceptional use in Polish loanwords, becomes even more evident if native lexicon is taken into consideration. That is, Wymysorys’ inherited vocabulary contains no example of nasal pronunciation of vowels, neither as full nasal vowels nor as partially nasalized diphthongs or nasal approximants. Inversely, the use of nasal vowels in Wymysorys is limited to Polish-sourced vocabulary.

### 4.3 Phonological rules, phonotactics, and prosody

Contact with Polish has not only influenced the consonantal and vocalic inventory of Wymysorys – it has also importantly affected phonetic and phonological rules operating in the language. In particular, the loss of aspiration of unvoiced plosives and the replacement of a spread-glottis (fortis-lenis) system with a voiceless-voiced system (4.3.1); the development of a consonantal system based on palatalization (4.3.2); the introduction or maintenance of length in consonants (4.3.3); and the presence of a nasal feature in vowels (4.3.4) can all be attributed to Polish influence. Polish has also altered Wymysorys phonotactics, which currently tolerate relatively complex consonant clusters in onsets (4.3.5), and the accentuation rules of the language.

#### 4.3.1 Lack of /p/, /t/, /k/ aspiration and a contrast built around voicing in plosives

One of the most important rules that may be attributed to contact with Polish concerns the lack of the aspiration of [p], [t], and [k] in word-initial position and the development of a voiced versus voiceless contrast in plosives in general.

To begin with, the Polish stops /p/, /t/, /k/ lack aspiration in word-initial (or any other) position, being pronounced as [p], [t], and [k] (Jassem 2003:103-104). This also applies to the dialects of Lesser Poland and Silesia. In Polish, the opposition between /p/, /t/, /k/, on the one hand, and /b/, /d/, /g/, on the other hand, “is fully one of glottal activity” (Jassem 2003:103-104) – the plosives of the former set are voiceless while those of the latter set are voiced (Bałk 1997;

Strutyński 1998:42, 54; Jassem 2003; Gussmann 2007:289-291; see also Sussex & Cubberley 2006:163, 172-173; Rothstein 1993:687).<sup>118</sup>

Similar to Polish, the Wymysorys stops /p/, /t/, /k/ fail to be aspirated in word-initial position, as well as in all other positions in a word. They rather contrast with /b/, /d/, /g/ in terms of voicing. The consonants /p/, /t/, /k/ are voiceless, surfacing as [p], [t], and [k], respectively.<sup>119</sup> The consonants /b/, /d/, /g/ are fully voiced in all positions, thus being realized as [b], [d], and [g], except in word-final codas where they are realized as voiceless [p], [t], and [k] (Andrason & Król 2016a:17-19).<sup>120</sup> In fact, a voice-based pronunciation concerns not only plosives but also affricates, e.g. /tʃ/ versus /dʒ/. This state of affairs was attested by Kleczkowski (1920) and Mojmir (1930-1936) before World War II. During the Interbellum, as is also currently the case, the opposition between graphemes *p, t, k* and *b, d, g* resided exclusively in the contrast between voiceless versus voiced “jak w polskiem” (Kleczkowski 1920:28). It did not involve a fortis-lenis contrast that would be based on “force”, with aspiration as an accompanying feature (ibid. 14-15, 28; see also Mojmir 1930-1936:xiv-xv). Judging from Wicherkiewicz’s (2003:399-409) analysis of the language used by Biesik, the realization of the phonemes /p/, /t/, /k/ was also most likely unaspirated, and the opposition with /b/, /d/, /g/ only involved the feature of voicing.<sup>121</sup>

The absence of aspiration of the voiceless plosives /p/, /t/, /k/ in Wymysorys and their systemic contrast with /b/, /d/, /g/ in terms of voicing, diverges from the situation attested in Germanic languages. According to the prevalent view in Germanic scholarship, in the distinction between /p/, /t/, /k/ and /b/, /d/, /g/, voicing plays a secondary role. It is the feature of “spread glottis” (Harbert 2007:44) or tenseness (Jessen 1998), with its typical acoustic effect of aspiration, that is crucial (Iverson & Salmons 1995; 1999; 2003; 2008; Harbert 2007:44; Salmons 2020:123-124). Indeed, the plosives /p/, /t/, /k/ are aspirated in word-initial position in most members of the Germanic language family, while /b/, /d/, /g/ are non-aspirated, with their voiced realization being unstable or “passive” (Harbert 2007:44). This distinguishes Germanic languages (which are spread-glottis or Glottal Width systems) from Slavonic and Romance languages (which are voice-based or Glottal Tension systems; Iverson & Salmons 2008:3; Caratini 2009:461; Salmons 2020:123-124).<sup>122</sup> This spread-glottis principle – also referred to as “Germanic enhancement” (Iverson & Salmons 2003:44) – is viewed as one of the fundamental rules governing the sound system of Germanic languages. It has been operating since the proto-language, being responsible for a series of changes and developments (ibid. 2003:44; 2008:3-4; see also Harbert 2007:44). Therefore, aspiration is viewed as “inherent” to the Germanic family: “Once introduced into the system, the germ of aspiration has [...] never le[ft] the

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<sup>118</sup> Voiced phonemes are regularly devoiced in a number of contexts, e.g. in word-final position or before a suffix with an initial unvoiced consonant (Strutyński 1998; Gussmann 2007:14, 60, 289).

<sup>119</sup> However, there is evidence that a soft aspiration is audible in a word-final position (Andrason & Król 2016a:19).

<sup>120</sup> Thus, the opposition voiced-voiceless is neutralized in a word-final position, exactly as in Polish.

<sup>121</sup> No trace of aspiration was attested in the Wymysorys variety described by Lasatowicz (1992:43) in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Without providing any argumentation, Lasatowicz (ibid. 42) nevertheless argues for a fortis-lenis distinction between /p/, /t/, /k/ and /b/, /d/, /g/.

<sup>122</sup> See the theory of laryngeal realism posited by Honeybone (2005), according to which languages are divided into two classes: aspiration-based languages and voicing-based languages.

grammar in most members of the family” (Iverson & Salmons 2008:2), instead “hav[ing] continued to affect newly arising voiceless stops over the course of roughly 2,500 years” (Iverson & Salmons 2003:44).

Modern Standard German and most of its central and northern dialects are typical Germanic systems in this regard. For instance, in Modern Standard German, the system of plosives is based on tenseness or a spread-glottis contrast, such that the opposition between /p/, /t/, /k/ and /b/, /d/, /g/ is generally explained as fortis versus lenis (Russ 1994:115; Wiese 1996; Jessen 1998:22, 136, 142-143; Fox 2005:42; Iverson & Salmons 2008:3; Caratini 2009). The feature of tenseness is correlated primarily with aspiration, with /p/, /t/, /k/ being “heavily aspirated in prosodically prominent positions” (Iverson & Salmons 2008:3), e.g. word-initially (Russ 1994:115, 117, 121; Iverson & Salmons 2003; 2008; Fox 2005:42; Caratini 2009).<sup>123</sup> In this system, voicing is viewed as a secondary feature (Jessen 1998:334). Even though in southern dialects, for instance in Swiss German, the aspiration of word-initial /p/, /t/, /k/ is lost (Russ 1994:74, 115), the distinction still seemingly concerns “different strengths of articulation” (Russ 1994:115) – i.e. fortis versus lenis or tense versus lax – rather than voicing (*ibid.*).

There are, however, Germanic languages that not only contain unaspirated (or weakly aspirated) /p/, /t/, /k/ but also build their system of plosives around Glottal Tension and the feature of voice (Salmons 2020:124). Such languages include Dutch, Frisian, and Afrikaans, as well as Central and Eastern Yiddish (Donaldson 1994:483; Jacobs, Prince & van der Auwera 1994:399; Harbert 2007:44; Salmons 2020:124, 138). As far as Dutch is concerned, it has been proposed that the absence of aspiration and the presence of voice-based distinction constitute a Romance influence (Iverson & Salmons 1999:20; 2003; 2008:4-5; Schrijver 2014:122-123). To be exact, this replacement of a spread-glottis-based system with a voice-based system in Dutch is a dialectal change that originated in Westphalian and Lower Rhine German where it had been triggered there under the pressure of neighboring Romance languages (Schrijver 2014:122-123).<sup>124</sup> Similarly, in Central and Eastern Yiddish, the lack of initial aspiration and the common distinction of plosives in terms of voiceless-voiced is attributed to Slavonic languages (Iverson & Salmons 2008:2, 6; Salmons 2020:133). Early medieval Yiddish speakers had a system of plosives typical of German, i.e. a system based on the spread-glottis feature and the aspiration of unvoiced plosives. This system developed into a voiceless-voiced system when the speakers of Yiddish moved east to territories where Slavonic languages were spoken (Iverson & Salmons 2008:6).<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Although most scholars reject voice as a distinctive feature in Modern Standard German, its relevance is also acknowledged (Wiese 1996:169), since the series /b/, /d/, /g/ surfaces not only as unaspirated but also as partially voiced (Iverson & Salmons 2008:3). Overall, the plosives contrast in both aspiration (primarily) and voicing (secondarily). The tense consonants /p/, /t/, /k/ are aspirated and/or unvoiced, while the lax consonants /b/, /d/, /g/ are unaspirated and/or voiced (Jessen 1998:43-44; see also Caratini 2009:70).

<sup>124</sup> It should be noted that the change from aspirated-unaspirated to voiceless-voiced systems and, thus, the loss of aspiration and generalization of voice-based distinction is not absolute in the sound system of Dutch. While it is true for plosives, it is less salient for affricates, which have retained aspiration (Iverson & Salmons 2008:5).

<sup>125</sup> In contrast, in Western Yiddish, the fortis-lenis system and aspiration of /p/, /t/, /k/ persisted (Herzog et al. 1992:36).

As in German and most of its varieties, the system of Silesian German plosives was based on a fortis-lenis contrast, which was related to the energy of occlusion and the intensity of release (von Unwerth 1908:x, 42; Kleczkowski 1920:15). In fortis, the occlusion and release were sudden (“Sprengung” – von Unwerth 1908:42), while in lenis plosives, the occlusion and release took place gradually (“Lösung” – *ibid.*). To be exact, in the Highland, Lusatian, Glätzig, and diphthongized dialects, consonants /p/, /t/, /k/ functioned as unvoiced fortis (*ibid.*). In an initial position, they were sometimes accompanied or reinforced by aspiration, with /k/ exhibiting the firmest propensity to be aspirated (*ibid.* 42-43; Kleczkowski 1920:14). In the dialect of Szywno, the aspiration of /k/ was weaker than in other Silesian varieties, although still perceivable (Gusinde 1911:2). In contrast, consonants /b/, /d/, /g/ functioned as lenis, with the feature of voice being unstable. Voicing was minimal or entirely absent in the Highland, Lusatian, and Glätzig dialects (von Unwerth 1908:42-43), whereas in the diphthongized dialect, the voice feature was salient in an initial and medial intervocalic position (*ibid.* 43).

The Wymysorys system of plosives not only contrasts with the other contemporary West Germanic languages and varieties of German – it also distinguishes itself from the plosive system posited for Middle High German, from which East Central German, including Silesian dialects and Wymysorys, derives. As elsewhere in the Germanic family, in Middle High German, the opposition between /p/, /t/, /k/ and /b/, /d/, /g/ is generally viewed in terms of tenseness or spread glottis (Goblirsch 1997; 2018; Jessen 1998; Iverson & Salmons 2003:44; 2008) – that is, fortis versus lenis (Simmler 1985:1134; Weddige 2007:18; Hennings 2012:8-10; Paul 2013:131, 141; Moosmüller & Brandstätter 2015; Jones & Jones 2019:32). However, the determination of the precise phonetic nature of this opposition is more elusive. Probably, the contrast translated onto a set of phenomena, such as force, quantity, voicing, and aspiration, with all of them characterized by distinct degrees of relevance (Simmler 1985:1133-1135; Jones & Jones 2019:31-32). The most relevant of all those phenomena were articulatory force (Wright 1917:22-23; Weddige 2007:18) and quantitative augmentation (Goblirsch 1997; 2018; Jessen 1998:334; see also Simmler 1985:1135) – both related to intensity. Often, voicing is considered the third crucial property correlated with tenseness (de Boer & Wisniewski 1973:18; Simmler 1985:1133; Weddige 2007:19; Seiler 2009; Hennings 2012:8-10).

Given the above facts – i.e. the similarity of Polish and dissimilarity with other more or less closely related Germanic languages – the replacement of the fortis-lenis system of plosives (and affricates) with a voiceless-voiced system and the elimination of aspirated plosives in prominent positions is likely a contact phenomenon that developed under the influence of Polish. However, given the tendency found in Silesian German, where only /k/ was persistently aspirated, Wymysorys may also have continued a development that was already in place in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in local German dialects. Polish likely intensified this process, contributing to the total loss of aspiration of /k/ and – perhaps as its result – the replacement of the lenis-fortis system (which still operated in Silesian) with the voiceless-voiced system. To further complicate the causality of the processes analyzed in this section, the weakening of the spread-glottis feature and aspiration in Silesian German could itself be related to contact with

Polish – similar to what occurred in Westphalian German, Low Rhine German, and Dutch where similar processes are attributed to language contact. In conclusion, although Polish influence constituted the primary motivation for the loss of aspiration and the establishment of a voice-based system in Wymysorys, it also operated in conjunction with similar language-internal and/or family-internal processes.

#### 4.3.2 Palatalization

Palatalization is another phonetic rule currently operating in Wymysorys, the presence and range of which may be attributed to contact with Polish. More evidently than was the case with the restructuring of the plosives system, Polish has only enhanced and fortified relatively timid initial palatalizing tendencies that had already been at play in the Wymysorys language and its Silesian relatives.

Polish is one of “the most highly palatalized” languages in the entire Slavonic branch (Sussex & Cubberley 2006:165). Given the considerable number and range of palatalizing processes that have operated across the history of Polish, this language attests to “a more advanced state of [...] palatalization than any of the other” members of this Slavonic family (*ibid.*). Indeed, the contrast between palatal(ized) consonants and non-palatal(ized) consonants – generally referred to as “soft” and “hard” (Urbańczyk et al. 1991:244; Bąk 1997; Strutyński 1998:43-44; Sussex & Cubberley 2006:165) – underpins not only the sound system of Polish, phonetic and phonological, but also the language’s morphology. Crucially, for all consonants, there is a corresponding palatal(ized) consonant, either at a phonemic or a phonetic level (Strutyński 1998:54, 72-73, 77-78; Sadowska 2012; Sussex & Cubberley 2006:165-166).<sup>126</sup> This hard-soft contrast is illustrated by the following pairs of consonants: [p] – [pʲ]; [b] – [bʲ]; [t] – [tʲ]; [d] – [dʲ]; [k] – [kʲ] (= [c]); [g] – [gʲ] (= [j]); [m] – [mʲ]; [n] – [nʲ] (= [ɲ]); [ŋ] – [ŋʲ]; [f] – [fʲ]; [v] – [vʲ]; [l] – [lʲ] (= [ʎ]); [x] – [xʲ] (= [ç]); [r] – [rʲ] (also the glide [w] – [wʲ]); [s] – [sʲ]; [z] – [zʲ]; [ʃ] – [ʃʲ] and [ɕ]; [ʒ] – [ʒʲ] and [ʒ]; [tʂ] – [tʂʲ] and [tʂɛ]; and [dʒ] – [dʒʲ] and [dʒɛ] (Rothstein 1993:687-690; Strutyński 1998:38, 42-44, 54; Sussex & Cubberley 2006:165-166; Gussmann 2007:4-7).<sup>127</sup>

As in Polish, a palatalization-based opposition between hard and soft consonants constitutes a pervasive and essential component of the Wymysorys sound system, with every non-palatal hard sound possessing a palatal(ized) soft equivalent (Andrason & Król 2016a). This situation was also attested at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century by Kleczkowski (1920:15) and Mojmir (1930-

<sup>126</sup> The phonemic status of palatal(ized) consonants is related to the status of the vowels *i* and *y* (Strutyński 1998:77-78; Sussex & Cubberley 2006:167).

<sup>127</sup> In this list, palatalized consonants are marked by the standard IPA symbol [ʲ]. In traditional studies on Slavonic languages and Polish, palatalized consonants are indicated by an apostrophe, and palatal consonants by a specific symbol, e.g. *ń, ś, ź, ć, dź* (Urbańczyk et al. 1991; Rothstein 1993; Dukiewicz 1995; Bąk 1997; Strutyński 1998; Sussex & Cubberley 2006). The list of contrastive pairs provided above is recognized most commonly. For a list with a larger set of hard-soft consonants, see Strutyński (1998). Some of these pairs are controversial. The precise oppositions and contrastive pairs in the subset of sibilant fricatives and affricates are the most disputed. Regarding phonological and morpho-phonemic aspects of palatalization in Polish, consult Gussmann (2007:32-179).

1936:xv).<sup>128</sup> To be exact, apart from the alveolo-palatal (or palatalized postalveolar) sounds discussed in sections 4.1.1-3 (i.e. the fricatives [ɕ] and [ʒ], the affricates [tɕ] and [dʒ], and the nasal [ɲ]), Wymysorys exhibits the following palatal(ized) consonants, each contrastive with a hard equivalent: [pʲ] – [p], [bʲ] – [b], [tʲ] – [t], [dʲ] – [d], [kʲ]/[c] – [k], [gʲ]/[j] – [g], [mʲ] – [m], [nʲ] – [n], [fʲ] – [f], [vʲ] – [v], [ʃʲ]/[ʧ] – [ʃ], [xʲ]/[ç] – [x], [rʲ] – [r], and [wʲ] – [w]. Crucially, the contrast between hard (non-palatal) and soft (palatal(ized)) variants is found not only in the vocabulary borrowed from Polish but also in the inherited Germanic lexicon. This may be illustrated by the following examples in which pairs of words containing borrowed and etymological palatals are provided: [pʲ] (*opjekün* ‘guardian’ (P. *opiekun*) and *byspjyca* ‘spit’); [bʲ] (*głembja* ‘dove’ (P. *gołobie*) and *wajnbjer* ‘grapes’); [tʲ] (*tiöerba* ‘bag’ (P. *torba*) and *tif* ‘deep’); [dʲ] (*studja* ‘studies’ (P. *studia*) and *mordjoniś* ‘very strong’); [kʲ]/[c] (*śyśki* ‘(pine)cone’ (P. *szyszka*) and *ffycikjer* ‘fortieth’); [gʲ]/[j] (*zägjer* ‘watch’ (P. *zegar*) and *gjeld* ‘money’); [mʲ] (*rümjanek* ‘chamomile’ (P. *rumianek*) and *mjeca* ‘March’); [nʲ] (*wengjerki* ‘a damson-like type of plum’ (P. *węgierki*) and *brennja* ‘bring’); [fʲ] (*ffjolki* ‘violets’ (P. *fiolatek*) and *ffyr* ‘for’); [vʲ] (*ćwjerć* ‘measure, quarter’ (P. *ćwierć*) and *wje* ‘would’); [ʃʲ]/[ʧ] (*kālina* ‘viburnum’ (P. *kalina*) and *klin* ‘little, small’); [xʲ]/[ç] (*katehiz(m)* ‘catechism’ (P. *katechizm*) and *cybrähja* ‘break up’); [rʲ] (*ćüprin* ‘head of hair’ (P. *czupryna*) and *rihja* ‘smell’); and the glide [wʲ] (*zowilik* ‘convoluted’ (P. *zawily*) and *ljyn* ‘learn’). Certainly, the effect of softness varies among all those consonants, being the most salient for the alveolo-palatal sounds – the fricatives ([ɕ], [ʒ]), affricates ([tɕ], [dʒ]), and nasal ([ɲ]) – as well as for the palatal plosives ([kʲ]/[c] and [gʲ]/[j]), and the palatal fricative ([xʲ]/[ç]). The extensive palatal series listed above nearly exactly matches the series of hard and soft consonants found in Polish that were presented in the previous paragraph.

This match between Wymysorys and Polish concerns not only the palatal(ized) sounds themselves but also the palatalizing process as a result of which such sounds have emerged. To be exact, two types of palatalizing processes attested in Wymysorys coincide with palatalizing processes typical of Polish that are inversely absent in other colonial East Central German varieties: a regressive palatalization and a process analogous to the so-called “fourth palatalization” (Żak 2016:136). First, there are several examples in which palatal(ized) pronunciation is motivated by the vowel that follows the relevant consonant, exactly as in Polish (contrary to the progressive palatalization typical of Silesian German – see next paragraph), e.g. [pʲ] in *pijok* ‘drunkard’ versus [p] in *pyż* ‘couch grass’ or [ɲ] in *páni* ‘female teacher’ versus [n] in *Pon (Jezüs)* ‘Lord (Jesus)’. As may be expected, loanwords from Polish constitute the vast majority of cases exemplifying a regressive palatalization. Second, in a number of Wymysorys lexemes – especially those borrowed from Polish at a more remote time – [k] and [g] evolved into [kʲ]/[c] and [gʲ]/[j], respectively, due to the presence of subsequent front vowels other than *i*, e.g. *cökier* ‘sugar’ from the older non-palatal(ized) form *cök(k)er* attested by Mojmir (1930-1936:78; compare with *Zucker* in German). This process seems to be fully analogous to the so-called “fourth palatalization” (Żak 2016:136) which took place in Polish and during which *gy/ge* developed into *g’i / g’e* [j], and *ky/ke* developed into *k’i / k’e* [c] (Dejna 1973:124-129; Urbańczyk et al. 1991:244; Długosz-Kurczabowa & Dubisz 2006).

<sup>128</sup> In contrast, palatalization and palatalized consonants are not mentioned by Lasatowicz (1992).

Furthermore, similar to Polish, palatalization entertains an important role in Wymysorys morphology. Several palatal(ized) consonants – specifically, [ɛ], [z], [tɕ], [d͡z], [ɲ], [kʲ]/[ç], [gʲ]/[j], and [xʲ]/[ç] – occur in word-final position in Wymysorys, e.g. *pah* [-ç] ‘bad luck’ and *prydik* ‘sermon’ [-c]. In the modern orthography, the forms ending in [kʲ]/[ç], [gʲ]/[j] and [xʲ]/[ç] are not marked by any grapheme that would overtly indicate their palatal(ized) pronunciation. This stems from the fact that currently, a non-palatal pronunciation (or only weak palatal pronunciation) is also possible. These forms were, however, marked consistently by Kleczkowski (1920) and Mojmir (1930-1936) by the palatal(ized) graphemes *k*’, *g*’, and *x*’, as illustrated by *ryk*’*k*’ ‘back’, *kynk*’ ‘king’, *zāg*’ ‘saw’, and *tājx* ‘pond’ (Kleczkowski 1920:128, 130-131; see also *krikk*’ ‘war’ found in Biesik’s poem; Wicherkiewicz 2003:400, 406). Such word-final palatal(ized) consonants trigger the use of the allomorphic ending *-ja* instead of the regular ending *-a* in various inflectional forms of nouns and adjectives. To be exact, for nouns ending in a palatal(ized) consonant,<sup>129</sup> the plural dative is *-ja* instead of the usual *-a*. This occurs in masculine (e.g. *rykja* ‘backs’, *tājhja* ‘ponds’, *kyngja* ‘kings’), neuter (e.g. *štykja* ‘piece’), and feminine nouns (e.g. *bjykja* ‘birches’, *kyhja* ‘kitchens’, *zāgja* ‘saw’) (Andrason 2014c; 2016; Andrason & Król 2016a).<sup>130</sup> A similar phenomenon pertains to adjectives. Those adjectives of which the singular forms exhibit optional palatalization use the ending *-ja* instead of *-a*, which is regular for the other adjectival lexemes, e.g. *hālik* ‘holy’ – *hālikja*; *hungerik* ‘hungry’ – *hungerikja*; *klinüćik* ‘tiny, minute’ – *klinüćikja*.

Overall, a large number of palatal consonants, their extensive use in the native and borrowed lexicon, as well as their visibility in Wymysorys morphology, give the language a soft resonance and timbre, which is fully comparable to Polish but noticeably distinct from German and its dialects (cf. Kleczkowski 1920; see also Latosiński 1909:271-272).<sup>131</sup>

In contrast to Polish and Wymysorys, palatal oppositions and palatalizing processes are not essential components of the Germanic sound system, even though certain types of palatalization have operated in the Germanic family, and palatal(ized) sounds feature relatively prominently in Dutch, Frisian, and Afrikaans (Donaldson 1994:482; Hoekstra & Tiersma 1994:529; van der Hoek 2010), as well as in Icelandic and Faroese (Barnes & Weyh 1994:193-195; Harbert 2007:48-49). The role of palatalization in the phonetics and phonology of German and its dialects is certainly less fundamental than is the case for Slavonic languages and Polish (see Harbert 2007:48-49). Indeed, Modern Standard German fails to exploit palatalization and palatal(ized) consonants to an extent that would be comparable to that attested in Polish (and in Wymysorys). The most evident case of palatalization found in Modern Standard German is the softening of [x] to [ç] (Russ 1994:117, 122; Fox 2005:38, 48; Fagan 2009:26-27). The only other true palatal sounds are [j], [j̥] and [ç] (Russ 1994:121-122; Fox 2005:26; Johnson & Braber 2008:92, 95, 104; van der Hoek 2010). Silesian German dialects exhibited a slightly

<sup>129</sup> This ending *-ja*, and the palatal(ized) consonant, appear even in cases where the singular is no longer palatal(ized).

<sup>130</sup> The corresponding forms found in Kleczkowski’s grammar are: *ryk*’*k*’*ja* ‘backs’, *tājx*’*ja* ‘pond’, *kyng*’*ja* ‘kings’; *štyk*’*k*’*ja* ‘piece’; and *bjyk*’*k*’*ja* ‘birches’, *kyx*’*x*’*ja* ‘kitchens’, *zāg*’*ja* ‘saw’ (Kleczkowski 1920:128, 130-131).

<sup>131</sup> The perception of Wymysorys as a “soft” language – and, in that regard, equal to Polish – is a usual reaction when a non-Wymysorys speaker who is familiar with German and Polish is exposed to the Wymysorys language.

more palatalization-oriented character than the contemporary Standard German, with the following palatal(ized) consonants distinguished at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: *t'* [tʲ], *d'* [dʲ], *k'* [kʲ]/[c], *g'* [gʲ]/[j], *l'* [lʲ]/[ʎ], *ń* [ɲ], *ńj* [ɲʲ], and *ćh* [ç] (von Unwerth 1908:38-40, 53-54, 60, 71).<sup>132</sup> Apparently, the strongest palatal properties characterized diphthongized dialects. For instance, the dialect of Szywnań exhibited the full palatal(ized) series typical of Silesian German, with the prominent soft pronunciation of *k'* [kʲ]/[c] and *g'* [gʲ]/[j] (Gusinde 1911:2-3, 78-79, 83-86, 89, 98; Kleczkowski 1920:162). Significantly, in Szywnań, palatal consonants were able to occur in word-final position, as illustrated by *t'* [tʲ] in *k'eńt'* 'children' (Gusinde 1911:98). Certain Yiddish varieties have also acquired palatal(ized) consonants, although most likely due to Slavic influence (Jacobs, Prince & van der Auwera 1994:394; Harbert 2007:26; Weinreich 2008:533). In stark contrast to Wymysorys, the presence of palatal(ized) consonants in Yiddish is virtually limited to Slavonic loanwords (Harbert 2007:26).<sup>133</sup> Lastly, in Middle High German, from which Wymysorys descends, palatalization only operated residually. The most evident palatalizing process affected the consonant *s* that was softened to [ʃ] before the consonants *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *t*, and *w* (Paul 2007; Fagan 2009:196, 209; Hennings 2012:41; Jones & Jones 2019). Additionally, *g* was palatalized to [j] (Paul 2007:37).<sup>134</sup>

Given the peripheral status of palatalization in German and Germanic languages, including Middle High German, and its inverse central position in Polish and Slavonic languages; given that Yiddish – the easternmost German variety – has acquired a wide array of palatal(ized) consonants under the influence of Slavonic (Jacobs, Prince & van der Auwera 1994:394; Harbert 2007:26); and given that similarity between the Polish and the Wymysorys palatal systems is not only synchronic (where the two languages coincide fully) but also diachronic (where certain palatalizing processes are parallel), it is highly plausible that the extensive use of palatal(ized) consonants in Wymysorys, the central position of palatalization in its phonetic and phonological system, and (at least certain) diachronic palatalizing tendencies are all to be attributed to contact with Polish (for a similar conclusion, consult Kleczkowski 1920:15; Żak 2013:136).

However, although Wymysorys and Polish currently exhibit similar sets of palatal(ized) consonants and the regressive palatalization operates both in Wymysorys and Polish, the two systems are not identical. The most relevant difference pertains to two other manners in which palatal(ized) consonants have arisen in the Germanic vocabulary of Wymysorys. In the inherited lexicon, the palatal(ized) realization of a consonant was (and still is) often conditioned by the vowel that precedes it (Kleczkowski 1920:125) rather than by the vowel that follows which, as explained above, is typical of Polish. The same principle governed palatalization in

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<sup>132</sup> The representation of symbols used by von Unwerth (1908) and Gusinde (1911) with the symbols of the IPA draws on the descriptions of the respective sounds provided and the typical use of the respective non-IPA symbols in dialectal studies of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>133</sup> The Slavonic-based palatal phonemes in Yiddish are /tʲ/ or /ʎ/ and /ɲ/ as well as /tʲ/ and /dʲ/, although the latter two are “territorially more limited” (Weinreich 2008:533). In general, “the ability to form a palatal consonant” in Yiddish is associated with Slavonic influence (*ibid.*). Contrary to Yiddish, the influence of Polish on Wymysorys greatly exceeds the use of palatal(ized) sounds in loanwords. It also concerns the transfer of the palatal phonemes and palatalizing processes

<sup>134</sup> Palatalization is also attested in Aljzneriś with its presence being attributed to Polish influence (Dolatowski 2017:109).

all Silesian German dialects, thus revealing a firm family-internal tendency (von Unwerth 1908:71). In a further contrast to Polish, in Silesian German – including the variety of Szywna – palatalization operated spontaneously before a dental consonant, either plosive, nasal, or lateral (von Unwerth 1908:38-39, 68-69; Gusinde 1911:98). Therefore, Polish might have fortified limited palatalizing tendencies that were already at play in the Wymysorys language and its Silesian relatives, through the wide-scale incorporation of lexemes containing palatal(ized) consonants and the introduction of new phonological rules. As a result, the visibility of palatal(ized) consonants has been intensified, their status in the phonetic and phonological system has been enhanced, and new palatalization rules have been added to those already in existence.

### 4.3.3 Consonantal length

The last phonological rule governing the system of consonants, the presence of which may at least partially be attributed to contact with Polish, is length. In this case, Polish has likely sheltered a feature that was fully operational at an earlier development stage, thereby preventing its loss.

Consonantal length is a fully-fledged component of the phonetic repertoire of Wymysorys, although different studies ascribe distinct systemic relevance to it. According to Kleczkowski (1920:15) and Mojmir (1930-1936:xv), although attested, long consonants are not particularly common. In contrast, Wicherkiewicz (2003:405-407) identifies a number of long consonants in Biesik’s poems (namely, [m:], [f:], [p:], [k:], [t:], [ts:], and [t:].) and notes that they are still pronounced at least “slightly longer” than their short counterparts by modern speakers (ibid. 407). I myself have detected a relatively large set of long consonants in my own fieldwork, namely: nasals [n:], [ŋ:], [m]; fricatives: [s:], [z:], [f:]; stops: [p:], [t:], [k:]; and affricates [ts:] and [dʒ/dʒ:]; as well as [r:]. Many such examples are loanwords from Polish, e.g. *Anna* ‘Anne’ (P. *Anna*), *menćeńnik* ‘martyr’ (P. *męczennik*), and *śyńnik* ‘straw mattress’ (P. *siennik*). Although long consonants also allow for a shortened pronunciation as singletons (e.g. *menćeńnik*; *pace* Kleczkowski 1920), consonantal length seems to be a relatively evident feature of the Wymysorys sound system.

Length was also a pervasive feature of Germanic languages (Harbert 2007:74-79). Geminate consonants arose in old and medieval Germanic languages, both in the northern and western branches, where they acquired a systemic relevance (ibid. 74-75). Subsequently, various languages underwent changes and long consonants have often been simplified (Lass 1992; Harbert 2007:75-78). This degemination is visible in the development from Middle High German to Modern Standard German and many other West Germanic languages (ibid. 76-78; Schmid 2017).<sup>135</sup> Indeed, long or geminated consonants were a typical component of Middle High German (Wright 1917:25, 27-28, 30-31; Simmler 1985:1134-1135; Goblirsch 1997; 2018; Jessen 1998:334; Paul 2007:141; Jones & Jones 2019:31), where the length

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<sup>135</sup> In modern languages, only North Germanic exhibits genuine long consonants (Harbert 2007:78-79).

played a phonemic function to an extent (Fourquet 1963:85-88; Moosmüller & Brandstätter 2015; Jones & Jones 2019:31). The following long consonantal sounds are usually identified for Middle High German: *pp* [p:], *bb* [b:], *tt* [t:]; *gg* [g:], *ff* [f:], *ss* [s:], *mm* [m:], *nn* [n:], *ll* [l:], and *rr* [r:] (Wright 1917:25; Paul 2007:141; Jones & Jones 2019:31-33). The set of long consonants is often extended by [ʃ:], [x:], and [k:] (Simmler 1985:1135; Paul 2007:142, 171; for a discussion, consult Goblirsch 1997; 2018 and Paul 2007:141-175; see also de Boor & Wisniewski 1973:29-30). In contrast, Modern Standard German has no geminate or long consonants “at the phonetic level” (Caratini 2007:70; Goblirsch 2018). The only consonantal sounds present in the language are thus singletons (Caratini 2007:70; Fagan 2009) and spelling them with double consonants generally indicates that a preceding vowel is short (Russ 1994:118, 140).

In contrast to younger West Germanic languages, Polish contains a number of geminated or long consonants, e.g. [d͡z], [d͡ʒ:], [f:], [k:], [m], [n:], [ŋ:], [p:], [r:], [s:], [t:], [t͡s:], and [z:]. Such sounds occur in an intervocalic and word-initial position (Gussmann 2007:241; Wągile 2016:82). Since a number of minimal pairs may be identified, geminated consonants play a phonemic role, at least peripherally (Wągile 2016:82).

Given that consonantal length is a systemic feature of Middle High German and Polish, on the one hand, while it is absent in contemporary varieties of German (including Modern Standard German), on the other hand, I conclude as follows: the presence of consonantal length in Wymysorys is most likely an inherited feature from Middle High German that, contrary to the tendency operating in German and related languages, was preserved due to analogy with Polish.

#### 4.3.4 Nasalization

The influence of Polish on the phonological rules of Wymysorys also pertains to vowels. Contrary to several rules permeating the consonantal module, only one such rule can be identified in the vocalic module, namely nasalization.

Nasality is a prominent feature of the Polish sound system. Polish has two nasal phonemes, *a* /ǫ/ (or /ō/) and *e* /ę/ (or /ě/) (Urbańczyk et al. 1991:297-298; Rothstein 1993:659; Bąk 1997; Bloch-Rozmej 1997; Strutyński 1998:72, 74; Gussmann 2007; Wągiel 2016:88, 100). In addition to these two phonemes, which are usually realized as [ǫ̃] and [ɛ̃], Polish contains a large number of nasal vowels at the phonetic level, e.g. [ĩ], [ã], [ũ], and [ɔ̃] (alternatively noted as [ĩ̃]; see Bloch-Rozmej 1997:95; Strutyński 1998:58-59, 61, 72). Overall, for every oral vowel, there is a nasal equivalent used in certain environments (Urbańczyk et al. 1991:298).<sup>136</sup> As a result, nasality is viewed as a key phonetic and phonological feature in Polish, also playing a significant role in the morphological system of the language (Bąk 1997; Strutyński 1998:77; Gussmann 2007:269-287; Wągiel 2016). In a Standard Polish speech, the realization of nasality is usually asynchronous (Urbańczyk et al. 1991 297-298; Bąk 1997). This asynchronous

<sup>136</sup> Such environments are: /n/ + /fricative/ and /m/ + /f, v/ (Urbańczyk et al. 1991:298).

realization gives rise to the emergence of further nasal sounds, i.e. nasal non-syllabic vocoids [ũ] and [ĩ] (which together with the oral vowel may be viewed as partial nasal diphthongs (e.g. [ɔũ], [ɛũ], [eĩ], and [iĩ])) and, more or less prominent, nasal approximants (e.g. [w̃] and [j̃]) (Rothstein 1993:660; Jassem 2003:104; Gussmann 2007:270-271). In some studies, these nasalized non-syllabic vocoids and nasal approximants (i.e. [ũ]/[w̃] and [ĩ]/[j̃]) are treated as separate phonemes (Jassem 2003:104). However, in colloquial speech, vocalic nasality is even weaker. That is, nasal vowels usually resolve as oral vowels and nasal consonants. This occurs especially before stops and affricates, e.g. *dąb* ‘oak’ [dɔmb]. Before *l* [l] and *ł* [w], the nasal feature is lost entirely, being replaced by a labial [w], e.g. *wziął* ‘he took’ [vzɔw] (Rubach 1977; Rowicka & van de Weijer 1992; Rothstein 1993:659; Bąk 1997; Bloch-Rozmej 1997:84-86; Sussex & Cubberley 2006:158-159, 162; Gussmann 2007:271). Nevertheless, contrary to this de-nasalizing tendency, nasality can be preserved. It is often maintained before fricatives and word-finally (Sussex & Cubberley 2006:158-159; Gussmann 2007:270), where the oral vowel is often accompanied by a nasal vocoid/approximant, e.g. *wąs* [wɔũs]/[wɔw̃s]/[wɔw̃s] and *są* [sɔũ]/[sɔw̃]/[sɔw̃] (for details, consult Rubach 1977; Rowicka & van de Weijer 1992; Rothstein 1993:659; Bloch-Rozmej 1997; Jassem 2003).<sup>137</sup>

The above-mentioned realization of nasal vowels is also typical of the Polish varieties currently spoken by Wilamowians. First, the inhabitants of Wilamowice use Standard Polish more often than any other dialect and thus comply with the above-mentioned principles governing the pronunciation of nasals (Wicherkiewicz & Zieniukowa 2001; own data; see also Zieniukowa 1998). Second, even in local dialects – whether those of Western Lesser Poland or eastern Silesia – the treatment of nasals is highly similar to that exhibited in Standard Polish, with nasality generally being preserved as a nasal vowel, a nasal approximant (or a partially nasalized diphthong), or as a nasal consonant (cf. Dejna 1973:325-327).<sup>138</sup> Overall, in Wilamowice, nasal vowels are produced relatively clearly only before fricatives and word-finally, otherwise the pronunciation with nasal vowels is perceived as pedantic and artificial.

Contrary to Polish, nasal vowels do not constitute a prominent feature in the phonetics and phonology of continental Germanic languages (note, for instance, that nasal vowels are not discussed in general works on the Germanic family, e.g. Harbert 2007 and König & van der Auwera 1994).<sup>139</sup> They are also peripheral in older and younger West Germanic languages, including German and its varieties. For instance, nasal vowels were absent in Middle High German (cf. Wright 1917; de Boor & Wisniewski 1973; Paul 2007; Jones & Jones 2019). In younger German dialects, they are generally restricted to loanwords, often allowing for an alternative oral pronunciation (Russ 1994:78, 108; Caratini 2009:51, 73-74; Fagan 2009:9). To

<sup>137</sup> However, the nasal approximant may also be replaced by a nasal consonant (e.g. *wąs* ‘moustache’ can be pronounced as [wɔns] and *są* ‘they are’ as [sɔm]) or the nasal feature may be lost, with the corresponding vowel then being pronounced orally (Rothstein 1993:659; Sussex & Cubberley 2006:162; Gussmann 2007:271). Regarding the phonetics, phonology, and morpho-phonemics of nasal vowels, consult Dukiewicz (1967), Zagórska Brooks (1968), Rubach (1977), Bethin (1988), and Gussmann (2007:269-287).

<sup>138</sup> See, for instance, the dialect of Piszczowice (Kosiński 1891:7-8). This contrasts with the situation found in other parts of Lesser Poland, where the nasal feature is lost (Urbańczyk 1968; Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995:80-81; Karaś 2010a; 2010b).

<sup>139</sup> The exception is a chapter dedicated to Old Icelandic (Þráinsson 1994:147).

be exact, the status of nasality in Modern Standard German is weak: “German vowels are oral [and no] nasal vowel belongs to the core vocalic system” (Caratini 2009:71). Nasalized vowels – [ɛ̃(:)], [ɔ̃(:)], [ã(:)], [œ̃(:)] – are only found in loanwords from French (Russ 1994:108; Fox 2005:53; Caratini 2009:51, 73-74; Fagan 2009:9-10) and, even there, a pronunciation with an oral vowel and a nasal consonant is fully grammatical (Russ 1994:78; Fox 2005:53; Fagan 2009:9). Being “unstable” and restricted to a small number of words of foreign origin, the role of nasal vowels in the vowel system of Modern Standard German is marginal (Fox 2005:53; Johnson & Braber 2008:90; Fagan 2009:10). German dialects in which nasality is more prominent include: Swabian (an Upper German, Alemannic dialect), Pfaelzisch (*Pfälzisch*) or Palatine German (van Ness 1994:423; Stevenson 1997:71; Niebaum & Macha 1999:197), and the dialect of Luzern (Bacher 1905:179). Secondary nasal vowels are also found in Frisian (Hoekstra & Tiersma 1994:508) and Yiddish (Herzog et al. 1992:19-20, 41; Jacobs 2005:97-99; Weinreich 2008:583-585, A.606<sup>140</sup>). In Yiddish, nasal vowels emerged from oral vowels uttered before nasal consonants (Herzog et al. 1992:19; Jacobs 2005:97; Weinreich 2008:583-585, A.606). The presence of such nasal vowels, however, is often attributed to Slavonic influence (Weinreich 2008:583-585). Nasality is present more consistently in peripheral languages, such as Surinam Dutch (de Schutter 1994:444), Afrikaans (Donaldson 1994:481), and – albeit rather as an archaism used by older speakers – Pennsylvania German (van Ness 1994:423).

As explained in section 4.2.2, the vocalic system of Wymysorys is characterized by the presence of nasal vowels (i.e. [Ṽ]), vocoids (i.e. [Ṽ̃]), and approximants (i.e. [Ṽ̃̃]). The most common genuine nasal vowels are [ɔ̃] and [ɛ̃]. In contrast, [ĩ], [ã], [ũ], and [ɔ̃̃] are rare. For instance, *wentka* ‘fishing rod’ from P. *wędka*, as well as *Wniebowstompjynie* ‘Ascension Day’ and *Wniebowżyńce* ‘Assumption Day’ that reflect the dialectal pronunciations of P. *Wniebowstąpienie* and *Wniebowzięcie*, can be realized with the nasal vowels [ɛ̃], [ɔ̃], and [ɔ̃̃], in agreement with their careful (and pedantic) pronunciation in Standard Polish – that is, as [vɛ̃tka], [vɲɛbɔvstɔ̃pʲɛɲɛ], and [vɲɛbɔvzɔ̃ʃʲɛɲɛ]. Although fully-fledged nasal vowels are grammatical, it much more frequently happens that nasality is not the property of a vowel but rather of a non-syllabic vocoid or an approximant. In such cases, the de-nasalized syllabic vowel is accompanied by one of the two nasal vocoids (i.e. [ũ] or [ĩ]) – the whole sequence being analyzable as a partially nasalized diphthong, i.e. [ṼṼ̃] – or by a more or less prominent nasal approximant (i.e. [w̃]/[w̃̃] or [j̃]/[j̃̃]). This can be illustrated by the following realizations of the above-mentioned loanwords *wentka* ‘fishing rod’, *Wniebowstompjynie* ‘Ascension Day’, and *Wniebowżyńce* ‘Assumption Day’: [vɛ̃tka], [vɲɛbɔvstɔ̃pʲɛɲɛ], and [vɲɛbɔvzɔ̃ʃʲɛɲɛ]; [vɛ̃̃tka], [vɲɛbɔvstɔ̃̃pʲɛɲɛ], and [vɲɛbɔvzɔ̃̃ʃʲɛɲɛ]; and, if the approximant is less prominent, [vɛ̃̃̃tka], [vɲɛbɔvstɔ̃̃̃pʲɛɲɛ], and [vɲɛbɔvzɔ̃̃̃ʃʲɛɲɛ]. These types of realizations generally concord with a more careful, colloquial pronunciation of Standard Polish. Overall, the nasality may vary, ranging from stronger to weaker, along the following continuum: [Ṽ] > [ṼṼ̃] > [ṼṼ̃̃] > [Ṽ̃̃̃], e.g. [ɔ̃] > [ɔ̃ũ] > [ɔ̃w̃] > [ɔ̃w̃̃̃] or [ɛ̃] > [ɛ̃ĩ] > [ɛ̃j̃] > [ɛ̃j̃̃̃] (compare with Kleczkowski 1920:12; Moimir 1930-1936:xiii). While, as mentioned above, genuine nasal vowels are rare in

<sup>140</sup> The abbreviation “A” refers to the Addendum in Weinreich’s (2008) book.

Wymysorys, the use of nasal vocoids and approximants – whether pronounced more prominently or less prominently – is relatively common.

Despite the presence of nasal vowels, vocoids, and approximants in Wymysorys, as described in the previous paragraph, the nasal feature found in Polish donor lexemes is preserved in most cases as a nasal consonant rather than nasal vocalic or semi-vocalic elements. That is, loanwords that draw on lexemes that, in Polish, exhibit (at least optional) nasal vowels, are resolved as sequences composed of a respective vowel and a nasal consonant, e.g. [n], [m], [ŋ], or [ɲ] (cf. Kleczkowski 1920:172). Thus, *q* /*ǫ̃*/ resolves as [ɔn] (*pożondek* ‘order’ from P. *porządek*), [ɔŋ] (*blonkân* ‘wander’ from P. *bląkać*), and [ɔm] (*Wniebowstompjyńe* ‘Ascension Day’ from P. *Wniebowstąpienie*). In a similar vein, *ę* /*ɛ̃*/ is often resolved as [ɛn] (*wentka* ‘fishing rod’ from P. *wędką*), [ɛŋk] (*menka* ‘suffering’ from P. *męka*), [ɛŋ] (*meńcan* ‘tire’ from P. *męczyć*), and [ɛm] (*gnembjan* ‘trouble, worry’ from P. *gnębić*) (see Kleczkowski 1920:172). This means that in the majority of instances, vocalic nasality – whether a genuine nasal vowel, a partially nasalized diphthong composed of an oral vowel and a nasal vocoid, or an oral vowel accompanied by a nasal approximant – is not transferred from Polish to Wymysorys. This is consistent with the treatment of nasals in Polish loanwords in the dialect of Szywnałd where Polish /*ǫ̃*/ and /*ɛ̃*/ are resolved as oral vowels and nasal consonants (Gusinde 1911:147).

Even more significantly, nasal vowels, nasal vocoids or partial nasal diphthongs, and nasal approximants are all absent in the Germanic lexicon of Wymysorys. This fact concords with the generalized absence of such sounds in native lexica in Middle High German, Modern Standard German, and East Central German dialects.

To conclude, even though nasality may currently feature in the Wymysorys language due to contact with Polish, this feature plays a peripheral role in its sound system, being limited to Polish loanwords.

#### 4.3.5 Complex consonant clusters

The last sound-related feature typical of Wymysorys that can be attributed to Polish influence concerns phonotactics and, in particular, the presence of complex consonant clusters.

Polish exhibits rich phonotactics, tolerating complex consonant clusters in onset and coda positions (Gussmann 2007; Zydorowicz 2010:567; Dziubalska-Kołodziej & Zydorowicz 2014; Zydorowicz & Orzechowska 2017:101) – a property that is characteristic of the Slavonic family in general (Sussex & Cubberley 2006:149-150, 168, 170-175, 194-195, 204). Given that both the length of such clusters and the number of their combinations are “impressive” (Zydorowicz & Orzechowska 2017:101), Polish is considered as “one of the most permissive languages” as far as phonotactics are concerned (Kijak 2008:62). As far as onsets are concerned, such clusters maximally tolerate four elements (Zydorowicz 2010:565; Dziubalska-Kołodziej & Zydorowicz 2014; Zydorowicz & Orzechowska 2017:98). With regard to their combinatority, 231 types of doubles, 165 triples, and 15 quadruples are found (Bargiełówna

1950; Zydorowicz 2010:565-567; see also Dukiewicz 1980; Dobrogowska 1984; 1990; 1992; Zydorowicz & Orzechowska 2017:107-108).<sup>141</sup> The richness of Polish phonotactics is not only quantitative but also concerns the qualitative properties of clusters. That is, Polish allows for onset clusters that exhibit falling sonority profiles (e.g. [rt-]) and clusters with unchanged sonority values (the so-called “plateau clusters”, e.g. [fsx-]) in addition to those of which the sonority is rising (e.g. [tr-]) (Dukiewicz 1980; Zydorowicz & Orzechowska 2017:104). Accordingly, sequences that are “ill-formed” from the perspective of the sonority scale, are more or less widely tolerated in Polish (Zydorowicz & Orzechowska 2017:104).<sup>142</sup> Examples of such “ill-formed” clusters occurring in onset are [rdz-] *rdza* ‘rust’ and [pstr-] *pstrykać* ‘to snap’ (Zydorowicz & Orzechowska 2017:104). Polish also admits cross-linguistically marked sequences with “trapped” sonorants, in which a sonorant is enclosed between two elements of lower sonority, typically two obstruents, e.g. [drg-] *drgać* ‘vibrate’ (Kijak 2008:62, 66).<sup>143</sup>

Similar to Polish, Wymysorys tolerates varied and elaborate consonant onsets (Andrason 2015a:71). Monosegmental onsets may exhibit all consonants except [ŋ].<sup>144</sup> Bi-segmental onsets exhibit a considerable variety, tolerating the following clusters: (a) stop + liquid/nasal/fricative/ approximant; (b) fricative/liquid/nasal/fricative/stop/approximant/affricate; and (c) affricate + liquid/nasal/fricative. Contrary to many West Germanic languages (see below), Wymysorys tolerates bi-segmental onsets such as [tl-] and [dl-]; onsets of which the second segment is a glide [-j/w-]; and onsets with a voiced sibilant as the first element, e.g. [zm-], [ʒm-], [zv-]. Additionally, Wymysorys contains other onsets that are rare in German and its relatives, e.g. [kf-], [tf-], [tx-], [ps-], [pf-], [bʒ-], [gʒ-], [tʃf-], and [ʃtʃ-].<sup>145</sup> A large number of such clusters are found in Polish-sourced vocabulary, e.g. [kf-] *kśyśan* ‘resuscitate’ (P. *wszkreszać*), *kśyżmo* ‘oil used in church’ (P. *krzyżmo*), *kśeścjanjin* ‘Christian’ (P. *chrześcijanin*); [gʒ-] *rozgzyśyńe* ‘absolution’ (P. *rozgrzeszenie*) and *gzyh* ‘sin’ (P. *grzech*); [ps-] *psiniec* ‘dog excrement’ (P. *psiniec*); [pf-] *pśednowek* ‘hungry gap’ (P. *przednówek*); [tʃf-] *ćwikłabürok* ‘beetroot’ (P. *burak ćwikłowy*); [th-] *thiś* ‘coward’ (P. *tchórz*); [tf-] *tfiś* ‘coward’ (P. *tchórz*); and [zv-] *żwawik* ‘lively’ (P. *żwawy*). Some bi-consonantal onsets (e.g. [ʃtʃ-]) are “ill-formed” from the perspective of the sonority scale. All of them appear in Polish loanwords, e.g. *ścybła/ścibła* ‘a type of straw’ (P. *żdźbło*) and *śców* ‘Rumex, sorrel’ (P. *szczaw*). Three consonant onsets are also common in Wymysorys, and a wide range of combinations are possible: stop + fricative + nasal (e.g. [bʒŋ-]); fricative + fricative + stop (e.g. [fsp-], [fst-],

<sup>141</sup> In a final position, up to five consonants are allowed; in a medial position, six consonants may occur. In sandhi phenomena across words, sequences of 11 consonants are grammatical (Dziubalska-Kończak et al. 2012; Zydorowicz & Orzechowska 2017:98-99).

<sup>142</sup> The sonority scale depicts the increase in relative sonority of sounds and their “vowel-likeness” (Foley 1972; Clements 1990). Generally, the sonority increases from obstruents to vowels, via sonorants. A more fine-grained representation of the scale is as follows: voiceless stops > voiced stops > voiceless fricatives > voiced fricatives > nasals > *l* > *r* > glides / high vowels > low vowels (Harbert 2007:65). This scale imposes sonority restrictions whereby, in onsets, consonants placed higher on the sonority scale may not occur before those placed lower on this scale (ibid. 66, 68). This means that the sonority of a syllable may not decrease from the left edge to its nucleus, but rather increases (ibid. 66, 68). Inversely, elements in codas must “decline in sonority toward the right edge of the syllable” (ibid. 73). Typical exceptions are clusters of which the first element is [s] or [ʃ] (ibid. 68).

<sup>143</sup> In neighboring languages, sonorants appearing in such sequences exhibit a syllabic status (Kijak 2008:66).

<sup>144</sup> This means that, contrary to Modern Standard German (see below), [ʃ] and [x] may form monosegmental onsets.

<sup>145</sup> Compare with similar clusters (e.g. /ps/, /th/, /tf/) in Yiddish (Jacobs 2005:115-117).

[vzd-], [vzg-]); fricative + fricative + nasal (e.g. [vzm-]); fricative + stop + fricative (e.g. [fkʃ-], [stf-]); and fricative + stop + liquid (e.g. [skr-], [spr-], [str-], [skn-] and [ʃkl-], [ʃkr-], [ʃpr-], [ʃtr-]). Some such combinations violate the sonority principle. This includes two types of clusters: stop + fricative + nasal (e.g. [bʒŋ-]) and fricative (other than [s, ʃ]) + stop + fricative (e.g. [vkʃ-], [vsp-], [vst-], [vzg-]). All of such “ill-formed” clusters are limited to Polish loanwords, e.g. [bʒŋ-] (*na*)*bżnján* ‘swell’ (P. *nabrzmieć*); [vzm-] *wzmjanka* ‘mention’ (P. *wzmianka*); [vzg-] *wzgarda* ‘contempt’ (P. *wzgarda*); [fsp-] *wspüminán* ‘recall’ (P. *wspominać*); [fst-] *Wńebowstompjyńe* ‘Ascension Day’ (P. *Wniebowstąpienie*); [stf-] *dühowjyństwo* ‘clergy’ (P. *duchowieństwo*), as well as many other words with the morpheme *-stwo*, such as *posłüšeństwo* ‘obedience’ and *blogosławjyństwo* ‘blessing’; [skn-] *sknyra* ‘stingy person’ (P. *sknera*); and [ʃkl-] *šklydzán* ‘harm, disturb’ (P. *szkodzić*). Although not particularly frequent, a few onsets composed of four consonants are attested, e.g. [vskʃ-] and [pstr-]. These clusters only appear in words borrowed from Polish, e.g. [vskʃ-] *wskýsán* ‘resuscitate’ (P. *wskrzesić*) and [pstr-] *pstrong* ‘trout’ (P. *pstrąg*). The above demonstrates that, in addition to the quantitative complexity, Wymysorys attests to a significant qualitative variety of onset clusters and tolerates not only sequences that conform to the sonority scale, but also those that violate it. All such “ill-formed” clusters are almost exclusively found in Polish loanwords.

Although onset clusters in Germanic languages can be complex (Harbert 2007; van Oostendorp 2020:33), their complexity is much lower than in Polish and Wymysorys (cf. Kučera & Monroe 1968 who contrast German with Russian and Czech). In Germanic, only bi- and tri-segmental clusters are allowed in onsets (van Oostendorp 2020:34). Bi-consonantal onsets, the most permissive among all clusters, exhibit various combinatory restrictions (Harbert 2007; van Oostendorp 2020). For instance, onsets with a glide as their second element, onsets composed of sibilants and voiced obstruents, and the clusters [tl] and [dl] tend to be disallowed (ibid. 4-7).<sup>146</sup> Tri-segmental onsets are even more restricted and mainly appear with [s] and [ʃ] as their first elements. With a few exceptions involving [s] and [ʃ], bi- and tri-consonantal onsets must comply with sonority hierarchy (Harbert 2007:68, 73; van Oostendorp 2020:36-40). Therefore, the compliance with sonority hierarchy is much greater than what one observes in Polish and Wymysorys. Overall, Germanic clusters are subject to the following main principles: “the [...] dispreference for obstruent-obstruent onset clusters” and “the dispreference for homorganic onset clusters” (which are a corollary of the “place-based restrictions”, as well as “the prohibition against obstruent sequences whose elements differ in voice” (Harbert 2007:72)).

To be exact, in Modern Standard German, monosegmental onsets tolerate most consonants with the exception of [x], [ŋ], and [ʃ] (Fox 2005:58). For complex onsets, only doubles are relatively common. Two basic types can be discerned: obstruent (plosive, fricative, affricate) + liquid (r/l) and fricative (mostly, ʃ) + C (Fox 2005:58). Specifically, the following combinations are grammatical: stop + liquid/nasal/fricative; fricative + liquid/nasal; and,

<sup>146</sup> In contrast, all of these onset clusters are allowed in Polish and also (to an extent) in Wymysorys.

only for ʃ, fricative + fricative/stop (Veith 1980:133; Eisenberg 1994:356; Russ 1994:120). The only common second segments are thus sonorant (Fagan 2009:35).<sup>147</sup> Triple onsets are scarce and highly restrictive, both qualitatively and quantitatively (Kučera & Monroe 1968:50). Only five permutations are grammatical (i.e. [skl-], [skr-], [ʃpl-], [ʃpr-], [ʃtr-]), and all of them are of the type [s, ʃ] + stop + liquid (Fox 2005:58; Fagan 2009:36; cf. Hall 1992:69). Quadruple onsets are disallowed (Kučera & Monroe 1968:50; Eisenberg 1994:355; Fox 2005:55; see also Wiese 1996). Modern Standard German onsets largely comply with the sonority scale principle (Wiese 1996:260; Fox 2005:60; van Oostendorp 2020:36-38). The only common exceptions involve [ʃ] and [s] which may occur before stops (Fox 2005:60; van Oostendorp 2020:38-40). Similarly, Middle High German maximally tolerated three consonants in onsets. In bi-consonantal onsets, sequences composed of an obstruent and a liquid are allowed with the exception of [tl-] and [dl-]. Monosegmental onsets exhibit very few restrictions, e.g. [x-], [ç-], and [ŋ-] (cf. Harbert 2007:66; van Oostendorp 2020:35; compare with Wymysorys above). Other types of onsets are more restricted, with a number of combinations being disallowed, e.g. onsets of which the second segment is a glide [j/v/w] and onsets composed of sibilants and voiced obstruents (cf. van Oostendorp 2020:36-40). In general, conforming to the behavior exhibited by West Germanic languages, Middle High German complies with the sonority-based constraints (Harbert 2007:68, 73; van Oostendorp 2020) to a much larger extent than is the case in Polish and Wymysorys. In contrast to the poverty of onsets typical in Germanic languages, the inventory of onset clusters is more complex in Yiddish (Jacobs 2005:115; Harbert 2007:72), the most permissive language as far as onset clusters are concerned (van Oostendorp 2020:36, 38-39). For instance, Yiddish tolerates several sequences that violate principles operating in the Germanic family (see the paragraph above), e.g. [pt-], [ps-], [px-], [pk-], [tk-], [tf-], [xk-], [tn-], [tl-], [dn-], [dl-], [kd-], [sd-], and [ʃtʃ-] (Jacobs 2005:115-117; Harbert 2007:72; Weinreich 2008:533). This increased presence of onset clusters in Yiddish is attributed to the influence of Hebrew and Slavonic (Wexler 1991; Weinreich 2008; van Oostendorp 2020).

To conclude, the considerable complexity of consonant clusters in onsets found in Wymysorys is most likely a contact phenomenon developed under the influence of Polish. This stems from three facts. First, the Wymysorys system of onset clusters distinguishes itself from the systems attested in other West Germanic languages, especially in Middle High German – the diachronic predecessor of Wymysorys – and closely related languages (e.g. Modern Standard German and its dialects). Second, the majority of complex consonant clusters appears in loanwords adopted from Polish. Third, all the “ill-formed” sequences attested in Wymysorys that are absent in other West Germanic languages are limited to lexemes borrowed from Polish – in other words, they are not found in the inherited lexicon. Overall, because of a large number of Polish borrowings and their wide-spread use, complex (contact-induced) consonantal combinations currently constitute a regular feature of the Wymysorys sound system. This has occurred despite the general tendency to simplify complex consonant clusters found in original Polish

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<sup>147</sup> Additionally, affricates may combine with a liquid or a fricative (Fagan 2009:35, 58).

lexemes during their adaptation to Wymysorys, in agreement with the phonotactic rules typical of Germanic languages (see chapter 5).<sup>148</sup>

#### 4.3.6 Accent

In Wymysorys, accent tends to fall on the first syllable of native, genuine Germanic roots, e.g. *'brüder* ‘brother’ and *'äduma* ‘sons-in-law’ (see Waniek 1880:20; Kleczkowski 1920:29). This also applies to compound nouns formed of two native roots. In such cases, the initial syllable of the first radical element carries the main stress, while the initial syllable of the second radical element carries the secondary stress, e.g. *'bjygja,mäster* ‘mayor’. The most common exceptions are verbs with separable prefixes in which the prefix, rather than the root, carries the stress. Nevertheless, even in these cases, the accent is often initial, e.g. *'cümaha* ‘close’. In contrast, in words that had originally been borrowed from other languages and fully integrated in Wymysorys (and closely related languages – see below), which thus excludes Polish loans, the principal stress often falls on the last syllable, e.g. *na'tür* ‘nature’. If a non-Germanic root is accompanied by a native suffix, it maintains its “foreign” stress, e.g. *nä'tjyrlik* ‘naturally’. If a Germanic root is accompanied by a non-Germanic suffix, the suffix tends to carry the main accent, e.g. *poüe'ryn* ‘hostess, housewife’ or *śnäjde'rjyn* ‘tailor’. In general, the placement of accent in non-Polish roots and affixes in Wymysorys (whether Germanic or non-Germanic) is fully consistent with the treatment of accent in Modern Standard German and East Central German colonial dialects (Waniek 1880:20; Kleczkowski 1920:29). Indeed, the rules operating in Modern Standard German are virtually identical (see Ross 1994:131-132; Johnson & Braber 2008:134-136; Fagan 2009). The same holds true for stress in Middle High German, with the only difference being that the initial accent was even more pervasive (see Paul 2007:28-30; Hennings 2012:24, 32, 180-184; Jones & Jones 2019:35).

This inherited, typically West Germanic, system of accentuation has been altered due to the transfer of a large number of Polish loanwords in which the original placement of stress on the next-to-last syllable has been maintained. In other words, although various loans have been adjusted to the prosodic rules of Wymysorys (see section 5.1.4 in the next chapter), the majority of borrowings have preserved their original penultimate accent, either as a primary or secondary variant. See, for example, *cudzo'zymjec* ‘foreigner’ (< P. *cudzo'ziemiec*), *bjyżmo'wäne* ‘confirmation’ (< P. *bierzmo'wanie*), *bezroboće* ‘unemployment’ (< P. *bezro'boicie*), *ma'coha* ‘stepmother’ (< P. *ma'cocha*), and *slü'nećnik* ‘sunflower’ (< P. *sło'necznik*). Because of the high number of such loanwords, the root/stem-penultimate stress has become relatively common and fully grammatical in Wymysorys. This phenomenon was observed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries by Waniek (1880:20), Kleczkowski (1920:23), and Mojmir (1930-1936). The 21<sup>st</sup> century evidence demonstrates

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<sup>148</sup> In contrast, Polish has not contributed substantially to consonant clusters in codas. This may be related to the fact that not only are double codas common in native lexicon, but also triples and quadruples if flexional forms of verbs, nouns, and adjectives are considered. Overall, a limited number of new coda types have been transferred from Polish to Wymysorys, e.g. [ʃtʃ] *bośc* ‘beetroot soup’ (P. *barszcz*); [ndz] *bryndz* ‘sheep’s cheese’ (P. *bryndza*); and [rtʃ] *śyrć* ‘animal hair, fur’ (P. *sierść*), *ćwjerć* ‘a type of measure, quarter’ (P. *ćwierć*), and *tarć* ‘shield’ (P. *tarcza*).

that its pervasiveness and regularity has increased. Despite this, the stress rules operating in the non-Polish lexicon have remained unchanged.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Polish has also contributed to a greater visibility of lexemes with stress on the ultimate syllable of the root due to the loss of the post-tonic vowel, e.g. *ćeku'lad* 'chocolate' (cf. P. *czeko'lada*), *ka'plic* 'chapel' (cf. P. *ka'plica*), and *kata'het* (cf. P. *kate'cheta*) 'religious instructor' (see section 5.1.4).

## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5. Content lexicon

Content vocabulary is a language module that tends to experience the largest amount of borrowing across languages. Content vocabulary refers to elements that have semantic substance or “stateable lexical meaning”, entertaining the highest degree of the Saussurean signifier-signified relationship (Field 2002:60-62). They designate imaginable and recognizable referents that exist either objectively (in reality) or subjectively (in the speaker’s mind), thus “hav[ing an] identity that is separable from language particular morphology and syntax” (ibid. 61). Such referents may themselves be individuals (humans, animals, things, places, ideas, emotions), activities (actions, states, processes), and attributes (qualities, properties, expressions of manner). By exploiting their antonymy, synonymy, and polysemy, content words can be structured into fields and taxonomies (ibid.). They draw on open word classes, particularly nouns, verbs, and adjectives, as well as – albeit more disputably – adverbs (ibid. 60-61, 139-141).<sup>150</sup>

The present chapter studies the various aspects of matter and pattern borrowings that have taken place in Wymysorys content vocabulary by analyzing loanwords and contact-induced features identifiable in nominal (5.1), verbal (5.2), adjectival (5.3), adverbial (5.4), and ideophonic (5.5) lexical classes. For each category, I will provide a comprehensive inventory of cases of matter borrowing, i.e. a list of words adopted from Polish, as well as – where applicable – examples of pattern borrowing, specifically lexical calques. Furthermore, I will describe the different semantic types of loanwords, determine a standard and/or dialectal form of their Polish sources or model lexemes, and analyze the adaptive mechanisms that have operated during the transfer.

#### 5.1 Nouns

##### 5.1.1 Inventory of loanwords

Nouns are the lexical class in the content vocabulary of Wymysorys that has experienced the greatest influence from Polish (cf. Kleczkowski 1920:160; Żak 2013; 2016:141-142). The total

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<sup>150</sup> As with any distinction in grammar, the line separating content lexemes from function lexemes (see chapter 6) is fuzzy (Field 2002:65). To a large extent, this fuzziness stems from evolutionary tendencies operating in languages whereby content elements may develop – or grammaticalize into – function elements through a gamut of intermediate stages. Therefore, for instance, certain nouns and verbs that gradually evolve into pronouns, adpositions, and conjunctions may be less content-like than is typically postulated (ibid. 170). In some definitions, the most canonical content word classes, especially nouns and verbs, are defined as those elements that are able to receive and/or assign thematic roles (Myers-Scotton 2002:68-69; 2006:248).

number of nouns of Polish origin identified in my field study amounts to 594.<sup>151</sup> Below, I provide an alphabetical list of all nominal loanwords that have been borrowed from Polish and, after their stabilization, currently belong to the shared Wymysorys lexicon:<sup>152</sup>

*akacja/agacja (akacja)* ‘acacia’; *akta (akta)* ‘files’; *akwarjum (akwarium)* ‘aquarium’; *Ańelsko* ([*Święto Matki Boskiej*] *Anielskiej*) ‘Porziuncola Day’; *angrest (agrest)* ‘gooseberry’; *Anna (Anna)*; *apostoł (apostoł)* ‘apostle’; *aptyk (apteka)* ‘pharmacy’; *arcybisküp (arcybiskup)* ‘archbishop’; *baba (baba)* ‘grandmother’; *babiñec (babiniiec)* ‘old woman, meeting of women’; *babiufka/babufka (babka)* ‘a type of cake’;<sup>153</sup> *bahüüz (bachor)* ‘brat, kid’; *bájka (bajka)* ‘a piece of the traditional Wymysorys garment’; *báldah/baldah (baldach(im))* ‘canopy’; *báلكon (balkon)* ‘balcony’; *báńa (bania)* ‘pumpkin’; *bankjet (bankiet)* ‘banquet’; *bankomat (bankomat)* ‘ATM’; *hapka (babka)* ‘a type of cake; grandma, old woman’; *baran/baron (baran)* ‘ram’; *barüs (baruś)* ‘ram’; *bażant (bazant)* ‘pheasant’; *Bejł (Biała)*; *Bestwa (Bestwina)*; *berło (berło)* ‘sceptre’; *bestej (bestia)* ‘beast’; *Betlejem (Betlejem)*; *bezbożnik (bezbożnik)* ‘godless person, atheist’; *bezroboće (bezrobocie)* ‘unemployment’; *biblii/biblija (biblia)* ‘bible’; *bilet (bilet)* ‘ticket’; *biöegoć (bogacz)* ‘rich man’; *biöelok (bolak)* ‘complaint, pain’; *Biöěžnok (Bośniak)* ‘nickname of the Zejma family, Bosnian’; *Biöėje/Błoże Ćáło (Boże Ciało)* ‘Corpus Christi’; *biżuteryj (biżuteria)* ‘jewelry’; *bjyda (bieda)* ‘poverty’; *bjydok (biedak)* ‘poor man’; *bjyźmowańe (bierzmowanie)* ‘confirmation’; *Błan (Bielany)*; *blawatki (blawatek)* ‘cornflower, Centaurea cyanus’; *bobownik (bobownik)* ‘brooklime, European speedwell’; *bognet (bagnet)* ‘bayonet’; *bokserkja (bokserki)* ‘boxers’; *bonk (bąk)* ‘bumblebee’; *bośc (barszcz)* ‘beetroot soup’; *Biöetul (Bartłomiej)*; *bow (baba)* ‘woman, wife’; *bozon (bizon)* ‘bison’; *brom (brama)* ‘gate, door’; *brydź (brydź)* ‘bridge’; *bryndz (bryndza)* ‘sheep’s cheese’; *büüd (buda)* ‘shed, stall, hut’; *Bułgar (Bulgar)* ‘Bulgarian’; *bürnus (burnus)* ‘a winter coat’; *bürok (burak)* ‘beetroot’; *byk (byk)* ‘bull’; *Byłc (Bielsko)*; *bźoskwiń (brzoskwinia)* ‘peach’; *canteryj (centuria)* ‘common centaur, Centaurium erythraea’; *cegłoż (ceglarz)* ‘brickmaker’; *cejgon, pl. cygon (cygan)* ‘Gypsy, vagrant’; *cemboł, cymbol (cymbał)* ‘idiot’; *cepok (cepak)* ‘stupid person’; *ćerkja ((za)cierki)* ‘noodle soup’; *cigar/cygar (cygaro)* ‘cigar’; *chüöet (cnota)* ‘virtue’; *cökier (cukier)* ‘sugar’; *cüüd (cud)* ‘wonder’; *cüüdok (cudak)* ‘weirdo, odd man’; *cudzożymjec (cudzoziemiec)* ‘foreigner’; *cynamün (cynamon)* ‘cinnamon’; *cytryn (cytryna)* ‘lemon’; *Ćáńc (Czaniec)*; *ćarnüha (czarnucha)* ‘a black cow’; *ćarowńic (czarownica)* ‘hex’; *ćasnoh (ciasnocha)* ‘tight for space’; *ćekulad (czekolada)* ‘chocolate’; *ćevik/tšewik (trzewik)* ‘shoe’; *ćirk/ćyrk (zacier(ki))* ‘mash’; *ćüla (ciul(a))* ‘penis’; *ćüprin (czupryna)* ‘head of hair’; *ćüra (ciura)* ‘awkward, clumsy man’; *ćwikła (ćwikła)* ‘red beet and horseradish sauce’;

<sup>151</sup> This considerable number of nominal loanwords complies with the situation attested in Yiddish. The number of Slavonic loanwords in Yiddish – mostly nouns but also verbs, adjectives, and adverbs – is “large”, ascending to (perhaps exaggerated) “thousands” (Weinreich 2008:526; see also Jacobs, Prince & van der Auwera 1994:417; Geller 1994; Kahn 2015:696). Content words, especially nouns, are also common borrowed elements in Aljzneris (Dolatowski 2017).

<sup>152</sup> In parentheses, I provide the underlying Polish lexemes in their standard orthography. For the sake of simplicity, the abbreviation P. (i.e. Polish) is omitted. The same procedure will be adopted when presenting the inventory of verbal, adjectival, adverbial, and ideophonic loans. Names of places that do not have conventional English equivalents as well as all names of persons are not translated.

<sup>153</sup> Throughout this chapter, I will regard the different variants of a single donor lexeme as a single case of borrowing.

*ćwiklabürok* (*burak ćwikłowy*) ‘beetroot’; *ćwjerć* (*ćwierć*) ‘measure, quarter’; *ćyśćec* (*czyśćiec*) ‘purgatory’; *ćyśćic* (*czyśćiec*) ‘yellow toadflax, *Linaria vulgaris*’; *dahüfki* (*dachówka*) ‘roof tile’; *depesz* (*depesza*) ‘telegram’; *deser* (*deser*) ‘dessert’; *desperok* (*desperat*) ‘desperate person’; *drücož* (*druciarz*) ‘wire maker’; *drüška/drüškjyn/drüškyn* (*družka*) ‘bridesmaid’; *drüzba* (*družba*) ‘best man, groomsman’; *dühowjyństwo* (*duchowieństwo*) ‘clergy’; *dupa* (*dupa*) ‘butt, arse’; *düpski* (*dupski*) ‘arse’; *dyspens* (*dyspensa*) ‘dispensation’; *džada/džodek* (*dziadek*) ‘grandpa, old man’; *džiwok* (*dziwak*) ‘freak, weirdo’; *džüdo* (*džudo*) ‘judo’; *džub* (*dziób*) ‘beak’; *džyž* (*dzieża*) ‘kneading trough’; *ekonom* (*ekonom*) ‘steward, administrator’; *ekran* (*ekran*) ‘screen’; *ekselenc* (*ekscelencja*) ‘excellency’; *elamentož* (*elementarz*) ‘primer’; *elektryk* (*elektryka*) ‘electricity’; *ewangjelja* (*ewangelia*) ‘gospel’; *fabryk* (*fabryka*) ‘factory’; *fjólki* (*fiólek*) ‘violet’; *folwark* (*folwark*) ‘farm, manor’; *frájerka* (*frajerka*) ‘girl, girlfriend, fiancée’;<sup>154</sup> *frycowe* (*frycowe*) ‘joining fee’; *fündüś* (*fundusz*) ‘fund(s)’; *galareta* (*galareta*) ‘jelly’; *gamájda* (*gamajda*) ‘lout’; *gancož* (*garncarz*) ‘potter’; *ganek* (*ganek*) ‘porch, entrance’; *gatkja* (*gatki*) ‘pants’; *gawrüin* (*gawron*) ‘rook’; *gazyt* (*gazeta*) ‘newspaper’; *giöerol* (*góral*) ‘highlander, mountaineer’; *gizd/gizdok* (*gizd*) ‘punk, naughty boy, a horrible person’; *głembja* (*głębja*) ‘depth’; *ghid* (*gnida*) ‘louse’; *goralka* (*góralka*) ‘highland woman’; *grabki* (*grab*) ‘European hornbeam, *Carpinus betulus*’; *grübož* (*grabarz*) ‘gravedigger’; *grüd* (*gruda*) ‘clomp, frozen ground’; *grüdžyń* (*grudzień*) ‘December’; *grumńic* (*gromnica*) ‘large candle’; *grüin* (*grań*) ‘slop, ridge’; *güśta* (*gusła*) ‘sorcery, witchcraft’; *gžyh* (*grzech*) ‘sin’; *halastra* (*halastra*) ‘rabble, mob’; *handlyž* (*handlarz*) ‘seller, trader’; *hipopotam* (*hipopotam*) ‘hippopotamus’; *histiöeryj/kistiöeryj/kistöryj* (*historia*) ‘tale, history’; *hrapka* (*chrapka*) ‘wish, lust’; *hüba* (*huba*) ‘Hoof fungus, *polyporus fomentarius*’; *hüta* (*huta*) ‘steel factory, foundry’; *indyk* (*indyk*) ‘turkey’; *inwalid* (*inwalida*) ‘disabled’; *inwentož* (*inwentarz*) ‘inventory’; *jałmüžna* (*jałmužna*) ‘alms’; *jałowic* (*jałowica*) ‘heifer’; *jałowjec* (*jałowiec*) ‘juniper’; *Janta* (*Antoni*); *Jantek* (*Antek*); *Jäśela* (*Jaśka*); *jašeń* (*jesion*) ‘ash’; *Jäški* (*Jaś, Jasiek*); *jawer* (*jawor*) ‘maple’; *jedlin* (*jedlina*) ‘young fir forest’; *jedynok* (*jedynak*) ‘only child’; *Jóža* (*Józia*); *jüh* (*jucha*) ‘blood’; *jüpka* (*jupka*) ‘a piece of a garment’; *Jüša* (*Jusia*); *Juska* (*Józka*); *Jyndra* (*Jędrzej*); *Jynrek* (*Jędrek*); *k(a)narek* (*kanarek*) ‘canary’; *kabaćek* (*kabaczek*) ‘squash’; *kabłonk* (*kabłak*) ‘arch’; *kacabäj/kacabäjka* (*kacabaj(ka)*) ‘a piece of a garment’; *kacuśu* (*kacusz*) ‘little cat’; *kadhüp* (*kadhüb*) ‘hull’; *kadž* (*kadž*) ‘tub, vat’; *kafki* (*kawka*) ‘jackdaw’; *käläffor* (*kalafior*) ‘cauliflower’; *kalamož* (*kalamarz*) ‘inkwell, inkpot’; *kalarep* (*kalarepa*) ‘kohlraabi’; *kalendaž/kalendož* (*kalendarz*) ‘calendar’; *kalika* (*kaleka*) ‘cripple’; *kalina* (*kalina*) ‘viburnum’; *käloryfer* (*kaloryfer*) ‘radiator’; *kanäli* (*kanalia*) ‘rascal, knave, scumbag’; *Kańćüg* (*Kańczuga*); *kangür* (*kangur*) ‘kangaroo’; *kanünik* (*kanonik*) ‘canon’; *kapelant* (*kapelant*) ‘musician’; *kapelüs* (*kapelusz*) ‘hat’; *kaplic* (*kaplica*) ‘chapel’; *kaprol* (*kapral*) ‘corporal’; *karakter* (*charakter*) ‘character’; *karaś* (*karas*) ‘crucian carp’; *kardynoł* (*kardynał*) ‘cardinal’; *karetk* (*karetk*) ‘ambulance’; *karlok* (*che/arlak*) ‘weakling’; *Karoll/Karöl* (*Karol*); *Karolka* (*Karolka*); *käsa* (*kasza*) ‘grits, grouts’; *Käška* (*Kaška*); *kašton* (*kasztan*) ‘chestnut’; *katafalk* (*katafalk*) ‘catafalque’; *katahet* (*katecheta*) ‘religious instructor’; *katehiz(m)* (*katechizm*) ‘catechism’; *Kaža* (*Kazi(mierz)*); *kelih* (*kielich*) ‘goblet, cup’; *kelner* (*kelner*) ‘waiter’; *kić* (*kicia*) ‘cat’; *kiöeler* (*cholera*) ‘cholera’; *kiöepjec* (*kopiec*) ‘pile’; *Kiöezok* (*kozak*) ‘Cossack,

<sup>154</sup> It is possible that this word was originally a dialectal Polish adaptation of the Slovak or Czech *frajerka* ‘girl’.

birch bolete'; *klak* (*klak*) 'clump, mop, tuft'; *klamka* (*klamka*) 'handle'; *kleryk* (*kleryk*) 'seminary student'; *kloc* (*klacz*) 'mare'; *klop* (*chlop*) 'man, husband'; *klyjnöt* (*klejnot*) 'jewel'; *kłyścok* (*chlystek*) 'whippersnapper'; *koc* (*koc*) 'blanket'; *kolega/kölega* (*kolega*) 'friend'; *kołodziej* (*kołodziej*) 'wheelwright'; *kolond/kiöelenda* (*kołęda*) 'Christmas carol, a Catholic ritual'; *kombajn* (*kombajn*) 'harvester'; *Komorowic* (*Komorowice*); *komputer* (*komputer*) 'computer'; *konfitür* (*konfitury*) 'jam'; *konkul* (*kąkol*) 'corncockle, *Agrostemma githago*'; *konsystoż* (*konsystorz*) 'advisory board in a Catholic church'; *kopyt* (*kopyto*) 'hoof'; *kora* (*kara*) 'penalty, punishment'; *koroln* (*korale*) 'bead necklace'; *korün* (*korona*) 'crown'; *kosa* (*kosa*) 'scythe'; *kosok* (*kosak*) 'sickle'; *kosyñer* (*kosynier*) 'a peasant soldier'; *koşerka* (*akuszerka*) 'midwife'; *köwuł* (*kobyła*) 'mare'; *krácum* (*karczma*) 'inn, tavern'; *krakowjok* (*krakowiak*) 'Kraków region folk dance'; *krat/krot* (*krata*) 'grid, bar(s)'; *krawat* (*krawat*) 'tie'; *kredyt* (*kredyt*) 'bank loan'; *Krök* (*Kraków*) 'Kraków'; *kröst* (*chrosta*) 'scab, spot, pustule'; *krüpkja* (*krupy*) 'pearl barley'; *kryjn* (*chrzan*) 'horseradish'; *kryminol* (*kryminał*) 'jug, problem'; *kšeść(ij)änin* (*chrześcijanin*) 'Christian'; *Küba* (*Kuba*); *Kubuś* (*Kubuś*); *kukurüc* (*kukurudz*) 'maize'; *küla* (*kula*) 'ball, sphere'; *kuldrä* (*koldra*) 'guilt, duvet'; *külik* (*kulig*) 'sleigh party'; *kümeşkla* (*komeżka*) 'alb'; *kümin* (*komin*) 'chimney'; *kumiñoż* (*kominiarz*) 'chimney sweep'; *kumpän* (*kompan*) 'friend'; *küntrakt* (*kontrakt*) 'contract'; *kuzynk* (*kuzynka*) 'cousin'; *küzäwa* (*kurzawa*) 'heavy clouds'; *kwas* (*kwas*) 'sour drink'; *kwásñic* (*kwaśnica*) 'sauerkraut juice'; *kwjećyñ* (*kwiecieñ*) 'April'; *kwöka/kwoka* (*kwoka*) 'hen'; *Kywyñik* (*Kobiernice*); *laborant* (*laborant*) 'assistant'; *lekcja* (*lekcja*) 'lesson'; *liceum* (*liceum*) 'secondary (high) school'; *lilija/lili* (*lilia*) 'lily, fleur-de-lis'; *listopad* (*listopad*) 'November'; *löda* (*lody*) 'ice-cream'; *lodownja* (*lodownia*) 'cold store, freezer'; *Lojzek* (*Lojzek, Alojzy*); *lüksüs* (*luksus*) 'luxury'; *lür* (*lura*) 'weak tea or coffee'; *lüty* (*luty*) 'February'; *labeñć* (*labędź*) 'swan'; *lægjer* (*lagier*) 'labor camp'; *łajdok* (*łajdak*) 'scoundrel'; *läptop* (*laptop*) 'laptop'; *łazenga* (*łazęga*) 'tramp, vagabond'; *(ł)opjekün* (*opiekun*) 'guardian'; *łosoś* (*łosoś*) 'salmon'; *löstüda* (*ostuda*) 'problem'; *(ł)öebrozi/(ł)obroz* (*obraz*) 'picture'; *(ł)öebruś/(ł)obruś* (*obrus*) 'tablecloth'; *(ł)ö(e)rgänist/orgänist/ügänist* (*organista*) 'organist'; *tydki* (*tydka*) 'calf'; *tyk* (*łeko, luka*) 'gap, hole'; *maćic* (*macica*) 'womb'; *macho/macoha* (*macocha*) 'stepmother'; *małp* (*małpa*) 'ape'; *mamic* (*mamica*) 'bad mother'; *mandarynk* (*mandarynka*) 'mandarin'; *margaryna* (*margaryna*) 'margarine'; *marmülad* (*marmolada*) 'marmalade'; *maska* (*maska*) 'mask'; *maşlok* (*maşlak*) 'Suillus luteus, slippery jack'; *Mateja* (*Mateusz*); *menćeñik* (*męczennik*) 'martyr'; *menka* (*męka*) 'suffering'; *Mikołaj* (*Mikołaj*); *miöeda* (*moda*) 'fashion'; *miöergi* (*morga*) 'unit of land'; *Mira/Miruś* (*Kazimierz, Mirek*); *mişkoż* (*mişkarz*) 'castrator'; *mişü* (*misiu*) 'bear; a nickname for a fat man'; *mitrenga* (*mitręga*) 'waste of time'; *mjynta* (*mięta*) 'mint'; *Molć* (*Malec*); *Moñika* (*Monika*); *morel* (*morela*) 'apricot'; *moźdzyż* (*moździerz*) 'mortar'; *müzykant* (*muzykant*) 'musician'; *namjot* (*namiot*) 'tent'; *naüčka* (*nauczka*) 'lesson'; *Nežü* (*Jezusek*) 'little Jesus'; *niöerki* (*nurek*) 'diver, plunger'; *nodžeja* (*nadzieja*) 'hope'; *Nüšia* (*Anusia*); *Ñedzela* (*niedziela*) 'a nickname of the Danek family'; *ñepşyjaćel* (*nieprzyjaciel*) 'enemy'; *ñepşyjaś(ñ)* (*nieprzyjaźń*) 'animosity'; *ñewoln* (*niewola*) 'captivity'; *ñezgiöeda* (*niezgoda*) 'animosity'; *öedezwa* (*odezwa*) 'proclamation'; *öednöeg* (*odnoga*) 'branch, arm'; *öelbzym* (*olbrzym*) 'giant'; *ogürki* (*ogórek*) 'cucumber'; *ohronka* (*ochronka*) 'kindergarten'; *(der) ojćec şwynty* (*ojciec święty*) 'poppe, holy father (especially John Paul II)'; *okülor* (*okulary*) 'glasses'; *opłatki* (*opłatek*) 'communion, Christmas wafer'; *Oüswynca* (*Oświęcim*);

*pājaca (pajac)* ‘puppet, toy’; *pałac (pałac)* ‘palace’; *pālski (palec)* ‘finger, thumb’; *pālüh (paluch)* ‘finger, thumb’; *(der) Pān/Pon Jezüs (Pan Jezus)* ‘Jesus’; *pāni (pani)* ‘madam, woman, female teacher’; *papereć (paproć)* ‘fern’; *papinkja (papinki)* ‘dainty, tidbit’; *papjerös/papjyrüs (papieros)* ‘cigarette’; *papjeröski (papierosek)* ‘cigarette’; *papjyrña (papiernia)* ‘paper factory’; *papuč (papuč)* ‘slipper’; *papug, papüg (papuga)* ‘parrot’; *parad (parada)* ‘parade, pride’; *parasöl (parasol)* ‘umbrella’; *pašibžuh (pasibrzuch)* ‘gourmand’; *paždžernik (paždziernik)* ‘October’; *pejsa (pejsy)* ‘side curl’; *pencok (pęczak)* ‘pearl barley’; *perlik (perlik)* ‘sledgehammer’; *pijok (pijak)* ‘drinker, drunkard’; *pingwin (pingwin)* ‘penguin’; *pisküz (piskorz)* ‘weatherfish’; *pižam (pižama)* ‘pajamas’; *pjeroga (pieróg)* ‘dumpling’; *pjyćki (pieczka)* ‘dried fruit’; *plaścok (płaszczak)* ‘flat iron pot’; *pl(j)ebańi (plebania)* ‘presbytery, manse, vicarage’; *pljebon (pleban)* ‘parish priest’; *Ples (Pszczyna)*; *plöüc (pluco)* ‘lung’; *pobütki (pólbuty/-butki)* ‘shoe’; *poćyngl (pocięgiel)* ‘a type of robe’; *podgardle (podgardle)* ‘part of pork meat’; *podryfka (podrywka)* ‘net’; *pow (paw)* ‘peacock’; *pogañin (poganin)* ‘pagan’; *pogüñić (poganiacz)* ‘driver, herdsman’; *pohwoła (pochwała)* ‘praise’; *połác (połać)* ‘surface, extent’; *pölka (polka)* ‘a Polish cow’; *pomarańć/pömarańć (pomarańć(a))* ‘orange’; *posek (pasek)* ‘belt’; *poslüšeñstwo (posłuszeństwo)* ‘obedience’; *post (post)* ‘fast’; *postrünek (postronek)* ‘halter, rope’; *pošmjewisko (pošmiewisko)* ‘object of ridicule, laughing stock’; *potkłod (podkład)* ‘base’; *potop (potop)* ‘deluge, flood’; *potüha (potucha)* ‘encouragement’; *powoga (powaga)* ‘seriousness, gravity’; *požondek (porządek)* ‘order’; *požyćkja (porzeczki)* ‘currant’; *prábaba (prabab(k)a)* ‘great-grandmother’; *práždada (pradziadek)* ‘great-grandfather’; *pralat (pralat)* ‘prelate’; *prawo (prawo)* ‘law’; *prawok (prawdziwek, prawik)* ‘penny bun, Boletus edulis’; *priöebość (proboszcz)* ‘parson, parish priest’; *priöerok/priöerök (prorok)* ‘prophet’; *priöestok (prostak)* ‘boor, simpleton’; *procesyj (procesja)* ‘procession’; *pröfit (profit)* ‘gain’; *progütki (pogródka)* ‘threshold, earth embankment around the house’; *prond (prąd)* ‘current, electricity’; *prawda (prawda)* ‘truth’; *prüžnök (próżniak)* ‘idler’; *prymas (prymas)* ‘primate(bishop)’; *pryšnić (prysznic)* ‘shower’; *pstrong (pstrąg)* ‘trout’; *pšednowek (przednowek)* ‘hungry gap’; *pšinec (psiniec)* ‘dog excrement’; *pšyšćypek (przyszczepek, przyszczepka)* ‘patch on a shoe’; *Pulk (Polka)* ‘Polish (woman)’; *pulkoški (półkoszek, półkoszki)* ‘a part of a wicker basket or a cart’; *pulkošülek (półkoszulek)* ‘t-shirt’; *pultorok (półtorak)* ‘cart’; *püstelnik (pustelnik)* ‘hermit’; *pustyña (pustynia)* ‘desert’; *pylyk/pylyk (polewka)* ‘soup’; *pyž (perz)* ‘couch grass, Elymus repens’; *rać (rać)* ‘cloven foot, cloven hoof’; *rama (rama)* ‘frame’; *rana (rana)* ‘wound’; *recept (recepta)* ‘prescription’; *regiment (regiment)* ‘regiment’; *rewizor (rewizor)* ‘a nickname’; *rezydenc (rezydencja)* ‘residence’; *roćnic(a) (rocznica)* ‘anniversary’; *rodok (rodak)* ‘countryman’; *ropüh (ropucha)* ‘toad’; *rozgžyšyñe (rozgrzeszenie)* ‘absolution’; *rozprawa (rozprawa)* ‘trial, debate’; *rozrüh (rozruchy)* ‘riot, uproar’; *rozynki/rožinki (rodzynek, rodzynki)* ‘raisin’; *rümjanek (rumianek)* ‘chamomile’; *ružañec (róžaniec)* ‘rosary, prayer beads’; *ryczyž (rycerz)* ‘knight’; *rynetā (reneta)* ‘rennet’; *ryž (ryż)* ‘rice’; *sakwa (sakwa)* ‘moneybag, purse’; *salat (salata)* ‘salad’; *salceson (salceson)* ‘brawn’; *samogün (samogon)* ‘moonshine’; *sardynka (sardynka)* ‘sardine’; *seler (seler)* ‘celery’; *señdža (sędzia)* ‘judge’; *señk (sęk)* ‘knot’; *shocka (szadзка)* ‘meeting, gathering’; *skāl (skała)* ‘rock’; *skandal/šskandal (skandal)* ‘scandal’; *skaza (skaza)* ‘defect, wound’; *sknyra (sknera)* ‘stingy person’; *skorb (skarb)* ‘treasure’; *skruha (skrucha)* ‘repentance’; *slöwik (słowik)* ‘nightingale’; *slünećnik (słonecznik)* ‘sunflower’; *smolož*

(*smolarz*) ‘pitch burner’; *smyk* (*smyk*) ‘tad, kid’; *sobütki* (*sobótka*) ‘a holiday in June’; *söjka/sojka* (*sójka*) ‘jaybird’; *sond* (*sqd*) ‘judgment, court’; *sowiżoł* (*sowizdrzał*) ‘rascal’; *spinka* (*spinka*) ‘buckle’; *sposup/sposüp* (*sposób*) ‘way, means’; *spulka* (*spólka*) ‘mixture of oats with peas, partnership’; *stácyja/stácjy* (*stacja*) ‘stops during the Passio, (buss) stop’; *Staha* (*Stach*); *starosta* (*starosta*) ‘district head’; *Stásü* (*Stasiu*; see also another diminutive *Stánćü*); *stawarka* (*stawiarka*) ‘sludge, scum from a pond’; *stodło* (*stadło*) ‘married couple’; *strah* (*strach*) ‘fear’; *straśydło* (*straszydło*) ‘scarecrow, fright’; *strenkowiny* (*zrękowiny*) ‘engagement’; *strug* (*struga*) ‘stream’; *strüp* (*strup*) ‘scab’; *studja* (*studia*) ‘studies’; *styćyń* (*styczeń*) ‘January’; *sühar* (*suchar*) ‘cracker’; *süka* (*suka*) ‘bitch [pejorative]’; *sygnoł* (*sygnał*) ‘signal’; *Śymki/Śymek/Szymek* (*Szymek*); *synatorjum* (*sanatorium*) ‘sanatorium’; *śabys* (*szabas*) ‘Sabbath’; *śalaput* (*szalaput*) ‘scatterbrain’; *Śalaśny* (*Szalaśny*) ‘a nickname of the Dáne family’; *śałwi* (*szalwia*) ‘salvia’; *śarańć* (*szarańcza*) ‘locust’; *śelm* (*szelma*) ‘rascal, knave’; *śarpać* (*szarpacz*) ‘a type of harrow’; *śatka* (*siatka*) ‘net’; *śawuł* (*szabla*) ‘saber’; *ścał* (*strzala*) ‘arrow’; *śców* (*szczaw*) ‘Rumex, sorrel’; *ścybła/śćibła/ścybło* (*źdźbło*) ‘a type of straw’; *śekoć* (*siekacz*) ‘incisor tooth’; *śerpjyń* (*sierpień*) ‘August’; *śikiöela* (*sikorka*) ‘tomtit’; *śiwek* (*siwek*) ‘horse, old man’; *śkap* (*szkapa*) ‘jade, horse’; *ślahćic* (*szlachcic*) ‘nobleman’; *śláhta* (*szlachta*) ‘noblemen’; *ślimok* (*ślimak*) ‘snail’; *ślipki/śljypki* (*ślepy* or *ślepki*) ‘a blind person’; *Śtyz* (*Śląsk*);<sup>155</sup> *śmirgüšt/śmjergüšt/śmjyrgüšt* (*Śmingus*) ‘a local holiday’; *śmjergüśnik/śmjyrgüśnik* (*śmierguśnik*) ‘a character taking part in a local custom’; *śmolc* (*smalec*) ‘lard’; *śnüür* (*sznur*) ‘robe’; *śopa* (*szopa*) ‘cot, garage’; *śpik* (*szpik*) ‘marrow, snot’; *śpjeg* (*szpieg*) ‘spy’; *śpok* (*szpak*) ‘starling’; *śpüla* (*szpula*) ‘bobbin’; *śpyrki/śpyrkja* (*szpyrki/szpyrka*) ‘fat’; *śrut/śrüt* (*śrut*) ‘buckshot’; *śüflod/śüflod* (*szuflada*) ‘drawer’; *Świenta/Śwjynto Trojca/Trüjca* (*Święta Trójca*) ‘Holy Trinity’; *śwjyrk* (*świerk*) ‘spruce’; *Śwyd* (*Szwed*) ‘Swede’; *śyć* (*sieć*) ‘net’; *śyńnik* (*siennik*) ‘straw mattress’; *śyrc* (*sierść*) ‘animal hair, fur’; *śyśki* (*szyszka*) ‘(pine)cone’; *táńister* (*tornister*) ‘knapsack, schoolbag’; *tarć* (*tarcza*) ‘shield’; *taśymkla* (*tasiemka*) ‘ribbon’; *telewizjã* (*telewizja*) ‘television’; *telewizor* (*telewizor*) ‘TV set’; *Teśa* (*Cieszyn*); *tfüs/thüś* (*tchórz*) ‘coward’; *tiöerba* (*torba*) ‘bag’; *tlük* (*tluk*) ‘stupid person’; *tlümok* (*tlumok*) ‘bundle’; *Tobyś* (*Tobiasz*); *traktor* (*traktor*) ‘tractor’; *Tromba* (*trąba*) ‘a nickname, lit. trumpet’; *tropićel* (*trapiiciel*) ‘tormentor’; *trüskawk* (*truskawka*) ‘strawberry’; *tumult* (*tumult*) ‘tumult, uproar’; *twiöeg* (*twaróg*) ‘cottage cheese’; *twoż* (*twarz*) ‘face’; *tyfus* (*tyfus*) ‘typhus’; *tygrys* (*tygrys*) ‘tiger’; *ülga* (*ulga*) ‘relief’; *upodek* (*upadek*) ‘fall’; *ürlop* (*urlop*) ‘vacation, leave’; *utoplec* (*utoplec*) ‘drowned man, kelpie’; *utropjyńe* (*utrapienie*) ‘problem, distress’; *uwoga* (*uwaga*) ‘attention’; *Wadowic* (*Wadowice*); *waganc/wakanc/wakans* (*wakacje*) ‘vacation’; *Wálek* (*Walek*); *waśtat* (*warsztat*) ‘workshop’; *Welśy* (*Włoch*) ‘Italian’; *wendrownik* (*wędownik*) ‘wanderer’; *wengjerki* (*węgierka*) ‘a damson-like type of plum’; *wengüz* (*węgorz*) ‘eel’; *wentka* (*wędka*) ‘fishing rod’; *wić* (*wić*) ‘writhe’; *Wielki Post* (*Wielki Post*) ‘Lent’; *wikla* (*wikla/e*) ‘purple willow, *Salix purpurea*’; *wilija/wilja* (*wilia, wigilia*) ‘vigil, Christmas Eve’; *Winca/Winću* (*Wincenty, Wicus*); *winöewajca* (*winowajca*) ‘guilty party, culprit’; *Wita* (*Witalis*); *witryh/wytryh/wydryh* (*wytrych*) ‘(pass/skeleton) key’; *wjadro* (*wiadro*) ‘bucket’; *wjano* (*wiano*) ‘dowry’; *wjeliöeryb* (*wieloryb*) ‘whale’; *wjerćipjynta* (*wiercipięta*) ‘fidget’;

<sup>155</sup> Although the Polish origin of *Śtyz* is possible, this word may also be a native Wymysorys lexeme (cf. Modern Standard German *Schlesien*).

*włūcēnga* (*włōczēga*) ‘vagabond’; *Wniebowstompjyńe* (*Wniebowstąpienie*) ‘Ascension Day’; *Wniebowżynće* (*Wniebowzięcie*) ‘Assumption’; *wnūčka* (*wnuczka*) ‘granddaughter’; *Wojta/Wojtek* (*Wojtek*); *wons* (*wąs*) ‘moustache’; *wrūżba* (*wróżba*) ‘augury, prediction’; *wydra* (*wydra*) ‘otter’; *wygiōd* (*wygoda*) ‘comfort’; *wyriōedek* (*wyrodek*) ‘villain, degenerate’; *wyżinek* (*wyżynek, wyżynki*) ‘harvest, harvest festival’; *wzgarda* (*wzgarda*) ‘contempt’; *wzmjanka* (*wzmianka*) ‘mention’; *wżeśyń* (*wrzesień*) ‘September’; *zāgjer* (*zegar*) ‘watch’; *zāgjermāster* (*zegarmistrz*) ‘watchmaker’; *zakśep* (*zakrzep*) ‘blood clot’; *zamjeć* (*zamieć*) ‘blizzard, snowstorm’; *zastem(p)ca* (*zastępca*) ‘deputy’; *zebr* (*zebra*) ‘zebra’; *zawiść/zowiść* (*zawiść*) ‘envy’; *Ziōeśal/Ziōeśka/Zośū* (*Zosia, Zośka*); *zokońic* (*zakonnica*) ‘nun’; *złoty* (*złoty*) ‘złoty’; *zobawa* (*zabawa*) ‘play, amusement’; *zokun/zokiin* (*zakon*) ‘order, convent’; *zoraza* (*zaraza*) ‘plague, pest’; *zoshuga* (*zasługa*) ‘merit’; *zūp* (*zupa*) ‘soup’; *zwyćoj* (*zwyczaj*) ‘custom’; *zyspul* (*zespół*) ‘ensemble, group’; *żarlōk* (*żarłok*) ‘glutton’; *żuw* (*żółw*) ‘turtle’; *żyraf* (*żyrafa*) ‘giraffe’.

In addition to the multiple cases of matter borrowing, the contact with Polish has also influenced the semantic potential, and thus the meaning pattern, of certain native nouns. For example, the native lexeme *friōed*, related to the verb *fren* (*zih*) ‘rejoice’ and the noun *frājđ* ‘joy’, is currently used with the meaning of ‘wedding’. This replicates the meaning extension of the Polish word *wesele* ‘wedding’ from an earlier sense ‘jubilation, joy’ (cf. the verb *weselić się* ‘rejoice’). Similarly, the lexeme *hālikja* derived from the adjective *hālik* ‘holy’ is generally used in the sense of ‘holiday, feast’ in analogy to the Polish word *święta*, formed from the adjective *święty* ‘holy’. Furthermore, the noun *hālikja* is employed in the expression *yr hālikja* ‘during Christmas or Easter’ which replicates the Polish idiom *w święta* ‘during Christmas or Easter’ (lit. ‘in holidays’; regarding idiomatic phrasal structures that draw on Polish in general, see section 8.4).

### 5.1.2 Semantic types of loanwords

The impact of Polish on Wymysorys nouns is not only significant in quantitative terms. It also concerns qualitative aspects which are visible through a considerable range of semantic domains, or their thematic variety, to which loanwords belong. As will be demonstrated below, nouns borrowed from Polish may refer to all possible semantic fields. Inversely, there are no semantic domains – or themes – from which Polish loanwords would be excluded.

The majority of nominal loanwords have tangible and/or concrete referents. This class of borrowing specifically involves the following semantic domains:<sup>156</sup>

- types of persons, e.g. *bjydok* ‘poor man’ (P. *biedak*); *cudzożymjec* ‘foreigner’ (P. *cudzoziemiec*); *kalika* ‘cripple’ (P. *kaleka*); *kōlega* ‘friend’ (P. *kolega*); *priōestok* ‘boor, simpleton’ (P. *prostak*); *śelm* ‘rascal, knave’ (P. *szelma*); *wjercipjynta* ‘fidgeter’ (P. *wiercipięta*);

<sup>156</sup> Of course, this division is only heuristic and approximate as some classes include a wide variety of nouns which are difficult to classify in a neat manner. What the classes used intend to demonstrate is the great semantic diversity of words borrowed from Polish into Wymysorys.

- groups of people: *halastra* ‘rabble, mob’ (P. *halastra*); *stodło* ‘married couple’ (P. *stadło*); *śláhta* ‘noblemen’ (P. *szlachta*);
- nationalities: *Bułgar* (*Bułgar*) ‘Bulgarian’; *Śwyd* (*Szwed*) ‘Swede’; *Welsy* (*Włoch*) ‘Italian’;
- professions, occupations, and functions: *cegłoz* ‘brickmaker’ (P. *ceglarz*); *gancoż* ‘potter’ (P. *garncarz*); *handlyż* ‘seller, trader’ (P. *handle/arz*); *kumiñoż* ‘chimney sweep’ (P. *kominiarz*); *seńdża* ‘judge’ (P. *sędzia*); *zágjermáster* ‘watchmaker’ (P. *zegarmistrz*);
- kinship and family membership: *dżada* ‘grandpa’ (P. *dziadek*); *frájerka* ‘girl, girlfriend, fiancée’ (P. *frajerka*); *kłop* ‘man, husband’ (P. *chłop*); *kuzynk* ‘cousin’ (P. *kuzynka*); *macho(a)* ‘stepmother’ (P. *macocha*); *wniúcka* ‘granddaughter’ (P. *wnuczka*);
- parts of the body (either human or animal): *ćúla* ‘penis’ (P. *ciul(a)*); *ćúprin* ‘head of hair’ (P. *czupryna*); *düpski* ‘arse’ (P. *dupski*); *lydki* ‘calf’ (P. *lydka*); *pálüh* ‘finger, thumb’ (P. *paluch*); *płöüc* ‘lung’ (P. *płuco*); *twoż* ‘face’ (P. *twarz*); *wons* ‘moustache’ (P. *wąs*);
- flora: *bürok* ‘beetroot’ (P. *burak*); *fjolki* ‘violet’ (P. *fiolatek*); *káláfjor* ‘cauliflower’ (P. *kalafior*); *kaşton* ‘chestnut’ (P. *kasztan*); *ogürki* ‘cucumber’ (P. *ogórek*); *rümjanek* ‘chamomile’ (P. *rumianek*); *şhünećnik* ‘sunflower’ (P. *slonecznik*);
- fauna: *barüś* ‘ram’ (P. *barus*); *byk* ‘bull’ (P. *byk*); *ćarnüha* ‘a black cow’ (P. *czarnucha*); *kacuśu* ‘little cat’ (P. *kacusz*); *ropüih* ‘toad’ (P. *ropucha*); *şikiöela* ‘tomtit’ (P. *sikorka*); *söjka/sojka* ‘jaybird’ (P. *sójka*); *zebr* ‘zebra’ (P. *zebra*); *żuw* ‘turtle’ (P. *żółw*);
- foods and drinks: *bość* ‘beetroot soup’ (P. *barszcz*); *bryndz* ‘sheep’s cheese’ (P. *bryndza*); *cökier* ‘sugar’ (P. *cukier*); *kása* ‘grits, grouts’ (P. *kasza*); *papjeröski* ‘cigarette’ (P. *papieroszek*); *pencok* ‘pearl barley’ (P. *jęczak*); *şmolc* ‘lard’ (P. *smalec*);
- objects, instruments, and tools: *bognet* ‘bayonet’ (P. *bagnet*); *kelih* ‘goblet, cup’ (P. *kielich*); *moźdzyż* ‘mortar’ (P. *moździerz*); *okülor* ‘glasses’ (P. *okulary*); *şyc* ‘net’ (P. *sieć*); *tänister* ‘knapsack, schoolbag’ (P. *tornister*); *taşymkla* ‘ribbon’ (P. *tasiemka*);
- buildings and constructions: *báلكon* ‘balcony’ (P. *balkon*); *büid* ‘shed, stall, hut’ (P. *buda*); *folwark* ‘farm, manor’ (P. *folwark*); *ganek* ‘porch, entrance’ (P. *ganek*); *kaplic* ‘chapel’ (P. *kaplica*); *pałac* ‘palace’ (P. *pałac*); *synatorjum* ‘sanatorium’ (P. *sanatorium*);
- pieces of clothing and accessories: *bokserkja* ‘boxers’ (P. *bokserki*); *bürnus* ‘a winter coat’ (P. *burnus*); *kacabáj*, *kacabájka* ‘a piece of garment’ (P. *kacabajka*); *kapeliüs* ‘hat’ (P. *kapelusz*); *kümeşkla* ‘alb’ (P. *komeżka*); *pułkoşülek* ‘t-shirt’ (P. *półkoszulek*);
- places in nature: *grüñ* ‘slope, ridge’ (P. *grań*); *pustyña* ‘desert’ (P. *pustynia*); *stawarka* ‘sludge, scum from a pond’ (P. *stawiarka*); *strug* ‘stream’ (P. *struga*).

Although nouns with tangible and/or concrete referents predominate, Polish has also penetrated the other, non-tangible parts of the nominal vocabulary of Wymysorys. Two main classes of non-tangible content loanwords can be distinguished: objective and subjective (i.e. abstract). The objective type of non-tangible nominal lexemes includes words that pertain to the following semantic domains:

- inanimate natural phenomena: *küżawa* ‘heavy clouds’ (P. *kurzawa*); *potop* ‘deluge, flood’ (P. *potop*); *zamjeć* ‘blizzard, snow-storm’ (P. *zamieć*);

- traditional and cultural events: *bjyźmowańe* ‘confirmation’ (P. *bierzmowanie*); *strenkowiny* ‘engagement’ (P. *zrękowiny*); *külik* ‘sleigh party’ (P. *kulig*); *post* ‘fast’ (P. *post*); *ürlop* ‘vacation, leave’ (P. *urlop*); *wyźinek* ‘harvest, harvest festival’ (P. *wyzynek, wyzynki*);
- specific dates of holidays: *Anelsko* ‘Porziuncola Day’ (P. [Święto Matki Boskiej] *Anielskiej*); *Biöże/Błoże Ćało* ‘Corpus Christi’ (P. *Boże Ciało*); *Wielki Post* ‘Lent’ (P. *Wielki Post*); *Wńebowstompjyńe* ‘Ascension Day’ (P. *Wniebowstąpienie*);
- names of months: *listopad* ‘November’ (P. *listopad*); *lüty* ‘February’ (P. *luty*); *paźdźernik* ‘October’ (P. *październik*); *grüdźyń* ‘December’ (P. *grudzień*) (see Żak 2016:139).

The subjective class of loanwords that have non-tangible referents involves abstract nouns, of which a significant number belongs to the following sematic domains:

- emotions: *strah* ‘fear’ (P. *strach*); *ülga* ‘relief’ (P. *ulga*); *wzgarda* ‘contempt’ (P. *wzgarda*); *zowiść* ‘envy’ (P. *zawiść*);
- sensorial states: *biöelok* ‘complaint, pain’ (P. *bolak*); *menka* ‘suffering’ (P. *męka*);
- cognitive and mental states: *nodźeja* ‘hope’ (P. *nadzieja*); *ńezgiöeda* ‘disagreement’ (P. *niezgoda*); *ńepśyjaś(ń)* ‘hostility, animosity’ (P. *nieprzyjaźń*); *prawda* ‘truth’ (P. *prawda*);
- life conditions: *bjyda* ‘poverty’ (P. *bieda*); *wygiöd* ‘comfort’ (P. *wygoda*); *lüksüs* ‘luxury’ (P. *luksus*).

The above review demonstrates that a large number of loanwords refer to elements that shape the everyday lives of Wilamowians. Three main subtypes of such lexemes can be distinguished:

- those that concern the rural sphere of life, e.g. *köwuł* ‘mare’ (P. *kobyła*), *bürok* ‘beetroot’ (P. *burak*), *pyż* ‘couch grass, Elymus repens’ (P. *perz*), *miöergi* ‘unit of land’ (P. *morga*), and *śarpać* ‘a type of harrow’ (P. *szarpacz*; cf. Kleczkowski 1920:168; Żak 2016:136-138);
- those that refer to industrial, educative, and official spheres of communal life: *bezroboće* ‘unemployment’ (P. *bezrobocie*); *hüta* ‘steel factory, foundry’ (P. *huta*); *küntrakt* ‘contract’ (P. *kontrakt*); *prawo* ‘law’ (P. *prawo*); *sond* ‘judgment, court’ (P. *sąd*); *studja* ‘studies’ (P. *studia*);
- and those that refer to church and religion: *ćyśćec* ‘purgatory’ (P. *czyściec*); *gźyh* ‘sin’ (P. *grzech*); *pl(j)ebāni (plebania)* ‘presbytery, manse, vicarage’; *rozgźyśyńe* ‘absolution’ (P. *rozgrzeszenie*; see below); *zokün* ‘order, convent’ (P. *zakon*).

As is evident from the examples introduced thus far, the majority of the lexemes that have been borrowed from Polish are common nouns. However, a considerable number of Polish proper nouns have penetrated the Wymysorys lexicon as well.<sup>157</sup> Such proper nouns are of two pervasive classes:

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<sup>157</sup> Slavonic/Polish proper nouns – whether names of persons or places – commonly feature in eastern dialects of German (Siatkowski 2015:196-213), including other Silesian varieties (ibid. 198-203, 208-209).

- proper names of places: *Betlejem* (P. *Betlejem*); *Komorowic* (P. *Komorowice*); *Krök* (P. *Kraków*); *Molć* (P. *Malec*); *Oüswynca* (P. *Oświęcim*); *Śłyż* (P. *Śląsk*); *Teša* (P. *Cieszyn*); *Wadowic* (P. *Wadowice*);
- personal proper names and nicknames: *Biöetul* (P. *Bartłomiej*); *Jyndra* (P. *Jędrzej*, *Jędreć*); *Lojzek* (P. *Alojzy*); *Mateja* (P. *Mateusz*); *Mikołaj* (P. *Mikołaj*); *Winću* (P. *Wincenty*, *Wicus*); *Wälek* (P. *Walek*); *Žiöešal/Žiöeška/Zošu* (P. *Zosia*, *Zoška*).<sup>158</sup>

A substantial part of the vocabulary adopted from Polish has been transferred due to a need therefor. The most evident examples of need in the transfer of nouns are lexical gaps. That is, because of the exclusion of Wymysorys from certain facets of life and its restriction to others, the native means of expression of a number of concepts were never developed. The first type of nouns of which the presence may be explained by a filling-in-gaps mechanism are lexemes referring to unique elements of the cultural and political realities of Poland, e.g. the Polish coin *złoty* ‘złoty’ (P. *złoty*), *krakowjok* ‘the folk dance of Kraków’ (P. *krakowiak*), *Krök* ‘the city of Kraków’ (P. *Kraków*); or reality generally foreign to Wilamowice, e.g. *lægjer* ‘labor camp’ (P. *lagier*). For such concepts, Wymysorys may have always lacked a precise native equivalent. A direct loanword from Polish must therefore have seemed a satisfactory solution. The other type of gap includes (mostly recent) technological developments and inventions. Nearly all such concepts are encoded by nouns of Polish origin, e.g. *bankomat* ‘ATM’ (P. *bankomat*), *ekran* ‘screen’ (P. *ekran*), *elektryk* ‘electricity’ (P. *elektryka*), *käloryfer* ‘radiator’ (P. *kaloryfer*), *kompiüter* ‘computer’ (P. *komputer*), *läptop* ‘laptop’ (P. *laptop*), *prond* ‘current, electricity’ (P. *prąd*), *telewizjä* ‘television’ (P. *telewizja*), *telewizor* ‘TV set’ (P. *telewizor*), and *traktor* ‘tractor’ (P. *traktor*). Certainly, the direct import of all those lexemes from Polish – where they had first developed, often through borrowing from other external codes – is related to the absence of any policy encouraging the formation of new lexemes by using native material, e.g. by calquing their meanings by means of roots and suffixes available in Wymysorys. This is coherent with the fact that few examples of Polish-Wymysorys pattern (content) borrowing in the realms of nouns are found.

Need may also be the reason behind the transfer of nouns referring to church and religion. Since Polish has been the language of faith in Wilamowice for centuries – being used in church, during mass or in relation to priests, as well as in personal prayers (Łepkowski 1853:4; Neels 2012; 2016:114-116) – a large number of nouns related to the religious sphere of life have been introduced from Polish. This includes lexemes referring to events and dates (e.g. *Wñebowżynće* ‘Assumption’ (P. *Wniebowzięcie*) and *wilija* ‘vigil, Christmas Eve’ (P. *wigilia*)), activities (e.g. *dyspens* ‘dispensation’ (P. *dyspensa*) and *rużānec* ‘rosary, prayer beads’ (P. *rózaniec*)),

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<sup>158</sup> Overall, the qualitative diversity of Polish loanwords in Wymysorys is similar to that exhibited by Yiddish (Kahn 2015:696-697). In Yiddish, loanwords pertain to the domains of “kitchen, food, house, family, dress, street, market, business” (Weinreich 2008:526), “food, plants, [...] animals [and] body parts” (Hansen & Borzen 2012:430). They may also express concepts related to religion (Weinreich 2008:527) and law (Gajek 2016:101), as well as “sentiments of daily life in the intimate family circle or coarse negative traits” (Borochov 1913:1, as cited in Weinreich 2008:527). As in Wymysorys, a large number of kinship terms in Yiddish are of Slavonic origin (Kahn 2015:696). Regarding the semantics of the Slavonic lexicon of Yiddish, consult Wexler (1991), Geller (1994), and Eggers (1998).

functions (e.g. *apostol* ‘apostle’ (P. *apostoł*), *konsystoż* ‘advisory board in a Catholic church’ (P. *konsystorz*), and *der ojćec śwjynty* ‘poppe, holy father; especially John Paul II’ (P. *ojćiec śwjety*)), buildings and places (e.g. *kaplic* ‘chapel’ (P. *kaplica*) and *pl(j)ebāni* ‘presbytery, manse, vicarage’ (P. *plebania*), *stācyja* ‘stops during the Passion’ (P. *stacja*)), objects (e.g. *grumńic* ‘large candle’ (P. *gromnica*)), and abstract ideas (e.g. *gzyh* ‘sin’ (P. *grzech*) and *rozgzyśyńe* ‘absolution’ (P. *rozgrzeszenie*)). Although Wymysorys has had native nouns expressing such concepts – see *halikjōwyt/wājnahtsasa* ‘vigil, Christmas Eve’, *batputynystyn* ‘rosary, prayer beads’ or *hālikjy foter/popst* ‘poppe’ – their usage has been banned and/or abandoned in places in which they would naturally be employed (e.g. churches). This acquired, functional exclusion must have “forced” speakers to use Polish lexemes which have gradually been incorporated and adjusted to the Wymysorys language.

Although the need and/or filling-in-gaps mechanisms may have motivated the transfer of a number of items, borrowing from Polish has also occurred in the part of the lexicon where these mechanisms have not operated. Illustrative examples involve nouns referring to family members (e.g. *klop* ‘man, husband’ (P. *chłop*), *bahüž* ‘brat, kid’ (P. *bachor*), *babka* ‘grandma, old woman’ (P. *babka*), *wnüćka* ‘granddaughter’ (P. *wnuczka*), *frājerka* ‘girl, girlfriend, fiancée’ (P. *frajerka*)) and months (e.g. *wżeśyń* ‘September’ (P. *wrzesień*) and *grüdzýń* ‘December’ (P. *grudzień*)). In the above-mentioned domains, and in a few other cases, Polish loans have entirely replaced nouns that had, without doubt, existed as part of the native vocabulary at earlier stages of the history of Wymysorys. For a significantly larger number of loanwords for which transfer has not been motivated by the need to fill the gaps, the incorporation of Polish equivalents has not resulted in the loss of the original native words. Instead, a Polish lexeme has been added as an alternative to a native lexeme that has also remained in use. For each such pair, the inherited and borrowed nouns currently function as synonyms. Many such loanwords refer to persons, their functions and qualities, e.g. *ńepśyjaćel* (P. *nieprzyjaciel*) and *fājnd* ‘enemy’; *rodok* (P. *rodak*) and *łandsmon* ‘countryman’; *sknyra* (P. *sknera*) and *gājcwonst* ‘stingy person’; *špjeg* (P. *szpieg*) and *špjon* ‘spy’; *thüś* (P. *tchórz*) and *hözaśajser* ‘coward’; *žarłok* (P. *żarłok*) and *fejłfraser* ‘glutton’; *seńdža* (P. *sędzia*) and *ryhter* ‘judge’; and *rycyż* (P. *rycerz*) and *riter* ‘knight’. They may also denote buildings and objects, e.g. *(l)öebroz* (P. *obraz*) and *gymyl* ‘picture’; *(l)öebrus* (P. *obrus*) and *tejštüh* ‘tablecloth’; *kapeliś* (P. *kapelusz*) and *hüt* ‘hat’; *papjerös/papjeröski* (P. *papieros(ek)*) and *cigaretyn* ‘cigarette’. However, the most numerous class of referents for which two alternative lexemes are currently available – the one original and native, and the other imported from Polish – involves abstract concepts. Indeed, for all abstract nouns borrowed from Polish, there is a corresponding native equivalent, e.g. *zolawiść* (P. *zawiść*) and *nājd* ‘envy’; *bjyda* (P. *bieda*) and *nut* ‘poverty’; *čhiöet* (P. *cnota*) and *tugyt* ‘virtue’; *cüd* (P. *cud*) and *wunder* ‘wonder’; *gzyh* (P. *grzech*) and *zynd* ‘sin’; and *sond* (P. *sąd*) and *gyryht* ‘judgment, court’. The development of a large set of such doublets has led to a considerable enrichment of the nominal lexicon of Wymysorys.

### 5.1.3 Underlying Polish forms

Nouns borrowed from Polish to Wymysorys exhibit two further specific types of origins. They derive either from Standard Polish or from Polish dialects, especially those spoken in the western part of Lesser Poland and eastern Upper Silesia (cf. Kleczkowski 1920:160-173; Wicherkiewicz 1998a:207; 2003:403). The presence of both Standard and dialectal Polish features is consistent with the Polish varieties used by the older generation in Wilamowice. That is, Wilamowians – including the older inhabitants – make common use of a dialectal variety that coincides with Western Lesser Polish and Eastern Upper Silesian (Żak 2016:133) as well as Standard Polish (Wicherkiewicz & Zieniukowa 2001:505). Even though both the standard and dialectal varieties have donated to the nominal lexicon, their contribution is uneven. In general terms, loanwords originating in Standard Polish are less common than those originating in the Polish dialects.

Borrowed nouns that draw on Standard Polish are of two main classes. The first class contains recent imports often referring to technological inventions, e.g. *bankomat* ‘ATM’ (P. *bankomat*) and *ekran* ‘screen’ (P. *ekran*). The other class involves re-adaptations of forms of dialectal origin to Standard Polish pronunciation. That is, nouns that had previously been imported from Polish dialects, e.g. *kalendoż* ‘calendar’, *zowiść* ‘envy’ and *Pon Jezüs*, have been re-adjusted to their equivalents in Standard Polish, yielding *kalendaż*, *zawiść*, and *Pan*, respectively. As a result, both variants – i.e. dialectal and standard – are currently available.

As mentioned above, the presence of local Polish dialects in the nominal vocabulary of Wymysorys is highly significant. Indeed, the vast majority of nominal loanwords exhibit a dialectal foundation. This origin is visible in the phonetic substance of the borrowed nouns (i.e. the quality of their vowels and the types of consonants used) and the lexemes being imported (i.e. certain words do not belong to a general vocabulary of Standard Polish, but rather constitute part of a dialectal lexicon). Below, I will explain in detail all the dialectal features that are present in Polish nominal loanwords.

#### Pochylone vowels

The most persistent dialectal trait characterizing nominal borrowings concerns the three *pochylone* vowels. That is, the vowels present in lexemes of which the corresponding Polish sources contained *pochylone* vowels tend to reflect the pronunciation typical of Lesser Poland as well as eastern Upper Silesia, rather than that found in Standard Polish and other dialects.

To begin with, *pochylone* vowels developed in Polish from earlier long vowels. When the feature of vocalic length (the so-called *iloczas*) was lost, such vowels became qualitatively closer than their originally short counterparts, e.g. *a*: > *â*<sup>159</sup> (a sound similar to [a] and/or [ɒ]), *e*: > *ê* (a sound intermediate between [ɛ] and [i], most likely [e]), and *o*: > *ô* (a sound between

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<sup>159</sup> An alternative notation used in scholarship is *a<sup>o</sup>*.

[ɔ] and [u], most likely [o], often spelled as *ũ* or *o<sup>u</sup>*; Urbanczyk et al. 1991:299; Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995:114). While, in Standard Polish, the *pochylone* vowels gradually merged with other vowels (*â* and *é* merged with their “open” counterparts [a] and [ɛ], and *ô* merged with *u* [u]), they have persisted in the Lesser Polish and Silesian dialects, as well as in a number of other dialects. In Lesser Polish, the subsequent development of the *pochylone* vowels has been as follows: *â* has been maintained as *â* in the central zones (e.g. *ptâk* ‘bird’ = *ptak*) or has developed into *o* [ɔ] on the peripheries (e.g. *trawa* ‘grass’ = *trawa*; Dejna 1973:317); *é* has developed into *y* [ɨ] after hard consonants, *i* [i] after soft consonants in the northeast (e.g. *brzyg* ‘bank, shore’ = *brzeg* and *śnig* = *śnieg*), or *y* [ɨ] in all positions in the southwest (e.g. *brzyg* = *brzeg* and *śnyg* = *śnieg*; Dejna 1973:318); and *ô* has been maintained as *ô*, often spelled as *ũ* or *o<sup>u</sup>* in the south (e.g. *wieco<sup>u</sup>r* ‘evening’ = *wieczór*), or is pronounced as *u* in the north and east (Dejna 1973:322; Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995:114-116). In Silesian dialects, the development has been similar: *â* > *o<sup>l</sup>* in the north, and as *o* elsewhere (also in nouns ending *ja* > *jo* (e.g. *familijo* ‘family’); *é* > *y* or *e<sup>l</sup>* (a sound intermediate between [ɛ] and [y]), as well as *i* in certain environments; *ô* > *o<sup>u</sup>* (a sound between [ɔ] and [u]; Nitsch 1939; Bąk 1963; Zaręba 1969-1996; 1988). Comparable types of realizations of the *pochylone* vowels were attested in the dialect of Pisarzowice in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. *â* > *o*; *é* > *y* even after soft consonants; *ô* > close *o* (Grabowski 1849; Kosiński 1891:2-6; compare with a similar pronunciation of *â* and *é* documented by Zieniukowa 1998:200-201 at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century). The dialectal pronunciation of the *pochylone* vowels – especially *â* > *o* and *é* > *y/i* – has also been noted in Wilamowice (Wicherkiewicz 2003:404; Żak 2016:133).

In most Wymysorys nouns borrowed from Polish, the *pochylone* *â* is realized as [ɔ] (see Kleczkowski 1920:170; Żak 2016). This pronunciation coincides with the treatment of *â* found in Western Lesser Polish and Eastern Upper Silesian (Dejna 1973:317; Urbańczyk et al. 1991:415). It also matches the pronunciation of the *pochylone* *â* encountered in the Polish variety spoken in Pisarzowice (Zieniukowa 1998:200) and Wilamowice (see also Żak 2016:133). This may be illustrated by the following examples in which the Wymysorys *o* [ɔ] contrasts with the Standard Polish *a* [a]: *bość* ‘beetroot soup’ (P. *barszcz*), *dźodek* ‘grandpa’ (P. *dziadek*), *kora* ‘punishment’ (P. *kara*), *(l)öebroz/(l)obroz* ‘picture’ (P. *obraz*), *pohwoła* ‘praise’ (P. *pochwała*), *pon* ‘sir, lord’ (P. *pan*), *posek* ‘belt’ (P. *pasek*), *profda* ‘truth’ (P. *prawda*), *skorb* ‘treasure’ (P. *skarb*), *shocka* ‘meeting’ (P. *szadзка*), *skorb* ‘treasure’ (P. *skarb*), *śców* ‘sorrel’ (P. *szczaw*), *śmolc* ‘lard’ (P. *smalec*), *twoż* ‘face’ (P. *twarz*), *upodek* ‘fall’ (P. *upadek*), *zobawa* ‘play, amusement’ (P. *zabawa*), *zokońic* ‘nun’ (P. *zakonnica*), *zokun* ‘order, convent’ (P. *zakon*), and *zoraza* ‘plague, pest’ (P. *zaraza*). The dialectal (Lesser Polish and Upper Silesian) manner of pronouncing the *pochylone* *â* is virtually a rule in the final syllable of nouns that end in *-oż* (cf. P. *-arz*), *-ok* (cf. P. *-ak*), *-on* (cf. P. *-an*), and *-oć* (cf. P. *-acz*), for instance: *cegloż* ‘brickmaker’ (P. *ceglarz*), *pijok* ‘drunkard’ (P. *pijak*), *kaśton* ‘chestnut’ (P. *kasztan*), and *biöegoć* ‘rich man’ (P. *bogacz*). This means that the realization of the above-mentioned endings with the vowel [a], as in Standard Polish, is highly uncommon. However, exceptions attesting to a standard pronunciation even in the endings may also be found. For instance, the words *pon* ‘lord’, *zowiść* ‘envy’, and *kalendoż* ‘calendar’ have their

respective alternative forms *pan*, *zawiść*, and *kalendaż* that match the Standard Polish variants (cf. P. *pan*, *zawiść*, and *kalendarz*, respectively).

Wymysorys also attests to a dialectal treatment of the *pochylone é* (Kleczkowski 1920:170; Żak 2013; 2016). In Wymysorys, the *pochylone é* surfaces as *y* [ɤ], and crucially, it does so in all positions. Thus, it occurs after hard consonants, e.g. *aptyk* ‘pharmacy’ (P. *apteka*), *gazyt* ‘newspaper’ (P. *gazeta*), *zyspuł* ‘ensemble, group’ (P. *zespół*), *klyjnöt* ‘jewel’ (P. *klejnot*), and *styćyń* ‘January’ (P. *styczeń*). Similarly, it is found after soft consonants, e.g. *bjyda* ‘poverty’ (P. *bieda*), *bjyźmowańe* ‘confirmation’ (P. *bierzmowanie*), *moźdźyż* ‘mortar’ (P. *moździerz*), *papjyrńa* ‘paper factory’ (P. *papiernia*), *poćyngl* ‘a type of robe’ (P. *pociągiel*), *rozgżyśyńe* ‘absolution’ (P. *rozgrzeszenie*), *styćyń* ‘January’ (P. *styczeń*), *śerpjyń* ‘August’ (P. *sierpień*), *śyć* ‘net’ (P. *sieć*), *śyńnik* ‘straw mattress’ (P. *siennik*), *utropjyńe* ‘problem, distress’ (P. *utrapienie*), *Wńebowstompjyńe* ‘Ascension Day’ (P. *Wniebowstąpienie*), *Wńebowżyńce* ‘Assumption’ (P. *Wniebowzięcie*), and *wżeśyń* ‘September’ (P. *wrzesień*). This pronunciation of the *pochylone é* in Wymysorys nominal loanwords coincides with the treatment of *é* in the dialects spoken in southwestern Lesser Poland (e.g. in the Cracovian dialect and in Pisarzowice) as well as in the eastern part of Upper Silesia. As explained above, in those dialects, *é* is pronounced as *y* [ɤ] even after soft consonants, e.g. *rzyka* ‘river’ (cf. Standard Polish *rzeka*) and *śnyg* ‘snow’ (cf. P. *śnieg*). In contrast, the pronunciation of *é* attested in loanwords would diverge from its rendering in other parts of central and southeastern Poland, where *y* [ɤ] appears only after hard consonants, and *i* [i] is used with soft consonants (Urbanczyk et al. 299, 415). Nevertheless, in a few cases involving palatal consonants, *é* can be optionally realized as *i*, as illustrated by *ślipki* ‘a blind person’ (P. *ślepk*), an alternative variant of *śljypki* (cf. Kleczkowski 1920:170). This pronunciation would comply with the realization of the *pochylone é* found in the northeastern and some eastern regions of Lesser Poland (Urbanczyk et al. 299, 415).

Contrary to the case with *á* and *é*, the treatment of the *pochylone ó* in Wymysorys is less uniform. In general, the reflexes of *ó* may behave like *o* [ɔ] (which suggests a dialectal foundation typical of western and southern Lesser Poland, including Cracovian and Pisarzowice varieties, as well as of Upper Silesian) or, more commonly, like *u* [u] (which suggests that the underlying pronunciation was closer to Standard Polish, being also similar to the realization found in Northern and Eastern Lesser Polish; Dejna 1973:317-318, 322; Urbanczyk et al. 1991:299-300; Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995:114-116). First, a group of loanwords imported the *pochylone ó* in its dialectal pronunciation which, at the time of borrowing, must have been similar to *o*. In these words, the reflexes of the *pochylone* vowel evolved into (*i*)*ö*(*e*) in agreement with the regular treatment of the Polish *o* in Wymysorys (see Kleczkowski 1920:171), e.g. *sőjka* ‘jaybird’ (P. *sójka*) and *giöerol* ‘highlander, mountaineer’ (P. *goral*; dial. *goral*).<sup>160</sup> Second, in a number of loanwords, the *pochylone ó* is currently realized as *o* [ɔ], which also suggests a dialectal source – e.g. *Świenta/Świnynto Trojca* ‘Holy Trinity’ (P. *Święta Trójca*), and *pśednowek* ‘hungry gap’ (P. *przednówek*). Third, in an even larger set of lexemes, the quality of the vowel suggests a Standard Polish foundation of the borrowing. In these nouns, reflexes of *ó* currently surface as *ü*,

<sup>160</sup> For the change *o* > *ö/iöe*, see *priöestok* ‘boor, simpleton’ (P. *prostak*); *Żiöeśa*, *Żiöeśka* (P. *Zosia*, *Zośka*), *kröst* ‘scab, spot, pustule’ (P. *chrosta*).

which is a common Wymysorys equivalent of the Polish *u* (Kleczkowski 1920:171-172). The exemplary cases are: *prüžňok* ‘idler’ (P. *próżniak*), *thüś* ‘coward’ (P. *tchórz*), *włücenga* ‘vagabond’ (P. *włóczęga*), *ogürki* ‘cucumber’ (P. *ogórek*), *dahüfki* ‘roof tile’ (P. *dachówka*), *pobütki* ‘shoe’ (P. *półbuty/-butki*), *progütki* ‘threshold’ (P. *pogródka*), *sobütki* ‘a holiday in June’ (P. *sobótka*), and *wriüzba* ‘augury, prediction’ (P. *wróżba*). Fourth, in a group of loanwords, the Standard Polish [u] vowel (in which it is spelled *ó*) appears as such in Wymysorys. Put differently, the typical adjustment of the Polish *u* to the Wymysorys *ü* is absent, which indicates a more recent time of borrowing from Standard Polish. Illustrative examples are: *džup* ‘beak’ (P. *dziób*), *žuf* ‘turtle’ (P. *żółw*), *spulka* ‘mixture of oats with peas’ (P. *spółka*), *pulkošülek* ‘t-shirt’ (P. *półkoszulek*), *pultorok* ‘cart’ (P. *półtorak*), *ružáñec* ‘rosary’ (P. *różaniec*), *sposup* ‘way, means’ (P. *sposób*), *spulka* ‘partnership’ (P. *spółka*), and *zyspuł* ‘ensemble, group’ (P. *zespół*).

The dialectal foundation of loanwords is also visible in the pronunciation of the final *-aj*. In Wymysorys, the Standard Polish *aj* is usually pronounced as *áj* [aj], e.g. *gamájda* ‘lout’ (P. *gamajda*), *lájdok* ‘scoundrel’ (P. *lajdak*), and *winöewájca* ‘guilty party’ (P. *winowajca*). However, when occurring in word-final position, *aj* may be treated as in local dialects by being pronounced as *oj*, contrary to the standard pronunciation, e.g. *zwyćoj* ‘custom’ (P. *zwyczaj*).

### *Nasals*

The treatment of nasal vowels in nominal borrowings usually reflects the pronunciation typical of local dialects. However, at the same time, this pronunciation largely overlaps with the rendering of nasals in colloquial Standard Polish. In large parts of western Lesser Poland, including Cracovian dialects (Urbańczyk 1968; Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995:80-81; Kwaśnicka-Janowicz 2010; Karaś 2010a; 2010b; see also Kucala 1957; Kaś 1986; Dunaj 1989; Sikora 2001), in Silesia (Zaręba 1969-1989), and in the dialects of Piszowice (Kosiński 1891:7-8) and Wilamowice, the nasal feature of *ę* /*ẽ*/ and *ą* /*ã*/ – as well as of other nasal(ized) vowels, e.g. [ĩ], [ã], [ũ], and [õ] – is generally preserved, although the nasal vowel itself often resolves into an oral vowel and a nasal consonant. In contrast, in other parts of Lesser Poland, the nasals are often denasalized, e.g. *zob* ‘tooth’ instead of *ząb* (Urbańczyk 1968; Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995:80-81). As mentioned above, this realization of nasal vowels as an oral vowel and a nasal component is also typical of colloquial Standard Polish.

In Wymysorys, the nasal feature is largely maintained, although – as in the local dialects and colloquial Standard Polish – nasal vowels resolve into an oral vowel and a nasal consonant, i.e. *Ń* > VN (cf. Kleczkowski 1920:172). Only in one case is the nasal feature lost entirely: *Śłyż* ‘Silesia’ (P. *Śląsk*).

To be exact, *ę* surfaces as the groups *eN* (as is characteristic of colloquial Standard Polish and certain Polish dialects) or *yN* (as is characteristic of western Lesser Poland including Kraków, eastern Upper Silesia with Katowice (Urbańczyk 1991:416), and the contemporary dialect of Piszowice where vowels are raised before a nasal consonant, also if that consonant results from a nasal vowel; Zieniukowa 1998:201). The former pronunciation can be illustrated by

*kiöelenda* ‘Christmas carol’ (P. *kolęda*), *lazenga* ‘tramp, vagabond’ (P. *lazęga*), *menćehik* ‘martyr’ (P. *męczennik*), *menka* ‘suffering’ (P. *męka*), *pencok* ‘pearl barley’ (P. *pęczak*), *strenkowiny* ‘engagement’ (P. *strękowiny/zrękowiny*), *Świenta/Świynto Trojca/Trujca* ‘Holy Trinity’ (P. *Święta Trójca*), *wendrownik* ‘wanderer’ (P. *wędrownik*), *wengjerki* ‘a damson-like type of plum’ (P. *węgierki*), *wengüz* ‘eel’ (P. *węgorz*), *wentka* ‘fishing rod’ (P. *wędka*), and *wliücenga* ‘vagabond’ (P. *włóczęga*). The latter pronunciation comprises lexemes such as *Jyndra* (P. *Jędrzej, Jędrej*), *Jynrek* (P. *Jędrej*), *mjynta* ‘mint’ (P. *mięta*), *der ojćec śwjynty* ‘pope, holy father’ (P. *ojciec święty*), *Oüswynca* (P. *Oświęcim*), *poćyngl* ‘a type of robe’ (P. *pociągiel*), *wjerćipjynta* ‘fidget’ (P. *wiercipięta*), and *Wńebowżynće* ‘Assumption’ (P. *Wniebowzięcie*). In one case, *ę* resolves into the vowel *o* and a nasal consonant, e.g. *kolond* ‘Christmas carol’ (P. *kolęda*). A similar phenomenon occurs in southern parts of Lesser Poland, in the Lesser Polish and Silesian borderland (Zaręba 1969-1989), and in the region stretching from Oświęcim to Sącz, where *ą* and *ę* merge into /ɔ̃/ (Dejna 1973:323; Urbańczyk et al. 1991:298, 416). It was also attested in Pisarzowice in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, where *ę* was realized as *ę̃* and *ą* (Kosiński 1891:7). Otherwise, *ę* and *ą* are clearly distinct in Wymysorys.

In a similar vein, *ą* typically surfaces as an oral vowel and a nasal consonant, i.e. *oN*, which is typical of Western Lesser Polish and Silesian (Urbańczyk et al. 1991:416). This may be illustrated by forms such as *bonk* ‘bumblebee’ (P. *bąk*), *kabłonk* ‘arch’ (P. *kabląk*), *konkul* ‘corncockle, *Agrostemma githago*’ (P. *kąkol*), *pożondek* ‘order’ (P. *porządek*), *prond* ‘current, electricity’ (P. *prąd*), *pstrong* ‘trout’ (P. *pstrąg*), *sond* ‘judgment, court’ (P. *sąd*), and *wons* ‘moustache’ (P. *wąs*).

Often, the place of articulation of a nasal consonant, into which the nasal vowel resolves, is determined by the following phoneme. Apart from cases where the nasal consonant resolves into [n] (*pożondek* ‘order’ – P. *porządek*), it may also surface as [ŋ] (*seńdża* ‘judge’ – P. *sędzia*), [ɲ] (*mitrenga* ‘waste of time’ – P. *mitręga*), or [m] (*zastem(p)ca* ‘deputy’ – P. *zastępca*, *głębja* ‘depth’ – P. *głębia*). Such assimilation phenomena are typical of both Standard Polish and dialects in which the nasal feature is preserved.

Nevertheless, as explained in section 4.3.4, the nasal feature may also be preserved as a nasal vowel (e.g. [ɛ̃] and [ɔ̃]), a non-syllabic nasal vocoid ([ũ] and [ĩ]), or a nasal approximant ([w̃]/[ĩ̃] or [j̃]/[ĩ]). While genuine nasal vowels are rare in Wymysorys (and are also rare in colloquial Polish and local dialects), the use of nasal vocoids and approximants (typical of Standard Polish and more careful colloquial pronunciation) is slightly more common. For example, *wentka* ‘fishing rod’ (from P. *wędka*), *Wńebowstompjynie* ‘Ascension Day’ (from P. *Wniebowstąpienie*), and *Wńebowżynće* ‘Assumption Day’ (from P. *Wniebowzięcie*) can be realized as [veũtka], [vɲebɔvstoũpʲɛɲɛ], [vɲebɔvzɔ̃ĩtɛɛ]; or as [veĩtka], [vɲebɔvstoĩpʲɛɲɛ], [vɲebɔvzɔ̃ĩtɛɛ] and, if the approximant is less prominent, as [vẽtka], [vɲebɔvstõpʲɛɲɛ], and [vɲebɔvzɔ̃tɛɛ]. In contrast, the realization [vɛ̃tka], [vɲebɔvstɔ̃pʲɛɲɛ], and [vɲebɔvzɔ̃tɛɛ] is extremely rare and is generally viewed as excessively pedantic and “unnatural”.

## Mutation

In vast parts of Lesser Poland, including the Cracovian dialect and the dialect north of Żywiec, as well as in certain parts of eastern Upper Silesia (albeit in a fewer set of lexemes), the so-called “mutation” (*przegłos*) of the *e* vowel (i.e. *e* preceded by a palatal feature) of various origins does not take place. In those dialects, *e* has not developed into *o* or *a* in contrast to Standard Polish and many other dialects, where this change has taken place (Kosiński 1891:2; Pawłowski 1966; Urbańczyk 1968; Dejna 1973:184, 258, 321; Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995:80-81; Karaś 2010a; 2010b). That is, *bierę* ‘I take’, *wiatr* ‘wind’, and/or *mietła* ‘broom’ are realized contrary to the Standard Polish pronunciation *biorę*, *wiatr*, and *miotła*. The absence of mutation – at least to a certain extent – is also characteristic of the local Polish variety spoken by the older speakers in Wilamowice (Żak 2016:133) and Pisarzowice (Kosiński 1891:2).<sup>161</sup>

In Wymysorys, Polish loanwords tend to attest to mutated forms, suggesting their Standard Polish provenance. For instance, the form with mutation, identical to Standard Polish, is *namjot* ‘tent’ (P. *namiot*). The only word in Wymysorys that could reflect a non-mutated variant is *jaśeń*, which attests to a dialectal pronunciation (Boryś 2005:213; compare with the pronunciation of the Standard Polish *jesion*, where the mutation has operated; compare also with the non-mutated forms *jaseň* in Slovak, *ясен* in Ukrainian, and *ясень* in Russian, and *jasień/jesień* in Old Polish).

## Labialization

A typical trait of central and Southwestern Lesser Polish, spanning from Kraków to Żywiec, Biała, and Pszczyna (Pawłowski 1966; Urbańczyk 1968; Dejna 1973; Urbanczyk et al. 1991:60-61; Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995; Kwaśnicka-Janowicz 2010; Karaś 2010a; 2010b), including the Polish variety spoken in Wilamowice (cf. Kleczkowski 1920:171) and Pisarzowice (Kosiński 1891:3-5), is a strong labialization of *o*. This labialization takes place both in an initial position (cf. *lokno* ‘window’ and *lobiod* ‘lunch’ vs. *okno* and *obiad* in Standard Polish) and in an internal position (cf. *k’oszyk* ‘basket’ vs. *koszyk*).

In various instances, this dialectal pronunciation is reflected by Polish loanwords in Wymysorys (Kleczkowski 1920:171). This can be illustrated by *löebroz/lobroz* ‘picture’ (P. *obraz*), *löebrus/lobrus* ‘tablecloth’ (P. *obrus*), *lö(e)rgañist* ‘organist’ (P. *organista*), *lopekün* ‘guardian’ (P. *opiekun*), and *löstüda* (P. *ostuda*) ‘problem’, where labialization occurs word-initially. The lexeme *Błoże Ćało* ‘Corpus Christi’ attests to labialization taking place in a word-internal position (cf. P. *Boże Ciało*). However, most of the above-mentioned nouns also allow for a non-labial pronunciation, thus coinciding with Standard Polish: *öebroz/obroz*, *öebrus/obrus*, *ö(e)rgañist/orgañist*, *opjekün*, and *Biöże Ćało*. Moreover, various nominal lexemes only exhibit forms without labialization, e.g. *ohronka* ‘kindergarten’ (P. *ochronka*), *der ojćec śwjynty* ‘pope, holy father’ (P. *ojciec święty*), *okülor* ‘glasses’ (P. *okulary*), *oplatki*

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<sup>161</sup> However, note that the Standard Polish word for ‘wind’ *wiatr* is regularly rendered in Wilamowice as *wiater* (Król p.c.).

‘communion, Christmas wafer’ (P. *opłatek*), or *Ouiswynca* (P. *Oświęcim*). In these cases, it is Standard Polish, not the local dialects, that most likely constitutes the foundation of Wymysorys loanwords.

### *[k] instead of [x]*

The relevance of dialects for nouns imported from Polish to Wymysorys is visible not only in the vocalic component of the loanwords; it is also present in the consonants found in the borrowed lexemes. A relatively constant dialectal feature is the realization of the Standard Polish *ch* [x] as *k* [k] in certain positions. This pronunciation extends from northwest of Częstochowa south until Katowice and Bielsko-Biała, and east to Kraków. It is thus typical of larger parts of Lesser Poland, especially its southern parts, i.e. south from Kraków, in the highlands and mountains, including the dialects spoken in Żywiec (Pawłowski 1966; Urbańczyk 1968; Dejna 1973; Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995:80-81; Karaś 2010a; 2010b) and in Piszczowice (Kosiński 1891:8). It is also found in parts of Silesia (Nitsch 1939; Bąk 1963; Zaręba 1969-1996; 1988).

Wymysorys nouns tend to attest to this dialectal change (see Kleczkowski 1920:173). Accordingly, certain lexemes exhibit the plosive *k* [k] instead of the fricative *ch* [x], contrary to the rule of Standard Polish. This change occurs before a vowel, e.g. *karlok* ‘weakling’ (P. *chelarlak*), *karakter* ‘character’ (P. *charakter*), and *kistiöeryj/kistöryj* ‘tale, history’ (P. *historia*). It also appears in consonant clusters, e.g. *kłop* ‘man’ (P. *chłop*), *kłyścok* ‘whippersnapper’ (P. *chłystek*), *kšeść(ij)añin* ‘Christian’ (P. *chrześcijañin*), and *kröst* ‘scab, spot, pustule’ (P. *chrosta*). Nevertheless, exceptions can be found as illustrated by *hrapka* ‘wish, lust’ (P. *chrapka*) and an alternative form *histiöeryj* ‘tale’ (P. *historia*).

### Mazurzenie, siakanie, and sziakanie

The phenomenon of *mazurzenie* corresponds to the pronunciation of the postalveolar hard sibilant fricatives and affricates [s̠], [z̠], [ts̠], [d͡z̠] as alveolars [s], [z], [ts], [d͡z], e.g. *clowiek* ‘man’ and *susa* ‘drought’ instead of *człowiek* and *susza* as in Standard Polish (see chapter 4). This is typical of Lesser Polish and the Cracovian dialect (Pawłowski 1966; Urbańczyk 1968; Dejna 1973; Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995). In contrast, *mazurzenie* is more restricted in Silesian. It is regular only in Northern Silesian, being generally absent in Central and Southern Silesian. It was however attested on the Silesian-Lesser Polish border (Nitsch 1939; Bąk 1963; Zaręba 1969-1996; 1988; Dejna 1973). *Mazurzenie* was also widely attested in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Piszczowice, both in lexemes and suffixes, although exceptions were also common (Kosiński 1891:4-5, 7, 11, 13).<sup>162</sup> Currently, *mazurzenie* is absent in the Polish variety spoken in Wilamowice (Wicherkiewicz 2003:404; Żak 2016:133).

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<sup>162</sup> The regular exception is *boże* (Kosiński 1891:11).

*Mazurzenie* is generally absent in Wymysorys nouns (Kleczkowski 1920:173), with a single exception: *pencok* ‘pearl barley’ pronounced with *c* [t͡s] instead of *cz* [t͡ʃ] (cf. P. *pęczak*). However, both in the Polish dialect of Wilamowice and in Wymysorys itself, one finds traces of *szadzenie*, which suggests, in turn, that *mazurzenie* was likely present at an earlier stage (Żak 2016:133-134). *Szadzenie* is a hypercorrect pronunciation of alveolars, e.g. *s* [s] as postalveolars, e.g. *sz* [ʃ]. Two Polish loanwords in Wymysorys attest to the pronunciation of *s* [s] as *ś*, with three possible allophones: [ʃ], [ɛ], [s̠] (see further below). The word for ‘lard’ is regularly pronounced with *ś*, i.e. as *śmol*, contrary to its pronunciation in Standard Polish as *smalec*. The Polish word *skandal* ‘scandal’ has two variants in Wymysorys: *skandal* as in the standard language and *śkandal* as in the dialect.<sup>163</sup>

While *mazurzenie* is virtually absent in nouns adopted from Polish to Wymysorys, the borrowed lexemes may suggest some type of *siakanie* and/or *szakanie*. To begin with, in certain dialects of Lesser Poland, e.g. the Cracovian dialect (which sometimes, especially in foreign loanwords, replaces *mazurzenie* with *siakanie*) and Żywiec, the postalveolar fricatives and affricates ([ʃ], [z], [t͡ʃ], [d͡ʒ]) were replaced by corresponding alveolo-palatal consonants ([ɛ], [z], [t͡ɛ], [d͡ʒ]), e.g. *pošli* ‘they went’ (cf. P. *poszli*) or *źmija* ‘adder’ (cf. P. *żmija*), such that the two series (the hard postalveolar and the soft alveolo-palatal) merged into one (soft alveolo-palatal; Pawłowski 1966; Urbańczyk 1968; Dejna 1973; Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995). This pronunciation of *ś* instead of *sz* and *ć* instead of *cz* was also attested in Pisarzowice in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Kosiński 1891:11). In the dialect of Cieszyn, the outcome of the merger was an intermediary class of sounds – [s̠ʲ], [z̠ʲ], [t͡s̠ʲ], [d͡ʒ̠ʲ]. The former phenomenon is known as *siakanie*, while the latter is referred to as *szakanie* (see section 4.1.1).

The Polish loanwords in Wymysorys exhibit similar tendencies. That is, the hard and soft series of sibilant fricatives and affricates may be preserved and pronounced etymologically as [s̠], [z̠], [t͡s̠], [d͡ʒ̠] and [ɛ], [z], [t͡ɛ], and [d͡ʒ], respectively. However, they may also merge into [ɛ], [z], [t͡ɛ], and [d͡ʒ] (like in *siakanie*) or, more commonly, into [ʃ], [z], [t͡ʃ], and [d͡ʒ], which is virtually indistinguishable from [s̠ʲ], [z̠ʲ], [t͡s̠ʲ], and [d͡ʒ̠ʲ] (similar to *szakanie*). As explained in chapter 4, this merger of two series into one, and the assimilation of the hard series into a soft one (either alveolo-palatal or palatal), may however not be a result of direct dialectal influence. Rather, this merger most likely draws on the original Germanic sibilant fricatives and affricates, thus constituting an example of adaptation to the native sound system.<sup>164</sup> As a result, the instances of *siakanie* and/or *szakanie* would be adaptations of Polish loanwords to the Wymysorys system, instead of reflecting dialectal sources. It is possible – and perhaps most likely – that both types of motivations, i.e. dialectal and adaptive, have coincided.

The soft pronunciation of hard sibilant fricatives and affricates is the most regular with regards to *sz* [s̠] and *cz* [z̠], and their combination *szcz* [t͡s̠]. The replacement of *sz* with *ś* may occur in any position: word-initially before a back vowel, e.g. *śalaput* ‘scatterbrain’ (P. *szalaput*) and *śalwi* ‘salvia’ (P. *szalwia*); word-initially before a front-vowel, e.g. *śelm* ‘rascal, knave’ (P.

<sup>163</sup> Another possible example is *kłyśćok* ‘whippersnapper’ (cf. P. *chłystek*).

<sup>164</sup> As explained in chapter 4, the influence of the Cieszyn dialect is rather unlikely.

*szelma*); in an intervocalic position, e.g. *kása* ‘grits, grouts’ (P. *kasza*) and *kośerka* ‘midwife’ (P. *akuszerka*); word-finally, e.g. *kapeliś* ‘hat’ (P. *kapelusz*) and *thiś* ‘coward’ (P. *tchórz*); word-initially before another consonant, e.g. *skap* ‘jade, horse’ (P. *szkapa*) and *śniur* ‘robe’ (P. *sznur*); word-internally before a consonant, e.g. *driśka* ‘bridesmaid’ (P. *drużka*) and *kaśton* ‘chestnut’ (P. *kasztan*); and after a consonant, e.g. *kśeść(ij)aniin* ‘Christian’ (P. *chrześcijanin*) and *ńepśyjaćel* ‘enemy’ (P. *nieprzyjaciel*). The realization of *cz* as *ć* is also found in all positions: word-initially before a vowel, e.g. *ćiuprin* ‘head of hair’ (P. *czupryna*), *ćarowńic* ‘hex’ (P. *czarownica*), and *ćyśćic* ‘yellow toadflax, linaria vulgaris’ (P. *czyściec*); word-finally, e.g. *biöegoć* ‘rich man’ (P. *bogacz*) and *pogüñic* ‘driver, herdsman’ (P. *poganiacz*); in an intervocalic position, e.g. *wlićenga* ‘vagabond’ (P. *włóczęga*); after a consonant, e.g. *Kañćiug* (P. *Kańczuga*) ‘proper noun’; and before a consonant, e.g. *wnüćka* ‘granddaughter’ (P. *wnuczka*). The replacement of *szcz* (also from *strz*) with *ćś* is illustrated by *śćow* ‘Rumex, sorrel’ (P. *szczaw*), *priöebość* ‘parson’ (P. *proboszcz*), and *śćal* ‘arrow’ (P. *strzala*). In contrast, the pronunciation of *ż* as *ź* is less pervasive and, in many cases, the original hard consonant is preferred (see also below). Nevertheless, some examples of its soft realization can also be found and, in most of them, the *ź* appears before or after another consonant: *bźoskwiñ* ‘peach’ (P. *brzoskwinia*), *driźba* ‘best man’ (P. *drużba*), and *priüźnok* ‘idler’ (P. *próżniak*). Alternatively, *ź* replaces *ż* in an intervocalic position, e.g. *wyźinek* ‘harvest’ (P. *wyżynki*) and *Biöeże Ćało* ‘Corpus Christi’ (P. *Boże Ciało*). In word-final position, the Standard Polish *ż* is occasionally pronounced as *ź*, e.g. *ryź* ‘rice’ (P. *ryż*). A few examples are also found in which *ż* has been replaced by *ź* in a word-initial position before a vowel, e.g. *źuw* ‘turtle’ (P. *żółw*) and *źyraf* ‘giraffe’ (P. *żyrafa*). However, in all of these examples, the Standard Polish pronunciation, i.e. *ż*, seems to be more common. Lastly, a single loanword attests to a soft, dialectal pronunciation of the voiced sibilant affricate *dź*, i.e. *dźüdo* ‘judo’ (P. *dzudo*).

Contrary to the tendency outlined above, there are many counterexamples in which a hard postalveolar prevails. Nearly all of them involve the consonant spelled in Standard Polish, and in Wymysorys, as *ż*. This spelling may represent the laminal flat postalveolar voiced fricative [z]: *baźant* ‘pheasant’ (P. *bażant*), *bezboźnik* ‘godless person, atheist’ (P. *bezbożnik*), *biźuteryj* ‘jewelry’ (P. *biżuteria*), *öelbźym* ‘giant’ (P. *olbrzym*), *piźam* (P. *piżama*) ‘pyjamas’, *pożyćkja* ‘currant’ (P. *porzeczki*), *pyź* ‘couch grass, Elymus repens’ (P. *perz*), *rozgżyśyñe* ‘absolution’ (P. *rozgrzeszenie*), *ruźañec* ‘rosary, prayer beads’ (P. *różaniec*), *źarłok* ‘glutton’ (P. *żarłok*), *źuf* ‘turtle’ (P. *żółw*), and *źyraf* ‘giraffe’ (P. *żyrafa*). The spelling may also represent the voiceless fricative [s] that arises due to the word-final devoicing of [z]: *wengüź* ‘eel’ (P. *węgorz*), *dźyź* ‘kneading trough’ (P. *dzieża*), *moźdźyź* ‘mortar’ (P. *moździerz*), *twoź* ‘face’ (P. *twarz*). The hard postalveolar pronunciation of *ż* is the most typical in the endings *-oź* (P. *-arz*) and *-yź*, (P. *-erz*), e.g. *cegłoź* ‘brickmaker’ (P. *ceglarz*), *elamentoź* ‘primer’ (P. *elementarz*), *gancoź* ‘potter’ (P. *garncarz*), *grüboź* ‘gravedigger’ (P. *grabarz*), *handlyź* ‘seller, trader’ (P. *handlarz*), *kałamoź* ‘inkwell, inkpot’ (P. *kałamarz*), *miśkoź* ‘castrator’ (P. *miśkarz*), *smoloź* ‘pitch burner’ (P. *smolarz*), and *rycyź* ‘knight’ (P. *rycerz*). Apart from *ż*, the only relatively consistent case of the hard pronunciation of a sibilant fricative or affricate is the word *kabaczek* ‘squash’, where *cz* is typically preserved as in Standard Polish *kabaczek*. This means, inversely, that for *cz*, *sz*, and *dź*, the soft (alveolo-palatal or palatal) pronunciation is the rule (see section 4.1.1).

Overall, as far as nominal loanwords containing sibilant fricatives and affricates are concerned, both dialectal and Standard Polish sources are possible, as is the adaptation of the Polish consonants to the native (i.e. etymological) sound system of Wymysorys (see section 4.1.1 as well as section 5.1.4 below).

### *Other phenomena involving consonants*

Nominal loanwords exhibit other, often residual, phenomena that suggest their dialectal provenance.

First, two nouns attest to the voicing of intervocalic *-k-* [k] to *-g-* [g] found in some dialects of Lesser Polish. These words are *waganc* ‘vacation’ (P. *wakacje*) and *agacja* ‘acacia’ (cf. P. *akacja*; cf. Kleczkowski 1920:173). However, variants with the voiceless *k* are also found.

Second, one noun borrowed from Polish attests to a dialectal pronunciation of *ch* [x] as *f* [f] after *t* [t], which is found in the southern and central parts of Lesser Poland (Kleczkowski 1920:173, after Nitsch 1916:44; see Dejna 1973:134, 299). To be exact, the loanword for ‘coward’ exhibits two alternative forms: *tfiś*, a form likely borrowed from a local dialect, and the other, more common, variant *tchś*, which mirrors the Standard Polish usage more closely.<sup>165</sup>

Third, some nominal borrowings simplify consonant clusters, which is a common phenomenon in local dialects. For instance, the Polish clusters *trz*, *strz*, and *zdrz* are sometimes reduced in Wymysorys to *ć*, *ść*, and *źdź*, respectively as illustrated by *ćewik* ‘shoe’ (P. *trzewik*) and *ścał* ‘arrow’ (P. *strzala*). However, it should be noted that this type of simplification is also characteristic of colloquial pronunciation of Standard Polish, not only of its dialects (Gussmann 2007; cf. Kleczkowski 1920:173). Other simplifying mechanisms are more characteristic of a dialectal pronunciation found around Wilamowice. For instance, the consonant *r* may be eliminated in complex clusters, e.g. *bość* ‘beetroot soup’ (P. *barszcz*; Kleczkowski 1920:173) or *gancoż* ‘potter’ (P. *garncarz*), and the last consonant in the clusters *sm* and *źń* can be apocopated in a word-final position, e.g. *katehiz* ‘catechism’ (P. *katechizm*) and *ńepśyjaś* ‘animosity’ (P. *nieprzyjaźń*). The simplification of complex combinations of consonants in all types of nouns may also stem from the phonological properties of Wymysorys itself (see section 5.1.4 below; see also section 4.3.5).

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<sup>165</sup> In certain Lesser Polish varieties (e.g. in the Cracovian dialect), the consonant *r* in the morpheme *roz-* is lost and the vowel may experience a subsequent labialization, e.g. *(l)ozrywki* ‘fun, amusement’ vs. *rozrywki* in Standard Polish. In Wymysorys, in all cases where the prefix *roz-* appears, the original consonant *r* is preserved, as demonstrated by *rozgzyśyńie* ‘absolution’ (cf. P. *rozgrzeszenie*), *rozprawa* ‘trial, debate’ (cf. P. *rozprawa*), and *rozriuh* ‘riot, uproar’ (cf. P. *rozruchy*). In the western part of Lesser Poland and in Silesia, as well as in the Polish variety used in Wilamowice, the cluster *sr/śr* is maintained, as is also the case in Standard Polish. This distinguishes these areas from other dialects where the above-mentioned cluster evolved into *rs/rs*, e.g. *rśoda* ‘Wednesday’ vs. *środa* in Standard Polish. In Wymysorys, all examples of the *sr/śr* cluster are preserved as such, e.g. *śrut/śrūt* ‘buckshot’ (cf. P. *śrut*).

## Lexicon

The dialectal background of Polish imports in Wymysorys may also surface in the particular lexemes borrowed from Polish. That is, certain loanwords draw on the vocabulary of the dialect spoken in Wilamowice and surrounding areas rather than deriving from the general lexicon of Standard Polish. Lexemes typical of Lesser Polish dialects that have been transferred to Wymysorys are *baba* ‘grandma, woman’ and *dżada* ‘grandpa’ (cf. Żak 2016:137). The lexemes *špyrkja* and *moćka* reflect names of dishes popular in both Lesser Poland and Silesia, i.e. *szpyrki* ‘fat’ and *moczka* ‘tripe dish’, respectively (Żak 2016:137). The word *bańa* is the dialectal name for ‘pumpkin’ (cf. Polish *dynia*; Żak 2016:138), while *košerka* ‘midwife’ derives from the dialectal form *kosierka* of the Standard Polish *akuszerka* (Kleczkowski 1920:172). The lexeme *gizd* ‘punk, naughty boy’ is typical of the Cieszyn dialect (*gizd*), while being contrastingly absent in Standard Polish. In a similar vein, the Wymysorys noun *perlik* ‘sledgehammer’ derives from the lexeme *perlik*, itself imported from Czech and/or German (Klemensiewicz 2002:137), that was stabilized in the mining lexicon common in dialects around Wilamowice. Other dialectal lexemes are *kacuşu* ‘cat’ (dial. *kacuş*), *löštüda* ‘problem’ (dial. *ostuda*), and *rác* ‘cloven foot, cloven hoof’ (dial. *rać*).

### 5.1.4 Adaptation mechanisms

Nouns borrowed from Polish into Wymysorys are generally well adapted to the Wymysorys language system. This adaptation may be observed at the level of phonetics, inflectional and derivational morphology, and semantics.

As far as phonetics is concerned, various borrowed nouns exhibit vowels that are absent in the underlying Polish forms and, crucially, in the Polish language in general. The two most pervasive changes involve the replacement of *u* [u] (and *ó* if borrowed from Standard Polish) and *o* [ɔ] (and *ó* if borrowed from dialects) with *ü* [y]/[ʏ] and *(i)ö(e)* [ø]/[ʏøœ], respectively. Both types of correspondences are highly common. The replacement of *u* with *ü* can be illustrated by *družba* ‘best man’ (P. *družba*), *prüžnok* ‘idler’ (P. *próżniak*), *süka* ‘bitch [pejorative]’ (P. *suka*), *ćüprin* ‘head of hair’ (P. *czupryna*), and *trüskawk* ‘strawberry’ (P. *truskawka*). The replacement of the Standard Polish *ó* with *ü* is illustrated by *thüś* ‘coward’ (P. *tchórz*). The use of *(i)ö(e)* instead of the Polish *o* can be illustrated by *biöegoć* ‘rich man’ (P. *bogacz*) and *priöestok* ‘boor, simpleton’ (P. *prostak*); *öelbzym* ‘giant’ (P. *olbrzym*) and *öebroz* ‘picture’ (P. *obraz*); and *priöerök* ‘prophet’ (P. *prorok*) and *söjka* ‘jaybird’ (P. *sójka*). The use of *(i)ö(e)* instead of the dialectal *ó* may be illustrated by *söjka* ‘jaybird’ (P. *sójka*) and *giöerol* ‘highlander, mountaineer’ (P. *góral*). Exceptions to these two tendencies are also found. In such cases, the Polish *u* and *o* are preserved accordingly, e.g. *šrut* ‘buckshot’ (P. *śrut*) or *kuzynk* ‘cousin’ (P. *kuzynka*), and *obroz* ‘picture’ (P. *obraz*) or *kopyt* ‘hoof’ (P. *kopyto*).

Another adaptive mechanism is a partial denasalization of Polish nasal vowels, especially *ę* /ɛ̃/, *ą* /ɔ̃/, and [ɔ̃], which were absent in the original phonological system of Silesian German dialects. As explained in section 5.1.3 above, in nearly all cases, the two nasal vowels are

resolved into an oral vowel and an accompanying nasal consonant [n], [m], [ŋ], or [ɲ], e.g. *wendrownik* ‘wanderer’ (P. *wędrownik*), *głębja* ‘depth’ (P. *głębia*), *seńdża* ‘judge’ (P. *sędzia*), and *mitrenga* ‘waste of time’ (P. *mitręga*). Again, in some cases, pronunciation with nasal vowels, nasal vocoids, and nasal approximants may be heard. This adaptive mechanism largely overlaps with a dialectal pronunciation of nasals attested in the Polish variety spoken in Wilamowice and in neighboring varieties, and with the pronunciation found in colloquial Standard Polish (see sections 4.2.2, 4.3.4, and 5.1.3).

Simplification of consonant clusters in borrowed nouns may also be understood as a combination of two processes. On the one hand, it may reflect the adjustment of complex clusters typical of Standard Polish to the native and German(ic) phonology. On the other hand, the resulting forms often coincide with the pronunciation found in dialectal and colloquial varieties of Polish (see sections 4.5.3 and 5.1.3). Examples of simplification of complex consonantal combination are: *żdż* > *ż*, e.g. *sowiżoł* ‘rascal’ (cf. P. *sowizdrzał*), and *dz* > *z*, e.g. *rożinki/rozyunki* ‘raisin’ (cf. P. *rodzynek*). Sometimes an epenthetic vowel is introduced to ease the pronunciation of consonant clusters, e.g. *ścybła/ścibła/ścymbło* ‘straw’ (cf. P. *żdźbło*) and *papereć* ‘fern’ (cf. P. *paproć*). However, as explained in chapter 4, various types of consonant clusters are also preserved, e.g. *pstrong* ‘trout’ (P. *pstrąg*).

Additionally, the oldest loans exhibit two further adaptive changes. First, the original bilabial plosive [b] surfaces as a corresponding fricative [v] when used in an intervocalic position, e.g. *śawuł* ‘saber’ (cf. P. *szabla*) and *köwuł* ‘mare’ (cf. P. *kobyła*). Second, *r* is lost in a position before a consonant, e.g. *twiöeg* ‘cottage cheese’ (cf. P. *twaróg*). These two adaptations reflect language-internal phonetic changes that took place earlier in Wymysorys and widely affected native lexicon (Kleczkowski 1920:167).

Although the position of accent in nouns borrowed from Polish is usually maintained – and thus many words exhibit the penultimate accent as in Polish (Kleczkowski 1920:174) – in some instances, adaptive mechanisms operate. One of the most pervasive of such mechanisms is the placement of stress on the ultimate syllable due to the loss of the final *a* (regarding this phenomenon, see further below in this section). This contrasts with the situation in Polish where, although falling on the same vowel of the corresponding lexeme, the accent is penultimate, e.g. *ka'plic* ‘chapel’ (P. *ka'plica*) and *kata'het* (P. *kate'cheta*) ‘religious instructor’. The presence of the ultimate-syllable accent is also found in some words where apocope (i.e. final-vowel deletion) does not take place. In these lexemes, all of which exhibit the ending *-oł*, *-ol*, or *-on*, the accent was likely shifted in agreement with the typical stress pattern found in native *-oł*, *-ol*, and *-on* nouns in Wymysorys. See, for instance, *kardy'noł* ‘cardinal’ (P. *kar'dynał*), *krymi'noł* ‘jug, problem’ (P. *kry'minał*), *ka'proł* ‘corporal’ (P. *'kaprał*), and *bäl'kon* ‘balcony’ (P. *'balkon*). Lastly, a few nouns shift their accent from the penultimate to the first syllable, by analogy to the “Germanic” accent common in Wymysorys, e.g. *'kalamoż* ‘inkwell, inkpot’ (P. *ka'łamarz*), *'kukurüc* ‘maize’ (P. *kuku'rydza*), *'katafälk* ‘catafalque’ (P. *ka'tafalk*), *'müzykant* ‘musician’ (P. *mu'zykant*), and *'kapelüs* ‘hat’ (P.

*ka'pelusz*; cf. Kleczkowski 1920:174). However, even these lexemes may be pronounced with the penultimate accent typical of Polish.

In various cases, nouns borrowed from Polish are also integrated into the morphological system of Wymysorys. This involves both inflectional and derivational morphology. That is, imported lexemes adjust their singular and plural endings to the rules of Wymysorys, and take on derivative morphemes which are productive in the language.

Various feminine nouns that end in *-a* in Polish lose this vowel during their transfer to Wymysorys, e.g. *brom* ‘gate’ (P. *brama*), *büd* ‘shed’ (P. *buda*), *cüprin* ‘head of hair’ (P. *czupryna*), *gñid* ‘nit’ (P. *gnida*), *jälowic* ‘heifer’ (P. *jałowica*), *jedlin* ‘young fir forest’ (P. *jedlina*), *köwul* ‘mare’ (P. *kobyła*), *krat* ‘grid’ (P. *krata*), *kröst* ‘scab, spot, pustule’ (P. *chrosta*), *kukurüc* ‘corn’ (P. *kukurudza*), *kuzynk* ‘cousin’ (P. *kuzynka*), *malp* ‘ape’ (P. *malpa*), *mamic* ‘bad mother’ (P. *mamica*), *öednöeg* ‘branch’ (P. *odnoga*), *ropüh* ‘toad’ (P. *ropucha*), *skal* ‘rock’ (P. *skala*), *strug* ‘stream’ (P. *struga*), and *tarć* ‘shield’ (P. *tarca*; cf. Kleczkowski 1920:175). This tendency of adjustment has its roots in the general rule according to which, in Wymysorys, inherited feminine nouns never end in *-a* in the singular. Instead, they end in a consonant, as illustrated by nouns of several declensional patterns found in the language, e.g. *cäjt* ‘time’, *aksul* ‘axel, shoulder’, *fader* ‘feather’, *gonz* ‘goose’, *cejn* ‘toe’, and *korün* ‘crown’ (Andrason & Król 2016a). On the contrary, the ending *-a* is characteristic of masculine nouns (cf. *noma* ‘name’) and neuter diminutives as a part of the morpheme *-la* (cf. *bichla* ‘book’). For feminine nouns, the ending *-a* is employed to derive their plural forms, e.g. *cäjt* ‘time’ [sg.] – *cäjta* [pl.] and *kraft* ‘strength’ [sg.] – *krefta* [pl.]. In other words, in order to preserve the gender of the feminine substantives without transgressing the rules of Wymysorys morphology, the vowel *-a* – otherwise characteristic of feminine nouns in Polish (e.g. *skala* ‘rock’ and *ropucha* ‘toad’) – has been eliminated such that the lexemes end in a consonant (i.e. *skal* and *ropüh*), which is a typical ending of all other feminine substantives. In accordance with the main tendency in feminine declension, the ending *-a* is used as a plural marker, e.g. *skala* ‘rocks’ and *ropüha* ‘toads’. As a result, by taking on plural endings typical of the Wymysorys language, the borrowed words fit the main pattern of feminine declension and their plural formation.

Even though the above-mentioned phenomenon constitutes a pervasive tendency, counterexamples can be found, as illustrated by words such as *bapka* ‘grandma, old woman’ (P. *babka*), *kälina* ‘viburnum’ (P. *kalina*), *küzäwa* ‘heavy clouds’ (P. *kurzawa*), *macoha* ‘stepmother’ (P. *macocha*), *ñedzela* ‘a nickname’ (P. *niedziela*), and *nodgriöeda* ‘praise’ (P. *nagroda*). By preserving the original *-a*, these feminine nouns transgress the rule governing the Wymysorys nominal system, according to which the ending *-a* is characteristic of masculine and neuter nouns, while in the feminine, it marks the idea of plurality. Consequently, a new declensional class has been introduced into the language. Sometimes, to counteract the inconsistency that developed due to contact with Polish, the nouns incorporated with the ending *-a* are reanalyzed as masculine. For instance, *käsa* ‘grits, grouts’, derived from the Polish feminine noun *kasza*, has been reanalyzed as masculine. Other examples are *spinka* [ms.] and ‘buckle’ (cf. P. *spinka* [fm.]; regarding the issue of gender, see further below).

Contrary to most feminine loanwords, masculine borrowings that end in *-a* preserve this suffix. This can be demonstrated by words such as *ćiura* ‘awkward, clumsy man’ (P. *ciura*), *družba* ‘best man’ (P. *družba*), *kalika* ‘cripple’ (P. *kaleka*), *lazenga* ‘tramp, vagabond’ (P. *lazęga*), and *seńdża* ‘judge’ (P. *sędzia*). In some cases, however, the ending *-a* is not original, but may have been introduced by analogy to other masculine nouns, such as *noma* ‘name’; see for instance *Staha* (P. *Stach*) and *Wojta* (P. *Wojtek*).<sup>166</sup>

Certain masculine nouns that are used as singulars in Wymysorys seem to have been derived from their underlying Polish plural forms (see Kleczkowski 1920:176), e.g. *blawatki* ‘cornflower’ [sg.] (compare with P. *blawatki* [pl.]), *fjółki* ‘violet’ [sg.] (P. *fiołki* [pl.]), *niöerki* ‘diver, plunger’ [sg.] (P. (*nurki* [pl.]), *rożinki/rożynki* ‘raisin’ [sg.] (P. *rodzynki* [pl.]), *ogürki* ‘cucumber’ [sg.] (P. *ogórki* [pl.]), *opłatki* ‘communion, Christmas wafer’ [sg.] (P. *opłatki* [pl.]), *papjeröski* ‘cigarettes’ [sg.] (P. *papieroski* [pl.]), *pobütki* ‘shoe’ [sg.] (P. *półbutki* [pl.]), and the proper name *Şymki* [sg.] (P. *Szymki* [pl.]). In the singular, all the aforementioned lexemes in Polish end in *-ek*, e.g. *blawatek*, *fiołek*, and *Szymek*. Given the above, it seems as if, during their adaptation into the Wymysorys language, the Polish plurals had been “singularized” – what appears to be a Polish plural denotes one item. However, this need not be the case. As I will explain below, masculine loanwords ending in *-ki* in the singular may be explained as backformations derived from their Wymysorys plurals.

To begin with, like their Polish equivalents, Wymysorys nouns such as *ogürki* ‘cucumber’ are masculine. Being masculine, they follow one of the rules that govern the formation of a plural, consisting of adding the ending *-a* which, in combination with the vowel *i* of the stem, delivers the characteristic form *-ja*: *ogürkja* ‘cucumbers’, *fjółkja* ‘violets’, and *rożinkja* ‘raisins’ (regarding the analysis of this phenomenon in terms of a hybrid morpheme, see section 7.2.1). Native masculine nouns in Wymysorys do not end in the vowel *-i*. There are, however, masculine substantives that end in a strongly palatal(ized) consonant, especially [c]. These nouns derive their plural by means of the ending *-ja*, similar to *fjółkja* discussed above, e.g. *ryk* ‘back’ [ric] – *rykja* ‘backs’ [rica] and *kyng* ‘king’ [kiŋc] – *kyngja* ‘kings’ [kiŋja].<sup>167</sup> Furthermore, some masculine nouns that end in a vowel other than *-a*, especially a front vowel, also derive their plural by using the ending *-ja*, e.g. *şü* ‘shoe’ – *şüja* ‘shoes’. Consequently, lexemes like *ogürki* in Polish could have been associated with a relatively common masculine pattern of deriving the plural by the addition of *-ja*, found in Wymysorys masculine words that, in the singular, end in a soft palatalized consonant or a front vowel. Therefore, the Polish plural *ogórki* could have been directly “translated” into the Wymysorys *ogürkja*. This inversely means that the singular form *ogürki* is a type of backformation from the plural in analogy to the pattern *ryk* – *rykja* and *şü* – *şüja*. In other words, when adjusting to Wymysorys morphology, the Polish plural *blawatki* was reinterpreted as *blawatkja*, since most masculine

<sup>166</sup> According to Kleczkowski (1920:176), the ending *-a* in these nouns is etymological and comes from the Polish genitive. This scenario is, however, unlikely as the genitive does not generally feed the forms of the nouns borrowed from Polish to Wymysorys. Thus, the ending *-a* is rather the nominative.

<sup>167</sup> The last form is a new plural, ungrammatical in earlier stages of the Wymysorys language.

nouns add the ending *-a* in their plural forms. The Polish plural ending *-ki* was accompanied by the plural ending *-a*, highly productive in Wymysorys, thus yielding the regular form *-ja* (cf. Kleczkowski 1920:176; see also section 7 dedicated to morphology). Once the form *ogürkja* had been stabilized, a new singular form, *ogürki*, analogical to the singular *ryk* [ric] of the plural *rykja*, was derived.<sup>168</sup> The following table schematizes this process:

SG <i>ryk</i> [ric]	-	PL <i>rykja</i>
SG <i>śü</i>	-	PL <i>śüja</i>
SG <i>x</i>	-	PL <i>ogürkja</i>

*x* = *ogürki* [-ci]

Table 1: The formation of the singular *ogürki*

Nevertheless, the above rule is not universal and several masculine loanwords exhibit the etymological ending *-ek* in the singular: *rümjanek* ‘chamomile’ (P. *rumianek*), *kabaczek* ‘squash’ (P. *kabaczek*), *kanarek* ‘canary’ (P. *kanarek*), *pulkośülek* ‘t-shirt’ (P. *półkoszulek*), and the above-mentioned proper name *Szymek/Śymek* (P. *Szymek*).<sup>169</sup>

A similar phenomenon operates in words derived from nouns that are feminine in Polish. For instance, the Wymysorys noun *śyśki* ‘(pine)cone’ resembles the Polish plural *szyszki* ‘(pine)cones’ rather than the singular *szyszka*. The nouns *wengjerki* [sg.] ‘a damson-like type of plum’ (P. *węgierka* [sg.] – *węgierki* [pl.]), *kafki* ‘jackdaw’ [sg.] (P. *kawka* [sg.] – *kawki* [pl.]), *pjyčki* ‘dried fruit’ (P. *pieczka* [sg.] – *pieczki* [pl.]), and *dahüfki* ‘roof tile’ [sg.] (P. *dachówka* [sg.] – *dachówki* [pl.]) behave in an analogous manner. Again, the plural ending *-ja* of these nouns is a combination of the plural *-i* (transferred from Polish) and the plural morpheme *-a* (productive in Wymysorys). It should be noted that all such nouns changed their gender from feminine to masculine, thus being indistinguishable from the pattern *ogürki* – *ogürkja* discussed above.

The same mechanism has operated in a few cases of *pluralia tanta*, i.e. nouns that only function as plurals in Polish, e.g. *bokserki* ‘boxers’ and *gatkki* ‘pants’. When imported to Wymysorys, these lexemes exhibit the typical plural ending *-a*, added to the Polish plural *-ki*, thus yielding *-kja*, e.g. *bokserkja* ‘boxers’ and *gatkja* ‘pants’, respectively. As in Polish, no singular forms are attested in Wymysorys.

Lastly, a few neuter nouns borrowed from Polish lose the original *o* in Wymysorys. This occurs both with older borrowings, such as *plöüc* ‘lung’ (cf. P. *pluco*), as well as with more recent ones, e.g. *cigar/cygar* ‘cigar’ (cf. P. *cygaro*).

<sup>168</sup> The form *grabki* ‘European hornbeam, *Carpinus betulus*’ (cf. P. *grab*) may have been developed by analogy to the entire pattern.

<sup>169</sup> See, however, the alternative variant *Śymki*.

The adjustment of nouns borrowed from Polish into the morphological system of Wymysorys is also patent in that such loanwords are inflected in number and case by using the endings typical of Wymysorys nouns. Most importantly, lexemes imported from Polish follow the rules of plural formation like any other genuine Germanic lexemes do. Accordingly, Polish loans tend to add one of the two plural endings productive in the inflectional system of Wymysorys nouns, namely *-a* (and its variant *-ja*) or *-n*, or they fail to mark the plural overtly, which is also typical of some noun classes in Wymysorys. For instance, the lexeme *bürok* ‘beetroot’ (P. *burak*) derives its plural by adding the ending *-a*, i.e. *büroka*, as is common for masculine nouns that end in a non-palatal consonant in the singular. The lexeme *pstrong* ‘trout’ derives its plural by means of the morpheme *-ja*, as is frequent for masculine nouns ending in an (at least originally) palatal(ized) consonant, yielding the form *pstrongja* (P. *pstrąg*; see also the above discussion of nouns with the *ogürki – ogürkja* pattern). In contrast, masculine and feminine loanwords ending in *-l* or *-ł* form their plurals by adding *-n*, as is the rule in the Germanic lexicon of Wymysorys. This can be illustrated by the masculine noun *kaprol* ‘corporal’ (P. *kapral*), the plural of which is *kaproln* ‘corporals’; and the feminine noun *köwul* ‘mare’ (P. *kobyła*), which derives the plural *köwuln* ‘mares’. Various nouns ending in the singular *-er* form their plurals by replacing this ending with *-yn*, e.g. *kelner* ‘a waiter’ (P. *kelner*) – *kelnyn* ‘waiters’, *tänister* ‘a schoolbag’ (P. *tornister*) – *tänistyn* ‘schoolbags’, *kosyner* ‘a peasant soldier’ (P. *kosynier*) – *kosynyn* ‘peasant soldiers’, and *zägjer* ‘a watch’ (P. *zegar*) – *zägjyn* ‘watches’. This conforms to the rule that operates in inherited vocabulary, as illustrated by the plural *fatyn* of the singular *foter* ‘father’. Lastly, neuter nouns such as *šikiöela* ‘tomtit’ (P. *sikorka*), *kümeškla* ‘alb’ (P. *komeška*), and *tašymkla* ‘ribbon’ (P. *tasiemka*) – marked by the neuter ending *-la* – use the morpheme  $\emptyset$  in the plural as is also characteristic of neuters ending in *-la* in Wymysorys. This  $\emptyset$  plural marking is also found in some feminine nouns, such as *čarowńic* ‘hex’, in agreement with the endingless formation of some feminine plurals in Wymysorys.

Furthermore, in conformity to another principle operating in the Wymysorys noun system, a few loanwords that are not marked in the plural by *-(j)a* or *-n* may exhibit an overt marking in the dative plural, i.e. the ending *-(j)a* and *-n*, e.g. *čarowńica* ‘hexes’ [dat.]. However, virtually no Polish loanwords exhibit accusative or dative markings in the singular, which is, overall, residual in Wymysorys, being found only in a closed class of a few masculine lexemes (Andrason & Król 2016a).

In addition to inflectional markers, nouns adopted from Polish may be accompanied by genuine Wymysorys derivational suffixes. The most pervasive of these is the diminutive morpheme *-la/-la*, e.g. *babela* (a diminutive that includes the Polish element *baba* ‘woman’ and the Wymysorys suffix *-la*), *Stahela* (*Stah* [from Polish *Stach*] + *-la*), *čüprinla* (*čüprin* ‘head of hair’ [from Polish *czupryna*] + *-la*), and *obrozla* ‘picture’ (*obroz* ‘picture’ [from Polish *obraz*] + *-la*); see also *šikiöela* ‘tomtit’, *kümeškla* ‘alb’, and *tašymkla* ‘ribbon’, discussed above. In accordance with the rules of Wymysorys grammar, such nouns are treated as indeclinable neuters, irrespective their gender in Polish. For example, in Polish, *baba* is a feminine noun while *Stah* is masculine. In a few cases, other derivative morphemes are added to a Polish

source. For instance, *biżuteryj* ‘jewelry’ (from P. *biżuteria*), *kistiöeryj* ‘tale, history’ (and variants; from P. *historia*), and *procesyj* ‘procession’ (from P. *procesja*) contain the native nominal suffix *-yj*. Similarly, *drüškyn* ‘a path’ (from P. *družka*) is marked by the native suffix *-yn* (cf. Kleczkowski 1920:175).

The last type of assimilation involves semantics, specifically the modification of the gender of loanwords when compared to their Polish source and the changes in the semantic potential of the transferred lexemes. Although most nouns preserve the original gender of the underlying Polish lexemes (cf. Kleczkowski 1920:176), certain important adjustments to the Wymysorys system have also taken place. The majority of these adjustments are mentioned above. The most relevant of such adaptations is the regular change of the Polish nouns ending in *-ka* (e.g. *szyszka* ‘a (pine)cone’), that derive their plural with *-ki* (i.e. ‘(pine)cones’), from feminine to masculine in Wymysorys as demonstrated by words such *śyški* ‘pinecone’ (see earlier in this section). This change is pervasive and can be further illustrated by nouns such as *wengjerki* [ms.] ‘a damson-like type of plum’ (P. *węgierka* [fm.]), *kafki* ‘jackdaw’ [ms.] (P. *kawka* [fm.]), *pjyčki* ‘dried fruit’ [ms.] (P. *pieczka* [fm.]), and *dahüfki* ‘roof tile’ [ms.] (P. *dachówka* [fm.]). Another gender adjustment affects feminine nouns that end in *-a* in Polish. In cases where this ending is preserved in Wymysorys – which is contrary to the main tendency, i.e. its loss (see above) – a change in gender usually takes place. This change enables the loanword to fit better to a morphology-gender pairing in Wymysorys. As explained earlier in this section, in the inherited Wymysorys lexicon, feminine nouns are never marked by *-a* in the singular. To mitigate this gender-morphology conflict, feminine nouns that preserve their Polish ending *-a* in Wymysorys are reinterpreted as masculine, e.g. *káša* [ms.] ‘grits, grouts’ (P. *kasza* [fm.]) and *spinka* ‘buckle’ [ms.] (P. *spinka* [fm.]). The change from feminine to masculine occasionally occurs in nouns that end in a consonant. For instance, *papereć* ‘fern’ is a masculine noun in Wymysorys, contrary to Polish where *paproć* is feminine. Feminine and masculine Polish nouns that have incorporated the diminutive suffix *-la* during their transfer to Wymysorys have all been reanalyzed as neuter. This conforms to the rule operating in Wymysorys whereby diminutives with the *-la* suffix are invariably neuter. Inversely, a few neuter nouns, e.g. *plöic* ‘lung’ (from P. *pluco*) have changed their gender to feminine. This may be related to the fact the German or West Germanic word for ‘lungs’ – which has been lost in Wymysorys – is feminine in the singular (cf. *die Lunge* in German).<sup>170</sup>

In relatively limited instances, loanwords experience certain modifications of their meaning when compared to the input lexemes in Polish. For example, the noun *smyk* ‘tad, kid’ that draws on the homophonous Polish lexeme *smyk* has acquired pejorative connotations in Wymysorys, contrary to its Polish source, which often has affectionate and friendly undertones (cf. Wicherkiewicz 2003:277). In some lexemes, the modification of meaning consists of

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<sup>170</sup> This means that *plöic* is the regular word for ‘lungs’ in Wymysorys. The word *lungencindung* ‘pneumonia’, with the element *lungen*, is most likely a borrowing from the German *Lungenentzündung*. The change of grammatical gender under Polish influence is also attested in Aljzneriš, as illustrated by *makia* ‘girl’. This noun was originally neuter but, under the pressure of the Polish word *dziewczyna*, has been reinterpreted as feminine (Dolatowski 2017:264). Slavonic languages have also influenced the gender system of Yiddish (Wexler 2002:395-396; Weinreich 2008), for instance, by assigning the Slavonic gender to a native noun (Wexler 2002:414).

restricting the scope of the semantic potential. For example, *der ojćec śwjynty* typically refers to the Pope John Paul II, while its Polish source *ojciec święty* is equally often used in a general sense to mean ‘holy father, a pope’. Similarly, the loanword *stacyja* only means ‘stops during the Passion’, while its Polish source refers to all types of stops and stations, not only those during the Passion.<sup>171</sup> Furthermore, the presence of a few loanwords is limited to nicknames. Inversely, the use of these borrowed lexemes in the senses associated with their Polish sources is ungrammatical. Compare, for instance, *Nędzela* ‘a nickname of the Danek family’ with *niedziela* ‘Sunday’ in Polish.<sup>172</sup>

Additionally, nouns are the part of content lexicon in which one finds clear examples of hybrids or loanblends (Winford 2003; Haspelmath 2009). An exemplary case is the word *kapeliűshűt* ‘hat’, which is a composition of the adjusted loanword *kapeliűs* (from P. *kapulusz*) and the inherited Wymysorys lexeme *hűt* (cf. German *Hut*), both conveying the same meaning, i.e. ‘hat’. Accordingly, *kapeliűshűt* is a mix where two original, semantically identical lexemes have merged into one word. As a result, in order to refer to the object categorized as a hat, Wymysorys speakers can use three synonymous words: *hűt* (the genuine Germanic lexeme), *kapeliűs* (the adapted loanword from Polish), and *kapeliűshűt* (a Slavic-Germanic hybrid). Another common example of a hybrid is *gazytcąjtung* ‘newspaper’ – a form that consists of *gazyt* (from P. *gazeta*) and *ąjtung* ‘newspaper’ (a genuine Germanic word; cf. *Zeitung* in German). Again, speakers have three options to refer to a newspaper. They may use an etymological Germanic lexeme, an adjusted loanword, or a Slavic-Germanic hybrid. All such lexical hybrids probably derive from spontaneous idiolectal hybrids produced in abundance during instances of code-switching in Wilamowice, e.g. *Diöt wiöe à gywel...sklep* ‘There was a shop...[a] shop’ or *Dy milic...milicja nom yns* ‘The militia militia took us’. Whereas in code-switching, hybrids attest to two types of word order (i.e. Wymysorys element + Polish element or, inversely, Polish component + Germanic component), in borrowings, only one arrangement is possible, i.e. Polish component + Germanic component. Accordingly, the underlying mechanism would correspond to the “translation” of the foreign element into an indigenous element.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> The other common meaning of the Polish word *stacja*, i.e. ‘stop, station’ is conveyed by the variant *stacyj*, e.g. *oűstobűsstacyj* ‘bus stop’.

<sup>172</sup> The nickname *Nędzela* is the borrowing of the Polish surname held by Adam Niedziela – the forefather of the Danek family (Król *p.c.*).

<sup>173</sup> In addition to these fully stabilized words, which have penetrated the vocabulary of all the speakers and can be viewed as parts of the standard lexicon, there are a virtually infinite number of instances where lexeme-level hybrids appear in colloquial speech in an idiolectal manner, being coined *ad hoc*. There is no constraint on this type of hybrid, and the mechanism constitutes an extremely common characteristic – if not one of the most typical traits – of natural conversations in Wymysorys. This type of redundancy is not only very common but may be viewed as a typical characteristic of the natural conversations in which Wymysorys appears. Similar hybrids or blends are also found in Yiddish (Weinreich 1955; Wexler 1987:184; see, for instance, *a xl'eb brejt* in Weinreich 1955:605; Yiddish examples will be transcribed according to the system used in *The Language and Cultural Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry*; see Herzog et al. 1992) and in other eastern dialects of German (Siatkowski 2015:283-290).

## 5.2 Verbs

### 5.2.1 Inventory of loanwords

Verbs constitute another abundant group of Polish loanwords in Wymysorys (cf. Kleczkowski 1920:160). The total number of verbs borrowed from Polish amounts to 115. Below, I provide an alphabetical list of all verbal loanwords in Wymysorys:

*bāwjān* (*zih*) (*bawić* (*się*)) ‘play, look after’; *bjyźmowān* (*bierznować*) ‘confirm’; *blōnkān* *zih* (*bląkać* *się*) ‘wander’; *brojyn* (*broić*) ‘romp, frolic’; *drenowān* (*drenować*) ‘drain’; *cerowān* (*cerować*) ‘mend’; *ćeśān* *zih* (*cieszyć* *się*) ‘rejoice’; *dūdhān* (*dudnić*) ‘resound’; *dūfān* (*dufać*) ‘believe’; *dwojān* (*dwoić*) ‘doubt’; *dysān* (*dyszeć*) ‘pant, chug’; *filmowān* (*filmować*) ‘film’; *gardzān* (*gardzić*) ‘despise’; *garñān* (*zagarniać*) ‘collect, take’; *gnembjān* *zih* (*gnębić* *się*) ‘be worried’; *gūzdrān* (*guzdrać* *się*) ‘dawdle’; *gwazdān* (*gwazdać*) ‘neglect, bodge, jabber, scrawl, scribble’; *hapān* (*chapać*) ‘grab, snatch’; *hrapān* (*chrapać*) ‘snore’; *hrūpān* (*chrupać*) ‘crunch’; *hūhān* (*chuchać*) ‘puff, blow’; *hūstān* (*huśtać*) ‘swing’; *jonkān* (*jąkać* *się*) ‘stammer’; *kapān* (*kapać*) ‘drip’; *karlān* (*charlać*)<sup>174</sup> ‘cough’; (*s*)*kidān* (*kidać*) ‘spill, pour, dirty’; *kiwān* *zih* (*kiwać* *się*) ‘totter’; *korān* (*karać*) ‘punish’; *krakān* (*krakać*) ‘croak, caw’; (*w*)*kśyśān* (*wszkreszać*) ‘resuscitate’; *kālikowān* (*kalikować*) ‘pump air into a pipe organ’; *kāpowān* (*kapować*) ‘understand’; *korūnowān* (*koronować*) ‘crown’; *kunān* (*konać*) ‘die’; *kwjonkān*/*kwynkān* (*kwękać*) ‘be sick, toil’; *l(j)yćān* (*leczyć*) ‘heal’; *lakūmjān* *zih* (*lakomić* *się*) ‘relish’; *mankolān* ‘loom, talk deliriously’ (cf. *melankolia* ‘melancholy’); *mignān* (*mignąć*) ‘twinkle’; *młynkowān* (*młynkować*) ‘mill crop’; *mortwjān* (*martwić* *się*) ‘worry’; *meñcān* (*męczyć*) ‘torment, tire’; *meñcān* *zih* (*męczyć* *się*) ‘get tired’; *mizān* (*miziać*) ‘deteriorate, waste’; *mjerzān* *zih* (*mierzić* *się*) ‘be disgusted’; *mūlān* (*mulić*) ‘cover (up) with mud’; *nalegān* (*nalegać*) ‘insist’; *nabzñān* (*nabrzmieć*) ‘swell’; *namjyñān* (*nadmieniać*) ‘hint’; *namowjān* (*namawiać*) ‘persuade’; *napenćñān* (*napęczniać*) ‘swell’; *napśyksān* (*naprzykrzać* *się*) ‘bother’; *nowidzān* (*nawiedzać*) ‘visit’; *nurkowān* (*nurkować*) ‘dive’; *nuzān* (*nurzać*) ‘immerse’; *nuzuln* (*nurzyć*) ‘tire, grumble’; *ohmjelān* (*ochmielać*) ‘hit’; *okiöepcān* (*okopcić*) ‘soot, smoke’; *omamjān* (*omamiać*) ‘beguile, delude’; *ożyjān* (*ożyć*) ‘come alive’; *öeffjarowān* (*ofiarować*) ‘offer’; *paskudzān* (*paskudzić*)<sup>175</sup> ‘eat secretly’; *pāsūyn* (*paść* *się*) ‘pasture, graze’; *plōśūyn* (*ploszyć*) ‘drive out, flush out’; *porān* (*porać* *się*) ‘work’; *postarcān* (*po/starczać*) ‘cope with, follow’; *pragnān* (*pragnąć*) ‘desire’; *priöeroköwān* (*prorokować*) ‘prophesy’; *prüźnowān* (*próżnować*) ‘idle’; *pśajān* (*sprzyjać*) ‘favor’; *pśyksān* (*przykrzyć*) ‘pall’; *pśymilān* (*przymilać* *się*) ‘fawn, cajole’; *pytān* (*pytać*) ‘ask’; *renćān* (*ręczyć*) ‘guarantee’; *roćān* (*raczyć*) ‘offer’; *rozgoścān* (*rozwgaszczać* *się*) ‘make oneself at home’; *rozłōncān* (*rozłaczać*) ‘disengage’; *rozgzyśān* (*rozgrzeszać*) ‘absolve’; *rozmnożān* (*rozmnażać* *się*) ‘procreate’; *rurkowān* (*rurkować*) ‘fold’; *rysöwān* (*rysować*) ‘draw’; *sapān* (*sapać*) ‘breathe heavily’; *sciūdān* ‘to wonder, wow’ (*cud* ‘wonder’; cf. *cudać*); *skalowān* (*szkalować*) ‘slander’; *skapjān* (*skapieć*) ‘get worse’; *sondzān* (*sądzić*) ‘think, judge’; *sorkān* (*sarkać*) ‘talk badly’; *statkowān* (*statkować*) ‘become decent’; *strencān* (*stręczyć*) ‘procure’; *strawjān* (*strawiać*) ‘consume, digest’; *styrān* (*styrać*) ‘destroy’; *śarpān* (*szarpać*) ‘yank, tear’;

<sup>174</sup> The correct Standard Polish form is *cherlać* ‘to be weak and sickly, cough’.

<sup>175</sup> The meaning of the Polish verb *paskudzić* is ‘to dirty, soil’.

*šeptàn* (*szeptać*) ‘whisper’; *šednàn* (*siednać*) ‘sit down’; *šekàn* (*siekać*) ‘cut, chop’; *šklydzàn* (*szkodzić*) ‘harm, disturb’; *šlenćàn* and *šljynćàn* (*ślęczyć*) ‘tarry’; *špjegowàn* (*szpiegować*) ‘spy’; *štürmowàn* (*szturmować*) ‘assault’; *šwandràn* (*szwandrac*) ‘speak unclearly’; *tatràn* (*tatrac*) ‘spill food’; *tropjàn* (*trapić*) ‘afflict’; *trüdzàn* (*trudzić się*) ‘toil, trouble’; *türàn* (*starać się*) ‘take care, be careful’; *tyràn* (*tyrac*) ‘destroy’; *tyrkhàn* (*tyrknać*) ‘touch, hurt’; *umortwjàn* (*umartwiać się*) ‘be worried’; *używàn* (*używać*) ‘use’; *walàn* (*zih*) (*walić*) ‘beat, collapse’; *wjetsàn* (*wietrzyć*) ‘air’; *wontpjàn* (*wątpić*) ‘doubt’; *wspüminàn* (*wspominać*) ‘recall’; *wydziwjàn* (*wydziwiać*) ‘fuss’; *wynokwjàn* (*wynokwiać*) ‘discover’; *wzdyhàn* (*wzdychać*) ‘sigh’.

In addition to the transfer of lexical matter, contact with Polish is also visible in changes affecting the meaning of Wymysorys verbs and/or their semantic pattern. The most evident examples of pattern borrowing are *oüsgan* ‘marry, wed’ (lit. ‘give away’), a calque of the Polish verbs *wydać* (*za mąż*); and *zih nama* ‘start, set about’ (lit. ‘take oneself’), a calque of the Polish verb *brać/wziąć się* (*za*) (see similar observations in Wicherkiewicz 2003:283, 387). The development (or transfer) of new meanings also takes place in cases where verbs are used in idiomatic expressions that are replicated in analogy to Polish constructions. For instance, the use of the verb *hon* ‘have’ to express age in the expression *...jür hon* ‘be...year(s) old’ is a calque of the Polish construction *mieć...lat*. Other exemplary calques are: *po kiöelendže gejn* ‘pay Christmas calls; make a round of house calls’ (lit. ‘go after *kolenda*’), modeled after *chodzić po koledzie* in Polish; *ufum na oku hon* ‘be interested in someone’ (lit. ‘have someone on the eye’), modeled after *mieć na oku*; and *fur heja zan* ‘look down, disregard’ (lit. ‘look from the height’), modeled after *patrzeć z góry* (regarding other properties of such Polish-sourced phrasal idioms, specifically the transfer of preposition and nominal case inflections, consult sections 6.5 and 7.2.1, respectively; see also 8.4).

## 5.2.2 Semantic types of loanwords

Similar to nouns discussed in section 5.1, verbs adopted from Polish into Wymysorys pertain to various semantic domains and lexical fields: concrete and abstract, rural and urban, mental and cognitive activities, actions and states, as well as bodily reflexes and speech acts. Furthermore, verbs may equally concern secular and religious aspects of life.

A large number of verbs denote concrete actions. Many such lexemes are related to rural activities typically performed in the town of Wilamowice and its surroundings, e.g. *drenowàn* ‘drain’ (P. *drenować*), *nurkowàn* ‘dive’ (P. *nurkować*), *mülàn* ‘cover (up) with mud’ (P. *mulić*), *wjetsàn* ‘air’ (P. *wietrzyć*), *młynkowàn* ‘mill crop’ (P. *młynkować*), *päsün* ‘pasture, graze’ (P. *paść się*); *šekàn* ‘cut, chop’ (P. *siekać*), *kàlikowàn* ‘pump air into a pipe organ’ (P. *kalikować*), *okiöepćàn* ‘soot, smoke’ (P. *okopcić*), *korüinowàn* ‘crown’ (P. *koronować*), and *rurkowàn* ‘fold’ (P. *rurkować*). An even larger group of verbs denotes actions that are equally characteristic of rural and urban areas. Many such verbs designate quotidian activities, such as *båwjàn zih* ‘play’ (P. *bawić się*), *poràn* ‘work’ (P. *parać* (*się*)), and *rysöwàn* ‘draw’ (P. *rysować*). Although concrete verbs are highly common, a substantial number of verbal lexemes borrowed from Polish refer to actions that are less concrete. Perhaps one of the most exemplary

classes of such verbs are verbs denoting mental activities, be they cognitive or psychological, e.g. *düfän* ‘believe’ (P. *dufać*), *dümjän* ‘think’ (P. *dumać*), *praghän* ‘desire’ (*pragnąć*), *psäjän* ‘favor’ (P. *sprzyjać*), *psymilän* ‘fawn, cajole’ (P. *przymilać*), *umortwjän* ‘be worried’ (P. *umartwiał się*), *wspüminän* ‘recall’ (P. *wspominać*), *wydźiwjän* ‘fuss’ (P. *wydziewać*), *dwojän* ‘doubt’ (P. *dwoić*), *gardzän* ‘despise’ (P. *gardzić*), *gnembjän zih* ‘be worried’ (*gnębić się*), *käpowän* ‘understand’ (P. *kapować*), *mjerzän zih* ‘be disgusted’ (P. *mierzić się*), *mortwjän* ‘worry’ (P. *martwić się*), *sondzän* ‘think, judge’ (P. *sądzić*), *tropjän* ‘afflict’ (P. *trapić*), *wontpjän* ‘doubt’ (P. *wątpić*), and *sciüdän* ‘to wonder, wow’ (P. *cud*; cf. *cudować*).

Dynamic verbs are highly common. Apart from verbs denoting deliberate and controlled rural and urban activities (e.g. *drenowän* ‘drain’ from P. *drenować* and *rysöwän* ‘draw’ from P. *rysować*, mentioned above), dynamic verbs transferred from Polish may express the idea of motion, e.g. *nurkowän* ‘dive’ (P. *nurkować*), *nuzän* ‘immerse’ (P. *nużać*), and *sedhän* ‘sit down’ (P. *siednąć*), as well as actions involving breaking, beating, and destruction, e.g. *šarpän* ‘yank, tear’ (P. *szarpać*), *tyrän* ‘destroy’ (P. *tyrać*), *ohmjelän* ‘hit’ (P. *ochmiewać*), and *tyrkhän* ‘hurt’ (P. *tyrknąć*). Dynamic verbs of which the meaning is related to speech acts are also fairly numerous, e.g. *mankolän* ‘loom, talk deliriously’ (P. *m(el)ankolijo* ‘melancholy’), *nalegän* ‘insist’ (P. *nalegać*), *namowjän* ‘persuade’ (P. *namawiać*), *namjyhän* ‘hint’ (P. *nadmieniać*), *omamjän* ‘beguile, delude’ (P. *omamiać*), *pytän* ‘ask’ (P. *pytać*), *šeptän* ‘whisper’ (P. *szeptać*); *sorkän* ‘talk badly’ (P. *sarkać*), *šwandrän* ‘speak unclearly’ (P. *szwandrać*), and *skalowän* ‘slander’ (P. *szkalować*). A smaller group of verbs expresses states and/or non-deliberate activities. The states denoted by such verbs may concern: emotions, e.g. *mortwjän* ‘worry, be worried’ from P. *martwić się* mentioned in the previous paragraph; physical experiences, e.g. *meñcän zih* ‘get tired’ (P. *męczyć się*), *kwjonkän/kwynkän* ‘be sick, toil’ (P. *kwękać*), *skapjän* ‘get worse’ (P. *skapieć*), and *nuzuln* ‘tire, grumble’ (P. *nurzyć*); and bodily reflexes, e.g. *hrapän* ‘snore’ (P. *chrapać*) and *jonkän* ‘stammer’ (P. *jąkać się*). Very few verbs express activities associated with modern technology and discoveries, e.g. *filmowän* ‘film’ (P. *filmować*).

As is evident from the above discussion, the vast majority of verbs are related to the secular sphere of life. Nevertheless, a considerable amount of verbal loans pertains to the semantic field of religion and sacred acts, e.g. *rozgzyšän* ‘absolve’ (P. *rozgrzeszać*), *bjyžmowän* ‘confirm’ (P. *bierzmować*), and *priöeroköwän* ‘prophecy’ (P. *prorokować*).

In some instances, verbs borrowed from Polish constitute the only fully lexicalized, synthetic manners of expressing determined meanings that are currently available in the Wymysorys language. Such verbs denote specific activities related to religion, local objects and instruments, as well as technology, e.g. *bjyžmowän* ‘confirm’ (P. *bierzmować*), *kälikowän* ‘pump air into a pipe organ’ (P. *kalikować*), and *filmowän* ‘film’ (P. *filmować*). Although the verbs such as *bjyžmowän*, *kälikowän*, and *filmowän* may have their periphrastic native equivalents, they lack corresponding native verbs. For example, the meaning ‘to film’ encoded by the loanword *filmowän*, can alternatively be conveyed by the analytic expressions *ufa film ufnama* (lit. ‘take on the film’) and *à film dryn* (lit. ‘pull a film’). In contrast, a native verb (e.g. *\*\*filma*) is unattested. It is likely that these types of loans have been transferred to fill lexical

gaps that existed in the language. That is, since Wymysorys lacked native lexemes capable of expressing certain verbal meanings, foreign Polish material has been used.

Nevertheless, a vast majority of Polish loans have their relatively synonymous equivalents in the inherited vocabulary of Wymysorys. This can be illustrated by the following pairs of borrowed and native lexemes: *pytân* (P. *pytać*) – *fren* ‘ask’; *kâpowân* (P. *kapować*) – *ferštejn* ‘understand’; *śekân* (P. *siekać*) – *hoûn* and *śnâjda* ‘cut, chop’; *gardzân* (P. *gardzić*) – *ferahta* ‘despise’; and *wjetsân* (P. *wietrzyć*) – *lyfta/löfta* ‘air’. In a few cases, two Polish loanwords have been introduced into Wymysorys despite the fact that the respective meanings were already conveyed by an inherited verb. Compare, for instance, *dwojân* (P. *dwoić*) and *wontpjân* (P. *wątpić*), adopted from Polish with the Germanic verb *cwâjfuln* – all signifying ‘doubt’. Similarly, *mortwjân* (P. *martwić się*) and *gnembjân zih* (P. *gnębić się*) ‘worry’ have their equivalent in the genuine Germanic verb *kymyn zih*. In some instances, verbs borrowed from Polish are narrower in meaning than the corresponding inherited verbs, e.g. *priöeroköwân* ‘prophesy’ (P. *prorokować*) – *prydikja* ‘prophesy, preach’, and *rysöwân* ‘draw’ (P. *rysować*) – *möla* ‘draw, paint’. This may suggest that the transfer has been stimulated by the need for semantic specificity or precision.

### 5.2.3 Underlying Polish forms

As was common for nouns, several borrowed verbs have their roots in dialectal forms rather than in forms used in Standard Polish. The most characteristic dialectal features involve: the non-standard pronunciation of *pochylone* vowels and the plosive realization of [x], as well as the simplification of complex consonant clusters and the treatment of nasals although, for these two last features, the dialectal realization coincides with a pronunciation attested in colloquial Standard Polish. The dialectal foundation is also visible in the specific lexemes transferred. Overall, the presence of dialectal features is less persistent than it was in the case of nouns as *mazurzenie*, *szadzenie*, and labialization of vowels are unattested, while the occlusive realization of [x] mentioned above is extremely rare.

To begin with, various verbs exhibit the treatment of *pochylone* vowels that is characteristic of western Lesser Poland and eastern Upper Silesia. That is, the vowel *â* is often pronounced as [ɔ], contrary to its Standard Polish realization as [a], e.g. *korân* ‘punish’ (P. *karać*), *mortwjân* ‘worry’ (P. *martwić się*), *namowjân* ‘persuade’ (P. *namawiać*), *nowidzân* ‘visit’ (P. *nawiedzać*), *sorkân* ‘talk badly’ (P. *sarkać*), and *umortwjân* ‘be worried’ (P. *umartwiać się*). Nevertheless, a considerable number of counterexamples can also be found, e.g. *nabžhân* ‘swell’ (P. *nabrzmieć*), *nalegân* ‘insist’ (P. *nalegać*), *napenčhân* ‘swell’ (P. *napęczniać*), and *napšyksân* ‘bother’ (P. *naprzykrzać się*). In a similar vein, the *pochylone* *é* is often pronounced as y [ɨ], contrary to its standard realization as e [ɛ]. The pronunciation as y is found after hard consonants, e.g. *rozgžysân* ‘absolve’ (P. *rozgrzeszać*), and soft consonants, e.g. *kšysân* ‘resuscitate’ (P. *wszkreszać*), *l(j)yčân* ‘cure’ (P. *leczyć*), *namjyhân* ‘hint’ (P. *nadmieniać*), and *šljyncân* ‘tarry’ (P. *ślęczyć*). Again, counterexamples are attested, e.g. *drenowân* ‘drain’ (P. *drenować*).

As is common in local dialects – and as is also typical of colloquial Standard Polish – the nasal feature of vowels  $\epsilon$  / $\tilde{\epsilon}$ / (and its variant [ $\tilde{\xi}$ ]) and  $q$  / $\tilde{\delta}$ / is always preserved. However, it is usually not present in the vowel. Rather, the nasal vowels  $\epsilon$  and  $q$  are resolved into a corresponding oral vowel ( $e/y$  and  $o$ , respectively) and an accompanying nasal consonant, i.e.  $n$  [n],  $m$  [m],  $nk/ng$  [ŋ], or  $ń$  [ɲ], as illustrated by *sondzàn* ‘think, judge’ (P. *sądzić*), *gnembjån zih* ‘be worried’ (P. *gnębić się*), *jonkån* (P. *jąkać się*) ‘stammer’, and *meńcån* ‘torment, make tired’ (P. *męczyć*). Occasionally, nasality may be the property of non-syllabic vocoids (i.e. [ $\text{ɔ}^{\tilde{u}}$ ], [ $\text{ɛ}^{\tilde{i}}$ ], and [ $\text{ɔ}^{\tilde{i}}$ ]) or nasal approximants (i.e. [ $\text{ɔ}^{\tilde{w}}$ ]/[ $\text{ɔ}^{\tilde{w}}$ ], [ $\text{ɛ}^{\tilde{j}}$ ]/[ $\text{e}^{\tilde{j}}$ ], and [ $\text{ɔ}^{\tilde{j}}$ ]/[ $\text{ɔ}^{\tilde{j}}$ ]), similar to a more careful pronunciation found in colloquial Polish. Only exceptionally is a nasal vowel pronounced as such (i.e. as [ $\tilde{\epsilon}$ ], [ $\tilde{\delta}$ ], and [ $\tilde{\xi}$ ]). However, this is perceived as artificial by native speakers and is generally avoided.

In one example, the borrowed verb exhibits the velar stop [k], as is typical of western Lesser Poland and eastern Upper Silesia, instead of the velar fricative [x], appearing in Standard Polish. Compare the Wymysorys verb *karlån* ‘cough’ with the Standard Polish form of its source, i.e. *charlać*. In more cases, however, the fricative realization characteristic of Standard Polish is found, e.g. *hrapån* ‘snore’ (P. *chrapać*) and *hrüpån* ‘crunch’ (P. *chrupać*).

A few verbs attest to the reduction of complicated consonant clusters when compared with Standard Polish, e.g. *namjyńån* ‘hint’ vs. P. *nadmieniać* (cf. the loss of *d*); *kśyśån* ‘resuscitate’ vs. P. *wskrzeszać* (cf. the elimination of the initial *ws*); and *nabźńån* ‘swell’ vs. P. *nabrzmieć* (cf. the assimilation of *m* to *n* due to the postalveolar consonant *ź*). However, these simplified forms need not necessarily be dialectal. They may reflect forms that were already shortened in the colloquial standard language spoken in Wilamowice. They may also result from language-internal and thus adaptive simplification mechanisms.

In contrast to nouns, no examples of labialization are found in verbal loanwords. This means that the word-initial vowel *o* is consistently pronounced in a manner typical of Standard Polish, e.g. *ohmjelån* ‘hit’ (P. *ochmielać*), *omamjån* ‘beguile, delude’ (P. *omamiać*), and *ożyjån* ‘come alive’ (P. *ożyć*).

The phenomenon of *mazurzenie* is also absent. Accordingly, the postalveolar hard sibilant fricatives and affricates [ $\text{s}$ ], [ $\text{z}$ ], [ $\text{ts}$ ], and [ $\text{dź}$ ] are never pronounced as alveolars, i.e. as [s], [z], [ts], and [dź], respectively. However, the hard postalveolars ([ $\text{s}$ ], [ $\text{z}$ ], [ $\text{ts}$ ], and [ $\text{dź}$ ]) can virtually always be pronounced as soft, either as alveolo-palatals ([ $\text{ɕ}$ ], [ $\text{ʒ}$ ], [ $\text{tɕ}$ ], and [ $\text{dʒ}$ ]) or as palatals ([ $\text{j}$ ], [ $\text{ʒ}$ ], [ $\text{tj}$ ], and [ $\text{dʒ}$ ]). As was the case for nouns, the soft pronunciation is typical of *sz* [ $\text{s}$ ] or de-voiced medial *rz/ż*, e.g. *dysån* ‘pant, chug’ (P. *dyszeć*), (*w*)*kśyśån* ‘resuscitate’ (P. *wskrzeszać*), *napśyksån* ‘bother’ (P. *naprzykrzać się*), *psajån* ‘favor’ (P. *sprzyjać*), *psymilån* ‘fawn, cajole’ (P. *przymilać się*), *śarpån* ‘yank, tear’ (P. *szarpać*), *śeptån* ‘whisper’ (P. *szeptać*), and *wjetśån* ‘air’ (P. *wietrzyć*). The consonant *cz* [ $\text{tʃ}$ ] is also regularly rendered as soft in Wymysorys, e.g. *l(j)yćån* ‘cure’ (P. *leczyć*), *meńcån* ‘torment, tire’ (P. *męczyć*), *napenćńån* ‘swell’ (P. *napęczniać*), and *roćån* ‘offer’ (P. *raczyć*). The same holds true for the cluster *szcz* [ $\text{ʃtʃ}$ ], e.g. *rozgoścån* ‘make oneself at home’ (P. *rozwagać się*). In contrast, in most instances,

the hard pronunciation of [z] *rz/ż* is preserved, e.g. *nużan* ‘immerse’ (P. *nurzać*), *ożyjån* ‘come alive’ (P. *ożyć*), *rozgżyśån* ‘absolve’ (P. *rozgrzeszać*), *rozmnożån* ‘procreate’ (P. *rozmnażać się*), *używån* ‘use’ (P. *używać*), and *nużułn* ‘tire, grumble’ (P. *nurzyć*). Nevertheless, in a few cases, *rz/ż* [z] is softened to *ż* [z], e.g. *bjyżmowån* ‘confirm’ and *prüżnowån* ‘idle’ (compare with Standard Polish *bierzmować* and *próżnować*, respectively).<sup>176</sup>

Lastly, the influence of Western Lesser Polish dialects transpires in several lexemes specific to those varieties. Examples include: *gwazdån* ‘neglect, jabber, scribble’ (cf. dial. *gwazdać*), *mankolån* ‘loom, talk deliriously’ (cf. dial. *m(el)ankolijo* ‘melancholy’), *miżån* ‘deteriorate, waste’ (cf. dial. *miziać*), *skidån* ‘spill’ (cf. dial. *skidać*), *śedhån* ‘sit down’ (cf. dial. *siednać*), *śwandrån* ‘speak unclearly’ (cf. dial. *szwandrać*), and *wynokwjån* ‘discover’ (cf. dial. *wynokwiać*). The verb *kidać*, from which the Wymysorys verb *kidån* ‘spill, pour, dirty’ derives, is common in the Silesian dialect and slang.

To conclude, the less patent dialectal foundation of verbal loanwords, when compared with noun loanwords, suggests a more recent time of the transfer of their majority. That is, a number of verbs were probably borrowed in the period when Standard Polish gained in relevance in Wilamowice and neighboring areas, most likely after World War II. For other verbs, the same phenomenon may suggest that the extent of their incorporation into Wymysorys lexicon was relatively low before World War II, which might have allowed for their readjustment to a standard pronunciation in more recent times.

#### 5.2.4 Adaptation mechanisms

Similar to the treatment of Polish nouns in the recipient system of Wymysorys, verbal loanwords have undergone various adaptive phonological, morphological, morpho-syntactic, and semantic processes.

As far as the phonology of verbs borrowed from Polish is concerned, three adaptive mechanisms are pervasive. First, the Polish vowels *u* (and *ó* if it reflects a Standard Polish pronunciation) and *o* (and *ó* if it reflects a dialectal pronunciation) are often replaced with *ü* and *(i)ö(e)*, respectively. See, for instance, *düfån* ‘believe’ (P. *dufać*), *güzdrån* ‘dawdle’ (P. *guzdrać się*), and *prüżnowån* ‘idle’ (P. *próżnować*); and *okiöepcån* ‘soot, smoke’ (P. *okopcić*), *rysöwån* ‘draw’ (P. *rysować*), *öeffarowån* ‘offer’, (P. *ofiarować*), and *priöeroköwån* ‘prophesy’ (P. *prorokować*). There are, however, many exceptions to these two replacement tendencies, as illustrated by *nużan* ‘immerse’ (P. *nurzać*) and *nużułn* ‘tire, grumble’ (P. *nurzyć*), as well as *ożyjån* ‘come alive’ (P. *ożyć*), *statkowån* ‘become decent’ (P. *statkować*), and *wynokwjån* ‘discover’ (P. *wynokwiać*). Second, the Polish nasal vowels *ę /ɛ̃/* (as well as its dialectal variant [ɛ̃]) and *ą /ɔ̃/* are regularly realized as oral vowels with a nasal consonant. That is, *ę* resolves into *e/yN*, e.g. *meñcån* ‘torment, make tired’ (P. *męczyć*), *gnembjån zih* ‘be worried’ (P. *gnębić się*), and *ślencån/śljyncån* ‘tarry’

<sup>176</sup> As was the case of nouns, in verbs adopted from Polish to Wymysorys, the prefix *roz-* always preserves the original consonant *r*, as demonstrated by *rozgoścån* ‘make oneself at home’ (P. *rozgaszczać się*), *rozłoncån* ‘disengage’ (P. *rozłaczać*), *rozgżyśån* ‘absolve’ (P. *rozgrzeszać*), and *rozmnożån* ‘procreate’ (P. *rozmnażać się*).

(P. *ślęczyć*). Similarly, *q* resolves into *oN*, e.g. *blonkân zih* ‘wander’ (P. *bląkać się*), *sondzân* ‘think, judge’ (P. *sądzić*), *wontpjân* ‘doubt’ (P. *wątpić*), and *napenćhân* ‘swell’ (P. *napećzniać*). As explained in sections 4.2.4 and 5.2.3, this phenomenon also constitutes a feature typical of local Polish dialects and colloquial Polish in general. Nevertheless, the use of nasal non-syllabic vocoids and nasal approximants, as well as – albeit extremely rarely – genuine nasal vowels, is also possible (see 5.2.3). Third, consonant clusters are sometimes simplified. This may be illustrated by forms such as *kśysân* ‘resuscitate’ (from P. *wszkreszać*), *pśajân* ‘favor’ (from P. *sprzyjać*), and *nabźhân* ‘swell’ (from P. *nabrznieć*). Similar to the realization of nasal vowels discussed above, the elimination of complex consonant clusters may also have a Polish – both dialectal and/or colloquial – origin. Contrary to such simplifying tendencies, the complexity of various consonant clusters is preserved, e.g. *rozgżyśân* ‘absolve’ (P. *rozgrzeszać*), *rozmnożân* ‘procreate’ (P. *rozmnażać się*), *umortwjân* ‘be worried’ (P. *umartwiać się*), *wspüminân* ‘recall’ (P. *wspominać*), and *wzdyhân* ‘sigh’ (P. *wzdychać*).

The morphological and morpho-syntactic adaptation of verbs borrowed from Polish – often related to grammatical semantics, particularly the category of aspect – is a complex phenomenon. To begin with, the majority of borrowed verbs – 72 lexemes, to be exact – descends directly from Polish verbs of which the stems end in *-a-*. Two classes of such verbs can be distinguished in Wymysorys: those that derive from Polish verbs built around the simple stem vowel *-a-*, and those that derive from Polish verbs built around *-a-* but are extended further by *-ow-*. The two Polish stem elements, i.e. *-a-* and *-owa-*, are rendered in Wymysorys by their homophonous equivalents, i.e. *-â-* and *-owâ-*, respectively. There are 54 loanwords of the former type (i.e. simple *-â-* verbs) and 18 loanwords of the latter type (i.e. *-owâ-* verbs).

This straightforward adaptation of original (*-ow-*)*a-* verbs to the verbal systems of Wymysorys is visible at the level of the infinitive. In this case, the marker of the infinitive in Polish, *-ć*, is regularly substituted by the infinitive marker *-n* in all borrowed verbs, while the form of the verbal stem is preserved. The suffixation of *-n* complies with the rules operating in Wymysorys, whereby stems ending in a vowel form their infinitives by means of the ending *-n*. This yields forms such as *pytân* ‘ask’ built around the borrowed stem *pytâ-* (from P. *pyta-ć*; see also *blonkân* ‘wander’ < P. *bląkać*; *kśysân* ‘resuscitate’ < P. *wszkreszać*; *nużân* ‘immerse’ < P. *nurzać*; *rozmnożân* ‘procreate’ < P. *rozmnażać się*; *tyrân* ‘destroy’ < P. *tyrać*; and *używân* ‘use’ < P. *używać*) and *kâpowâ-n* ‘understand’ built around the complex borrowed stem *kâpowâ-* (from P. *kapowa-ć*; see also *bjyźmowân* ‘confirm’ < P. *bierzmować*; *öeffarowân* ‘offer’ < P. *ofiarować*; *prüżnowân* ‘idle’ < P. *próżnować*; and *şpjegowân* ‘spy’ < P. *szpiegować*).

The pervasiveness of all types of *-â-* verbs borrowed from Polish into Wymysorys has also had implications for the transfer of other verbs. Several verbs originating in other verbal classes in Polish – e.g. *-i/y-*, *-e-*, and *-q-* verbs – have commonly replaced their original stem vowels with *-â-* by analogy to the *â* borrowings discussed above. In loans that draw on Polish verbs with *-i-* and *-y-*, the element *-â-* has sometimes replaced the original Polish morpheme, with the palatal feature on the preceding consonant being lost, as illustrated by *trüdzâ-n* ‘toil, trouble’ derived from P. *trudzi-ć*. However, more commonly, the morpheme *i/y* is preserved as

part of the element *-jä-* or *-'ä-*, i.e. as the palatal [j] or as the palatal feature of the preceding consonant, e.g. *düdhä-n* ‘resound’ (P. *dudnić*), and *wontpjä-n* ‘doubt’ (P. *wątpić*; see also *ożyjä-n* ‘come alive’ (P. *ożyć*) where *y* is maintained). The elements *-ä-*, *-'ä-*, and *-jä-* are also found in verbs that in Polish may exhibit both *-i-* and, if prefixed forms are taken into consideration, *-a-* or *-ja-* forms, e.g. *sondzä-n* ‘think, judge’ (P. *sądzić* and (o/po)*sądzać*), *walä-n zih* ‘collapse’ (*walić się* and (za)*walać się*), *bäwjä-n* ‘play, look after’ (P. *bawić* and (za)*bawiać*), *gnembjä-n* ‘be worried’ (P. *gnębić się* and (za/po)*gnębiać*), and *mortwjä-n* ‘worry’ (P. *martwić się* and (za)*marwiać*). It is possible that *-ä-*, *-'ä-*, and *-jä-* in these verbs have arisen both by analogy to the dominant pattern of borrowed verbs (i.e. the class of all *-ä-* verbs derived from Polish *-a-* verbs) and as reflexes of their own Polish variants exhibiting the *a* stem. Similarly, Polish verbs with *-e-* often employ the analogical element *-ä-*, *-'ä-*, or *-jä-* when adopted into Wymysorys, with the palatal pronunciation of the preceding consonant being regularly preserved, e.g. *mižä-n* ‘deteriorate, waste’ (P. *miziać*) and *nabžnä-n* ‘swell’ (P. *nabrzmieć*). The palatal element is also used with verbs that derive from *-nq-* verbs in Polish: *šednä-n* ‘sit down’ (P. *siednąć*), *tyrknä-n* ‘touch, hurt’ (P. *tyrknąć*), and *pragnä-n* ‘desire’ (P. *pragnąć*). This palatal pronunciation of *n* in Wymysorys does not reflect the Polish infinitive. It must rather have been introduced by analogy to the other *-'ä-* and *-jä-* verbs or a result of forms found in the present or future tense in Polish, i.e. *pragnie* ‘he desires’, *tyknie* ‘he will touch’, and *siednie* ‘he will sit’.

Additionally, the analogical element *-ä-* is visible in forms such as *mankolä-n* ‘loom, talk deliriously’ and *scüdä-n* ‘wonder’ which are derived not from Polish verbs but rather from nouns, i.e. *mankolijo* ‘melancholy’ and *cud* ‘wonder’, respectively.

Overall, almost all verbal loans – 111, to be specific – currently display an *-ä-* type stem element in Wymysorys, either the simple *-ä-* (i.e. non-palatal *-ä-* and palatalized *-'ä-/jä-*) or the extended *-owä-*. This morpheme *-(/j)ä-* constitutes the most productive manner of adjusting Polish verbs to the verbal system of Wymysorys and may be viewed as a fully fledged part of the morphological system of Wymysorys (see chapter 7).

Although different types of borrowed verbs with *-ä-* predominate, other classes of verbs are also attested. Specifically, there is one verb that maintains the Polish verbal suffix *-y-*, i.e. *plöšy-n* ‘drive out, flush out’ from P. *ploszyć*. The verb *brojyn* ‘romp, frolic’ draws on the Polish *broić*. The borrowed stem *broi/j-* has been expanded by the native verbalizer *-y*. In one case, the borrowed verb has substituted the original stem vowel *y* with the consonant *l*, i.e. *nužul-n* ‘tire, grumble’ from P. *nużyć*. This *l*, found in the Wymysorys lexeme *nužuln*, can be explained by relating the origin of the loan to the Polish past form *nudził-* ‘tired’ instead of the infinitive and/or present tense forms *nużyć* and *nuży*. Lastly, the vowel *-y-* in *päšy-n* ‘pasture, graze’ – the other *y* verb in Wymysorys – cannot be of Polish origin since the donor verb is *paś-* (*się*) in the infinitive, *pasi* in the (3.sg) present, and *pał* in the (3.sg) past. The presence of *y* in *päšyn* is probably analogical. The use of the infinitivizer *-n* in the verbs *plöšy-n*, *brojy-n*, *päšy-n*, and *nužul-n* is regular since, as explained above, *-n* is added to verbal stems ending in

a vowel, as well as to those that end in an originally syllabic liquid consonant, usually pronounced as *ul* or *ul* (see also next paragraph).<sup>177</sup>

The incorporation of a large number of Polish verbs has considerably influenced the verbal system of Wymysorys. As already mentioned, in Wymysorys, one finds two types of infinitive endings, namely *-a* and *-n*. The majority of the verbs display the ending *-a*. This *-a* does not belong to the verbal stem but is rather a marker of the infinitive form: *mah-a* ‘do, make’. This, in turn, means that the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons singular and the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural of such verbs fail to display the *a* vowel, appearing respectively as *mah*, *mah-st*, *mah-t*, and *mah-t*. The vowel *a* reappears in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons plural where it functions as a personal ending, i.e. *mah-a*. As mentioned above, the infinitive suffix *-a* is used with verbs of which the stems end in a consonant (e.g. *moh-a* ‘do, make’) or a consonant cluster (e.g. *end-a* ‘finish’). The other, less numerous, class of infinitives exhibits the ending *-n*. This suffix is mostly restricted to monosyllabic verbs the stems of which end in the vowel *â*, *a*, *i*, *o*, *ö*, *ü*, or *y* (e.g. *bli-n* ‘flourish’, *ci-n* ‘pull’, *ho-n* ‘have’, *ślö-n* ‘beat, hit’, *tü-n* ‘do’, and *regjyn* ‘rule’), a diphthong (e.g. *bläj-n* ‘remain’), *ul* (e.g. *cwäjful-n* ‘doubt’), and an originally vocalic *l* or *l* (e.g. *cybryk(u)ln* ‘crush’). In verbs that form their infinitive with *-n* (such as *regjyn* ‘rule’), the preceding vowel (or diphthong) belongs to the stem and appears in the entire conjugation in the present tense, e.g. *regjy*, *regjy-st*, *regjy-t*, *regjy-n*, *regjy-t*, and *regjy-n*. The transfer of Polish verbs and their reinterpretation as vocalic stems (mostly *â* stems, but also *y* and *l* stems) has significantly enhanced the visibility of *n* infinitives. More crucially, the introduction of more than 100 new *â*-type verbal stems has resulted in the formation of a new productive class of *â* verbs. That is, the peripheral and non-productive class of *â* verbs that existed in Wymysorys and was limited to only four members – i.e. *âjkamân* ‘deteriorate’, *celân* ‘walk slowly, spill, pour’, *ferhâlân* ‘forget’, and *watrân* ‘talk, slander’ – has significantly been expanded and regularized, currently constituting one of the best represented verbal classes in the language.

All verbs transferred from Polish are well integrated in the inflectional and derivational system of Wymysorys.<sup>178</sup> As far as inflections are concerned, the verbs borrowed from Polish can be conjugated in all tenses and moods, as with any other native verb in Wymysorys. Out of the three main inflectional patterns available (i.e. weak, strong, and preterite-present), Polish loans make use of the weak pattern. This means that in the present, the verb *pytân* ‘ask’ (from P. *pytać*) is inflected regularly, i.e. with no vowel mutation changes, which are typical of strong and Preterite-Present verbs. The singular forms are: 1<sup>st</sup> *pytâ*, 2<sup>nd</sup> *pytâst*, and 3<sup>rd</sup> *pytât*. The plural forms are: 1<sup>st</sup> *pytân*, 2<sup>nd</sup> *pytât*, and 3<sup>rd</sup> *pytân*. In the Preterite, the weak inflection is even more evident. The verb is marked by the suffix *-t* and the regular personal endings, yielding the forms

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<sup>177</sup> There is also a number of *-jyn* verbs that have close equivalents in Polish. Compare, for instance, the Wymysorys verbs *awanžjyn* ‘advance, be promoted’, *rekömendjyn* ‘recommend’, and *separjyn* ‘separate’ with *awansować*, *rekomendować*, and *separować* in Polish. However, these verbs have their equivalents in Modern High German and East German dialects, e.g. *avanciereren*, *rekommandieren*, and *separieren* (note that the Wymysorys *-jyn* derives from the Middle High German *-ieren*; see Paul 2007:12, 235). Therefore, they will be regarded as native verbs – or, at least, Germanic if transferred from German – rather than borrowed from Polish.

<sup>178</sup> Similarly, in Yiddish, verbs are fully “integrated into the German-like system of inflectional paradigms” (Geller 1999:71).

*pytát, pytátst, and pytát* in the singular and *pytáta, pytát, and pytáta* in the plural. In further compliance with the weak paradigm, verbs adopted from Polish derive their past participles by adding the suffix *-t*. However, in contrast to most inherited weak verbs – and nearly all unprefixated Wymysorys verbs – the participles of Polish borrowings usually do not exhibit the characteristic prefix *gy-*. Their form is thus *pytát* ‘asked’. Nevertheless, this rule is often violated and borrowed verbs with the prefix *gy-* in the participle are also widely attested, e.g. *gypásjyt* ‘pastured’. Since Polish loans derive the participle, they can be inflected in various analytical tenses, e.g. the perfect (e.g. *dü höst wynokwját* ‘you have discovered’) and the pluperfect (e.g. *dü hotst wynokwját* ‘you had discovered’). As a result, an entirely new conjugational weak paradigm has been formed: the infinitive *pytán* ‘ask’, the present tense (*yhy*) *pytá* – (*wjyr*) *pytán*, the preterite (*yhy*) *pytát* – (*wjyr*) *pytáta*, and the (optionally) unprefixated past participle *pytát*.

One of the most pervasive features of Polish verbs and the Polish verbal system is the category of aspect, which can be perfective or imperfective. The encoding of aspect in Polish is highly complex. In general terms, the perfective aspect is derived by means of prefixes (e.g. *na-pisać* ‘write [pf.]’) and/or the modification of stem vowels (e.g. *skoczyć* ‘jump [pf.]’ vs. *skakać* [ipf.]). The imperfective aspect is usually associated with non-prefixated forms (e.g. *pisać* ‘write [ipf.]’) or is expressed by means of suffixes such as *-owa-* or *-ywa-* and the modification of the stem (e.g. *podskakiwać* ‘jump (continuously) [ipf.]’). The different aspectual variants often profile distinct semantic nuances or have entirely distinct meanings. Therefore, aspect in Polish may be viewed as both an inflectional (grammatical) and derivational (lexical) category. In any case, for each verb – and each meaning – two variants are usually found: a perfective (e.g. *napisać* ‘write [pf.]’) and an imperfective (*pisać* ‘write [ipf.]’). The treatment of Polish aspectual distinctions and their formal expression in borrowed verbs is likewise an intricate phenomenon. It concerns the formal origin of loans in Polish perfective or imperfective variants; the presence (or absence) of prefixation, which is the most salient marker of perfectivity and imperfectivity in Polish; the aspect of loan verbs once adopted into the recipient system; and finally, the significance of a perfective-imperfective aspectual distinction in the entire verbal system of Wymysorys (regarding this last issue, see section 7.2.2).

To begin with, the forms of borrowed verbs tend to correspond with imperfective stems in Polish: *blonkân zih* ‘wander’ (cf. P. [ipf.] *bląkać się* vs. [pf.] *zabląkać*), *krakân* ‘croak, caw’ (cf. P. [ipf.] *krakać* vs. [pf.] *zakrakać*), *rozgoścân* ‘make oneself at home’ (cf. P. [ipf.] *rozgaszczać się* vs. [pf.] *rozgościć się*), *umortwjân* ‘be worried’ (cf. P. [ipf.] *umartwiać się* vs. [pf.] *umartwić się*), and *namowjân* ‘persuade’ (cf. P. [ipf.] *namawiać* vs. [pf.] *namówić*). Only a few Wymysorys verbs seem to have drawn their form directly from Polish perfective stems, e.g. *styrân* ‘destroy’ (P. *styczyć* [pf.]), *skidân* ‘spill’ (P. *skidać* [pf.]), and *ožyjân* ‘come alive’ (P. *ożyć* [pf.]), as well as all *hâ* verbs, e.g. *śedhân* ‘sit down’ (P. *siednąć* [pf.]), *tyrkhân* ‘touch, hurt’ (P. *tyrknąć* [pf.]), and possibly *nabzhân* ‘swell’ (P. *nabrznieć* [pf.]).

Verbal loans in Wymysorys may also draw on two types of Polish stems: stems that are unprefixated and stems that are accompanied by prefixes. Examples of the transfer of unprefixated

stems include: *blonkân* (*zih*) ‘wander’ (P. *bląkać się*), *dümjân* ‘think’ (P. *dumać*), *güzdrân* ‘dawdle’ (P. *guzdrać się*), and *l(j)yćân* ‘cure’ (P. *leczyć*). The donor verbs of the majority of such loans are imperfective in Polish, with the exception of *-ńâ-* verbs which, as explained above, correspond to perfective *-nq-* verbs in Polish. Examples of the transfer of stems accompanied by prefixes – e.g. *na-*, *o-*, *przy-*, *s-*, *roz-*, *u-*, and *wy-* – include: *nabźńân* ‘swell’ (P. *nabrzmieć*), *omamjân* ‘beguile, delude’ (P. *omamiać*), *pśymilân* ‘fawn, cajole’ (P. *przymilać się*), *rozgżyśân* ‘absolve’ (P. *rozgrzeszać*), *skidân* ‘spill’ (P. *kidać*), *umortwjân* ‘be worried’ (P. *umartwiać się*) and *wydzîwjân* ‘fuss’ (P. *wydziwiać*). In most cases, the Polish prefix is transferred to Wymysorys if it has a derivative function in Polish, triggering a change in lexical meaning when compared to an unprefixated counterpart. See, for instance, *rozłonćân* ‘disengage’ that draws on P. *rozłączać* (compare with the unprefixated P. form *łączyć* ‘connect’) and *rozgżyśân* ‘absolve’ that draws on P. *rozgrzeszać* (compare with the unprefixated P. form *grzeszyć* ‘sin’). These types of Polish verbs underlying the loans are typically imperfective. See, for instance, *rozłonćân* ‘disengage’ from P. *rozłączać* [ipf.] (compare with *rozłączyć* [pf.]) and *rozgżyśân* ‘absolve’ from P. *rozgrzeszać* [ipf.] (compare with *rozgrzeszyć* [pf.]). In a few cases, these types of prefixed verbs originate in perfective Polish forms, e.g. *ożyjân* ‘come alive’ (cf. P. *ożyć* ‘come alive [pf.]’ vs. *żyć* ‘live [ipf.]’ and *ożywiać* (*się*) ‘come alive [ipf.]’). Examples are rarely found in which the use of a prefix does not have a derivative function and thus does not trigger a change of meaning in the Polish donor form(s). Such verbs may correspond to imperfective stems (e.g. *strawjân* ‘consume’ from P. *strawiać* [ipf.]; compare with *trawić* [ipf.]) or to perfective stems (e.g. *skidân* ‘spill’ from P. *skidać* [pf.]; compare with *kidać* [ipf.]).

As explained above, verbs borrowed from Polish may preserve their original prefixes. However, in most cases, Polish prefixes usually do not function as genuine perfectivizing morphemes, but rather contribute to the lexical meaning of the verb. That is, in most cases, Polish prefixes found in loan verbs specify the type of action conveyed by the verb and thus have a derivative function when compared to the basic stem in Polish (see again *rozłonćân* ‘disengage’, discussed above). In a few verbs, the original Polish prefix that has a derivative function may optionally be omitted, most likely to avoid complex consonant clusters in the onset position. For instance, the prefixed verb *wskśyśân* ‘resuscitate’ from P. *wszkreszać* has an unprefixated by-form *kśyśân*. Much less commonly, the prefix of the borrowed verb maintains its perfectivizing function. For example, the verb *skidân* ‘spill’ derived, as explained above, from the perfective *skidać* ‘spill’, has a perfective force in Wymysorys and contrasts with a lexically synonymous, imperfective counterpart *kidân*. In another case, the Polish nominal base *cud* ‘wonder’ underlying the Wymysorys verb has been extended by what appears to be the Polish prefix *s-* yielding the form *scüdân* ‘to wonder, wow’. This perfective form coexists with a rarer imperfective variant *cüidân*.

Although the use of Polish prefixes is possible, the more common and, crucially, fully productive prefixation strategy consists of using Germanic elements, as is typical of native Wymysorys verbs (e.g. *âj-maha*, *cü-maha*, *der-maha*, *fer-maha*, *oüs-maha*, and *uf-maha*, all of which are prefixed variants of *maha* ‘do, make’). This means, in turn, that verbal stems

borrowed from Polish are often combined with inherited prefixes such as *āj-*, *by-*, *cü-*, *cy-*, *ejwer-*, *fer-*, *oüs-*, or *uf-*, yielding mixed or hybridized forms. For instance, the loan verbs *hapân* ‘catch, grab’ (P. *chapać*) and *śekan* ‘cut’ (P. *siekać*) may host the native prefixes *uf-* and *cy-*, and deliver the forms *ufhapân* ‘catch, grab’ and *cyśekan*, respectively. Similarly, *kidân* ‘spill’ (P. *kidać*) may co-occur with the prefixes *fer* and *cy* to yield *ferkidân* and *cykidân* ‘spill’. Other examples are *ajmülân* and *fermülân* ‘cover up with mud’ (*aj/fer* + *mülân* < P. *mulić*), *cytatrân* ‘spill food’ (*cy* + *tatrân* < P. *tatrac*), *ejwerwalân* ‘fell down’ (*ejwer* + *walân* < P. *walić*), and *ajkiöepcân* ‘smoke up’ (*aj* + *kiöepcân* < P. *kopcić*).<sup>179</sup>

This use of native prefixes with all types of verbal bases, whether borrowed or native, has generally been reanalyzed in Wymysorys as a relatively systematic and productive perfectivization strategy. This strategy replicates the process of using prefixes to express the perfective aspect in Polish and the entire formation of aspectual perfective-imperfective pairs that typifies the Polish verbal system. As already mentioned, one of the principal functions of verbal prefixes in Polish is to form perfective counterparts of imperfective basic stems, e.g. *robić* ‘do’ [ipf.] vs. *zrobić* ‘do’ [pf.]. Wymysorys has copied this pattern and can employ its native prefixes, previously used only for derivative purposes, to express aspectual distinctions. Compare the overtly perfective *oüsata* ‘work’ with unmarked *ata* ‘work’. This case of pattern borrowing and, more generally, the impact of Polish on the aspectual system of Wymysorys will be described in detail in section 7.2.2.

Another characteristic way of adapting Polish verbs to the Wymysorys system concerns reflexivity. When a reflexive verb is transferred from Polish into Wymysorys, it may lose the feature of reflexivity, under the condition that there is another native non-reflexive verb in Wymysorys that expresses the same activity: e.g. *güzdrân* ‘dawdle’ (cf. the Polish reflexive verb *guzdrać się* but the non-reflexive native verb *zoüma*), *jonkân* ‘stammer’ (P. *jakać się* vs. the native *droka*), *pšymilân* ‘fawn’ (P. *przymilać się* vs. the native *śmäjhuln*), and *umortwjân* ‘be worried’ (P. *umartwiać się* vs. the native *zügja* and *jamyn*). However, there are many verbs that preserve their reflexivity, including those that have their native non-reflexive equivalents. For example, the reflexive pronoun is preserved in *blonkân zih* ‘wander’ (P. *bląkać się*), *gnembjân zih* ‘be worried’ (P. *gnębić się*), *meñcân zih* ‘get tired’ (P. *męczyć się*), *lakümjân zih* ‘relish’ (P. *lakomić się*), and *walân zih* ‘collapse’ (P. *walić się*). Additionally, a few verbs allow for two synonymous variants: one reflexive in accordance with the underlying Polish form, and the other non-reflexive matching the semantically equivalent verb in Wymysorys.<sup>180</sup> However, more often, two such variants have distinct meanings that reflect the original usage found in Polish. For instance, the Polish verb *bawić się* ‘play, amuse oneself’ surfaces as *bawjân zih*, with reflexivity being preserved. Its non-reflexive counterpart *bawjân* ‘look after (a child)’ derives from the Polish transitive verb *bawić* (e.g. *dziecko*) ‘look after (a child)’ (cf. *bacia bawi dziecko* ‘the grandmother is looking after the child’; regarding the reflexive use of non-reflexive native verbs due to Polish influence, see section 6.4).

<sup>179</sup> Compare with a similar phenomenon in Yiddish, where the native prefixes may occur with verbs borrowed from Slavonic (Shishigin 2016a; 2016b; Arkadiev 2017:5).

<sup>180</sup> Compare with a similar explanation proposed for Yiddish by Weinreich (2008:532).

Very few loan verbs exhibit a change in meaning when compared with their Polish sources. For example, the verb *menćan* (*zih*) means not only ‘make tired / be tired’ but also ‘worry / be worried’. This latter emotive sense (‘worry’) is likely a meaning extension that has arisen from the more concrete sensorial value (‘tire’). The emotive nuance is possible in Polish, although it constitutes a pragmatically driven implicature limited to metaphorical uses. In contrast, in Wymysorys, the emotive nuance has been fully stabilized and belongs to the semantic core of the verb.

### 5.3 Adjectives

#### 5.3.1 Inventory of loanwords

Adjectives are another type of content lexicon that has been influenced by contact with Polish. In contrast to the categories of nouns and verbs, which include a large number of borrowed lexemes, the number of adjectives of Polish origin is rather limited. In total, there are only 36 Wymysorys adjectives that have been transferred from Polish. The list below contains all of these foreign lexemes:

*bronzowik* (*brązowy*) ‘brown’; *ćehys* (*czech*) ‘Czech’; *dožartik* (*dožarty*) ‘malicious, mean’; *dziwny* (*dziwny*) ‘strange’; *energićnik* (*energiczny*) ‘energetic, active’; *fântastyćnik* (*fantastyczny*) ‘super, excellent’; *garbatik* (*garbaty*) ‘humpbacked’; *giöereliš* (*górali/góralski*) ‘highland, mountainous’; *gliöešnik* (*głošny*) ‘loud’; *glüh/gluh* (*gluchy*) ‘deaf’; *grymäšnik* (*grymašny*) ‘picky’; *hაკlik* (*hakliwy*) ‘greedy’; *jalowik* (*jalowy*) ‘arid’; *kálnik* (*kalny*) ‘muddy, dirty’; *koštölowitik* (*kościölowity*) ‘bony, big boned’; *lakümis* (*lakomy*) ‘greedy’; *niklińiš* (*nikły*) ‘feeble’; *paradnik* (*paradny*) ‘proud’; *pärtyjnik* (*partyjny*) ‘party’; *pljynik* (*plenny*) ‘fertile’; *pšebrodnik* (*przebrodny*) ‘choosy’; *pšeklášnik* (*przeklašny*) ‘choosy, picky’; *seńkatik* (*sękaty*) ‘chunky’; *sprytnik* (*sprytny*) ‘cunning, smart’; *statećnik* (*stateczny*) ‘wise, right’; *šćüplik* (*szczupły*) ‘slim’; *šmješnik* (*šmieszny*) ‘funny’; *špetlăwik* (*szpetlăwy*) ‘bow-legged’; *stüćnik* (*sztuczny*) ‘artificial’; *upartik* (*uparty*) ‘obstinate’; *wjeruthnik* (*wierutny*) ‘real, true’; *wožnik* (*ważny*) ‘important’; *wyriöednik* (*wyrodney*) ‘disgraceful’; *zapalcýwik* (*zapalczywy*) ‘impetuous’; *zowilik* (*zawiły*) ‘convoluted’; and *žwawik* (*žwawy*) ‘lively’.

Additionally, the adjectives *gyštalt* and *ungyštalt* have expanded their semantic potential and currently signify not only ‘beautiful’ and ‘ugly’, respectively, but also ‘educated’ and ‘uneducated’, in analogy to the Polish lexemes *wykształcony* and *niewykształcony* (cf. Wicherkiewicz 2003:268).

#### 5.3.2 Semantic types of loanwords

Despite their limited number, adjectives borrowed from Polish are semantically diverse. As far as the referent of an adjective is concerned – or, in other words, its potential “possessor” – the vast majority of tokens refers to qualities pertinent to human beings, e.g. *grymäšnik* ‘picky’ (P. *grymašny*), *upartik* ‘obstinate’ (P. *uparty*), *lakümis* ‘greedy’ (P. *lakomy*), and *sprytnik* ‘cunning,

smart' (P. *sprytny*). Some adjectives may also refer to animals, especially if animals are portrayed as rational beings, e.g. *żwawik* 'lively' (P. *żwawy*). Nevertheless, a few adjectives generally characterize inanimate referents, as illustrated by *jałowik* 'arid' (P. *jałowy*) and its antonym *pljyńnik* 'fertile' (P. *plenny*), used to refer to soil. Some lexemes may even be used to qualify abstract ideas, e.g. *wjerutńnik* 'real, true' (P. *wierutny*) and *zowilik* 'convoluted' (P. *zawiły*).

With regard to the nature of a given characteristic expressed by an adjective (or the adjective's designation), a number of borrowed lexemes denote physical properties, e.g. *kośćołowitik* 'bony, big boned' (P. *kościolowity*), *seńkatik* 'chunky' (P. *sękaty*), and *ścüplik* 'slim' (P. *szczupły*). Several such adjectives indicate physical defects, e.g. *garbatik* 'humpbacked' (P. *garbaty*) and *glüh/gluh* (*gluchy*) 'deaf' (P. *gluchy*). A larger class of lexemes denotes psychological character traits, whether positive, e.g. *statećńnik* 'wise, right' (P. *stateczny*), or negative, e.g. *zapalcýwik* 'impetuous' (P. *zapalczywy*) and *pšebrodńnik* 'choosy' (P. *przebrodny*). Two adjectives indicate origin, namely *čehyś* 'Czech' (P. *czech*) and *giöereliś* 'highland, mountainous' (P. *górali/góralski*).

### 5.3.3 Underlying Polish forms

As was the case with nouns and verbs, traces of the dialectal foundation of adjectival loans can be detected. These mainly concern *pochylone* vowels and – to an extent – nasal vowels, sibilants, and affricates.

The most evident dialectal component found in adjectives is the treatment of the *pochylone* vowels in accordance with their pronunciation in the dialects of western Lesser Poland and eastern Upper Silesia. For instance, the *pochylone* *â* is pronounced as [ɔ], thus diverging from Standard Polish where it is realized as [a], e.g. *woźńnik* 'important' (cf. P. *ważny*). In a similar vein, the *pochylone* *ê* is pronounced as *y* [ɤ], whether after a hard or a soft consonant, contrary to its pronunciation as *e* [ɛ] in Standard Polish, e.g. *pljyńnik* 'fertile' (cf. P. *plenny*). Additionally, the adjective *giöereliś* 'highland, mountainous' suggests the dialectal pronunciation of the *pochylone* *ô*, i.e. as [o], contrary to the situation typical of Standard Polish where it is rendered as [u] (cf. P. *górali*). As previously explained, the Polish *o* (and *ó* if borrowed from dialects) typically appears as (*i*)*ö*(*e*) in Wymysorys, while the Polish *u* (and *ó* if borrowed from Standard Polish where it is realized as [u]) is rendered as *ü*/*u*.

In two lexemes, the Polish nasal vowel *ę* /*ẽ*/ and *ą* /*õ*/ are resolved into an oral vowel and nasal consonant, i.e. *eń* [ɛŋ] and [ɔŋ], as is in common Western Lesser Polish dialects (see *seńkatik* 'chunky' from P. *sękaty* and *bronzowik* 'brown' from P. *brązowy*). As previously explained, this pronunciation of nasals need not only have a dialectal foundation. It is equally common in colloquial Polish and may also constitute one of the adaptive mechanisms governing the incorporation of Polish loans into Wymysorys phonology. Less common is the pronunciation with a non-syllabic nasal voicoid (e.g. [ɛ̃] and [ɔ̃]) or a nasal approximant (e.g. [ɛ̃j]/[ɛ̃] and [ɔ̃w̃]/[ɔ̃w̃]), which is typical of (more careful colloquial) Standard Polish.

As is the case elsewhere, no cases of *mazurzenie* are attested in adjectives in the borrowed content lexicon of Wymysorys. However, as was regular for nouns and verbs, hard postalveolar sibilant fricatives and affricates are often pronounced as soft alveolo-palatals or palatals. For instance, [s] is pronounced as [ʃ] or [ɕ], e.g. *pšebrodńik* ‘choosy’ (P. *przybrodny*) and *pšekłášńik* ‘choosy, picky’ (P. *przekłaśny*); [tʂ] is pronounced as [tʃ] or [tɕ], e.g. *statećńik* ‘wise’ (P. *stateczny*) and *zapalćywik* ‘impetuous’ (P. *zapalczywy*); and [z] is pronounced as [ʒ] or [ʒ], e.g. *źwawik* ‘lively’ (P. *źwawy*). As usual, the hard postalveolar *ź* [z] is the most resilient to such changes. For example, the adjective *woźńik* ‘important’ (cf. P. *ważny*) most often exhibits the hard postalveolar [z], even though the soft pronunciation as [ʒ] or [ʒ] is also possible.

A dialectal foundation of borrowing is also visible in the fact that a number of adjectival loans originate in dialectal adjectives, otherwise unknown (or rare) in Standard Polish, e.g. *doźartik* ‘malicious, mean’ (P. dial. *dożarty*), *haklik* ‘greedy’ (P. dial. *hakliwy*), *kalńik* ‘muddy, dirty’ (P. dial. *kalny*), *kośćołowitik* ‘bony, big boned’ (P. dial. *kościółowity*), *pšebrodńik* ‘choosy’ (P. dial. *przybrodny*), and *pšekłášńik* ‘choosy, picky’ (P. dial. *przekłaśny*).

#### 5.3.4 Adaptation mechanisms

All adjectives that have been transferred from Polish are well assimilated into the Wymysorys language system. This assimilation concerns the phonology of loans as well as, more importantly, their morphology.

Phonological adaptive mechanisms that operate in adjectives are fully comparable with those mechanisms described in the sections dedicated to nouns (section 5.1.4) and verbs (section 5.2.4). The vowel *o* (as well as the dialectal *ó*) found in source lexemes is rendered as (i)ö(e), e.g. *kośćołowitik* ‘bony’ (P. *kościółowity*), *wyriöedńik* ‘disgraceful’ (P. *wyrodny*), and *giöereliś* ‘highland, mountainous’ (P. *górali*). The vowel *u* (as well as the Standard Polish *ó*) is rendered as ü, e.g. *glüh* ‘deaf’ (P. *gluchy*) and *ścüplik* ‘slim’ (P. *szczupły*). Nevertheless, exceptions to these two adaptive strategies are attested. In such cases, the vowels *o* and *u* present in the source lexemes are maintained unchanged in the transferred forms, as illustrated by *jałowik* ‘arid’ (P. *jałowy*) and *gluh* ‘deaf’ (P. *gluchy*). An additional adaptive mechanism can be seen in the usual realization of the nasal vowels *ę* and *ą* as an oral vowel with a nasal consonant, as illustrated by *seńkatik* ‘chunky’ from P. *sękaty* and *bronzowik* ‘brown’ from P. *brązowy* (apart from their less common pronunciation with a nasal vocoid or approximant). However, this rendering of *ę* and *ą* in Wymysorys may also reflect a dialectal and/or colloquial pronunciation of the source lexemes in Polish (see section 5.3.2 above).

The more critical adaptation of adjectival borrowings takes place at the level of morphology. In general terms, this adaptation consists of adjusting Polish lexemes to one of the many morphological patterns available to native adjectives in Wymysorys. The principal strategy is to accompany a transferred adjectival stem with a native adjectival suffix. Three such suffixes

are found in adjectives borrowed from Polish: *-ik*, *-ńik*, and *-i/yś*.<sup>181</sup> These three are the most common and productive adjectival suffixes used in Wymysorys (see their use in inherited lexemes such as *gyftik* ‘poisonous’, *hoüthnik* ‘contemporary, today’s’, and *loütyś* ‘people’s’). The other strategy is to mark an adjective with a “zero” morpheme. This type of marking is no longer productive in Wymysorys, being limited to a few (albeit very frequent) native lexemes, e.g. *klin* ‘small, little’, *grus* ‘big’, and *old* ‘old’. The vast majority of adjectives adopted from Polish – 17 tokens, to be exact – make use of the suffix *-ńik*, e.g. *grymášnik* ‘picky’ (P. *grymaśny*) and *pljyńik* ‘fertile’ (P. *plenny*). 13 adjectives exhibit the suffix *-ik*, e.g. *jałowik* ‘arid’ (P. *jałowy*), *ścüplik* ‘slim’ (P. *szczupły*), and *upartik* ‘obstinate’ (P. *uparty*). Adjectives ending in *-ys/-iś* are less common, and there are four such tokens: *čechyś* ‘Czech’ (P. *Czech/czeski*), *giöereliś* ‘highland, mountainous’ (P. *góral/górali*), *lakümiś* ‘greedy’ (P. *łakomy*), and *niklińiś* ‘feeble’ (P. *nikły*). Lastly, there is only one case of an adjective borrowed from Polish that exhibits a suffix-less form in Wymysorys, i.e. *glüh/gluh* ‘deaf’ (P. *gluchy*), as well as one instance of an adjective that is not morphologically adapted, i.e. *dziwny* ‘strange’ (P. *dziwny*).

The selection of one of the three adjectival suffixes (i.e. *ik*, *-ńik*, and *-i/yś*) is motivated. All adjectives ending in *-ńik* derive from Polish adjectival stems ending in *-n*, e.g. *sprytnik* ‘cunning, smart’ (from P. *spryt-n-y*). The process of borrowing of these adjectives can be interpreted in two ways. The adjectival suffix *-ńik* has replaced the Polish suffix *-n* and its accompanying ending *-y* in the nominative masculine singular, i.e. *spryt-* + *-ńik* > *sprytnik*. Alternatively, the suffix *-ńik* results from the suffixation of the native Wymysorys adjectival morpheme *-ik* to the Polish stem ending in *-n*. This means that the Polish suffix *-n* has merged with the native Wymysorys suffix *-ik* yielding a composite suffix *-ńik*, i.e. *spryt-n-(y)* + *-ik*. This resulting complex morpheme is homophonous with the native adjectival suffix *-ńik* found in Wymysorys. This latter scenario is highly plausible given that Polish adjectival stems/suffixes are generally preserved in Wymysorys (see below). However, it is equally likely that both mechanisms have operated simultaneously. The remaining adjectives ending in *-ik* derive from Polish adjectival *-t*, *-ł*, and *-w* stems, e.g. *upartik* ‘obstinate’ (from P. *upar-t-y*), *zowilik* ‘convoluted’ (from P. *zawi-ł-y*), and *jałowik* ‘arid’ (from P. *jało-w-y*). In these adjectives, the Polish stem has merely been expanded with the native adjectival suffix *-ik*, i.e. *upar-t-y* + *-ik*, *zawił-y* + *-ik*, and *jałow-y* + *-ik*.<sup>182</sup> The few adjectives ending in *-i/yś* derive from Polish adjectival *-m* stems – see *lakümiś* ‘greedy’ (from P. *łako-m-y*) – or draw on Polish nouns rather than adjectives – see *čechyś* ‘Czech’ (from P. *czech* ‘a Czech’) and *giöereliś* ‘highland, mountainous’ (from P. *góral* ‘a highland man’). It is not a coincidence that *-i/yś* appears in *čechyś* and *giöereliś* as this suffix is often found with native adjectives denoting origin or nationality, e.g. *saksyś* and *saksiś* ‘Saxon’. The less common use of *-i/yś* in Polish loans may be related to the fact that this suffix is generally less common in Wymysorys than *-ńik* (if Polish loans are included) and especially *-ik*. Similar to the adjustment mechanism that yields *-ńik* and

<sup>181</sup> Similar adaptive mechanisms have operated in other eastern dialects of German (Siatkowski 2015:245-249).

<sup>182</sup> The form *ścüplik* ‘slim’ exhibits *-l* instead of the expected *ł* (cf. P. *szczupły*) probably by analogy to native adjectives ending in *-lik*, e.g. *hålik* ‘holy’ and *krånklik* ‘sickly, sick’. In *håklik* ‘greedy’, the original suffix *-w* was lost (cf. P. *hakliwy*).

*-ik* adjectives, in the case of *-i/yś* loans, the native suffix is added to a respective Polish stem, e.g. *laküm-y* + *-iś*, *ćech-* + *-yś*, and *giöerel* (cf. *giöerol* ‘highlander, mountaineer’) + *-iś*. However, the origin of the adjective *niklińiś* ‘feeble’ seems to be more complex. The Polish lexeme *nikły* has apparently been extended by the suffix *-ńiś*. There are no other adjectives ending in *-ńiś* in Wymysorys. It is possible that *-ńiś* is a composite of the native suffix *-iś* and the element *ń*. This *ń* may itself have been introduced by analogy to the most common adaptive morphological mechanism, i.e. the suffix *-ńik*. Lastly, in one example, the so-called “zero marking” is used. This occurs in the loanword that derives from a bare adjective in Polish, i.e. an adjective that is only marked by a case/gender/number ending (in the masculine singular, *-y*) – see *glüh/gluh* ‘deaf’ that draws on the Polish form *gluch-y*. This means that the only change that has occurred in this case is the elimination of the original case/gender/number ending.<sup>183</sup>

Overall, the use of the various adaptive mechanisms has led to the creation of blended forms in which the adjectival base is imported from Polish, while the overt marking of the base as an adjective is achieved by native material. Alternatively, the suffixes *-ńik*, *-tik*, *-wik*, *-lik*, *-miś*, and *-liś* found in these adjectival loans can be viewed as hybrids. The first consonant is donated by Polish, the final consonant is donated by Wymysorys, while the middle element is donated by the two languages simultaneously (see section 7.1.2). These blended adjectivizers are not productive in Wymysorys as they never occur in the native lexicon.

Apart from being marked by native adjectival suffixes, adjectives borrowed from Polish are adjusted to the Wymysorys language system in another manner. All such adjectives can be inflected according to the rules of the adjectival system of Wymysorys, thus taking on the specific case, gender, and number endings, both in the weak and strong declensional paradigms (cf. Andrason 2013a). For instance, in *dy giöereliś-a śysuln* ‘the pots typical of highland’, the adjective *giöereliś* is inflected in the nominative plural of the weak paradigm. Similarly, in *ā zyter lakümiśer kłop* ‘a greedy man’, the adjective *lakümiś* is inflected in the masculine nominative singular of the strong paradigm.

As a concluding remark, it should be noted that the adjectival system of Wymysorys has not been altered due to contact with Polish in a manner comparable to the situation found in the nominal and verbal systems. That is, language contact has neither led to the introduction of new semantic or functional categories nor has it significantly enhanced the relevance of categories that were previously marginal (see, however, that native Wymysorys adjectives ending in *-ńik* are rather infrequent and the borrowed *-ńik* adjectives have slightly increased the visibility of these types of lexemes). Similarly, language contact has not modified the means of adjectival encoding in Wymysorys. For example, novel suffixes have not been developed – the use of *ńiś* is rather anecdotal than systematic – and the distribution of the suffixes already present has not been altered.

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<sup>183</sup> It should be noted that although certain Polish adjectives allow for two variants in the masculine singular, i.e. a longer form marked by the ending *-y* (e.g. *zdrowy* ‘healthy’) and a shorter form with no ending (*zdrów*), *gluchy* is not one of them.

## 5.4 Adverbs

### 5.4.1 Inventory of loanwords

Similar to the lexical classes of nouns, verbs, and adjectives discussed above, the category of adverbs has been influenced by contact with Polish. There are 27 adverbs in total that have been adopted from Polish to Wymysorys – the number of adverbial loanwords thus being slightly lower than that of adjectives. Below, I present a comprehensive list of adverbs of Polish origin that currently belong to the shared lexicon of Wymysorys speakers:

*būjńe* (*bujnie*) ‘plentifully, very’; *cońemjora* (*co niemiara*) ‘abundantly, a lot, very’; *dūśńe* (*duszenie*) ‘stiflingly’; *dźel(i)ńe* (*dzielnie*) ‘bravely’; *grymāsńe* (*grymaszenie*) ‘pickily’; *hūrmem* (*hurmem*) ‘altogether’; *(ł)öpfiće* (*obficie*) ‘abundantly’; *natyhmjast* (*natychmiast*) ‘immediately’; *ńehwolancśe* ‘modestly, unassumingly, unpretentiously’ (P. *nie chwalcę się*); *ńespodźańe* (*niespodzianie*) ‘unexpectedly’; *ogriöemńe* (*ogromnie*) ‘greatly’; *okriöepńe* (*okropnie*) ‘terribly, very’; *ostriöezńe* (*ostrożnie*) ‘carefully’; *paradńe* (*paradnie*) ‘proudly’; *parńe* (*parnie*) ‘muggily, sultrily’; *plöböźńe* (*pobożnie*) ‘piously’; *raptem* (*raptem*) ‘suddenly’; *raptowne* (*raptownie*) ‘quickly, suddenly’; *smütńe* (*smutnie*) ‘sadly’; *sprytńe* (*sprytnie*) ‘cunningly, smartly’; *statecńe* (*statecznie*) ‘wisely’; *strāsńe* (*strasznie*) ‘horribly, very’; *śmjeśńe* (*śmiesznie*) ‘funnily’; *tejda* (*tedy*) ‘then, before, earlier’; *wjerutńe* (*wierutnie*) ‘really, truly’; *woźńe* (*ważnie*) ‘importantly’; *umyśńe/ymyśńe* (*umyślnie*) ‘deliberately, purposely’.

### 5.4.2 Semantic types of loanwords

Despite their limited number, adverbs borrowed from Polish into Wymysorys are semantically diverse. The vast majority of adverbial loans are adverbs of manner, e.g. *dźel(i)ńe* ‘bravely’ (P. *dzielnie*), *plöböźńe* ‘piously’ (P. *pobożnie*), *umyśńe* ‘deliberately’ (P. *(na)umyślnie*), and *ńehwolancśe* ‘modestly, unassumingly, unpretentiously’ (P. *nie chwalcę się*). Four lexemes are adverbs of time, i.e. *natyhmjast* ‘immediately’, *raptem* ‘suddenly’, and *tejda* ‘then, before, earlier’ (P. *tedy*; see Wicherkiewicz 2003:285), which are canonical expressions of time, as well as *raptowne* ‘suddenly’, which is an adverb of manner that can also be used to express temporal relationships in Wymysorys. Four lexemes can be used as adverbs of degree, i.e. *cońemjora* ‘abundantly, a lot’ (P. *co niemiara*) and *ogriöemńe* ‘greatly’ (P. *ogromnie*), as well as *okriöepńe* ‘very’ (P. *okropnie*) and *būjńe* ‘very’ (P. *bujnie*) – two adverbs of manner that in their literal sense mean ‘terribly’ and ‘plentifully’. In contrast, adverbs of place have not been borrowed from Polish into Wymysorys.

Most adverbs of manner modify activities carried out by human referents. For instance, *dźel(i)ńe* ‘bravely’ (P. *dzielnie*), *grymāsńe* ‘pickily’ (P. *grymaszenie*), *ńehwolancśe* ‘modestly, unassumingly, unpretentiously’ (P. *nie chwalcę się*), *plöböźńe* ‘piously’ (P. *pobożnie*), and *umyśńe/ymyśńe* ‘deliberately, purposely’ (P. *umyślnie*) can virtually only be used when referring to humans. A few adverbs of manner may also apply to actions associated with animals and natural phenomena, e.g. *ńespodźańe* ‘unexpectedly’ (P. *niespodzianie*), *śmjeśńe* ‘funnily’ (P.

*śmiesznie*), and *parńe* ‘muggily, sultrily’ (P. *parnie*). Adverbs of time and degree may relate to actions and activities in which referents of all types – whether human, animate, or inanimate – are involved. Lastly, it should be noted that one adverb is explicitly related to the domain of religion and church, i.e. *plöböźńe* ‘piously’ (P. *poboźnie*).

### 5.4.3 Underlying Polish forms

As was the case with nouns, verbs, and adjectives, the properties of adverbial lexemes borrowed from Polish often attest to their dialectal – rather than Standard – Polish origin. The most evident dialectal features are the dialectal realization of *pochylone* vowels, the labialization of *o*, the typical “soft” pronunciation of sibilants and affricates, and – to a certain extent – the treatment of nasals and certain consonant clusters.

Three adverbs adopted from Polish attest to a dialectal realization of *pochylone* vowels. This specifically concerns the pronunciation of the old *â* as *o* [ɔ], in agreement with the situation found in Western Lesser Polish and Eastern Upper Silesian, but in contrast to the Standard Polish pronunciation as [a]. Compare *cońemjora* ‘abundantly, many’ with *co niemiara* in Standard Polish; *woźńe* ‘importantly’ with *ważńe*; and *ńehwolancśe* ‘modestly, unassumingly, unpretentiously’ with *nie chwałqć się*. No cases of dialectal pronunciations of the remaining types of the *pochylone* vowels are attested in adverbial loans. Another evident dialectal trait is labialization. In adverbs, this takes place in onsets in word-initial position (compare *löpfiće* ‘abundantly’ with *obficie* in Standard Polish), including after a consonant (compare *plöböźńe* ‘piously’ with P. *poboźnie*). However, adverbial loans that reflect non-labialized forms used in Standard Polish are also attested, e.g. *okriöepńe* ‘terribly’ (P. *okropnie*), *ogriöemńe* ‘greatly, very’ (P. *ogromnie*), and *ostriöeźńe* ‘carefully’ (P. *ostrożnie*). Overall, such non-labialized forms are more common than those exhibiting dialectal labialization. In fact, even the forms with labialization allow for non-labialized variants, as illustrated by *öpfiće* ‘abundantly’ – an alternative to *löpfiće* – from P. *obficie*. As elsewhere in Wymysorys, hard postalveolars found in Standard Polish receive a soft pronunciation, either as palatals or as alveolo-palatals, e.g. *sz* [ʃ] > *ś* [ʃ]/[e]: *düśńe* ‘stiflingly’ (cf. P. *dusznie*) and *strásńe* ‘horribly, very’ (cf. P. *strasznie*); *ź* [ʒ] > *ż* [ʒ]/[z]: *plöböźńe* ‘piously’ (cf. P. *poboźnie*) and *ostriöeźńe* ‘carefully’ (cf. P. *ostrożnie*); and *cz* [tʃ] > *ć* [tʃ]/[tɕ]: *statećńe* ‘wisely’ (cf. P. *statecznie*). In the adverb *ńehwolancśe* ‘modestly, unassumingly, unpretentiously’, the nasal vowel [ɔ̃] found in the equivalent expression *nie chwałqć się* in Standard Polish is resolved as an oral vowel and a nasal consonant, i.e. [ɔŋ], as is typical of local Polish dialects. Properly nasal pronunciations, e.g. with the nasal vocoid [ũ] or the nasal approximant [w̃]/[w̃̃], are also possible. However, they are much less common. Lastly, in *umyśńe* ‘deliberately, purposely’, the complex consonant cluster *śln* found in the Standard Polish form *umyślnie* has been simplified to *śń*. As explained in the previous sections, such treatments of nasal vowels and consonant clusters need not only stem from a dialectal origin of Polish donor words. They too are common in colloquial Polish and may also stem from adaptive phenomena operating during the transfer from Polish into Wymysorys (see next section).

#### 5.4.4 Adaptation mechanisms

The adjustment of adverbs into the Wymysorys language system concerns their phonological and morphological aspects. As far as phonology is concerned, adverbs are subject to the same adaptive mechanisms that typify nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The *o* vowel found in the Polish sources quite regularly surfaces as (*i*)*ö*(*e*) in the Wymysorys loanwords. See, for instance, *ogriöemñe* ‘greatly’ (cf. P. *ogromnie*), *okriöepñe* ‘terribly, very’ (cf. P. *okropnie*), *ostriöeźñe* ‘carefully’ (cf. P. *ostrożnie*), and *plöböźñe* ‘piously’ (cf. P. *pobożnie*). Similarly, the Polish vowel *u* is often replaced by the Wymysorys *ü*, e.g. *büjñe* ‘plentifully’ (cf. P. *bujnie*), *düśñe* ‘stiflingly’ (cf. P. *dusznie*), and *hürmem* ‘altogether’ (cf. P. *hurmem*). Nevertheless, exceptions to these two adaptative tendencies are found. In such cases, the Polish vowels *o* and *u* are preserved, e.g. *raptowñe* ‘quickly, suddenly’ (cf. P. *raptownie*), *wjerutñe* ‘really, truly’ (cf. P. *wierutnie*), and *umyśñe/ymyśñe* ‘deliberately’ (cf. P. *umyślnie*). The two other adaptive mechanisms, i.e. the realization of nasal vowels as an oral vowel and a nasal consonant, which is visible in *ñehwolancse* ‘modestly, unassumingly, unpretentiously’ (cf. P. *nie chwaląc się*), and the simplification of consonant clusters, which is visible in *umyśñe* ‘deliberately’ (cf. P. *umyślnie*), overlap with similar processes found in local Polish dialects and the colloquial variety of Standard Polish (see section 5.4.3 above).

While the phonological adaptation of adverbs is similar to that operating in nouns, verbs, and adjectives, their morphological adjustment is significantly less patent. Indeed, out of all the types of content lexemes discussed thus far, adverbs are the least adapted to the rules of Wymysorys morphology.

As far as their form is concerned, all adverbial loanwords profoundly resemble their Polish sources and use morphological marking for Polish adverbs rather than the marking typical of Wymysorys. The most common marker found in adverbs borrowed from Polish is *-ñe*, which is a direct reflex of the Polish adverbializer *-nie* – the most common and productive adverbial suffix currently found in the Polish language. This can be illustrated by the following examples: *büjñe* ‘plentifully’ (P. *bujnie*), *dźel(i)ñe* ‘bravely’ (P. *dzielnie*), *ñespodźañe* ‘unexpectedly’ (P. *niespodzianie*), *parñe* ‘muggily, sultrily’ (P. *parnie*), *puöböźñe* ‘piously’ (P. *pobożnie*), *düśñe* ‘stiflingly’ (P. *dusznie*), *raptowñe* ‘suddenly’ (P. *raptownie*), *smütñe* ‘sadly’ (P. *smutnie*), *strásñe* ‘horribly, very’ (P. *strasznie*), *okriöepñe* ‘terribly’ (P. *okropnie*), *ogriöemñe* ‘greatly’ (P. *ogromnie*), *ostriöeźñe* ‘carefully’ (P. *ostrożnie*), and *umyśñe/ymyśñe* ‘deliberately, purposely’ (P. *umyślnie*). The allomorph of *-nie* that is used in Polish with dental stems, i.e. *-cie*, is attested in one case: (*t*)*öpfíce* ‘abundantly’ from P. *obficie*. Although the Polish *-nie* suffix has been maintained, it is possible that the partial similarity with genuine Wymysorys adverbs ending in *-nik* – e.g. *fjetnik* ‘timidly’ – may have created favorable grounds for the borrowing of these types of Polish adverbs.

Another Polish adverbial suffix that is preserved in loanwords is *-m*. There are two loanwords that draw on Polish adverbs ending in *-m*: *hürmem* ‘altogether’ (P. *hurmem*) and *raptem* ‘suddenly’ (P. *raptem*). Contrary to *-nie/-cie*, the suffix *-m* is no longer productive in Polish.

Historically, it is an instrumental case ending that has been grammaticalized as an indissoluble part of an adverb. For example, *hurmem* ‘together’ descends from the instrumental singular of the noun *hurma* ‘crowd, group of people’ (Borys 2005:196). It should be noted that the consonant *-m* also appears as the final element of many native Wymysorys adverbs, e.g. *dyham* ‘home, at home’, *ynham* ‘home’, *egzum* ‘right now, immediately’, *koïim* ‘barely’, *longzum* ‘slowly, late’, *rym* ‘everywhere’, and *ymätum/umätum* ‘completely’. As is the case for the element *-m* in Polish, the suffix *-m* does not constitute a productive means to derive adverbs in Wymysorys. In further similarity with Polish, the Wymysorys morpheme *-m* usually reflects an earlier case ending, specifically a dative ending (compare with the Polish instrumental). This superficial coincidence between Polish and Wymysorys and its folk etymological reanalyses as a true equivalence may have eased the borrowing of Polish adverbs in *-m* and their direct incorporation into the Wymysorys language system without the need for any other overt adverbializing element.

One borrowed adverb, *natyhmjast* ‘immediately’, ends in *-t*. This form directly reflects the Polish source, *natychmiast*. In Polish, the adverb *natychmiast* derives from an analytical expression *na tych miastach* in which the last segment has been reduced to *miast*, similar to the development of the prepositions *miast* and *zamiast* ‘instead of, in place of’. Overall, in Polish, the final *-t* found in *natymiast* as well as in other adverbs and particles derived from adverbs is not a productive adverbializer. From a diachronic perspective, this *-t* has a heterogenous origin generally unrelated to any adverbial suffix *sentu stricto* (cf. Rejzek 2001:48, Borys 2005:354, 685). The situation in Wymysorys is, again, similar. A number of adverbs – some of which are highly common – exhibit *-t* as their final component, e.g. *byštymt* ‘for sure’, *andyšt* ‘otherwise’, *diöt* ‘there’, *fyläjht* ‘probably’, *kärlect* ‘finally, lastly’, *nöht* ‘later, then, next’, and *öft* ‘often’. As in Polish, this *-t* has a heterogenous origin and, importantly, no longer functions as a productive adverbializer. In an analogous manner to *-m*, the (entirely accidental) phonetic similarity between the Polish and Wymysorys adverbs ending in *-t* may have allowed for the direct incorporation of *natyhmjast* into Wymysorys.

Lastly, two adverbs adopted from Polish exhibit vocalic endings, i.e. *coñemjora* ‘abundantly, many’ and *ñehwolancše* ‘modestly, unassumingly, unpretentiously’. These adverbs derive from more complex expressions used in Polish. The adverb *coñemjora* ‘abundantly, many’ draws on the small phrase *co niemiara* (lit. ‘what/which [is] not measure), while *ñehwolancše* draws on the negative reflexive gerund construction *nie chwalać się* ‘without boasting’ (lit. ‘not boasting oneself’). In comparison to their Polish donors, the Wymysorys adverbial loanwords exhibit a higher degree of grammaticalization. Instead of being truly analytical expressions, the adverbs *coñemjora* and *ñehwolancše* are perceived by native speakers as synthetic structures, i.e. as fully-fledged words. For instance, *coñemjora* ‘abundantly, many’ is not analyzed as being formed of three words, i.e. *co* ‘which, what’, *nie* ‘not, don’t’, and *miara* ‘measure’. Indeed, Wymysorys does not include such lexemes in its content and functional vocabulary (however, see the prefix *ñe-* that is discussed in section 7.1.1).

Overall, the borrowed adverbs – those ending in *-ńe/-će*, *-m*, *-t*, or a vowel – are never accompanied by genuine and productive Wymysorys adverbial suffixes, i.e. *-(n)ik* and *i/yś*. This means that forms such as *\*\*düşńenik* or *\*\*düşńeniś* ‘stiflingly’ are unattested. Therefore, from a morphological perspective, no true adjustment to the adverbial system of Wymysorys has taken place. This apparent lack of morphological adjustment by the adverbial loanwords may, as explained above, be related to the formal (accidental) similarity between some Polish adverbs and the adverbial morphology of Wymysorys. On the one hand, the suffix *-ńe* is phonologically and functionally similar to *-nik*; on the other hand, in both languages, adverbs may end in *-m* and *-t*, both of which are heterogenous and unproductive adverbial markers. From a broader, systemic perspective, due to the relative amount of *ńe* adverbs, a new class of adverbs has been created in Wymysorys – the *ńe* class. The presence of this class in the language system of Wymysorys constitutes a favorable ground for the transfer of other adverbs. Indeed, a spontaneous idiolectal use of Polish adverbs ending in *-ńe* is a fairly common phenomenon in Wymysorys discourses. How many of these “intruders” will become fully-fledged components of Wymysorys vocabulary is a matter of entrenchment and stabilization.

## 5.5 Ideophones

### 5.5.1 Inventory of loanwords

The last category of content words is the lexical class of ideophones, of which onomatopoeias are a part. The category of ideophones contains lexemes that constitute depictions, i.e. expressive images or representations of sensory imagery emerging from the perception of external and internal reality through bodily experience (Dingemanse 2011:25; 2012:655-656, 658). They are “vivid representation[s] of an idea in sound” (Doke 1935:118) that “bring events to life” (Dingemanse 2012:666). They enable us to experience the event that is represented (Dingemanse 2012:655) by simulating it through linguistic means (Voeltz & Killan-Hatz 2001:2). The characteristic property of ideophones is their iconicity and thus the close relationship between the form of a word and its meaning (Diffloth 1980:50; Dingemanse 2012:657). There are 24 ideophones that have been adopted from Polish into Wymysorys – a number comparable with those for adjectives and adverbs discussed above. The list below contains all stabilized ideophonic loanwords:

*bee* (*bee*) ‘sound made by a ram’; *benc* (*bęc*) ‘depiction of falling’, *buj* (*buj*) ‘depiction of rocking’; *bum* (*bum*) and *bums* (*bums*) ‘depiction of an explosion, strong impact, or something violent/forceful’;<sup>184</sup> *ćah* (*ciach*) ‘depiction of a rapid motion’; *ćlap* (*czlap*) ‘depiction of heavy walking’; *dryn-dryn* (*dryn-dryn*) ‘sound imitating a ringing bell or telephone’; *dup* (*dup*) ‘depiction of sudden impact’; *dzyń-dzyń* (*dzyń-dzyń*) ‘sound imitating a ringing bell or telephone’; *hà-hà* ((*c*)*ha*-(*c*)*ha*) ‘sound imitating laughter’; *hi-hi* ((*c*)*hi*-(*c*)*hi*) ‘sound imitating laughter’; *hop* (*hop*), *hopà* (*hopa*), *hops* (*hops*), and *hopsà* (*hopsa*) ‘depiction of jumping’; *hüşü* (*hušt(u)*) ‘depiction of swinging, wiggling’; *kic* (*kic*) ‘depiction of a rabbit’s hop’; *kuku* (*kuku*)

<sup>184</sup> As previously, I count such variants as a single case of borrowing.

‘sound made by a cuckoo’; *kukuryku* (*kukuryku*) ‘sound made by a cockerel’; *mjäl* (*miau*) ‘sound made by a cat’; *muu* (*muu*) ‘sound made by a cow’; *pätätäj* (*patataj*) ‘depiction of a horse’s gallop’; *psik* (*(a)psik*) ‘sound made while sneezing’; *stuk-puk* (*stuk(u)-puk(u)*) ‘sound of knocking on a door’; *śäst-präst* (*szast-prast*) ‘depiction of a rapid motion’; *śüp* (*siup*) and *śü/śü-śü* (*siu(-siu)*) ‘depiction of jumping, swinging’.

### 5.5.2 Semantic types of loanwords

Two semantic types of ideophones have been borrowed from Polish to Wymysorys: onomatopoeias or ideophones that exploit a direct type of sound symbolism whereby a sound is depicted with its linguistic imitations, and ideophones that depict motion.

Ideophones of the former class mimic sounds found in the world. A large part of these lexemes imitates sounds pertaining to nature, being produced by animals, e.g. by a cow – *muu* (P. *muu*); a cat – *mjäl* (P. *miau*); a cuckoo – *kuku* (P. *kuku*); a ram – *bee* (P. *bee*); and a cockerel – *kukuryku* (P. *kukuryku*). A few onomatopoeic ideophones imitate sounds produced by people, e.g. laughter – *hi-hi* (P. *(c)hi-(c)i*) and *hä-hä* (P. *(c)ha-(c)ha*);<sup>185</sup> and sneezing – *psik* (P. *(a)psik*). The remaining two lexemes imitate sounds produced by machines, instruments, and tools e.g. a phone – *dzyń-dzyń* (P. *dzyń-dzyń*) and a bell – *dryn-dryn* (P. *dryn-dryn*).

The other class of ideophones adopted from Polish includes lexemes depicting motion. The idea of motion may refer to animals, human beings, or unspecified entities. The following ideophones depict motion types associated with animals: horse’s gallop – *pätätäj* (P. *patataj*); a rabbit’s hop – *kic* (P. *kic*). The following ideophones depict both animal and human motion: heavy walking – *čłap* (P. *człap*); jumping – *śüp/śü/śü-śü* (P. *siup*); jumping – *hop(s)/hopä* (P. *hop*); falling – *benc* (P. *bęc*). The motion depicted by other ideophones may relate to any type of referent, including inanimate ones, e.g. swinging, wiggling – *hüśü* (P. *huśt*); rocking – *buj* (P. *buj*). Some ideophones explicitly depict the rapidity of a motion rather than its origin, whether human, animate, or inanimate, e.g. *čäh* ‘depiction of a rapid motion’ (P. *ciach*) and *śäst-präst* ‘depiction of a rapid motion’ (P. *szast-prast*).

The semantic interpretation of three lexemes is complex as it involves both an onomatopoeic and motion-related component. The lexeme *stuk-puk*, from P. *stuk(u)-puk(u)*, imitates knocking on a door or wooden surface as well as the action of knocking itself. The ideophones *bum(s)* and *dup* (from P. *bum* and *dup*, respectively) depict a sudden and strong impact, as well as an explosion.

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<sup>185</sup> These words could also be classified as ‘laughter interjections’ (Levisen 2019).

### 5.5.3 Underlying Polish forms

Ideophonic loanwords in Wymysorys do not exhibit any features that would suggest a clear dialectal origin. There is no evidence for a dialectal realization of *pochylone* vowels in Polish sources, labialization, *mazurzenie*, reduction of consonant clusters, or any other phenomenon typical of Western Lesser Polish and/or Eastern Upper Silesian. As usual, postalveolar sibilant fricatives and affricates are often pronounced as soft alveolo-palatals or palatalo-alveolars. In the only example where the Standard Polish equivalent has a postalveolar, especially [t͡s], e.g. *człap*, the loanword exhibits an alveolo-palatal or palatalo-alveolar sound, i.e. [tɛ] or [tʃ] – see *čláp* ‘depiction of heavy walking’. In *benc* ‘depiction of falling’, the nasal vowel ɛ̃ [ɛ̃] (cf. P. *bęc*) is, as usual, resolved into an oral vowel and a nasal consonant, which is typical not only of dialects but also of colloquial Polish and is furthermore congruent with Wymysorys phonology. However, pronunciations with the nasal vocoid [ũ] or the nasal approximant [w̃]/[w̆], typical of Standard Polish and careful colloquial Polish, are also possible. As far as the ideophonic lexicon is concerned, all the loanwords derive from ideophones that are common in Standard Polish. In other words, not one of them can be related to an ideophone, the presence of which is limited to Polish dialects.

### 5.5.4 Adaptation mechanisms

The forms of the vast majority of ideophonic loanwords are identical to their donor lexemes used in Polish. In such cases, the typical replacement of the Polish vowels *o* and *u* by (i)ö(e) and *ü* is absent and the two Polish vowels are preserved in the loanwords. See, for example, the maintenance of *o* in *hop* ‘depiction of jumping’ (cf. P. *hop*) and *hopà/hops* ‘depiction of jumping’ (P. *hopsa*), as well as the maintenance of *u* in *buj* ‘depiction of rocking’ (cf. P. *buj*), *bum(s)* ‘depiction of an explosion, strong impact’ (cf. P. *bum*), *kuku* ‘sound made by a cuckoo’ (cf. P. *kuku*), *kukuryku* ‘sound made by a cockerel’ (cf. P. *kukuryku*), and *stuk-puk* ‘sound of knocking on a door’. (cf. P. *stuk(u)-puk(u)*). Nevertheless, in two instances, the Polish vowel *u* is rendered in the loanword as *ü* in accordance with the phonological adaptive mechanisms, e.g. *hüsü* ‘depiction of swinging, wiggling’ (cf. P. *huśt*) and *šüp/šü/šü-šü* ‘depictions of jumping, swinging’ (cf. P. *siup*). Postalveolars are regularly realized as alveolo-palatals or palatalo-alveolars, and nasals tend to be resolved as an oral vowel and a nasal consonant. As explained in the previous section, although this pronunciation of the original postalveolars and nasal vowels may be analyzed in terms of adaptation to the rules of Wymysorys phonology, it may also reflect the realization found in Polish dialects and colloquial Standard Polish. In a single case, the final or internal consonant cluster (see P. *huśt* and P. *huśtu*, respectively) is simplified, i.e. *huśt(u)* > *hüsü* ‘depiction of swinging, wiggling’.

Onomatopoeic ideophones are often syntactically adjusted to the clausal grammar of Wymysorys by means of a *verbum dicendi*, e.g. *rüfa* ‘call’ or *zan* ‘say’. In such cases, the ideophone is introduced by a verb that carries the inflections, as illustrated by *rüft* ‘it calls’ (1.a). Similarly, ideophones that depict motion can be introduced by a *verbum facendi*, e.g. *tün* ‘do, make’ (see

*tot* ‘he did’ in 1.b). However, with equal frequency, ideophones may appear on their own, i.e. with no introductory verbs (see *hopa* and *hüsü* in 1.c-d).

- (1) a. Der kuku fum puś rüft **kuku**  
‘The cuckoo from the forest calls cuckoo’
- b. Å tot **hop sü sü, hop sü sü**  
‘He did hop jump-jump, hop jump-jump’
- c. **Hopa, hopa, räjta**  
‘Hop, hop, riding’
- d. **Hüsü, hüsü, bala**  
‘Swing, swing, rocking’

## CHAPTER SIX

### 6. Functional lexicon

Function words constitute the other, less numerous yet utterly crucial, part of lexicon. Canonical lexemes of this class are unable to allocate or receive thematic roles mainly because they do not possess referents that are conceptually separable from the morphology and syntax of a language – i.e. they fail to denote physical objects or abstract concepts that have material or psychological reality (Field 2002:60-62; Myers-Scotton 2006:268). Rather, function words serve a range of broadly understood grammatical purposes: they “flesh out the meaning” (Myers-Scotton 2006:268) of content morphemes, “cement” content morphemes into phrases, and constitute links between phrases, allowing speakers to yield larger constituents and discourses (Myers-Scotton 2006:268-269). Functional lexicon thus comprises pronouns and determiners, modal and pragmatic particles, as well as prepositions and connectors. Additionally, for the reasons that will be explained further below, this category will include interjections.

The present chapter examines the impact of Polish on the functional vocabulary of Wymysorys. First, I will focus on those lexical classes in which Polish influence is considerable, namely connectors (6.1), particles (6.2), and interjections (6.3). Subsequently, I will study the categories of pronouns (6.4) and prepositions (6.5) which have been affected by contact with Polish but only to a limited extent.

#### 6.1 Connectors

Contact with Polish has considerably affected the system of Wymysorys connectors. The largest impact concerns causal conjunctions, three of which have been adopted from Polish: two backward causal conjunctions (*bo* and *nobo* ‘because’) and one forward causal conjunction (*noto* ‘so, thus, therefore’). The only non-causal connector borrowed from Polish is a negative coordinating conjunction (*āni* ‘neither’). Additionally, the usage of two genuine Wymysorys connectors – a complementizer (*do* ‘that’) and a comparative-temporal conjunction (*wi* ‘as, when’) – has been modified under the influence of the semantic potential of equivalent words found in Polish.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> Compare with the very limited influence of Slavonic languages on the Yiddish system of connectors. In Yiddish, only a few connectors – see, e.g., *xoč* and *xočbe* ‘although, even though’ which draw on Polish *choć* and *choćby*, respectively – are Slavonic in origin (Weinreich 2008:527; Kahn 2015:698; Gajek 2016:103; Krasowksa 2019:161).

### 6.1.1 Causal conjunctions

The inventory of Wymysorys causal connectors has been expanded by three lexemes imported from Polish: two backward causal conjunctions (i.e. *bo* ‘because’ and *nobo* ‘because’) and one forward causal conjunction (*noto* ‘so, thus, therefore’).<sup>187</sup> The connector *bo* ‘because’ is probably the most common backwards causal conjunction currently used in Wymysorys. It draws on a homophonous function word found in Polish, i.e. *bo*. It is not only the phonology of this loanword that directly reflects the Polish donor lexeme; the same holds true for its semantic potential. That is, in analogy with the Polish source, the Wymysorys *bo* can connect clauses that are related to a content domain, whether volitional or non-volitional. In such cases, *bo* either joins two clauses that introduce objective situations in the external world, or heads an objective causal clause, which constitutes the foundation of a volitional event:<sup>188</sup>

- (2) a. Diöt hisa zy Flakowjec **bo** diöt ferbrant à puś (Król n.d. (a))  
‘They call it Flakowiec because a forest burnt down there’
- b. Diöt wiöe à zyter hejwuł. Dan hisa zy Ciglhejwuł **bo** fu dam mahta zy cigln (Król n.d. (a))  
‘There was such a hill. They call it “Brickhill” because they made bricks from it’
- c. Yhy ho dos bihła **bo** koüft yh ejs  
‘I have the book because I bought it’
- d. Dos lid ej šejn **bo** ejs höt à melodyj  
‘This song is beautiful because it has a melody’

In a further analogy to its Polish source, the Wymysorys *bo* can introduce a clause that constitutes the foundation of an epistemic view or a speech act (cf. Sweetser 1990, Lang 2000:235-237):

- (3) a. Ga der öbaht, **bo** dy wyst dih bybrin! (Król n.d. (a))  
‘Pay attention (be careful) because you will burn yourself!’
- b. Dos ej wür, **bo** andyšt kon må ny ziöen  
‘That is true, because one cannot say otherwise’

Another backwards causal conjunction adopted from Polish is *nobo* ‘because’. This lexeme draws on a more analytical construction used in colloquial Polish, i.e. *no bo*, which in Wymysorys has been fully morphologized and functions as a single lexeme. That is, the elements

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<sup>187</sup> The Polish connectors and/or particles *bo* ‘because’ and *no to* ‘so, thus, therefore’ have also been borrowed in Aljzneriš (Dolatowski 2017:194, 196-198).

<sup>188</sup> In the former case, the content domain does not contain a subject of consciousness. In the latter case, the content domain contains a subject of consciousness that is distinct from the speaker’s current reality (Sanders & Spooen 2015). Regarding content on volitional and epistemic domains, consult Sweetser (1990), Lang (2000), Sanders, Sanders, and Sweetser (2009; 2012), and Sander and Spooen (2015).

*no* and *bo* are never separated by a pause or intonational contour; they do not convey a compositional meaning, but rather a constructional one (note that the usage of *nobo* differs slightly from *bo*); and lastly, they are conceptualized by native speakers as a holistic unit on par with *bo*. As far as its semantic potential is concerned, *nobo* has a more restricted range than *bo* described in the previous paragraph. That is, similar to *bo*, *nobo* is compatible with the volitional content domain, the epistemic domain, and the speech-act domain. However, its usage within a non-volitional content domain to introduce objective causal clauses seems ungrammatical.

- (4) a. Yhy wà dos koüf, **nobo** yhy wył dos  
‘I will buy it because I want it’
- b. Har ejwerbot zy, **nobo** was andyšt kund á maha?  
‘He apologized to them because what else could he do?’
- c. Di ejwerbot zy sun, **nobo** was kon dy müter fjy s’kynd?  
‘She already apologized to her because how can the mother be guilty for [the wrongdoing of] the child?’
- d. Der nökwér ej ny dyham, **nobo** tjyr ej cügymaht  
‘The neighbor is not at home because the door is locked’

Polish is also the source of one forward causal conjunction used extensively in Wymysorys, namely *noto* ‘so, thus, therefore’. This lexeme draws on an analytical construction found in colloquial Polish, i.e. *no to* (cf. Dunaj 1996:1136). Similar to *nobo*, this sequence has been fully morphologized in Wymysorys and currently functions as a word. As its donor lexeme in Polish, *noto* introduces the consequence, result, and outcome of the situation expressed in the previous clause or sentence:<sup>189</sup>

- (5) Zy hon yns ołys gyštöła, **noto** nöhta giń zy yn gywynhíkja, gynyta kládyn  
‘They stole everything; therefore, she later went in ordinary sewed clothes’

Interestingly, the three conjunctions have maintained their original Polish form. That is, *bo* ‘because, as, since’, *nobo* ‘because’, and *noto* ‘so, also, therefore’ do not exhibit any type of phonological adaptive mechanisms that tend to operate in Wymysorys, especially the replacement of the Polish *o* with (*i*)*ö*(*e*). Lastly, the causal conjunctions analyzed in this section may have both dialectal and Standard Polish origins, since their equivalents in Polish, i.e. *bo*, *no bo*, and *no to*, are typical of dialects as well as the colloquial standard language.

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<sup>189</sup> Regarding the use of *nobo* and *noto* as pragmatic particles, consult section 6.2.1 below. Apparently, the element *to* in *noto* can sometimes be voiced to *do*, yielding the variant *nodo* (compare with a similar phenomenon in *wydryh* ‘(pass/skeleton) key’, a variant of *wytryh* – both borrowed from P. *wytrych*). Indeed, *noto* and *nodo* are fully synonymous, e.g. *Wylsty kuma, nodo kuže myt!* ‘If you want to come, then come!’. Less likely, *nodo* could be a composition of the borrowed element *no* and the native *do* ‘that’.

### 6.1.2 Coordinating conjunctions

The other class of connectors of which the inventory has been expanded due to contact with Polish consists of coordination conjunctions. Only one such lexeme has been adopted from Polish, namely *áni*. The form and usage of this loanword is fully analogous to its Polish source *ani*, which is found in both the standard language and local dialects. That is, *áni* functions as a negative conjunctive coordinator expressing the idea of joint denial or a simultaneous non-compliance with two propositions (i.e.  $\sim p \wedge \sim q$ ). It corresponds with the logical operator  $\downarrow$  and approximates the meaning of *neither* and *neither...nor* in English. In most instances, *áni* connects two conjuncts. In such cases, two constructions are grammatical: the use of a single *áni* between the conjuncts (6.a) and the use of two *áni* lexemes before each conjunct (6.b-d). The latter type is significantly more common. The conjuncts themselves can be phrases (e.g. prepositional phrases (6.c)), infinitives (6.d), and clauses (6.e). Additionally, *áni* may be used to link three (or even more) conjuncts. In such instances, each conjunct must be headed by a separate *áni* (6.f).<sup>190</sup>

- (6) a. Zy ny roüma uf **áni** ymys ny ata  
'They are neither sweeping nor making lunch'
- b. Å kynd wu ny hôt kán brüder **áni** kà swaster  
'A child that has neither a brother nor a sister'
- c. **Áni** myt spýrkja **áni** myt puter  
'Neither with fat nor with butter'
- d. Zy ny sama zih **áni** cy ata **áni** cy bata  
'They are neither ashamed to work nor to pray'
- e. Har **áni** ny at **áni** ny lýt zih  
'He neither works nor studies'
- f. **Áni** yhy, **áni** dü, **áni** har  
'Neither I, you, nor him'

### 6.1.3 The complementizer *do* and connector *wi*

Apart from the transfer of the four Polish connectors discussed above – and thus the borrowing of morpho-phonetic matter – the Polish language has also influenced the usage of native Wymysorys connectors. Two examples of such pattern borrowing in the lexical class of

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<sup>190</sup> While Wymysorys has borrowed the negative conjunction *áni/ani*, Yiddish has adopted the positive coordinator *i...i...* 'both...and...' which draws on the Polish *i...i...* (Weinreich 2008:527). The coordinator *i* is also found in Aljznerís. However, in this language, its use is idiolectal. That is, *i* seems to be limited to isolated episodes of code-switching rather than belonging to the language system as such (Dolatowski 2017:256, 269). Regarding the use of *áni* as a modal particle, see section 6.2.1 below.

connectors are *do* ‘that’ and *wi* ‘as, when’. In both cases, the semantic potential of native lexemes has been expanded by functions exhibited by their equivalents in Polish.

When compared to its Middle High German predecessor *daz* (Paul 2007:428-432) and the Modern High German cognate *daß*, the Wymysorys *do* has a significantly wider range of use. Apart from being employed as a complementizer ‘that’ (7.a) – fully parallel to the German *daß* – *do* is also used as a conjunction: a purposive conjunction expressing goal (7.b) and a backward causal conjunction similar to ‘since, due to the fact that’ (7.c). It is probable that these conjunctive uses have been developed by analogy to the semantic potential of the Polish connector *że*, which can function not only as a complementizer (cf. 7.a), but also as a purposive conjunction and backward causal conjunction, especially when used in compounds (see *żeby* in 7.b and *jako że* in 7.c, respectively). In other words, given that *do* and *że* both function as prototypical complementizers in Wymysorys and Polish, the semantic potential of the former lexeme has been extended with new functions to match the usage of its Polish equivalent (see virtually the same observation in Wicherkiewicz 2003:420).

- (7) a.     Å ziöet **do** å wyt kuma  
           ‘He says that he will come’ (cf. Polish *Mówi że przyjdzie*)
- b.     Yh ho gybata dy tohter **do** zy mjyr zo oüzwośa  
           ‘I have asked my daughter to help me’ (cf. Polish *Poprosilem córkę żeby mi pomogła*)
- c.     **Do** di łoüt duł zäjñ!  
           ‘Because the people are stupid!’ (cf. Polish *Jako że ludzie są głupi*)

Similarly, the semantic potential of the Wymysorys lexeme *wi* is broader than that of its cognate *wie* found in Middle High German and Modern Standard German. To begin with, *wi* can be used in Wymysorys with all the functions that are typical of *wie* in Middle High German and Modern Standard German. For instance, it can be employed as a conjunction in comparisons of the first degree, conveying the idea of equality or similarity (8.a), as well as an interrogative (8.b) and exclamatory adverb (8.c) equivalent to ‘how’ in English.

- (8) a.     Wäjś **wi** kiöelk  
           ‘White as chalk’ (cf. German *Frankfurt ist so groß wie München* ‘Frankfurt is bigger than Munich’)
- b.     **Wi** kon der meńć àñ meńća merdyn?  
           ‘How can a man murder a man?’ (cf. German *Wie machst du das?* ‘How do you do it?’)
- c.     **Wi** hejwyśt!  
           ‘How strange!’ (cf. German *Wie schön!* ‘How beautiful!’)

Apart from these inherited functions, *wi* attests to further uses in Wymysorys. First, contrary to Modern Standard German, the Wymysorys *wi* is used with adjectives and adverbs not only when expressing equality (cf. *wie* ‘as’ in German) but also in the comparatives degree (cf. *als* ‘than’ in German) (9.a-c). Second, *wi* is extensively used in subordinated clauses that express not only time (9.d), but also cause (9.e) and, albeit (more) infrequently, condition (9.f). In Modern Standard German, causal clauses and conditional protases are introduced by *als* and *wenn*, respectively, rather than by *wie*. Furthermore, although *wie* can express anteriority in temporal clauses in Modern Standard German, the use of *als* in this function is far more common. In Wymysorys, the temporal use of *wie* is frequent and regular.

- (9) a. Har ej kläner **wi** zäj brüder  
‘He is smaller than his brother’
- b. Ä föguł gryser **wi** ä hün  
‘A bird bigger than a hen’
- c. Zy freta mejer **wi** yhy wöst  
‘They asked more than I knew’
- d. **Wi** yh ym oüta wiöe, zoh yh ä meńća  
‘While I was in the car, I saw a man’
- e. **Wi** zy byta, wà’h dos maha  
‘Since they ask, I’ll do this’
- f. **Wi** wyt kuma der nökwër, **to** wà’h dos maha  
‘If the neighbor comes, I’ll do it’

While extraneous to, or at least rarely attested for, cognate lexemes in Middle High German and Modern High German, the uses described in the previous paragraph are typical of the Polish lexeme *jak* ‘as, when, if, than, how’, which is also compatible with the inherited set of meanings of the German forms *wie* and thus Wymysorys *wi*. That is, apart from expressing the idea of equality or similarity and functioning as an interrogative and exclamatory adverb, *jak* may be used in comparative constructions of the second degree. It appears after comparative adverbs and adjectives, instead of *niż* ‘than’, especially in negative contexts (e.g. *nie nic przyjemniejszego jak zimna kąpiel* ‘nothing nicer than a cold bath’ or *nie więcej jak 1000 żołnierzy* ‘not more than 1000 soldiers’; Dunaj 1996:335). In colloquial Polish, this use of *jak* is also possible in affirmative contexts (e.g. *kąt był większy jak 48,6 stopnia* ‘the angle was larger than 48,6 degrees’ or *Mróz większy jak wczoraj* ‘cold greater than yesterday’; Słowińska 2013:37), despite being viewed as a stylistic error in prescriptive grammars. Crucially, such uses were grammatical and fairly common in the standard language in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, as demonstrated by the multiple examples found in works written by Ignacy Krasicki (1830), Walerjan Serwatowski

(1844), and Natan Zylbersztajn (1887).<sup>191</sup> Furthermore, in Standard and colloquial Polish, *jak* is the most common connector introducing temporal clauses (e.g. *Jak wróczę, wszystko ci opowiem* ‘When I return, I will tell you everything’; Dunaj 1996:335) and real conditional protases (*Jak nie spróbujesz, to się nie dowiesz* ‘If you don’t try, you won’t know it’; *ibid.*; see also Swan 2002; Sadowska 2012). Moreover, *jak* can express cause and reason, functioning as a backward causal connector (*jak przyszedł, to niech zostanie* ‘since he has come, let him stay’). Given the semantic overlap between the Polish *jak* and the inherited meanings of *wi* (see senses illustrated in examples 8.a-c), it is probable that the Wymysorys lexeme expanded its semantic potential by adopting other meanings typical of the Polish word (see senses illustrated in examples 9.a-c and 9.e-f). With regard to its use as a temporal conjunction, this function was likely stabilized under the Polish influence. As a result of all these changes, the current semantic potential of the Wymysorys *wi* fully matches the semantic potential of its Polish equivalent *jak* (see a similar explanation proposed by Wicherkiewicz 2003:240).<sup>192</sup>

## 6.2 Particles

Polish is the source of several types of Wymysorys particles or words that indicate the speaker’s argumentative relationship to the proposition or communication (cf. Ameka 1992:107, 111; Fischer 2007:47; Degand, Cornillie & Pietrandrea 2013:3). The largest impact is observed among modal and pragmatic particles, with 12 such lexemes being adopted from Polish. Additionally, a question particle, a caesura particle, and an “empty” particle have their origin in Polish, as is also the case with a negative particle used in a few idiomatic expressions.

### 6.2.1 Modal particles

The category of modal particles has been influenced by contact with Polish to the largest extent among all types of particles. There are nine highly frequent modal particles that have been borrowed from Polish: *akurat/akurot* ‘exactly, really’ (P. *akurat*), *ani* ‘even (not)’ (P. *ani*), *hyba* ‘maybe, probably’ (P. *chyba*), *napewno* ‘certainly’ (P. *na pewno*), *nawet* ‘even, still, yet, self’ (P. *nawet*), *ńibyciūs* ‘apparently’ (P. *niby coś*), *poprostu* ‘simply’ (P. *po prostu*), *skūmoś(ć)* ‘allegedly’ (P. *rzekomo*), and *widenok* ‘certainly’ (P. *widocznie*).<sup>193</sup>

As is typical of modal particles across languages, the modal particles borrowed from Polish express the speaker’s “perspectives towards a proposition” (Ameka 1992:107; see also Fisher 2007; Degand, Cornillie & Pietrandrea 2013:3, 7). They thus modify the meaning of an utterance in modal terms. Such modifications typically concern the probability of an event (see

<sup>191</sup> A similar Slavonic influence in comparative constructions is found in Yiddish. That is, Yiddish uses the preposition *fun* ‘from’ in expressions such as *er iz greser fun mir* ‘he is bigger than I (lit. from me)’, imitating a pattern typical of Slavonic languages illustrated by the Polish example *on jest większy ode mnie*, where *od(e)* ‘from’ introduces the comparative noun phrase (see Weinreich 2008:532).

<sup>192</sup> Similarly, in Aljzneriš, the semantic potential of the cognate lexeme *vi(h)* has been remodeled to reflect the functions exhibited by *jak* in Polish (Dolatowski 2017:190, 197, 267-268).

<sup>193</sup> In my previous research (Andrason 2014a; 2015a), the list of particles borrowed from Polish additionally included the lexeme *inok*, which draws on the Polish words *ino* and *jeno*. Despite formal similarity with these two Polish lexemes, I concur with Mojmir and derive *inok* from *ienoch* found in Middle High German (cf. Mojmir 1930-1936:212).

*hyba* ‘probably’ in 10.a),<sup>194</sup> evidentiality (see *skümość* ‘apparently’ in 10.b), certainty (see *napewno* ‘certainly’ in 10.c), or other modal nuances (see *poprostu* ‘simply’ in 10.d):

- (10) a. S’kon **hyba** zäjñ  
‘It can probably be (so)’
- b. Miöeha zäjñ **skümość** zjyr fräjndłik  
‘Many are apparently very friendly’
- c. **Napewno** s’kon zäjñ  
‘Certainly, it can be (so)’
- d. **Poprostu** yh wäs ny  
‘I simply don’t know’

Two lexemes, namely *nawet* (P. *nawet*) and *ani* (P. *ani*), can be classified more specifically as focal particles equivalent to ‘even’ in English. These two loanwords are used in complementary distribution: *nawet* appears in affirmative contexts (11.a-b), while *ani* is found in negative contexts (11.c-d).

- (11) a. **Nawet** di wymysiöeryś wył kuza  
‘He even wants to speak Wymysorys’
- b. **Nawet** har wäs dos  
‘Even he knows that’
- c. Må djef **ani** ny mynkln  
‘One may not even whisper’
- d. Fu Błan kymt **ani** ká güter wynd ny (Król n.d. (a))  
‘Not even a good wind comes from Bielany’

Additionally, the focal particle *ani* has been grammaticalized as a component of the adverb *ani-ämöl* ‘never’ (lit. ‘not even once’), fully synonymous with the native lexemes *kämöl* and *nymer* (see section 6.1.2 for conjunctive uses of *ani*).

- (12) Ejs ny jyšter **ani-ämöl** hot zih gymaht  
‘It has never happened before’

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<sup>194</sup> Compare with the transfer of (*a*)*xibe* ‘maybe’ from Polish *chyba* attested in Yiddish (Weinreich 2008; Gajek 2016:103). Yiddish has also adopted other modal particles and “mood words” (Weinreich 2008:527) from Slavonic, e.g. optative particles *bodaj* and *xaj*, and modalizers *až* ‘as much as, so much’, *take* ‘indeed’, *same* ‘very’, and *jakoš* ‘somehow’ (Weinreich 2008:527; Kahn 2015:698; Gajek 2016:103; Krasowksa 2019:161).

The majority of the modal particles borrowed from Polish exhibit the same morpho-phonological form as their Polish sources. This can be illustrated by *akurat/akurot* ‘exactly, really’ (cf. P. *akurat*), *ani* ‘even (not)’ (cf. P. *ani*), *hyba* ‘maybe, probably’ (cf. P. *chyba*), *napewno* ‘certainly’ (cf. P. *na pewno*), *nawet* ‘even, still, yet, self’ (P. *nawet*), and *poprostu* ‘simply’ (P. *po prostu*). Accordingly, none of these lexemes has made use of adaptive mechanisms typical of the transfer from Polish to Wymysorys, neither phonological (e.g. the replacement of *o* with *(i)ö(e)* and *u* with *ü*) nor morphological ones.<sup>195</sup> The only change that can be observed during borrowing is the morphologization of original prepositional phrases into fully synthetic, word-like structures, e.g. *napewno* ‘certainly’ versus P. *na pewno* and *poprostu* ‘simply’ versus P. *po prostu* (the same holds true for *ńibycüś* ‘apparently’ from Polish *niby coś* lit. ‘as if something’, discussed further below). The morphologization of two such constructions (i.e. *na pewno* and *po prostu*) is also highly advanced in colloquial Polish.<sup>196</sup> Except for *akurot*, which attests to the *o* pronunciation of the *pochylone* vowel *â* typical of western Lesser Poland and eastern Upper Silesia, the formal aspects of these types of modal particles do not reveal any obvious link with Polish dialects.

There are three exceptions to this direct incorporation of Polish lexemes in the language system of Wymysorys: *skümoś(ć)* ‘apparently’, *ńibycüś* ‘apparently’, and *widenok* ‘certainly’. With regard to phonology, in *skümoś(ć)* and *ńibycüś*, the vowel *u* found in the Polish input forms has been replaced with *ü*. As explained in chapter 5, this is one of the most pervasive adaptive mechanisms operating during the transfer of Polish lexemes to Wymysorys. With regard to morphology, apart from drawing on Polish matter, *skümoś(ć)* and *widenok* ‘certainly’ also make use of inherited elements, namely *-ś* and *-nok*. To be precise, *skümoś(ć)* contains a borrowed element, i.e. *skumo-* from Polish *skomo* < *szkomo* < *rz(e)komo* (cf. Kleczkowski 1920:171; see below),<sup>197</sup> and a Wymysorys element, i.e. the suffix *-ś* probably introduced by analogy to adverbs in *-i/yś* (see *foliś* ‘falsely’). The optional ending *-ć* is the remnant of the morpheme *-że* – a reflex of the Polish particle *że* as in *skiöekumće* from *skiöekumt-że*.<sup>198</sup> Similarly, the particle *widenok* ‘certainly’ is built around two types of components: the borrowed element *wide-* from the Polish adverb *widecznie* (see below) and the native element *-nok*, originally the focus particle *nok* ‘only, even, yet, just’. This analytical expression, i.e. *widecznie nok*, has subsequently been morphologized and reanalyzed as a synthetic structure – a word. During this process, the native element *nok* has replaced (or merged with a part of) the Polish adverbial suffix *-nie* and the affricate *cz* has been eliminated.

Contrary to the other modal particles borrowed from Polish, *skümoś(ć)* ‘apparently’, *ńibycüś* ‘apparently’, and *widenok* ‘certainly’ have their origin in Polish dialects rather than in the standard language. First, *skümoś(ć)* may attest to the phenomenon of *mazurzenie*, widely

<sup>195</sup> The formal coincidence of *nawet* and *akurat/akurot* with native adverbs and particles that end in *-t* may have motivated a direct incorporation of these lexemes. The particle *akurat* originates from the Latin *accuratus* which was then borrowed into Slavonic via the German *akkurat* (Rejzek 2001:48). The Wymysorys *akurat* is most likely a Polish loan given the presence of *u* (as in Polish) instead of the etymological *ü*.

<sup>196</sup> This is suggested by highly common orthographic errors where these two expressions are written as one.

<sup>197</sup> The particle *rz(e)komo* was originally a passive present participle (Boryś 2005:532).

<sup>198</sup> For the analysis of the loan morpheme *-że*, see chapter 7.

spread across Lesser Poland. To be exact, *skiimosć(ć)* could draw on the Polish form *skomo* in which the postalveolar hard sibilant fricative [ʂ] found in Standard Polish (see *rzekomo* with *rz* [ʐ] pronounced as [ʂ] due to the devoicing process after the loss of *e*, i.e. *rzekomo* > *rzkomo* > *szkomo*) is realized as the alveolar [s]. However, one should note that the original sound rendered by the Polish digraph *rz* was not [ʐ] but rather [r̥] (i.e., a voiced alveolar laminal trill), frequently attested in Lesser Polish dialects. In such a case, [ʐ] would not have been devoiced into [ʂ], which is a prerequisite for *mazurzenie* to occur. Second, *ńibyciś* draws on a dialectal pronunciation of the pronoun *coś* ‘something, anything’ as *cuś*. Third, *widenok* is formed around the particle *widecznie* – which is attested in dialects and existed in the standard language in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries – instead of the current Standard Polish form *widocznie*. Overall, the presence of adaptive mechanisms is correlated with a more evident dialectal origin, which may in turn suggest an earlier date of the transfer of these three lexemes.

### 6.2.2 Pragmatic particles

The class of pragmatic particles – also referred to as “discourse markers” – has been affected by contact with Polish to a lesser extent than that of modal particles discussed above. There are only three pragmatic particles that draw their origin from Polish lexemes: *no*, *nobo*, and *noto*.<sup>199</sup> Although the semantic potential of *no*, *nobo*, and *noto* is not identical, when employed as pragmatic particles, they all tend to logically structure discourse or conversation by indicating the relationship between one discourse segment and another, especially by delimiting the respective segments’ initial and final edges (cf. Ameka 1992:107, 114; Fraser 1999:950; Fisher 2007:9; Diewald 2013:22-25).

The particle *no* derives from the homophonous Polish lexeme *no*. Like its Polish donor (cf. Dunaj 1996:622), *no* appears in a broad range of contexts in Wymysorys. One of the most pervasive clusters of uses emerges in cases where *no* is a segmentation signal or a punctuator employed to mark the left edge of an information segment or a discourse unit (cf. Dunaj 1996:622). In such instances, *no* can constitute an opening marker that introduces the first utterance in a conversation (13.a). When used within a conversational segment, *no* tends to mark the beginning of a new unit (13.b), especially a question (13.c-d) or a command (14.e-f). With similar frequency, *no* may head affirmative (13.g-h) or negative responses (13.i). It is also often used before dislocated elements in left-dislocation constructions and in front of vocatives (see 13.c and 13.f).

- (13) a. **No** skiöekumt, wi śpjysty dih?  
           ‘Welcome, how did you sleep?’
- b. No derzänk wiöe’h jung än...  
           ‘Then I was young and...’

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<sup>199</sup> The connective functions of *nobo* and *noto* have been discussed in section 6.1 above.

- c. **No** mākja, konsty wymysiöerys kuza?  
‘Girl, can you speak Wymysroys?’
- d. **No** wos wylsty?  
‘What do you want?’
- e. **No** gejze sun!  
‘Go now!’
- f. **No** meńć, kum nāj!  
‘Man, come here!’
- g. **No** frąlik  
‘Of course’
- h. **No** güt!  
‘OK then!’
- i. **No** ny  
‘No’

Sometimes, *no* functions as a response word. In those cases, it may express confirmation and agreement (14), communicate the maintenance of the communicative channel between the interlocutors, or be used as a hesitation marker. When employed in such manners, *no* can alternatively be classified as a phatic interjection.<sup>200</sup>

- (14) **No**, yh hot dos gymaht  
‘Yes, I’ve done this’

A similar range of uses is provided by *noto*, a compound of two Polish particles, i.e. *no* and *to* (see section 6.1.1). Specifically, *noto* may mark the beginning of a conversation or introduce a new discourse segments within a larger conversational chunk, usually relating it to the previous discourse unit(s). In such cases, *noto* functions similarly to the pragmatic particle ‘now’ in English (15.a-b). The lexeme *noto* may also head response words – whether affirmative (15.c) or negative (15.d) – approximating the English particle ‘well’.

- (15) a. **Noto** gyhjyn cy dar ynzer gymån 5 djyfyn (Król unpublished)  
‘Now, five villages belong to our municipality’

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<sup>200</sup> From a semantic and pragmatic perspective, phatic interjections are the least canonical within the category of interjections. Therefore, they are often included in the class of pragmatic particles rather than that of interjections. Regarding borrowed phatic interjections in Wymysorys, see section 6.3 below.

- b. **Noto** s'öwyts māj mama ziöet...  
'Now, my mom said in the evening...'
- c. **Noto** frālik, **noto** frālik  
'Well of course, well of course'
- d. **Noto** ny  
'Well, no'

The last lexeme, i.e. *nobo*, can also function as a pragmatic particle introducing a new utterance, exactly like its Polish counterpart (cf. Dunaj 1996:66). In such instances, *nobo* fails to connect two clauses (compare with the connecting use of *nobo* analyzed in 6.1.1.). Instead, it introduces a clause that stands on its own and concludes or summarizes the previous discourse, conveying the meaning similar to 'so then, well, well then'.

- (16) **Nobo** was kon yhy maha?  
'Well then, what can I do?'

The pragmatic particles *no*, *nobo*, and *noto* are formally identical to their Polish sources with no obvious features that would suggest their dialectal or standard-language foundation (see section 6.1.1 where these issues have been discussed specifically for *noto* and *nobo*). This means that the three lexemes make no use of adaptive mechanisms, such as the replacement of the Polish *o* with (*i*)*ö*(*e*). As explained in section 6.1.1, the only change is the profound morphologization of *noto* and *nobo* – their original components (i.e. *no*, *bo*, and *to*) are never pronounced as two individual words with a pause or contouring but are rather produced as a single prosodic unit.

### 6.2.3 Other types of particles

Apart from modal and pragmatic particles, four other Wymysorys particles have been adopted from Polish: the question particle *ćy/cy*, the caesura particle *to*, the “empty” filler *ā*, as well as – albeit to a very limited extent – the negative particle *ńe*.

The particle *ćy/cy* that draws on the Polish lexeme *czy* is a highly common element of Wymysorys functional vocabulary. As its Polish source, *ćy/cy* introduces yes/no questions, appearing at the beginning of a clause. Frequently, such questions involve subject-verb inversion in agreement with one of the rules governing Wymysorys syntax (17.a-b below), although this is not compulsory.<sup>201</sup> The variant *cy* suggests a dialectal origin of the transfer as it attests to the phenomenon of *mazurzenie*. Accordingly, the postalveolar hard sibilant affricate [t͡s], found in Standard Polish *czy*, seems to have been pronounced as the alveolar [ts] *cy*, as is common in Lesser Polish dialects.<sup>202</sup>

<sup>201</sup> Regarding the syntax of Wymysorys, see chapter 9.

<sup>202</sup> This use of *czy* may be found in texts written at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, e.g. by Młynek (1907): *Czy host dy no hojts Mugjaassa ny gygassa* ‘Have you had breakfast today?’ (Młynek 1907:25). The particle *czy* has also been adopted in Yiddish (Weinreich 2008:527; Kahn 2015:698; Gajek 2016:103).

- (17) a.      **Ćy** höst dü fräjerka?  
                 ‘Do you have a girlfriend?’
- b.      **Ćy** ej’s zähs?  
                 ‘Is it six?’

The lexeme *to* is another particle that originates in Polish. While its Polish homophone is used in an extremely wide range of functions, only one of these functions seems to be common in Wymysorys.<sup>203</sup> That is, the Wymysorys *to* is typically used as a caesura particle. First, *to* demarcates the topic of a proposition from the comment or the rheme. This function is responsible for the common use of *to* to separate the dislocate from the core clause in left-dislocation constructions (18.a). Second, *to* extensively features in conditional and temporal periods, especially those that are built around the conjunctions *wen* ‘when’, *op* ‘if’, and *wi* ‘as’. In such cases, it separates protases from apodoses. That is, it overtly divides the sentences into two separate logical units: cause/condition and result/consequence (18.b-c).

- (18) a.      Dos mäkja, **to** ejs wönt diöt  
                 ‘That girl, she lives there’
- b.      Wen wyt kuma der nökwër, **to** wà’h’um ziöen dy byst ny  
                 ‘When the neighbor comes, I will tell him that you are not here’
- c.      Wen dy mer hetst gyhulfa cyjür, **to** wje’h öü der hylfa  
                 ‘If you had helped me last year, I would help you too’

The last Wymysorys particle that has been borrowed from Polish is *á*. The Wymysorys *á* draws on the homophonous lexeme *a* which is used in Polish to communicate a wide scope of coordinating, contrastive, and adversative meanings, appearing either alone or in combination with a large number of other conjunctions, particles, discourse markers, and adverbials (see Andrason 2020a). In Wymysorys, *á* is only employed in constructions with other connectors and particles, especially *no*, *noto* (19.a), *nobo*, *bo*, *to*, and *ćy* (19.b), generally functioning as a sentence- or clause-initial “empty” marker.<sup>204</sup> That is, its use fails to modify the sentence or clause in semantic, pragmatic, or syntactic aspects.

- (19) a.      **Á noto** frálik  
                 ‘Of course’

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<sup>203</sup> The semantic potential of *to* in Polish is much broader. In addition to the functions shared with the Wymysorys *to*, the Polish *to* can be used as a demonstrative pronoun, an “identificational demonstrative” (i.e. a resumptive pronoun identifying a topic; Rutkowski 2006), and a predicate head (Tajsner 2015:58; see also Bondaruk 2013). For a detailed analysis of *to*, consult Dunaj (1996:1136), Rutkowski (2006), Citko (2008), Bondaruk (2013), and Tajsner (2015).

<sup>204</sup> A similar usage is also attested in Młynek’s (1907:25) *A czy host du ka Eldyn ana ka Familii?* ‘Don’t you have any parents and any family?’.

- b.     **Á** **ćy** höst dü cajt?  
           ‘Do you have time?’

In addition to the three particles described in this section, which are fully fledged components of the Wymysorys language system and can be used productively with all types of lexemes and structures, there is another particle that draws its form from Polish. This particle is *ńe*, derived from the homophonous Polish negator *nie*. Contrary to *ćy/cy*, *to*, and *á*, the use of *ń* is restricted to a few idiomatic expressions: *no ńe* (P. *no nie*) expressing surprise (see next section) and *ńe sposüp* ‘no way’ (P. *nie sposób*) equivalent to the native expression *s’ej ká mytuł* and *s’ej ny mejglik*. Otherwise, the particle *ńe* fails to feature in Wymysorys – crucially, it cannot be used productively to negate phrases, clauses, or utterances.

### 6.3 Interjections

The Polish language has deeply influenced the lexical class of Wymysorys interjections, i.e. words and constructions that encode the mental state of a speaker, his or her emotions, attitudes, desires, reactions, as well as communicative intentions (Ameka 1992:107; 2006:743; Velupillai 2012:49-150).<sup>205</sup> There are 37 interjections in total that (may) have been transferred from Polish:<sup>206</sup> *aaa* (*aaa*), *áh* (*a(c)h*), *áha* (*a(c)ha*), *áj* (*aj*), *brr* (*brr*), *Błoże/Biöeże* (*Boże*), *ćipćip* (*cip cip*), *eh* (*eh*), *ej* (*ej*), *ejże* (*ejże*), *fe* (*fe*), *fuj* (*fuj*), *Göt gej/ga’s* (*Daj Bóg (to)*),<sup>207</sup> *jejku* (*jejku*), *Jezü* (*Jezu*), *Jezü(s)maria* (*Jezus Maria*), *kići-kići* (*kici kici*), *kiöeler* (*cholera*), *Märyjo/Märyja Śwjynta/Śwjynty* (*Maryjo/Maryja Święta*), *Mätko* (*Matko*), *mm* (*mm*), *no* (*no*), *no ńe* (*no nie*), *oj* (*oj*), *ojej* (*ojej*), *ojekju* (*ojekju*), *oju* (*oju*), *ojże* (*ojże*), *(pa)pa* (*pa(pa)*), *príc* (*precz*), *prr* (*prr*), *pst* (*pst*), *pśjokrew* (*psiakrew*), *śa* (*sza*), *rany* (*rany*), *rety* (*rety*), and *wjo-wišta* (*wišta wio*). For some of these lexemes, the similarity between the Wymysorys form and its potential Polish source may stem both from language-external (areal) and language-internal (universal) reasons. As determined sounds and forms tend to be associated with certain types of interjections in the languages of the world, similar interjective lexemes may be used in languages with no genetic relation and no traces of contact (see, e.g., *aaa*, *áh(a)*, *áj*, *brr*, and *oj*).

All main semantic types of interjections are attested among the interjective loanwords, namely emotive, cognitive, conative, and phatic (cf. Ameka 1992; 2006; Velupillai 2012; Stange & Nübling 2014; Stange 2016). Nevertheless, the contributions of these four types of borrowings to the interjective category in Wymysorys are uneven.

A large number of interjections borrowed from Polish are emotive interjections that express feelings and sensorial experiences (Ameka 1992:113). The canonical interjections conveying emotions are: *áh* (P. *ach*) – expression of annoyance, irritation, dissatisfaction, and disappointment, as well as tiredness and exhaustion, similar to ‘oh, phew’ (see 20.a); *áj* (P. *aj*) –

<sup>205</sup> In contrast, the transfer of interjections in Yiddish was marginal (Weinreich 2008; Krasowksa 2019:161).

<sup>206</sup> For the sake of simplicity, the abbreviation “P.” (i.e. Polish) is omitted from the Polish equivalents in parentheses. Given the extensive polysemy of many interjections, I do not provide their English translations. The meanings of the interjections borrowed from Polish will be discussed in detail further below in this section.

<sup>207</sup> Cf. Wicherkiewicz (2003:303).

expression of pain, surprise, irritation, tiredness, similar to ‘ouch’; *oh* (P. *och*) – expression of excitement, praise, and admiration, as well as (with distinct intonation) dissatisfaction, disappointment, and sadness, similar to ‘oh, ooh’ (see 20.b); *oj* (P. *oj*), as well as a number of its composites such as *ojej* (P. *ojej*), *ojejku* (P. *ojejku*), *jejku* (P. *jejku*), and *oju* (P. *oju*) – expressions of surprise, disappointment, fear, sadness, irritation, anxiety, and pain, similar to ‘aw, wow, oops, oh no’ (see 20.c-d); *fě* (P. *fě*) and *fuj* (P. *fuj*) – expressions of disgust and repugnance, similar to ‘poo, pooh, phooey’ (20.e). Other clear examples of interjections imported from Polish that convey feelings are: *rety* (P. *rety* from German *rette/retter* ‘save’; cf. P. *ratuj*) and *rany* (P. *rany* lit. ‘wounds’) – expressions of negative surprise and disappointment, similar to ‘oh dear’; and *Jezü* (P. *Jezu*), *Biöëze* (P. *Boże*), *Jezü(s)maria* (P. *Jesus Maria*), and *Märyjo/Märyja śwjynta/śwjynty* (P. *Maryjo/Maryja Święta*) (20.f) – expressions of fear, similar to ‘Jesus!’, ‘God!’, and ‘Jesus Christ!’. A few emotive interjections express sensations. For instance, *äj* (P. *aj*) and *eh* (P. *eh*) may connote the experience of tiredness, while *brr* connotes the experience of being cold. Additionally, the interjection *do dih* ‘oh man!’ (lit. ‘that you [acc.]’) communicating disappointment, anger, irritation, and surprise is a calque of the Polish expression (*a*)*żeby cię*.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, although some emotive interjections match exactly the form and function of the Polish lexemes, this similarity may also stem from language-internal and universal tendencies. That is, the form-meaning pairing of certain emotive interjections is typologically common and is attested in German and its varieties (see, for instance, *ach*, *ah*, *aa*, *o*, *oh*, *brr*; Burkhardt 1998:53-61; Helbig & Buscha 2001:441-442). These lexemes exploit iconic manners of the encoding of feelings and sensations. It is thus not surprising that their forms tend to converge across languages.

- (20) a. **Äh** Jäsü, mäj Jäsü, wos höst gymaht? (Król n.d. (b))  
 ‘Oh Johnny, my Johnny, what have you done?’
- b. Bli, **oh** bli mäj zumerwäjs (Król n.d. (b))  
 ‘Flourish, oh flourish, my flower’
- c. **Ojej**, hoüt śmjyt mih dy hand (Król unpublished)  
 ‘Oops, my hand is itching today’
- d. S’biwła ging ufs äjs, **ojej!**  
 S’füł bocâm hołc yn täjh, **oju!**  
 S’wiöd nöhta krank än štiorw, **ojej!**  
 Et łajgt’s ym tifa grop, **oju!** (Król n.d. (b))  
 ‘A boy was walking on ice, oh no!’  
 He fell up to his neck in the pond, oh no!  
 He became sick and died, oh no!  
 Now, he lies in the pond grave, oh no!’

- e. **Fuj**, dos śtyinkt!  
‘Poo, this stinks!’
- f. **Máryjo śwjynta**, yh fjet mih  
‘Holy Mary, I am scared’

An important sub-class of emotive interjections transferred from Polish to Wymysorys are expletives, i.e. swearwords, taboo words, and pejorative expressions.<sup>208</sup> Two Wymysorys swearwords have their origin in Polish, namely *pśjokrew* ‘dammit! damn! hell!’ (from Polish *psiakrew* lit. ‘dog’s blood’) and *kiöeler* ‘damn! holy cow!’ (from Polish *cholera* lit. ‘cholera [the sickness]’). Additionally, there are many swearwords that attest to pattern borrowing whereby the form and meaning of some Polish expletives have been calqued in Wymysorys by making use of the native material. For example, *hür* ‘whore’ resembles the most common swearword used in Polish, *kurwa* ‘whore’. To insult a man, the form *hürkala* ‘male whore, a man who often has sex with prostitutes’ may be employed, matching its semantic equivalent in Polish, *kurwiarz/skurwiel*. Similarly, *dü hund* ‘you dog!’ corresponds with *ty psie* in Polish; *dü öks* ‘you idiot!’ with *ty (głupi) wole* ‘you (stupid) ox’ (both used when addressing a man); and *dü lüp* ‘you bitch’ with *ty suko* (used to insult women). Some of these expressions constitute swearing strategies that are cross-linguistically common, and are also well-known in Germanic.

Another class of interjections heavily affected by contact with Polish are conative interjections. The lexemes of this class encode “the desire or wish of the speaker that someone performs a certain action” (Nordgren 2015:17) and are generally used to get the attention of the interlocutor or a third person/being, demand a response, or “provoke a reaction” (Ameka 1992:113). Three types of commands and exhortations expressed by conative interjections of Polish origin can be distinguished: interjections requesting silence, e.g. *pst* (P. *pst*) and *śa* (P. *sza*), similar to ‘hush, shhh, shush’; interjections ordering motion away, e.g. *príc* ‘away!’ (P. *pricz*) and *won* ‘get lost!’ (P. *won*); and interjections addressed to animals: *kići-kići* ‘here kitty kitty [to entice a cat]’ (P. *kici kici*), *prr* ‘whoa [to slow down a horse]’ (P. *prrr*), *wjo-wiśta* ‘gee-up, giddy-up [to speed up a horse]’ (P. *wiśta wio*), and *ćipćip* ‘[to attract a chicken]’ (P. *cip cip*). Additionally, the interjection *ej* ‘hey! look out!’ (P. *ej*) is used to draw attention to an interlocutor.<sup>209</sup>

While the transfer of emotive and conative interjections is relatively abundant, the two remaining types of interjections, i.e. cognitive and phatic, are affected by contact with Polish to a much lesser extent. There are no unambiguous cases of the borrowing of cognitive interjections, i.e. lexemes that encode “the state of knowledge and thoughts of the speaker” (Ameka 2006:744) or express “cognitive processes in terms of comprehension” (Stange & Nübling 2014:1983) such as understanding, knowing, remembering, not knowing, and doubt.

<sup>208</sup> Concerning the status of swearwords as secondary interjections, consult Ameka (1992:106-107, 111) and Stange (2016:14-15).

<sup>209</sup> The use of *ej* as a conative interjection is common cross-linguistically. Therefore, its presence in Wymysorys may stem from both language-external and language-internal factors. That is, *ej* may have developed due to contact with Polish and by exploiting universal tendencies.

Even though Wymysorys and Polish interjections of this type coincide formally and semantically – see in particular, *aaa* and *a(c)ha* that express knowing or remembering, and *mm* that expresses doubt – this correspondence may be due to a universal tendency in form-meaning pairing of these types of interjections rather than resulting exclusively from contact phenomena. Similarly, apart from *pa(pa)* ‘bye-bye’ (from P. *(pa)pa*) and *no* ‘yes’, there are no unambiguous examples of the transfer of phatic interjections – i.e. expressions that encode “the speaker’s *mental state* [original italics] towards the on-going discourse” (Nordgren 2015:21), that are used to establish, maintain, or terminate communication between the speakers and to fulfill determined social routines such as greetings, thanking, and apologizing (Ameka 1992:114). For instance, the interjection *aha* ‘yes’ (cf. P. *acha*) – used to maintain communication and express agreement – need not only stem from borrowing. Indeed, a similar interjection exists in German (see *aha* in Burkhardt 1998:53-61) and many other languages.

As far as the morpho-syntactic types of interjections are concerned, interjective loanwords may be both primary and secondary interjections. Examples of primary interjections – or elements that are not used in other functions than that of interjections (Ameka 1992:105; 2006; Stange & Nübling 2014:1982) – that have been introduced from Polish are: *oj* ‘aw! wow!’ (P. *oj*), *jejku* (P. *jejku*), *ovej* (P. *ovej*), *uju* (P. *uju*), and *ovejku* (P. *ovejku*), all with the same meaning ‘oops, oh no’; and *ej* ‘hey! look out!’ (P. *ej*). Examples of the borrowing of secondary interjections – i.e. interjective elements that draw on other lexical classes (Ameka 1992; 2006; Stange & Nübling 2014) – are *psjokrew* ‘dammit! damn! hell!’ (cf. P. *psiakrew* from *psia krew* lit. ‘dog’s blood’), *kiöeler* ‘damn! holy cow!’ (cf. P. *cholera* lit. ‘cholera [the sickness]’), and *Göt gej /ga’s* ‘please God’ (cf. P. *Daj Bóg (to)* lit. ‘God, give (it/this)!’).

Overall, the majority of interjective loanwords are identical to their Polish sources. This means that the typical phonological adaptations (i.e. the replacement of the Polish *o* and *u* with *(i)ö(e)* and *ü*) are absent. See *fuj* (P. *fuj*), *jejku* (P. *jejku*), *psokrew* (P. *psiakrew*), and *Błoże* (P. *Boże*). Nevertheless, the above-mentioned adaptations did indeed take place in a few lexemes. In *Jezü* and *Jezü(s)maria*, the original vowel *u* has been substituted by *ü* (cf. the Polish forms *Jezu* and *Jesus Maria*). In *kiöeler* and *Biöeże/Błoże*, the vowel *o* (cf. the Polish forms *cholera* and *Boże*) has been substituted by *iöe*.

The dialectal foundation of interjections borrowed from Polish is often evident and transpires in a number of phenomena. Several loanwords attest to the dialectal pronunciation of the *pochylone* vowels *â* and *ê*. Compare the Wymysorys *psjokrew* with the Standard Polish *psiakrew*, *Maryjo Śwjynta* with *Maryjo Święta*, and *pric* with *precz* (note the vowel *i* instead of the expected *y* in *pric*). The variant *Błoże* (cf. P. *Boże*) attests to the labialization of *o*, while *kiöeler* (cf. P. *cholera*) attests to the plosive realization of [x]. As in the dialects, the postalveolar fricative [ʒ] in *Biöeże/Błoże* (cf. P. *Boże*) and affricate [tʃ] in *pric* (cf. P. *precz*) are pronounced as the corresponding alveolo-palatal sounds, i.e. [ʒ] and [tʃ], respectively, or the more adapted palatalo-alveolar sounds [ʒ] and [tʃ]. Additionally, the realization of nasal vowels in *Maryjo Śwjynta* (cf. P. *Maryjo Święta*) also concurs with a pronunciation that is typical of Western Lesser Polish and Eastern Upper Silesian, yet is similarly common in colloquial

Standard Polish. Nevertheless, interjective loanwords that are fully identical to the forms found in Standard Polish are also attested, e.g. *rany* (P. *rany*) and *rety* (P. *rety*).

#### 6.4 Pronouns

The lexical class of pronouns has been affected by contact with Polish to a much lesser extent than connectors, particles, and interjections. The only cases of the borrowing of pronouns concern pattern borrowing whereby the use of some pronouns – in particular, the relative *wu* and the reflexive *zejh/zih* – has been altered due to Polish influence. Inversely, no instances of borrowing of pronominal matter are attested and thus no Wymysorys pronoun draws its morpho-phonetic form from Polish lexemes. All pronouns – whether personal, possessive, demonstrative, indefinite, relative, or reflexive – rather exploit native morphology.<sup>210</sup>

The lexeme *wu* is used in Wymysorys as the main interrogative adverb of place, similar to ‘where’ in English (21.a).<sup>211</sup> It is also employed as a relative adverb to introduce subordinate clauses, again corresponding to the English ‘where’ (21.b). Additionally, *wu* acts as the most common relative pronoun in Wymysorys, translated as ‘that, which, who’, and may refer both to inanimate (21.c) and animate referents, including humans (21.d). This pronoun is indeclinable and thus appears as *wu* in all genders, numbers, and cases. It is probable that the pronominal function of *wu* has arisen due to its analogy with the relative pronoun *co*, the most common relative pronoun found in colloquial Polish (cf. Wicherkiewicz 2003:420). As with the Wymysorys *wu*, the Polish *co* fails to be inflected in gender, number, and case, and may be co-indexed with all types of referents, whether inanimate, animate, or human (cf. Swan 2002; Sadowska 2012). However, the use of *wu* as a relative pronoun may also be a language-internal phenomenon. The development of demonstrative and/or relative adverbs, with the meaning of ‘there’ and ‘where’, into relative pronouns is typologically well documented being attested in West Germanic languages.<sup>212</sup> Likely, the two processes – i.e. language-external and language-internal – have co-occurred, jointly encouraging the stabilization of the adverb *wu* in its role as a relative pronoun – indeed, the most common relative pronoun currently used in Wymysorys.<sup>213</sup>

- (21) a. **Wu** ej har?  
‘Where is he?’

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<sup>210</sup> This complies with the situation found in Yiddish, where the transfer of pronominal matter from Slavonic, including Polish, is unattested (Weinreich 2008:527).

<sup>211</sup> There is also an alternative variant *wun*.

<sup>212</sup> Compare with Dutch relative constructions *waar...mee*, *waar...van*, *waar...over*, *waar...aan* as well as with *whereof* in *The man whereof I speak* in English. The use of adverbs as relative pronouns, similar to the English *where*, is also common in Semitic languages (e.g. Hebrew and Akkadian; Kienast 2001).

<sup>213</sup> The same phenomenon has occurred in Aljzneriś where, under the influence of Polish, the most typical relative pronoun is *vo* – a cognate of the Wymysorys *wu* (Dolatowski 2017:178-179, 267-268). A similar influence of the Slavonic uninflected all-purpose relative pronoun (e.g. Polish *co*) has been postulated in Yiddish. Yiddish, however, reanalyzes its interrogative pronoun *vos*, the usage of which was originally limited to non-human referents, as a general relative pronoun compatible with non-human and human referents (Fleischer 2014). It should be noted that such relative clauses introduced by *vos* often require the presence of a resumptive pronoun.

- b. Wysty **wu** zy wönn?  
‘Do you know where they live?’
- c. Gat s’brut y dam **wu** hyngjyt!  
‘Give the bread to [that one] who is hungry!’
- d. Was ej dy jak **wu** dö ļajt?  
‘Whose jacket lies there?’ (lit. ‘Whose is the jacket that lies there?’)

Polish may also have influenced the use of Wymysorys reflexive pronouns. In Polish, a single reflexive pronoun, namely *się*, is used with all persons (i.e. 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup>) and numbers (i.e. singular and plural). See, for instance, (*ja*) *myję się* ‘I wash myself’ or (*my*) *myjemy się* ‘We wash ourselves’. In Modern Standard German and German dialects – as is also typical of other West Germanic languages – reflexive pronouns tend to be inflected depending on the person and number of the antecedent. Compare *ich wasche mich* ‘I wash myself’ and *wir waschen uns* ‘we wash ourselves’. Following the usage of Polish, but contravening the rule found in closely related Germanic languages, Wymysorys has generalized the reflexive pronoun *zejh/zih* ‘himself, herself, itself, themselves’ – originally restricted to the 3<sup>rd</sup>-person singular and plural – to denote all singular and plural persons. Thus, *zejh/zih* may be employed with 1<sup>st</sup>- and 2<sup>nd</sup>-persons singular and plural instead of *mejh/mih* ‘myself’, *dejh/dih* ‘yourself’, *yns* ‘ourselves’, and *oüh* ‘yourselves’ (22.a). The pronoun *zejh/zih* is also used with verbs inflected in the imperative (22.b), which is a verbal form typically addressed to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-person singular and plural. Nevertheless, the historically correct reflexive forms *mejh/mih*, *dejh/dih*, *yns*, and *oüh* have not been lost but may still be used.<sup>214</sup>

- (22) a. Wjyr frājyn **zih**  
‘We rejoice’
- b. Łjy **zih!**  
‘Study!’ (lit. ‘learn yourself’)

Additionally, under the influence of Polish, the pronoun *zejh/zih*, which originally referred to anaphoric accusative objects and had a genuine reflexive (and medio-passive) force, has been extended to dative uses. Accordingly, *zejh/zih* used with the verb *boün* ‘build’ not only has a reflexive (or medio-passive) meaning (‘build oneself, be built’) but may also indicate a broadly understood beneficiary co-indexed with the subject of the verb, i.e. ‘build for oneself’ (see example 23 below; cf. Wicherkiewicz 2003:388). This change in the semantic potential of *zejh/zih* is a possible replica of the dialectal Polish pronoun *se*. Standard Polish has two main types of anaphoric pronouns: *się* and *sobie*. The pronoun *się* appears in reflexive (accusative) constructions as well as in reciprocal (accusative) constructions. The usual pronunciation of *się* is [ɕɛ] with the true nasal realization of the vowel being viewed as overly pedantic. In

<sup>214</sup> The grammaticalization of a single reflexive pronoun for all persons and numbers is also attested in Yiddish. As in Wymysorys, this change is attributed to Slavonic influence (Geller 1999:84; Weinreich 2008).

dialects with *mazurzenie*, *się* is pronounced [sɛ]. The pronoun *sobie* appears in dative constructions indicating a broadly understood beneficiary. The typical realization of this pronoun in the colloquial language and dialects is *se* [sɛ]. As a result, the same form *se* may be used in reflexive, reciprocal, and beneficiary constructions. This convergence of the anaphoric *się* and *sobie* in Polish dialects may have served as a model for the use of *zejh/zih* in beneficiary (dative) functions apart from the original reflexive and reciprocal (accusative) functions.<sup>215</sup>

- (23) Har wyl **zih** à hyt boün  
 ‘He wants to build a house for himself’

Lastly, certain Wymysorys verbs that were originally non-reflexive may currently exhibit reflexive pronouns and thus be used reflexively. This occurs in cases where the semantically equivalent verb in Polish is reflexive, with reflexivity being marked by the pronoun *się*. Often, the original non-reflexive usage is also grammatical. For instance, the meaning ‘study, learn’ can be encoded by both the non-reflexive verb *łjyn* (as in German *lernen*) and the equally common reflexive verb *łjyn zih* that replicates the pattern found in *uczyć się* in Polish (24.a). Similarly, to express the meaning of experiencing dread or being afraid, one may use the non-reflexive verb *ffjeta* or its reflexive counterpart *ffjeta zih* that matches the usage of the Polish construction *bać się* (24.b). However, in this case, the reflexive variant is typical, while the original non-reflexive variant is rare. This contrasts with the situation attested at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, where *ffjeta* was the regular form (see Mojmir 1930-1936:121). Overall, although such “reflexivization”, or the introduction of the reflexive pronoun to originally non-reflexive verbs, is neither consistent nor especially common – indeed, many non-reflexive verbs have not become reflexive despite the reflexive use of their equivalent in Polish – the phenomenon is relatively well attested in Wymysorys.<sup>216</sup>

- (24) a. Yh wyl **mih** łjyn Wymysiöeryś  
 ‘I want to learn Wymysorys’
- b. Zy ffjeta **zih** giöe ny  
 ‘They do not fear at all’

<sup>215</sup> However, influence from Modern Standard German (cf. *Er baut sich ein Haus* ‘He is building a house’) cannot be ruled out. Overall, such examples are rare in Wymysorys and expressions with personal pronouns (e.g. *Har wyl’um à hyt boün* ‘He wants to build a house for himself’; *Król p.c.*) are preferred.

<sup>216</sup> A similar phenomenon has occurred in Yiddish. Under the influence of Slavonic languages, including Polish, the use of the reflexive pronouns and thus reflexive verbs have become more common. That is, a number of verbs that were originally non-reflexive regularly exhibit the reflexive pronoun *zix* due to the analogy with reflexive verbs found in Slavonic languages. See, for instance, *zix špiln* ‘play’ that has “reflexivized” to match the Polish equivalent *bawić się*, and *zix šrekn* ‘fear’ that replicates *bać się* (Geller 1999:84; Weinreich 2008:532; Gajek 2016; cf. *ffjeta zih* ‘fear’ in Wymysorys analyzed above).

## 6.5 Prepositions

As was the case with pronouns, the borrowing of Polish prepositions is an exceptional phenomenon in Wymysorys. There is only one preposition that has been transferred from Polish and can productively combine with Wymysorys lexicon to form prepositional phrases. This lexeme is the comparative preposition *niby* ‘as, like, as if’ – also attested as *nibyto* (cf. Wicherkiewicz 2003:304) – which draws on the homophonous Polish forms *niby* and *niby to*, respectively (see example 25.a-b below). Otherwise, all genuine and productive prepositions are native, e.g. *by* ‘at’, *cwyśa* ‘between’, *cy* ‘to’, *fu* ‘from, of’, *ffy* ‘before, in front of’, *ffyr* ‘for’, *diöh* ‘through’, *hynder* ‘behind, at the back of’, *myt* ‘with, by means of’, *nawa* ‘near, close to’, *nö* ‘after’, *o* ‘from’, *over* ‘above’, *troc* ‘despite’, *uf* ‘on, onto, to’, *un* ‘without’, *under* ‘under, between’, *wegja* ‘because of’, and *y(n)* ‘in, inside, into, to’.<sup>217</sup>

- (25) a. Har wiöe **niby** á frynd  
‘He was like a friend’
- b. Zy zäjn **niby** wymysiöejer mäkja  
‘They are like Wymysorys girls’

While productive Wymysorys prepositions rarely originate in Polish, a number of Polish prepositions are currently present in the Wymysorys language system. However, their presence is restricted to idiomatic expressions, with all of them constituting calques of original Polish idioms (see sections 5.2.1 and 8.4). This means that the use of these prepositional loanwords is not productive – specifically, they cannot govern native Wymysorys noun phrases. Two groups of such idiomatic expressions can be distinguished. The first group includes constructions that are built around a verb and prepositional phrase. The verb is a native equivalent of the Polish source, while the prepositional phrase, including the preposition, has been transferred intact from Polish. Three most common examples concern the proposition *po* ‘after; by’: *po kiöelendże/kolyndże gejn* ‘pay Christmas calls; make a round of house calls’ from *chodzić po kolędzie* in Polish (26.a); *po śmjyrgüśće gejn* ‘celebrate śmiergust’ (i.e. douse young unmarried girls with water) from the Polish *chodzić po śmierguście* (26.b); and *po rodże kena* ‘know by (lit. after) kin/family’ from *(rozpo)znać po rodzie* in Polish.

- (26) a. Śejn gingter **po** kolyndże; wifuł hoter äjgykłoüt?  
‘You have visited houses after Christmas; how much have you collected?’
- b. Ym Ustermöntag gejn zy ferklät **po** śmjyrgüśće rym  
‘On Easter Monday, they walk dressed up celebrating śmiergust’

<sup>217</sup> This rarity of the transfer of Polish prepositions to Wymysorys complies with the situation attested in Yiddish. In Yiddish, the borrowing of prepositions is exceptional, with only a few cases attested, e.g. *jakbe* ‘as it were’ (also used as a conjunction) from Polish *jakby* (similar to *niby* in Wymysorys) and *vedlik* ‘according to’ from Polish *według* (Weinreich 2008:527; Gajek 2016:103; Krasowksa 2019:161).

The other group of idioms that are responsible for the presence of Polish prepositions in Wymysorys includes prepositional phrases, whether simple or forming parts of larger clauses, in which the Polish preposition is headed by an equivalent native prepositional lexeme. Two examples of this type are especially common: *ufum na oku hon* ‘be interested in someone’ from *mieć na oku* lit. ‘have someone on eye’ in Polish (27.a) and *ufum na zdjeńcu hon* ‘have in the picture’ from *mieć na zdjęciu* (27.b). In both examples, the prepositional phrase that is built around the preposition *na* ‘on’ and replicated intact from Polish is introduced by the close native synonym *uf* ‘on’. The preposition *uf* itself is accompanied by the definite article inflected in the dative case. In the instances analyzed here, the inflected article exhibits the singular neuter form *-um* in agreement with the neuter gender of the Wymysorys and Polish nouns *oüg – oko* ‘eye’ and *foto – zdjęcie* ‘picture’. Similarly, in *ufer na wyćeće ząjn*, the prepositional phrase *na wyćeće* ‘on the trip/excursion’ adopted from Polish, is headed by a native and productive equivalent, i.e. the preposition *uf*. Again, this preposition *uf* is accompanied by the dative form of the definite article. Given the feminine gender of the nominal complement *wycieczka* in Polish, the dative form of the article is feminine, i.e. *-er* (27.c; regarding the transfer of nominal case inflections in these types of borrowings, consult section 7.2.1; see also 8.4).

- (27) a. Hösty á mákja ufum **na** oku?  
‘Are you interested in a(ny) girl?’ (lit. ‘do you have any girl on eye?’)
- b. Yhy ho zy ufum **na** zdjeńcu  
‘I have them in the picture’
- c. Wjyr wün ufer **na** wyćeczce  
‘We were on a trip’

Such iterative uses of prepositions, first in Wymysorys and then in Polish, can be viewed as perhaps less canonical examples of hybrids, similar to *kapelüşhüt* ‘hat’ and *gazytcąjtung* ‘newspaper’. Accordingly, a preposition in Wymysorys is echoed by a semantically equivalent preposition in Polish, forming a type of complex bilingual preposition; e.g. *uf(um/er) na* ‘on’ (lit. ‘on’ [Wymysorys] + ‘on’ [Polish]). The less canonical status of such hybrids stems from the fact that the resulting preposition is not a single word but rather a syntactic combination.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> Such hybrids have certainly emerged from code-switching where this strategy is highly common. That is, in various cases, the Wymysorys and Polish codes jointly contribute to a prepositional idea. Polish donates the entire prepositional phrase (with the preposition and its nominal complement) while Wymysorys heads this insertion with its own native preposition. This can be illustrated by: *ufum na polu* ‘on/in the field’ (the native *uf* + Polish *na polu*), *gremn fu z rozpaczy* ‘cry because of distress’ (the native *fu* + Polish *z rozpaczy*), and *diöt y w Mogile* ‘there in Mogiła’ (the native *y* and the Polish *w Mogile*). Compare with a similar phenomenon in dialectal varieties of Yiddish where *ater* ‘hither’ and *atin* ‘thither’ are possibly blends drawing on Slavonic (*ot*) and native (*a(h)er* and *a(hin)*) elements (Weinreich 1955:604). Similarly, *(ni)xaj(bi) volt* and its more fused (grammaticalized) variant *(ni)xaj-lt* are combinations of two modal lexemes: Slavonic (i.e. *(ni)xaj(bi)*) and native (*volt/-lt*; *ibid.*).

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### 7. Morphology

Morphology, i.e. the internal subdivision of words into more elementary meaning-bearing units, is regarded as the language module that tends to be relatively resilient to borrowing. Indeed, bound morphemes – derivational and inflectional, whether context-autonomous or context-dependent – are one of the least propitious linguistic elements to be transferred or to experience contact-induced changes (Moravscik 1975; 1978; Field 2002; Matras 2007; 2009; Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015).

The present chapter examines the extent to which Polish has influenced the morphological structure of Wymysorys. I will first analyze borrowings in the derivational system of Wymysorys (7.1), subsequently turning my attention to contact-induced changes experienced by the inflectional system (7.2).<sup>219</sup>

#### 7.1 Derivational morphology

The influence of Polish on the derivational morphology of Wymysorys is visible in all content lexemes that are susceptible to derivations – i.e. nouns (7.1.1), adjectives (7.1.2), adverbs (7.1.3), and verbs (7.1.4) – and in interjections.<sup>220</sup> However, as will be demonstrated below, the Polish impact on Wymysorys morphology is uneven in these five types of lexemes: while nouns have been considerably affected, the modifications experienced by the remaining lexical classes (i.e. adjectives, adverbs, verbs, and interjections) are less prominent.<sup>221</sup>

##### 7.1.1 Nominal derivations

As has been explained in section 5.1, the lexical class of nouns contains the largest number of Polish loanwords among all lexical classes that constitute the Wymysorys language system. Nouns also exhibit a considerable number of derivational bound morphemes – nearly all of them suffixes – that originate from Polish. Some of these morphemes have preserved the functions associated with their Polish inputs and remained relatively productive, although the

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<sup>219</sup> Regarding the distinction between inflections and derivations – which is not always straightforward and uncontroversial – consult Dressler (1989), Plank (1994), and Haspelmath (2013).

<sup>220</sup> Neither in Wymysorys nor Polish do ideophones – the remaining category of content lexicon – take derivational morphemes, if they are to be used as genuine ideophones.

<sup>221</sup> The Polish impact on the morphology of Wymysorys interjections is minimal given that interjections in general exploit morphology only residually. Therefore, I will not dedicate a separate section to morphological borrowings in interjections. Instead, the two instances where interjective morphology has been affected by contact with Polish (i.e. the suffixes *-ku* and *-że*) will be discussed in sections dedicated to nominal and verbal derivations.

extent of this productivity varies substantially. Others, in contrast, have become interpreted as more or less inalienable parts of the root/stem and/or are no longer productive. The (at least minimally) productive derivational loan morphemes are *-ok*, *-ka*, *-ńa*, *-ćki*, and *-ek*, as well as a set of diminutives, namely *-(ü)ś(ü)*, *-(ü)ź(ü)*, *-(ü)ć(ü)*, *-ś(a)*, *-ź(a)*, and *-ć(a)*. The non-productive morphemes adopted from Polish are the negative prefix *ńe-* and the suffixes *-oż*, *-oł*, *-ek*, *-ńec*, *-stwo*, and *-sko*.<sup>222</sup>

#### *The masculine suffix -ok*

The suffix *-ok* is one of the semi-productive morphemes which Wymysorys has adopted from Polish. This suffix reflects the dialectal form of the Standard Polish *-ak* with the realization of the *pochylone* *â* typical of western Lesser Poland and eastern Upper Silesia (see section 5.1.3).

The suffix *-ok* appears in a large number of nominal loanwords that cover a broad range of semantic domains, of which three are prevalent. The first and the most numerous group of nouns ending in *-ok* comprises lexemes that refer to persons, often depicting them in a pejorative light: *bjydok* ‘poor man’ (P. *biedak*), *cüdok* ‘weirdo, odd man’ (P. *cudak*), *dźiwok* ‘freak, weirdo’ (P. *dziwak*), *karlok* ‘weakling’ (P. *che/arlak*), *łajdok* ‘villain, rascal’ (P. *łajdak*), *pijok* ‘drinker, drunkard’ (P. *pijak*), *priöestok* ‘boor, simpleton’ (P. *prostak*), *prüźnok* ‘idler’ (P. *próżniak*), *thümok* ‘bundle’ (P. *thumok*), and *żarłok* ‘glutton’ (P. *żarłok*).<sup>223</sup> The second group includes lexemes that indicate broadly understood origin, i.e. a relationship to a place or ethnicity, e.g. *krakowjok* ‘a dance from the Kraków region’ (P. *krakowiak*) and *Kiöezok* ‘Cossack’ (P. *Kozak*).<sup>224</sup> The third group contains lexemes that refer to plants, especially mushrooms, e.g. *mašlok* ‘Suillus, slippery jack’ (P. *maślak*) and *kiöezok* ‘birch bolete’ (P. *kozak*).<sup>225</sup>

Although in most cases of its use, the suffix *-ok* has been transferred as part of the borrowed lexeme – and thus it is exhibited in the Polish source lexeme – Wymysorys has also productively employed this suffix. Two types of this productive usage of *-ok* are attested, where both comply with the semantic potential of *-ok* described in the previous paragraph. First, *-ok* may be added to bases borrowed from Polish and other Slavonic languages. For example, the word *Bejmok* ‘Czech (man)’ – also used as a personal nickname (see below) – is derived from the name of a country, *Bejm* ‘Czechia, Bohemia’. Similarly, the word *desperok* ‘desperate person’ draws on the synonymous Polish lexeme *desperat* in which the ending *-at* has been replaced by *-ok* which,

<sup>222</sup> This considerable number of derivational bound morphemes of Polish origin coincides with a similar phenomenon attested in Yiddish (see Stankiewicz 1985; Wexler 1987:171-176; Geller 1994:95-103, 111-117; Eggers 1998:306-308; Weinreich 2008:527, 531; Kahn 2015:698). Slavonic and/or Polish affixes have also been widely transferred to other eastern varieties of German, e.g. in Pomerania, Prussia, Bohemia, Slovakia, and Silesia (see Siatkowski 1998; 1999; 2015:59-238; 280-282). Regarding the morphological influence of Slavonic languages on German and its dialects see Siatkowski (2015:271-279).

<sup>223</sup> See also *cepok* ‘a stupid, uneducated person’, *gizdok* ‘a horrible person’, *grazbok* ‘blunderer, an awkward person’, and *gwazdok* ‘bungler, muff, annoying chatterer’.

<sup>224</sup> See also *rodok* ‘compatriot’.

<sup>225</sup> The transfer of the Slavonic/Polish suffix *-ak* is attested in other eastern varieties of German (Siatkowski 1994a; 2015:59-108; Nyenhuis 2013), including Silesian, where it typically surfaces as *-ok* (Siatkowski 2015:124-125; Nyenhuis 2013:153-154). It can also be assimilated to *-ke* (Nyenhuis 2013:156-158). It is also common in Yiddish (Wexler 1987:172-174; Weinreich 2008:531; see also Geller 1994).

as mentioned above, often has a pejorative effect in Wymysorys. An analogous process has led to the formation of the word *śljypok* ‘eye’. The Wymysorys lexeme *ślip* ‘eye’ – itself a loanword from Polish *ślepią* ‘eyes’ – has been expanded by the morpheme *-ok*, yielding the pejorative form *śljypok*.<sup>226</sup> Second – and more importantly – the suffix *-ok* may be employed with genuine Germanic bases. For example, the addition of *-ok* to the native noun *Prąjz* ‘Prussian’ (cf. *preußisch* in Modern Standard German) yields the pejorative variant *Prąjzok*.

This productive use of *-ok* seems to be exploited to the greatest degree in personal nicknames of Polish or Germanic origin. Apart from *Bejmok* mentioned above, *-ok* appears in several nicknames typically found in Wilamowice, e.g. *Bjeruńok* ‘nickname of the Grygierczyk family’, *Biöěžnok* ‘nickname of the Zejma family’, *Bütlok* ‘nickname of the Kuczmiarczyk family’, as well as *Hytok* and *Marińćok*, both used as nicknames of the Fox family. In a few instances, the derivational mechanism is still evident. For example, the nickname *Pütrok/Pütriöek* draws on the native noun *puter* ‘butter’ (cf. Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997:312).

#### *The feminine suffix -ka*

Another bound morpheme that has been adopted from Polish into Wymysorys is *-ka*. This suffix is primarily attested in a large number of feminine loan nouns which cover relatively diverse semantic domains.<sup>227</sup> To be exact, borrowed lexemes that end in *-ka* may refer to: persons, often indicating their nicknames, e.g. *wnüćka* ‘granddaughter’ (P. *wnuczka*), *bačka* (P. *babka*) ‘grandmother’, *kođerka* ‘midwife’ (P. *akuszerka*), *Ziöeska* ‘a nickname of Zofia’ (P. *Zośka*); food, e.g. *babüwka* and *bačka* ‘a type of cake’ (P. *babka*), *sardynka* ‘sardine’ (P. *sardynka*); clothing, e.g. *bąjka* (P. *bajka*), *jüpka* (P. *jupka*), *kacabąjka* (P. *kacabajka*) – all referring to specific parts of a traditional Wilamowian garment; and objects, e.g. *bryćka* ‘britzka’ (P. *bryczka*), *klamka* ‘door-handle’ (P. *klamka*), *korünka* ‘rosary lace’ (P. *koronka*), *śatka* ‘net’ (P. *siatka*).<sup>228</sup>

The borrowing of feminine nouns with *-ka* contravenes the adaptive tendencies operating in Wymysorys. As explained in section 5.1.4, feminine loanwords usually lose the final vowel *-a* during their adaptation to the Wymysorys language system. This loss stems from the fact that feminine nouns in Wymysorys do not end in a vowel but rather in a consonant, with the vowel *a* typically marking their plural forms. As a result of the borrowing of these types of nouns and the intact preservation of the suffix *-ka*, a new (inflectional) class of feminine nouns has been created, i.e. nouns ending with *-a*.

<sup>226</sup> The lexeme *śljypok* may also designate a type of flower, i.e. buttercup.

<sup>227</sup> The suffix *-ka* was originally a diminutive morpheme. However, in most Polish lexemes, this diminutive status has been obscured and words such as *klamka* ‘door-handle’ or *siatka* ‘bag’ have no evident diminutive value.

<sup>228</sup> The Polish/Slavonic suffix *-ka*, sometimes surfacing as *-ke*, is widely attested in German dialects, including other Silesian varieties (Nyenhuis 2013:150-153). For instance, it is commonly found in Yiddish, where it regularly surfaces as *-ke* (Weinreich 2008:531; Kahn 2015:698; see also Geller 1994).

Even though in the majority of cases, the suffix *-ka* is found in direct loans from Polish – i.e. words for which the Polish source forms ended in *-ka* – the morpheme has also been used productively. As was the case for *-ok* discussed above, this productivity is visible with both Polish loanwords and native lexemes. For instance, apart from *mjynta* ‘mint’ – a direct loanword that draws on a dialectal realization of the Standard Polish lexeme *mięta* – Wymysorys has developed the form *mjymka*, in which the element *-ta* has been replaced with *-ka*. Similarly, from the native proper noun *Peppa* – a nickname for the name Josephine – a more affectionate form *Pepka* has been derived by means of the suffix *-ka*. Indeed, the derivation of nicknames or more affectionate variants of nicknames is the most productive among all the productive uses of the morpheme *-ka*. This function can be further illustrated by *Lüftka* ‘a nickname of the Fox family’ (from *Luft*; cf. German *Luft* ‘air’) and *Fröstka* ‘a nickname of the Fox family’ (from *Fröst*; cf. *fröst* ‘frost’; see Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997:312).

### *The feminine suffix -ńa*

The bound morpheme *-ńa* is another feminine suffix of which the incorporation into Wymysorys has transgressed one of the rules operating in the native lexicon. As was the case for *-ka*, the transfer of *-ńa* has weakened or eliminated the original incompatibility of feminine nouns with the singular ending *-a*. Overall, *-ńa* is less common than *-ka*, being primarily found in loanwords referring to places, e.g. *lodońia* ‘cold store, freezer’ (P. *lodownia*) or *papjyrńa* ‘paper factory’ (P. *papiernia*). Outside the borrowed lexicon, the presence of *-ńa* is highly limited. Nevertheless, the suffix can be used productively, enabling speakers to derive locative neologisms. This can be illustrated by the noun *kaparńa* ‘morgue, mortuary’, formed from the native lexeme *kerper* ‘body, corpse’.<sup>229</sup>

### *The diminutive suffixes -(ü)ś(ü), -(ü)ź(ü), -(ü)ć(ü), -ś(a), -ź(a), and -ć(a)*

Wymysorys has borrowed a series of diminutive suffixes, i.e. *-(ü)ś(ü)*, *-(ü)ź(ü)*, and *-(ü)ć(ü)*, which are gender neutral, as well as their explicitly feminine variants *-ś(a)*, *-ź(a)*, and *-ć(a)* (cf. Wicherkiewicz 2003:421). These morphemes correspond respectively with *-uś/siu*, *-uź/ziu*, *-uć/ciu*, *-sia*, *-zia*, and *-cia* in Polish. Apart from the forms with *ü* (i.e. *-(ü)ś(ü)*, *-(ü)ź(ü)*, and *-(ü)ć(ü)*), which exhibit the typical adjustment rule whereby the Polish vowel *u* is replaced by the Wymysorys *ü*, there are also unadjusted variants in which the original *-u* is preserved intact, i.e. *-(u)ś(u)*, *-(u)ź(u)*, and *-(u)ć(u)*. It should be noted that while all masculine and neuter diminutives, as well as feminine diminutives in *-ś(a)*, *-ź(a)*, and *-ć(a)*, draw on nominative or nominative-vocative Polish forms, the feminine diminutives ending in *-(ü)śü*, *-(ü)źü*, and *-(ü)ćü* (i.e. with the final *ü*) draw on the original vocative case (see *Zośü* from P. *Zosiu* ‘Sophia [voc.]’). In the Wymysorys recipient system, they may be used in all cases (see section 7.2.1).

<sup>229</sup> Note that *kaparńa* is also used as a proper name referring to the cemetery chapel in Włodowice.

The use of the above-mentioned diminutive suffixes is particularly common in Polish loanwords that derive from diminutive Polish input forms. The vast majority of such borrowed lexemes denotes human beings: male, e.g. *Kubuś* (P. *Kubuś*), *Tobyś* (P. *Tobiasz*), *Jaśü* (P. *Jasiu*), *Stásü* (P. *Stasiu*), and *Winćü* (P. *Wicus*); and female: *Nüśa* (P. *Anusia*), *Zośü* (P. *Zosiu*), and *Ziöëśa* (P. *Zosia*). A few may also refer to animals, e.g. *kacuśu* ‘kitty’ from P. *kacusz* – a diminutive of *kot* ‘cat’. In all those loanwords, the suffixes *-(ü)ś(ü)*, *-(ü)ź(ü)*, *-(ü)ć(ü)*, *-ś(a)*, *-ź(a)*, and *-ć(a)* function as canonical diminutives and profile the nuance of intimacy and/or affection.

However, the diminutive suffixes borrowed from Polish are not limited to Polish loanwords. They may also be used productively. This productive use of diminutives constitutes one of the most characteristic features of the Wymysorys language, distinguishing it from many other varieties of Silesian German (cf. the dialect of Szywnwałd; Gusinde 1911). For example, the word *müzü* has been formed from the ideophonic root *mü* ‘moo!’ to refer to a cow in an affectionate manner. Similarly, from the loanword *Jezü* (P. *Jezu*), a new diminutive *Nezü* ‘baby Jesus’ has been formed by replacing *-zü* with *-zü*. The diminutive suffixes adopted from Polish may be added to native lexemes, yielding their more affectionate variants. The most exemplary cases are *kyndüśü* (see 28.a) and *Götüś* (28.b) – diminutives of *kynd* ‘child’ and *Got* ‘God’, respectively. A subgroup of this usage includes proper names of Germanic origin. That is, Polish-sourced diminutive suffixes may be added to native roots/stems to derive first names and nicknames, e.g. *Linküś* ‘a nickname of the Mika family’.<sup>230</sup>

- (28) a. **Kynduśu** ejs!  
‘My child, eat!’
- b. **Łiwer Götüś** hylf mer!  
‘Dear God, help me!’

#### *The nominal suffix -ćki*

The suffix *-ćki/cki* is another bound morpheme that draws on a Polish diminutive, specifically *-czki*. The variant *-cki* reflects a dialectal pronunciation of the standard *-czki* by attesting to the phenomenon of *mazurzenie*. In Wymysorys, the suffix *-ćki/cki* is not used as a diminutive morpheme *stricto sensu*. Rather, it is used to derive various proper names and nicknames of both Polish and native origin: *Holećki* ‘a nickname of the Nikiel family’, *Jaśićki* ‘a nickname

<sup>230</sup> A similarly large number of diminutive morphemes borrowed from Polish is attested in Yiddish (Stankiewicz 1985; Geller 1994; Weinreich 2008:531; Gajek 2016:93; Krasowksa 2019:161). In fact, even “the two stages of diminutive” that characterizes Yiddish – e.g. *tiš* ‘table’ > *tišl* ‘little table’ > *tišele* ‘tiny table’ – has most likely also developed as a result of Slavonic influence (Weinreich 2008:532). The Polish diminutive suffixes are also found with Wymysorys interjections borrowed from Polish. See, for instance, *ojejku* and *jejku* that are derived from *ovej* and *jej*, respectively, by means of the diminutive *-ku*. Regarding the common borrowing of the diminutive suffix *-uś* in other German varieties consult Siatkowski (2015:196-203; see especially pages 198-202 where its use in Silesian German is discussed).

of the Krista-Jaśiński family’, *Łycki* ‘a nickname of the Danek family’, *Pecki/Pycki* ‘a nickname of the Nowak family’, and *Ficki* ‘a nickname of the Fox family’.<sup>231</sup>

#### *The nominal suffix -ek*

Wymysorys has borrowed the suffix *-ek* from the homophonous Polish form *-ek*. This suffix pertains to different and heterogenous semantic domains as illustrated by *postrunek* ‘halter, rope’ (P. *postronek*), *pśednowek* ‘hungry gap’ (P. *przednowek*), *pulkośülek* ‘t-shirt’ (P. *półkoszulek*), *pożondek* ‘order’ (P. *porządek*), and *upodek* ‘fall’ (P. *upadek*). The suffix *-ek* is generally unproductive in Wymysorys, with the exception of its occasional use in nicknames such as *Lütfek* and *Fröstek* (also appearing as *Lutfek* and *Frostek*; Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997:312), derived from the nicknames of the Fox family, namely *Lüft* (cf. German *Luft* ‘air’) and *Fröst* (cf. *fröst* ‘frost’).<sup>232</sup>

Much more commonly, the Polish suffix *-ek* appears in Wymysorys as part of the hybrid plural suffix *-kja* and the “secondary” singular suffix *-ki*,<sup>233</sup> respectively surfacing as the element *-k* and *-kj* (see section 7.2.1; see also 5.1.4).

#### *The negative prefix ñe-*

The transfer of several nouns (e.g. *ñepśyjaćel* ‘enemy’, *ñepśyjaś(ń)* ‘animosity’, *ñezgiöeda* ‘animosity’, and *ñewoln* ‘captivity’) is responsible for the introduction of the prefix *ñe-* ‘non-, un-, -less’ to the inventory of nominal bound morphemes in Wymysorys. Although the prefix *ñe-* is perceived by native speakers as the carrier of the negative information encoded in all such loanwords, it is never used productively – neither with borrowed nor with native lexemes. It is significant that Wymysorys does not contain positive equivalents of the above-mentioned nouns, despite the fact that such forms are found in Polish. That is, the words *\*\*pśyjaćel* ‘friend’ (cf. P. *przyjaciół*), *\*\*pśyjaś(ń)* ‘friendship’ (cf. P. *przyjaźń*), and *\*\*zgiöeda* ‘agreement’ (cf. P. *zgodą*) do not exist in the Wymysorys lexicon. This means, in turn, that the lexemes that exhibit the prefix *ñe-* do not enter into a polarity contrast with their “bare” counterparts, i.e. nouns that do not contain this prefix. Therefore, the systemic relevance of *ñe-* in the nominal module of Wymysorys is much more limited than is the case in Polish, where the opposition between *ñe-* nouns and “bare” nouns is common and essential.<sup>234</sup> The only examples of a productive use of the prefix *ñe-* – usually limited to borrowed lexemes – appear

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<sup>231</sup> The suffix *-cki* as well as the related suffixes *-(ow/ew/in)ski* have been adopted in other German dialects (Siatkowski 2015:221-228). In Yiddish, the suffix *-sk-* and its variants are mostly used as adjectivizers both with Slavonic and native bases (Weinreich 1955:609).

<sup>232</sup> The transfer of the Slavonic/Polish suffix *-ek* (again sometimes under the form *-ke*) is attested in German dialects (Nyenhuys 2013:152-153) and Yiddish (Wexler 1987:174; Weinreich 2008; Geller 1994).

<sup>233</sup> It is secondary because it is derived through backformation from the plural form *-kja* (see 5.1.4 and 7.2.1).

<sup>234</sup> The negative bound morpheme *ñe-* is also found in two adverbs: *ñehwolancśe* ‘modestly, unassumingly, unpretentiously’ and *coñemjora* ‘abundantly, many’ (see section 5.4). Given the scarcity of such loanwords and the lack of examples demonstrating the productive use of *ñe-* as an adverbial prefix, even in code-switching, the relevance of *ñe-* to the system of Wymysorys adverbs is practically ignorable. Therefore, I will exclude it from my discussion on the borrowing of adverbial morphology in section 7.1.3 below.

in code-switching. Overall, the transfer of Polish nominal prefixes, as well as other prefixes used in other lexical classes (e.g. verbs, adjectives, and adverbs), is rare.<sup>235</sup>

#### *Other nominal morphemes preserved as parts of roots/stems*

In addition to the derivative morphemes described above, Wymysorys exhibits a number of other nominal suffixes that have been transferred via the borrowing of a large number of Polish loanwords. For example, the suffix *-oż* (from P. *-arz*) is found in nouns denoting professions: *cegłoż* ‘brickmaker’ (P. *ceglarz*), *gancoż* ‘potter’ (P. *garncarz*), *grüboż* ‘gravedigger’ (P. *grabarz*), *miškoż* ‘castrator’ (P. *miškarz*), and *kumiñoż* ‘chimney sweep’ (P. *kominiarz*). The suffix *-ńik* (from P. *-nik*) appears in lexemes referring to persons and plants: *bezbożńik* ‘godless person, atheist’ (P. *bezbożnik*), *wendrownńik* ‘wanderer’ (P. *wędrawnik*), and *bobownńik* ‘brooklime, European speedwell’ (P. *bobownik*).<sup>236</sup> The suffix *-oł* (from P. *-ał*) accompanies masculine nouns with various meanings: *kardynoł* ‘cardinal’ (P. *kardynał*), *sowizoł* ‘rascal’ (P. *sowizdrzał*), and *kryminoł* ‘jug; problem’ (P. *kryminał*). Another common suffix is *-ńec* (P. *-niec*) found in lexemes such as *rużáńec* ‘rosary, prayer beads’ (P. *rózaniec*), *babińec* ‘old woman (also meeting of women)’ (P. *babiniec*), or *psiniec* ‘dog excrement’ (P. *psiniec*). Many abstract and collective nouns exhibit the suffix *-stwo* or *-sko*, e.g. *posłúšeństwo* ‘obedience’ (P. *posłuszeństwo*), *dühowjyństwo* ‘clergy’ (P. *duchowieństwo*), and *pośmjewisko* ‘object of ridicule, laughing stock’ (P. *pośmiewisko*).

Even though commonly present in the lexicon imported from Polish, these suffixes are not productive. Crucially, they cannot be added to native Wymysorys bases in order to derive new lexemes.

#### 7.1.2 Adjectival derivations

The impact of Polish on the derivational morphology of Wymysorys adjectives is visible in two types of phenomena: the transfer of the Polish suffixes *-üšik* and *-üćik* and the merger of Polish adjective endings (as well as suffixes in certain cases) with native Wymysorys adjectivizers.

#### *The adjectival suffixes -üšik and -üćik*

Wymysorys contains two productive suffixes that draw on Polish adjectival morphemes. These suffixes are *-üšik* and *-üćik*.

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<sup>235</sup> Compare with a similar phenomenon in Yiddish (Weinreich 2008:A586).

<sup>236</sup> The pervasiveness of the suffix *-ńik* and its role in the nominal system of Wymysorys is much less than what typifies Yiddish. In Yiddish, *-nik* and its feminine variant *-nica* are used widely and productively (Wexler 1987:174-176; Weinreich 2008:531; Kahn 2015:698). The suffixes *-ik*, *-nik*, *-lik* (and their feminine variants, e.g. *-ica* and *-nica*) as well as *-ač* have widely been adopted in other eastern varieties of German, e.g. in Pomerania, Prussia, Bohemia, and Silesia (consult Siatkowski 2015:129-149 and Nyenhuis 2013:158-160 for *-ik*, *-nik*, *-lik*; Siatkowski 2015:149-175 for *-ica* and *-nica*; and *ibid.* 59-108 for *-ač*; see also Siatkowski 1992c).

The suffix *-üśik* descends from the diminutive suffixes *-usi* and/or *-uśki*, both widely used in Polish as illustrated by adjectives *malusi/maluśki* ‘very small’ and *drobniusi/drobniuśki* ‘very fragile, very small, very thin’ (cf. Kleczkowski 1920:177). The replacement of the original *u* with *ü* constitutes one of the regular adjustment tendencies operating in Wymysorys. As is true of its Polish source, the morpheme *-üśik* exhibits an intensifying value in Wymysorys, similar to ‘very, extremely’. To be exact, its usage profiles the limited extent of a quality, be it size, measure, wealth, noise, intelligence, or distance, e.g. *śmoluśik* ‘very slim’. It is also found with adjectives referring to colors, yielding their reading in terms of totality, e.g. *wąjs* ‘white’ > *wąjsüśik* ‘entirely white’. The suffix *-üśik* is relatively common with native adjectival bases. Apart from *śmoluśik* ‘very slim’ (from *śmol* ‘slim’) and *wąjsüśik* ‘entirely white’ (from *wąjs* ‘white’), this can be illustrated by the following examples: *nönd* ‘close’ > *nöndüśik* ‘very close’; *śtyl* ‘silent, quiet’ > *śtylüśik* ‘very quiet’; and *öem* ‘poor’ > *öemuśik* / *öemuśik* ‘very poor’.

In a similar vein, the suffix *-üćik* draws on the diminutive morpheme *-uczki* used in Polish adjectives such as *maluczki* ‘very small’ (cf. Kleczkowski 1920:177). Again, the Polish vowel *u* surfaces in Wymysorys as *ü* in agreement with one of the major phonological adaptive tendencies. Furthermore, albeit much less productive than *-üćik*, *-üśik* can be suffixed to genuine Wymysorys adjectives, as illustrated by *klinüćik* ‘very small’, a diminutive of *klin* ‘small’.

It is probable that the adjectival diminutive suffixes described above, i.e. *-üśik* and *-üćik*, constitute examples of hybrids, in which two morphemes – one from the donor language and one from the recipient language – have been combined into a new fused morpheme. In the case of *-üśik*, two scenarios are possible: first, the Polish suffix *-usi* has been accompanied by the native and productive adjectival suffix *-ik*, i.e. *-uśi* + *-ik* > *-üśik*; second, under the influence of the typical Wymysorys adjectivizer *-ik*, the Polish suffix *-uśki* has undergone metathesis and has been ultimately reformulated as *-üśik*. The former scenario seems more plausible given the typical adaptive strategy of Polish adjectives: that is, Polish suffixes (e.g. *-ny*, *-ty*, *-my*) are preserved in loanwords, although the loanwords themselves are extended by a native adjectivizer, specifically *-ik* (see section 5.3.4; see also the next section). In the case of *-üćik*, the metathesis scenario seems more plausible since the Polish source is most likely *-czki* rather than the very rare *-ci*. Overall, in the resultant hybrid, the Polish component provides a diminutive meaning, while the Wymysorys component is responsible for the marking of the entire word as an adjective.

A less probable explanation, the suffixes *-üśik* and *-üćik* are direct loans from Polish forms such as *malusik*, *drobiusik*, and *malucik*. Even though such adjectives can be heard in non-standard Polish varieties, they are extremely unusual, constituting much rarer variants of *malusi* or *maluczki*. Crucially, according to my research, these forms in *-sik* and *-cik* (as well as the form in *-ci* mentioned in the previous paragraph) are unattested in the Polish variety spoken in Wilamowice.

### *Other adjectival suffixes*

As explained in section 5.3, Wymysorys has borrowed a number of adjectives that, in Polish, end in *-n-y*, *-t-y*, *-l-y*, *-w-y*, and *-m-y* in their nominative masculine singular. The transfer of these diverse Polish suffixes is illustrated by the following examples, where the adjectives end in: *-n*: P. *sprytny* > *sprytnik* ‘cunning, smart’, *-t*: P. *garbaty* > *garbatik* ‘hump-backed’, *-l*: P. *zawily* > *zowilik* ‘convoluted’, *-w*: P. *jałowy* > *jałowik* ‘arid’, and *-m*: P. *lakomy* > *lakūmis* ‘greedy’.

Although original Polish suffixes persist in all the adjectival loans, they are invariably accompanied by the typical native Wymysorys adjectivizers, specifically *-ik* or *-iś/-yś* (and less likely *-nik*; see again the example presented above), yielding the hybridized morphemes *-nik*, *-tik*, *-wik*, *-lik*, and *-miś*. The initial element is donated by Polish, the final consonant is donated by Wymysorys, and, as will be proposed below, the middle element is donated by the two languages simultaneously.<sup>237</sup>

The first group of such blended suffixes are *-tik*, *-wik*, and *-lik*. They result from the merger of the Polish morphemes *-ty*, *-wy*, and *-ly* – themselves, as mentioned above, composed of an adjectival suffix (*-t*, *-w*, *-l*) and an inflectional ending (the nominative masculine singular *-y*) – and the native morpheme *-ik*, during which the Polish *-y* has, most likely, coalesced with the native *-i*. This merger was probably encouraged by the acoustic proximity of the *y* [ɔ] and *i* [i]/[ɪ], as well as the fact that the Polish vowel *y* often appears in Wymysorys as *i*. See, for example, *rozinki* ‘raisin’ (P. *rodzynek*), *ćüprin* ‘head of hair’ (P. *czupryna*), *straśidło* ‘scarecrow, fright’ (P. *straszydło*), and *wyżinek* ‘harvest, harvest festival’ (P. *wyżynki*), in which the Standard Polish *y* [ɔ] surfaces as *i* [i]/[ɪ]. Furthermore, even though *-y* is only found in the nominative masculine singular of the Polish adjectives in question, the nominative masculine singular has a particular position in the adjectival paradigm. It functions as the unmarked citation or encyclopedic form of adjectives in Polish and Wymysorys. Such unmarked inflectional forms are typically used in situations of language contact, e.g. when inserting Polish adjectives into the foreign matrix or recipient codes, for instance, Wymysorys. Nevertheless, a direct substitution of the Polish masculine singular ending *-y* with the Wymysorys suffix *-ik* is also possible.

Similar phenomena have operated during the formation of the suffixes *-miś* – another hybridized form composed of the Polish elements *-my* and the native adverbializer *-iś*. In an analogous manner to the process described above, the Polish nominative adjectival ending *-y* [ɔ] might have merged with the ending *-iś* [iɛ/ɪɛ] given the acoustic proximity of the two vowels, and the common adaptation of the Polish *y* to *i* [i]/[ɪ] in Wymysorys. One should note that in Wymysorys, the adjectival suffix *-iś* is often interchangeable with *yś*, e.g. *saksiś* – *saksyś* ‘Saxon’ and *hamiś* – *hąjmyś* ‘home, domestic’. Therefore, the Polish adjective *lakomy* could

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<sup>237</sup> In other words, Polish adjectivizers cannot be used on their own – they require the presence of a native adjectivizer. The borrowing of Slavonic adjectival morphemes is also attested in Yiddish. Three such elements are usually identified: *-at-*, *-sk-*, and *-evat-* (Weinreich 2008:531). The element *-t-* in *-tik* in Wymysorys corresponds with *-(a)t-* in Yiddish, found in words such as *piskate* from Polish *pyskaty* ‘foul-mouthed, mouthy, sassy’ (Weinreich 2008:531; Gajek 2016:108).

first have been incorporated into Wymysorys as *lakümys* (with the merger of *-y* and *-ys*), which has subsequently stabilized as *lakümiś* due to the similarity of pairs such as *saksyś* – *saksiś*. As was the case with the other adjectival morphemes, a direct substitution of the Polish masculine singular ending *-y* for the Wymysorys suffix *-iś* is also possible.

The most evident example of hybridization is the adjectival suffix *-ńik* found in the loanwords derived from Polish adjectives ending in *-n*. It is probable that the ending *-ńik* in these adjectives has been formed by combining the Polish element *-ny*, composed of the adjective suffix *-n* and the nominative masculine singular ending *-y*, with the Wymysorys adjectivizer *-ik*. As in the other adjectives that draw on Polish nominative masculine singular forms, the Polish element *-y* has coalesced with the native Wymysorys *-i*. This merger of *-ny* and *-ik* into *-ńik* may have been stimulated by the existence of the homophonous native adjectival suffix *-ńik* found in words such as *grąjnyńik* ‘prompt to cry’. It should be noted that the frequency of the adjectival morpheme *-ńik* only becomes noticeable in Wymysorys if Polish imports are taken into consideration. Native Wymysorys adjectives in *-ńik* are relatively infrequent. Therefore, the use of *-ńik* in adjectival loans has most likely resulted from the extension of the Polish morpheme by the most regular adjectival morpheme *-ik* (which is used with all the other adjectival loans except *glüh/gluh* ‘deaf’), rather than from the replacement of the Polish suffix and ending with the rare native suffix *-ńik*. Again, a direct replacement of the Polish masculine singular ending *-y* with the Wymysorys suffix *-ik* is also possible.<sup>238</sup>

To conclude, it should be noted that the above-mentioned hybridized suffixes – with the exception of *-ńik*, which coincides with a homophonous native morpheme – are unproductive in Wymysorys and cannot be used with native Wymysorys bases to derive adjectives.

### 7.1.3 Adverbial derivations

The Polish influence on the morphology of Wymysorys adverbs is, at least in quantitative terms, more limited than was the case with adjectives. Only one true adverbial suffix has been borrowed, but is virtually never employed productively. Its transfer has, however, had some important qualitative bearings on the adverbial system.

#### *Adverbial suffix -ńe/će*

As explained in section 5.4, Wymysorys has borrowed several types of Polish adverbs. The most relevant group of such imports involves adverbs marked by the suffix *-ńe* (P. *-nie*) and its allomorph *-će* (P. *-cie*), which is the most productive adverbial suffix in Polish. See, for instance, *parńe* ‘muggy, sultrily’ (from P. *parnie*), *(d)öpfiće* ‘abundantly’ (from P. *obficie*), *dźel(i)ńe* ‘bravely’ (from P. *dzielnie*), *düşńe* ‘stiflingly’ (from P. *dusznie*), and *okriöepńe* ‘terribly, very’ (from P. *okropnie*; for more examples, see section 5.4.1).

<sup>238</sup> Adjectival/adverbial hybrids are also attested in Yiddish as illustrated by *pamalex* from P. *pomalu* ‘slow’ blended with the original native *\*gemelex* (Weinreich 1955:604; Wexler 1987:186).

Even though a new class of adverbs has been created in Wymysorys due to the relative frequency of such loanwords (i.e. the *-ńe/-će* class), which is easily recognizable by native speakers as an adverbial category (see section 5.4.4), the suffix *-ńe/-će* itself has not been reanalyzed as a productive morphological device. That is, in opposition to the situation found in Polish, the element *-ńe/-će* does not function in Wymysorys as an adverbializing morpheme *stricto sensu*. It is never used to derive new adverbs from genuine Germanic adjectives or native bases. Nevertheless, at least in the case of borrowed lexemes, a few adverbs, of which all end in *-ńe*, contrast with adjectives derived from the same root/stem, e.g. *grymáš-ńe* ‘pickily’ (P. *grymaśnie*) versus *grymáš-ńik* ‘picky’ (P. *grymaśny*), and *spryt-ńe* ‘cunningly, smartly’ (P. *sprytnie*) versus *spryt-ńik* ‘cunning, smart’ (P. *sprytny*). Accordingly, in these adverbial loanwords, the segmentability of the root/stem and the adverbializer *-ńe* is possible. This means that, at least in some borrowed lexemes, *-ńe* functions as a genuine morpheme rather than an inalienable part of a root which is holistically employed as an adverb. Even more importantly, as explained in section 5.4.4, the transfer of *-ńe/-će* borrowed together with adverbial loans themselves has had a more systemic effect on the lexical class of adverbs, namely the formation of a new adverbial class – adverbs ending in *-ńe/-će*. These adverbs comprise the only adverbial class in Wymysorys that is formally distinguished from adjectives; for all the remaining adverbs, e.g. *-ńik*, *-ik*, and *-iś/-yś*, the respective adverbializers are identical to adjectival suffixes.

#### *Other adverbial morphemes preserved as parts of the root/stem*

The other adverbial suffix present in Polish loanwords, i.e. *-m*, which is found in *hürmem* ‘all together’ (from P. *hurmem*) and *raptem* ‘suddenly’ (from P. *raptem*), has not been incorporated into the Wymysorys language system as a new adverbializer. Contrary to adverbs ending in *-ńe*, these borrowed adverbs ending in *-m* cannot be segmented into more fundamental morphemes. In Wymysorys, they rather function holistically as indivisible adverbial lexemes. The same holds true for the adverb *natyhmjast* ‘immediately’.

#### 7.1.4 Verbal derivations

The impact of Polish on the derivational morphology of Wymysorys verbs is apparent in two phenomena: first, the adoption of the verbalizers *-â-*, *-’â-/jâ-*, and *-owâ-*, and second, the use of the morpheme *-że*.

#### *The suffixes -â-, -’â-/jâ-, and -owâ-*

As explained in section 5.2, Wymysorys has borrowed a large number of Polish verbs. Nearly all such loanwords exhibit an *â*-type stem in Wymysorys: either a simple stem *-â-* (non-palatal *-â-* or palatalized *-’â-/jâ-*) or an *â*-stem extended by the element *-ow-* (i.e. the stem *-owâ-*). These *â* elements – whether simple or extended – may be congruent with the underlying Polish forms or, on the contrary, they may be introduced analogically, thus replacing other elements, such as *-i/y-*, *-e-*, and *-q-* found in the source verbs.

As a result of these transfer processes, the morphemes *-(/j)â-/owâ-* can presently be viewed as fully fledged parts of the morphological system of Wymysorys. They jointly constitute one of the two most common and productive manners of verbalization used in the language – the other being the morpheme *-jy-* (see, for instance, *aréstjyn* ‘arrest’, *rejestrjyn* ‘register’, or *awanżjyn* ‘promote / be promoted’). This productivity and a relatively central morphological status may be demonstrated by the following phenomena: first, *-(/j)â-/owâ-* allows the speakers to adapt novel Polish verbs to the verbal system of Wymysorys. Indeed, in spontaneous code-switching episodes, or when asked to incorporate a Polish verb into their Wymysorys variety, Wilamowians invariably make use of the *-(/j)â-* or *-owâ-* suffixes. Second, *-(/j)â-/owâ-* may be used to derive verbs from nominal Polish bases, as illustrated by *mankolâ-n* ‘loom, talk deliriously’ from *mankolijo* ‘melancholy’, and *scudâ-n* ‘wonder’ from *cud* ‘wonder’. Third, *-(/j)â-/owâ-* are not only found with Polish bases (verbal or nominal) but may also be employed with native roots and stems. For example, the verb *krankowân* ‘be sick, weak’ is derived from the native adjective *krank* ‘sick, weak’.<sup>239</sup>

### *The suffix -że*

The element *-że* is a heterogenous component in the Wymysorys language system. It may be employed as a suffix or a clitic. Given that suffix-like uses are far more common, I have included the analysis of *-że* in the chapter dedicated to morphology. Furthermore, when functioning as a suffix, *-że* may be agglutinated to (or merged with) verbs and interjections. Again, among the two possibilities, its usage with verbs is the most common, hence the inclusion of *-że* in the section dedicated to verbs.<sup>240</sup>

The Wymysorys element *-że* – whether a suffix or clitic and whether used with verbs, interjections, or other lexical classes – draws on the Polish lexeme *że* (Mojmir 1930-1936:x; Wicherkiewicz 2003:283). In accordance with the treatment of sibilants in Wymysorys, the Standard Polish hard postalveolar [ʒ] is realized as a soft palatalo-alveolar [ʒ] or an alveolo-palatal [ʒ]. In Polish, *że* functions as a particle, specifically a modal emphatic particle that expresses urgency and impatience in imperatives, surprise and annoyance in questions, and insistence in exclamations and declaratives (Dunaj 1996:1387; Swan 2002:187; Boryś 2005:54; Sadowska 2012:302). As will be illustrated below, even though these original values are preserved in Wymysorys, certain modifications in the semantic potential of the morpheme *-że* can also be identified.

<sup>239</sup> Compare with the common and productive use of the Slavonic suffix *-ev-* with verbs in Yiddish (Weinreich 2008:531; Kahn 2015:698; Hansen & Birzer 2012:430). Although introduced to Yiddish via Slavonic loanwords, this suffix may be added to German and Hebrew roots as is exactly the case in Wymysorys (Weinreich 2008:531).

<sup>240</sup> Alternatively, the analysis of the Wymysorys *-że* could be presented not in the chapter dedicated to morphology but rather in the chapter dedicated to morpho-syntax since the uses of *-że* have their origin in Polish analytical constructions still partially visible in Wymysorys (see the use of *-że* as a clitic). It should also be noted that when used as a bound suffix hosted by verbs, *-że* is not a canonical derivative device as it does not produce new lexemes, but rather marks the verb pragmatically in terms of intensity or politeness. The derivative function of *-że* is, however, relatively patent in the use of *-że* with interjections. That is, forms such as *hojże* and *ejże* can be regarded as alternative lexemes similar to *ojejku* and *jejku* – two lexemes derived from *ojej* and *jej*, respectively, by means of the diminutive *-ku*. The clearest example of the derivative function of *-że* is *skiöekumće*, which is treated as a separate lexical entry in lexicons and dictionaries (Król n.d. (a)). Native speakers also view this word as different from the basic lexeme *skiöekumt* in which the suffix *-że* is not used.

The element *-že* is used most commonly as a suffix agglutinated to verbs inflected in the imperative, either singular (see *gejže* ‘go!’, *fiöeže* ‘go!’, and *fercylže* ‘tell!’ in 29.a-c) or plural (see *kumtže* ‘come!’ in 29.d). In such cases, *-že* is never pronounced with a pause or contouring that would separate it or distinguish it prosodically from the verb. It rather acts as a modal suffix that either strengthens the command (see *fiöeže* ‘go!’ or ‘just move!’ in 29.d that profiles impatience and irritation) or softens it, thus rendering the imperative more polite and/or “accidental” (see *kumtže naj* ‘please come in!’). Sometimes, the morpheme *-že* may be reduplicated. This usually has an intensifying effect on the imperative (see *hjyže-že...uf* ‘stop’ in 29.e).

- (29) a. No *gejže* sun!  
 ‘Well, go now!’
- b. *Fiöeže* myt dam kynd sneler!  
 ‘Go faster with that child!’
- c. Büwy, *fercylže* yhta!  
 ‘Eh boy, tell [me] something!’
- d. *Kumtže* naj!  
 ‘Please come in!’
- e. *Hjyže-že* sun uf!  
 ‘Stop now!’

Although the use of the suffix *-že* with imperatives is prevalent, *-že* may also be suffixed to other lexical classes, particularly interjections. The most common type of interjections that can host the morpheme *-že* are conative interjections, which serve similar pragmatic purposes as the imperative. That is, conative interjections express wishes or orders directed at other participants – humans and animals – urging them to perform determined actions. For example, in (30.a), *-že* is suffixed to the interjection *hoj*, typically used to call cows and make them move forward. The resulting form is *hojže* ‘come on’, a more emphatic variant of *hoj*. Similarly, *-že* may be agglutinated to the interjection *ej* ‘hey! look out!’ that is used to draw attention to an interlocutor, yielding the form *ejže* (30.b). Both *hojže* and *ejže* are viewed as new lexemes by native speakers and lexicographers (e.g. Król n.d. (a)), i.e. separated from, yet related to, the bare forms *hoj* and *ej*, respectively (see footnote 240 above).

- (30) a. *Hojže* ho!  
 ‘Come on!’
- b. *Ejže*, Tiöma!  
 ‘Hey, Tymek!’

The morpheme *-že* may rarely be suffixed to phatic interjections. One of the most characteristic examples is the interjection *skiöekumće* ‘welcome!’ used in greetings directed at a group of persons. This lexeme derives from *skiöekumt* ‘welcome’ extended by the element *-že*, with the interjection *skiöekumt* itself being a lexicalized form of the analytical expression *s giöe(r) kumt* ‘there you (just/at all) come’ (Mojmir 1930-1936:358; Wicherkiewicz 2003:283). In *skiöekumće*, the suffixation of *-že* is more profound than in other examples discussed thus far, attesting to a fusional stage rather than mere agglutination; see the merger of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-person plural verbal ending *t* with the onset consonant *ž* of the element *-že* into *-ć*, i.e. *-t + -ž > -tś > -ć*. This merged form *-će* has been reanalyzed folk-etymologically as equivalent to the homophonous plural imperative ending *-cie* in Polish, as in *witajcie* ‘welcome’ or *zróbcie* ‘do!’ (see footnote 240 above).

As explained above, the use of *-že* as a suffix is ubiquitous. Nevertheless, there are also examples where the degree of morphologization of *-že* – or its conversion into a bound morpheme – is less advanced. In such instances, *-že* rather approximates the category of clitics. This usage is especially visible in cases in which *-že* follows a personal pronoun, e.g. *dih-že* (31.a-b) and *mih-že* (31.c). As in the other uses, this type of *-že* never bears stress nor can it be separated from the hosting lexeme (i.e. a pronoun) by a pause or contouring. However, contrary to the suffix *-že*, its clitic variant has no semantic or pragmatic bearing on the hosting pronominal element. For example, *-že* does not intensify the pronoun in terms of focality or emphasis. Instead, it modifies the meaning of the verb with which it fails to form a contiguous sequence by strengthening or softening the command conveyed by it.

- (31) a. No meńć, gyzân dih-že!  
‘Come on, make the sign of the cross!’
- b. No ny sü dih-že oüs!  
‘No, don’t take your shoes off!’
- c. Ret mih-že!  
‘Rescue me!’
- d. Häs zy-že bycoła!  
‘Let them pay!’

Overall, the Wymysorys *-že* exhibits a more advanced grammaticalization profile than its Polish source. It is more morphologized, attesting not only to agglutination but also fusion. Furthermore, contrary to the Polish donor lexeme, *-že* does not only strengthen a command profiling nuances of impatience, insistence, and annoyance, but also – and equally often – renders it more polite.<sup>241</sup>

<sup>241</sup> The usage of *-že* in Wymysorys is similar to Yiddish, where *že* is often suffixed to imperative verbs, e.g. *gib že* ‘give!’, or cliticized to pronouns, e.g. *vos že vilstu* ‘what do you want?!’ (Uriel Weinreich 1958:22; Max Weinreich 2008:A.542, 589; see also Wicherkiewicz 2003:283).

## 7.2 Inflectional morphology

The transfer of Polish inflections to Wymysorys is much more limited than was the case with derivations. Relatively evident cases of inflectional borrowings – both of a matter and pattern type – are only found in the nominal system (7.2.1). However, in the verbal system, language contact has impacted the category of aspect, which is a semi-inflectional and semi-derivational category in both Polish and Wymysorys. Moreover, this influence has mainly pertained to pattern borrowing rather than the borrowing of matter (7.2.2). The inflectional systems of adjectives and pronouns have remained generally unaffected.

### 7.2.1 Nominal inflections

The majority of nouns adopted from Polish preserve their nominative-singular case marking in Wymysorys. As explained above, in Polish, the nominative singular is viewed as the simplest, default, and/or unmarked inflectional form of a noun. It often appears in pidginized varieties of Polish, output from incomplete second language acquisition, and foreigner talk. In the hosting system of Wymysorys, such nominative-singular endings are generally reanalyzed as parts of the root/stem (e.g. *tāhister* ‘schoolbag’ from P. *tornister*; *frājerka* ‘girlfriend’ from P. *frajerka*) or, much less commonly, as inflectional endings, if they match Wymysorys inflections (e.g. *drūzba* ‘best man’ from P. *družba*).<sup>242</sup> Since these original nominative morphemes appear in all the cases of the singular – not only in nominative but also in dative and accusative – and, furthermore, can never be used as inflectional markers of nominative with native bases, I will not consider these types of loanwords as examples of Polish-to-Wymysorys morphological transfer.<sup>243</sup>

The genuine borrowing of Polish inflections into Wymysorys surfaces in four phenomena: the creation of the morphologically marked category of vocative; the use of original vocatives as generalized singular forms; the preservation of Polish plural morphemes as parts of the complex Wymysorys plurals (and their possible reinterpretation as parts of roots/stems in the singular); and the maintenance of other morphological cases, especially the locative, in prepositional phrases in idioms.

#### *Vocative-case category*

Wymysorys has a special grammatical category in its nominal system, namely the vocative case. This case is marked morphologically by the ending *-y*. In the singular, this ending distinguishes certain nouns from the other forms of their inflectional paradigm. For instance, the word *mūm*

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<sup>242</sup> In cases of conflict with native inflectional patterns, nominative endings are usually lost. See the feminine loanwords such as *brom* ‘gate’ in which the original nominative ending *-a* is lost (P. *brama*), since inherited feminine nouns do not end in *-a* in the singular (see section 5.1.4).

<sup>243</sup> The transfer of nominative forms such as indeclinable singulars, however, has important bearing on the nominal system of Wymysorys and its inflectional paradigms. The exemplary case is the formation of the class of *a* feminine nouns that were previously disallowed in the language (see sections 5.1.4 and 7.1.1).

‘aunt, madam’ – used in the nominative, dative, and accusative – appears as *mümy* ‘aunt, madam!’ in the vocative. There are only six words that are overtly marked for the vocative case. Apart from *müim* ‘aunt, madam’ mentioned above, this group includes: *büw – büwy!* ‘boy!’, *bow – bowy!* ‘wife, woman!’, *pot – poty!* ‘godfather, godmother!’, *loüt – loüty!* ‘people!’, and *knäht – knähty!* ‘lad!’. As is evident from this list, all lexemes compatible with vocative marking are kinship terms or other commonly used nouns referring to human beings. They principally draw on the original Germanic vocabulary (e.g. *loüt* ‘people’ and *knäht* ‘lad’) and, to a lesser extent, on old Polish loanwords (see *bow* ‘woman’ from P. *baba*). For all the remaining nouns, the nominative case is used to convey the vocative function. Inversely, the derivation of forms with *-y* from other nominal stems is ungrammatical – the nominative must be used instead. For example, when used to address someone, the proper name *Tüima* ‘Tom’ and the common noun *šiler* ‘teacher’ exhibit forms that are identical to the nominative, with the only difference pertaining to intonation. This means that, overall, the vocative case is not a productive category in Wymysorys.<sup>244</sup>

- (32) a.      Büwy, fercylže yhta!  
              ‘Boy, tell (me) something!’
- b.      Łoüty, kumt hyfa!  
              ‘People, come and help me!’

In contrast to Wymysorys, the morphological category of vocative is absent in modern Germanic languages, particularly the members of the West Germanic branch. Even though Proto-Germanic originally had a dedicated vocative case – inherited from Proto-Indo-European – this was lost in nearly all daughter languages (McFadden 2020:284-285). For example, in Proto-Germanic, the word *\*wulfaz* ‘wolf’ was most likely inflected for the vocative and exhibited the form *\*wulf*. Similarly, *\*gasti* was a vocative form of the word *\*gastiz* ‘guest’. This morphological marking of vocative was subsequently eliminated, with the exception of Gothic – the earliest attested language of the Germanic family (4<sup>th</sup> century AD; Streitberg 1900:224-227; Lehmann 1994:25-26; McFadden 2020:285). In Old High German (9<sup>th</sup> century), the vocative case was already lost. In Middle High German and Standard High German, the vocative is regularly identical to the nominative, which is also the rule in nearly all modern West Germanic languages (Behaghel 1923:72-73; Hermann 1969:307; von Kienle 1969:127-130; van der Wal & Quak 1994:102).<sup>245</sup> The exception is Yiddish, “where vocative is added to the nominal declension according to the Polish model” (Hansen & Birzer 2012:430). See, for instance, *mamenju* ‘mummy’ in which the native *mame* ‘mum’ is marked by the Polish vocative ending *-niu*, also present in the Polish word *mamuniu* itself (Geller 1994:102; Hansen & Birzer 2012:430).

<sup>244</sup> However, this fact does not differentiate the vocative from the other cases, since the current use of the genitive, dative, and accusative case endings is, in general, limited and unproductive. The only productive case ending is dative plural. Virtually all plural nouns that do not end in *-n* or *-a* may be overtly inflected in the dative by taking on the ending *-n* or *-a*, depending on the properties of the stem.

<sup>245</sup> Irregularly, in a church register under the influence of Latin, the form ending in *-e* (e.g. *Christe!* ‘Christ!’) can be used when addressing God.

While the vocative case marking is generally absent in Germanic languages, it is common and productive in Polish. In Polish, most nouns have a special vocative form in the singular, marked by the ending *-e* (*chłopiec – chłopcze!* ‘boy!’), *-u* (*Tomek – Tomku!* ‘Tom!’ and *dziadek – dziadku!* ‘grandpa!’), or *-o* (*kobieta – kobieto!* ‘woman!’; Orzechowska 1999; Swan 2002:46, 371-372; Wiese 2011).<sup>246</sup> However, given the phonology of the vocative ending exhibited in Wymysorys, the type of nouns allowing for the use of the vocative case, and the typical treatment of Polish vocatives in Wymysorys, the transfer of the Polish form – and thus matter borrowing – is unlikely. First, from a phonological perspective, the vocative form in *-y*, characteristic of Wymysorys, could only reflect the Polish *-e*, since *y* in Wymysorys may be a successor of an earlier *e*, but not of *u* and *o* (see further below). Accordingly, Polish vocatives in *-u* and *-o*, which are probably more common than those in *-e*, could not constitute the basis for the Wymysorys marker. If the vocative ending was of Polish influence, it would be inexplicable as to why the borrowed *-e* (which, in this scenario, has later evolved into *-y*) was generalized for Wymysorys, rather than *-u* and *-o*. Second, nouns that can be marked for the vocative case in Wymysorys are not in their vast majority Polish loanwords that could motivate the transfer of this ending from the donor to the recipient language. As explained above, nearly all nouns that are marked for the vocative belong to the native lexicon. The only exception is *bow* ‘woman’, which is an old Polish loanword, currently highly dissimilar from its source (cf. P. *baba*). Third, even though the Polish vocative ending *-u* has sometimes been preserved in loanwords (e.g. *kacuśu* ‘little cat, kitty’ from the Polish vocative *kacusi!*), it has been reanalyzed as part of the root/stem, thus being employed in nominative, accusative, and dative, rather than vocative proper (see further below).

Rather than reflecting the Polish vocative ending(s), the form of the Wymysorys vocative – i.e. the ending *-y* – has Germanic and thus native origin. That is, the vocative *-y* has most likely been derived from a common hypocoristic suffix *-i* and/or *-e* widely attested in West Germanic languages, including Modern Standard German and other German dialects. Indeed, in Modern Standard German, the endings *-i* and *-e* are often used with proper names, nicknames, and kinship terms to indicate intimacy, e.g. *Mami* ‘mom’, *Opi* ‘grandpa’, *Omi* ‘granny’, and *Berni* (proper name). Often, such nouns in *-i* and *-e* are used to address people, e.g. *Paul – Paule!* and *Karl – Kalle!* Even though in German and its varieties, such forms are not vocatives *stricto sensu*, but rather diminutives or hypocoristics used in a vocative function (Korecky-Kröll & Dressler 2007:207), it is probable that Wymysorys has reanalyzed the native hypocoristic forms as vocatives. From a phonological perspective, this scenario is plausible since the Wymysorys vowel *-y* may be a reflex of the Middle High German *i* (Kleczkowski 1920:37, 41-43) as well as the unaccented ending *-e* (compare the weak form of the Middle High German adjective *blind* ‘blind’ in the nom.sg.ms/fm. and nom-acc.sg.nt. *blinde* with its equivalent *blyndy* in Wymysorys). Therefore, Wymysorys *y* tends to correspond with both *i* and *e* found in Modern Standard German, which are the two vowels used in hypocoristic suffixes in the latter language. The Germanic foundation of the vocative ending *-y* also concords with the

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<sup>246</sup> In the plural, however, the vocative is homonymous with the nominative and commonly displays the ending *-y* (*chłopy* ‘men!’, *dziady* ‘old men!’, *kobiety* ‘women!’, *baby* ‘women!’), *-i* (*dzieci* ‘children!’), or *-e* (*ludzie* ‘people!’).

abovementioned fact that nearly all vocative nouns belong to the native lexicon. They are those types of lexemes that, in Germanic languages, are propitious to exhibit a hypocoristic ending, i.e. nouns referring to persons and family members.

Although the morphological material used in Wymysorys to form the vocative ending is most likely native, the reinterpretation of the hypocoristic morpheme as a vocative case ending seems to have been induced by contact with Polish, thus constituting an example of pattern borrowing. That is, since the category of vocative is highly productive and frequent in the Polish case system, but is absent in the West Germanic family, its emergence and subsequent maintenance – even in a limited scope – must have taken place by analogy to Polish. In other words, the need to preserve a distinction that has been crucial in Polish has motivated Wymysorys speakers to reinterpret words used with a hypocoristic suffix in a vocative context as genuine vocatives, and to reanalyze their hypocoristic morpheme as a genuine inflectional ending (compare with a similar opinion in Żak 2013:6; 2016:135).

#### *Transfer of the vocative-case form*

As explained above, the Polish vocative is not the morphological donor of the vocative ending found in Wymysorys. Nevertheless, in some lexemes borrowed from Polish into Wymysorys, the Polish vocative form has been preserved. In such instances, the vocative has been reanalyzed in the singular as part of the root/stem and is used in all the cases, i.e. vocative, nominative, accusative, and dative. The class of lexemes that attests to this phenomenon includes nouns ending in *-śu/-śü* – originally, vocative forms of diminutives in Polish. Words of this type may be proper names of persons, such as *Zośü* (P. *Zosiu!* – the vocative of *Zosia*; cf. Żak 2013:6; 2016:135) or common nouns, such as *kacuśu* ‘little cat, kitty’ (P. *kacusi!* – the vocative of *kacuś*). This vocative ending may also be used with native bases, e.g. *kynduśu* ‘child’ (see section 7.1.1).<sup>247</sup>

#### *Nominative-plural form*

While most nouns preserved their singular case endings – usually nominative and, less commonly, vocative – some have maintained the markings found in the plural of their source Polish lexemes. However, being extra-systematic from the perspective of the recipient language, such plural endings have been additionally accompanied by productive Wymysorys pluralizers. As a result, the original inflectional morphemes have been reanalyzed as parts of more complex plural markers and/or as components of the root/stem.

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<sup>247</sup> It should be noted that not all loanwords in *-śu/-śü* – and not all diminutives (see 7.1.1) – draw on forms that are overtly vocative in Polish. Instead, many reflect lexemes that function as both vocative and nominative in Polish. In those instances, the source word is not marked by a special vocative ending, but rather by a syncretic nominative-vocative ending: *Jąśü* (P. *Jasiu* – nominative and vocative) and *Staśu* (P. *Stasiu* – nominative and vocative). Slavonic vocatives and hypocoristic forms of proper names and kinship terms are also common in Yiddish (see the previous section see also Stankiewicz 1985).

The most relevant class of Wymysorys nouns that have preserved the plural marking of their Polish sources are loanwords of which the plural form ends in *-kja*. Two main subclasses of such nouns can be distinguished: those that have corresponding singulars and *pluralia tanta*, i.e. lexemes that do not have corresponding singulars (see section 5.1.4).

The most numerous class of loanwords in which Polish plural morphemes have been maintained are masculine nouns such as *blawatkja* ‘cornflowers’, *fjolkja* ‘violets’, *niöerkja* ‘divers, plungers’, *ogürkja* ‘cucumbers’, and many others. In these lexemes, the plural marker *-ja* is a hybrid derived from the original Polish plural ending *-i* and the native pluralizer *-a*. In Polish, the singular of these nouns ends in *-ek* (see *blawatek*, *fiolek*, *nurek*, and *ogórek*, respectively). The plural is formed by adding the ending *-i* (one of the typical nominative plural morphemes in Polish) and eliminating the so-called *ruchome* (‘movable’) *e* found in the penultimate syllable, yielding forms such as *blawatki*, *fjolki*, *nurki*, and *ogórki*. When adopted into the recipient language system, these Polish endings were ill-fit to mark plurality, since *-i* is never used to derive plurals in Wymysorys. Therefore, to mitigate this mal-adaptation, the borrowed plural forms in *-i* were accompanied by the productive ending *-a*. This yielded forms such as *blawatkja*, *fjolkja*, *niöerkja*, and *ogürkja*, with the epenthetic vowel *i* being converted into the semivowel *j* in a pre-vocalic position (cf. Kleczkowski 1920:176). In this manner, the idea of plurality is marked overtly, and the loanwords are fully adjusted to the inflectional system of Wymysorys. A similar process occurred in loanwords which are feminine in Polish, such as *śyśkja* ‘(pine)cones’ (compare with the Polish plural *szyszki* of the feminine singular *szyszka* ‘a (pine)cone’). That is, the plural morpheme *-ja* found in these lexemes is a combination of the plural *-i*, transferred from Polish, and the native pluralizer *-a*, productive in Wymysorys. Other examples are *wengjerkja* ‘a damson-like type of plums’ (P. *węgierki* [pl.] + *-a*), *kafkja* ‘jackdaws’ (P. *kawki* [pl.] + *-a*), and *dahüfkja* ‘roof tiles’ (P. *dachówki* [pl.] + *-a*). What distinguishes these loanwords from nouns such as *blawatkja* ‘cornflowers’, discussed above, is that they have altered their gender from feminine to masculine to fit the form-gender pairing typical in Wymysorys. As explained in section 5.1.4, all such nouns have developed their novel singular forms through backformation from their plurals. In these singular forms, the vowel *i*, initially transferred in the plural form, has been reanalyzed as part of the stem. That is, the ending *i* is not only found in the plural (see *-j* in *blawatkja*) where it directly reflects the Polish plural ending, but it also appears, by analogy, in the nominative, accusative, and dative singular (see *-i* in *blawatki* ‘a cornflower’ and *śyśki* ‘a (pine)cone’).

The other class of loanwords ending in *-kja* demonstrates the hybrid nature of the plural marker *-ja* even more clearly. A few nouns with the plural ending *-kja* have been borrowed from lexemes that in Polish only exhibit plural forms functioning as *pluralia tanta*. For example, *bokserkja* ‘boxers’ and *gatkja* ‘pants’ draw on the Polish lexemes *bokserki* ‘boxers’ and *gatki* ‘pants’ that do not have singular variants, e.g. *\*\*bokserek* or *\*\*gatek*. As was the case with the other types discussed above, all such lexemes have suffixed the productive plural ending *a* to the original Polish plural *-i*, yielding the composite morpheme *-ja*. As in the noun of the type *blawatkja*, the plural form is also indicated by the stem in which the movable *e* is absent, i.e. *bokserk-i* + *-a* > *bokserkja* and *gatk-i* + *-a* > *gatkja*. This process seems to be productive. In

code-switching, all Polish *pluralia tanta* ending in *-ki*, e.g. *nożyczki* ‘scissors’ and *grabki* ‘rake’, are invariably rendered as *nożyckja* and *grapckja*, respectively.

The plural form *cudzoźymca* ‘foreigners’ exhibits another example of a hybrid plural morpheme, deriving both from Polish and Wymysorys plural markers. The singular of *cudzoźymca* is *cudzoźymjec* ‘foreigner’, from Polish *cudzoziemiec*. If the Wymysorys plural was derived by the rules of the recipient language only, the plural form would be *cudzoźymjeca*. However, in the actual plural attested in Wymysorys, the penultimate *e* is absent, in agreement with the Polish plural stem *cudzoziemcy* in which the movable *e* is also absent. As a result, the plural morpheme found in *cudzoźymca* can be regarded as a combination of two morphological markers of plurality: one typical of Wymysorys (i.e. the ending *-a*) and the other exhibited in a class of nouns ending in *-eC* in Polish (i.e. the deletion of the movable *e* before vocalic endings).<sup>248</sup>

### *Other case inflections*

Apart from nominative and vocative singular endings as well as nominative plural endings, nouns borrowed from Polish may preserve other original Polish case markers. This, however, occurs only in prepositional phrases that form parts of larger idioms and fixed expressions (see section 5.2.1 and 6.5). For example, in the locution *po kiöelendźje gejn* ‘visit houses after Christmas (of a priest)’, which replicates the Polish idiom *chodzić po kolędzie*, the word *kiöelenda* – itself a loanword fully adjusted to the Wymysorys nominal system – is inflected in accordance with the rules of Polish grammar. It appears as *kiöelendźje*, exhibiting the locative (or prepositional) case ending *-e* with the simultaneous palatalization of the preceding consonant *d* (compare the nominative *kolęda* versus the locative *kolędzie* in Polish). Another example is the locative marking of the noun *śmjyrgüšt* ‘a local feast’ in the locution *po śmjyrgüšće gejn* ‘celebrate śmiergust’, i.e. ‘douse young unmarried girls with water’ (compare with the synonymous Polish expression *chodzić po śmierguście*). Further examples of the locative case ending – all of which have been introduced in section 6.5 – include: *po rodže kena* ‘know by (lit. after) kin/family’ (cf. P. *znać po rodzie*); *ufum na oku hon* ‘be interested in someone’ (lit. ‘have someone on eye’; cf. P. *mieć na oku*); and *ufum na zdjeńcu ho* ‘have in the picture’ (cf. P. *mieć na zdjęciu*). As illustrated by these examples, the most common case ending preserved in idiomatic prepositional phrases borrowed from Polish is the locative that, in both the donor and recipient languages, usually surfaces as *-e* (see the Wymysorys forms *śmjyrgüšće* and *rodže*) or *-u* (see *oku* and *zdjeńcu*).

It should be noted that the locative case endings *-e* and *-u*, and any other endings preserved in idioms, are not productive in Wymysorys. That is, the use of such endings cannot be extrapolated to other nouns, especially not to those that belong to the native lexicon. In fact, even Polish loanwords do not exhibit Polish case endings outside the strictly determined contexts of prepositional phrases in a relatively close and small set of idioms, such as those

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<sup>248</sup> Compare with Slavic markers of plural and (“pseudo”) dual in Yiddish (Wexler 2002:430-488)

discussed above. In other words, the few hundred nouns borrowed from Polish listed in section 5.1.1 cannot be freely and creatively inflected in the locative or other Polish cases when used in Wymysorys (regarding other properties of such Polish-sourced phrasal idioms, in particular the transfer of prepositions, consult section 6.5; see also section 8.4).

### 7.2.2 Verbal inflections

The genuine inflectional morphology of Wymysorys verbs has not been influenced by contact with Polish. In other words, bound inflectional morphemes expressing person, number, and gender, as well as tense and mood have neither been transferred from Polish, nor have they been modified by analogy to Polish. The only exception is aspect. However, as has been explained in section 5.2.4, the encoding of aspect in both Wymysorys and Polish does not constitute a canonical inflectional strategy but rather a mixed, semi-inflectional and semi-derivational one (Laskowski 1999a:84). The main type of borrowing involving the category of aspect is pattern borrowing whereby the Polish system of marking has been replicated in Wymysorys by means of the native material. In contrast, matter borrowing of aspectual marking is extremely rare, being confined to (a few) non-native lexemes and (erratic) code-switching episodes.

One of the central features of the Polish verbal system is aspect organized around the opposition imperfective versus perfective (see section 5.2.4). Virtually all verbs in Polish exhibit two aspectual variants: one imperfective and the other perfective.<sup>249</sup> Although the encoding of aspect is complex and involves both affixes and root/stem modifications, the most visible and productive exponents of perfectivity are prefixes. That is, imperfective bases are usually expanded by prefixes to derive perfective counterparts, as illustrated by the imperfective verb *pisać* ‘write’ and its perfective variant *napisać* ‘write’ marked by the prefix *na-* (Laskowski 1999a:82-84; 1999b:157-171; Swan 2002:269-270, 277-279, 297; Sadowska 2012:311, 325-327).<sup>250</sup>

Wymysorys uses an analogous strategy which permits the formation of pairs of verbs that have the same lexical meaning but differ in aspectual value. Similar to Polish, unprefixated forms are generally interpreted as imperfective or aspectually unmarked. In contrast, prefixed forms – i.e. those headed by the native prefixes *aj-*, *by-*, *cü-*, *cy-*, *ejwer-*, *fer-*, *oüs-*, or *uf-* – are associated with a perfective nuance. This strategy is productive in lexicon borrowed from Polish, where it constitutes the most common means of preserving the perfective value of an underlying Polish verb or overtly marking a loanword as perfective. See, for instance: *šekän* ‘cut’ [ipf.] versus *cyšekän* [pf.]; *šárpän* ‘tear’ [ipf.] versus *cyšárpän* and *byšárgän* [pf.]; *kidän* ‘spill’ [ipf.] versus *ferkidän* and *cykidän* [pf.]; and *hapän* ‘catch’ [ipf.] versus *ufhapän* [pf.].<sup>251</sup> It is significant that, in his dictionary, Król (n.d. (a)) translates the non-prefixed forms of all these verbs with their imperfective Polish equivalents (i.e. *šekän* – *siec*, *šárpän* – *szarpać*, *kidän* – *lać/sypać*, and *hapän*

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<sup>249</sup> There is also a small set of bi-aspectual verbs as well as verbs that are only perfective or imperfective (Swan 2002:280; Sadowska 2012:328-320).

<sup>250</sup> Prefixes may also be used to modify verbs in term of their lexical semantics. Sometimes, aspectual and lexical modifications are related; therefore, prefixation – and thus the encoding of the inflectional category of aspect – is strongly connected with verbal derivations.

<sup>251</sup> The form *ufhapän* also means ‘eat’.

– *lapać*), while the prefixed variants are consistently rendered with perfective equivalents (e.g. *cyśekàn – posiekać*, *cyśàrpàn – poszarpać*, *cykidàn – rozlać/rozsypać*, and *ufhapàn – zjeść*).

Even more importantly, an imperfective-perfective opposition between prefixed and unprefixed forms – and thus the perfectivizing effect of prefixation – is visible in native verbal bases. That is, if the perfective nuance of a verb needs to be made explicit, the verbal root or stem tends to be accompanied by a native prefix. In this manner, it contrasts with an unprefixed variant that is associated with an imperfective or more general (i.e. aspectually neutral) meaning. For example, *ata* ‘work’ contrasts with the perfective variant *oüsata*. Again, this contrast is reflected in Polish translations of the imperfective and perfective forms in Król’s (n.d. (a)) dictionary as *robić* [ipf.] and *zrobić* [pf.], respectively. The imperfective-perfective aspectual distinction is also evident in that the prefixed variants of native verbs – in which prefixation has a perfectivizing effect – tend to appear in completive forms, especially Perfect and Pluperfect. In contrast, the prefixed variants of native verbs are much less commonly found in progressive forms, such as present progressive and past progressive. Nevertheless, with native verbs, the category of aspect and its expression through prefixation are not grammaticalized to the same extent observed in Polish. For this part of the verbal lexicon, prefixation still has a patent derivative function, as is typical of German and its dialects (see below). Crucially, even for those verbs that exhibit two aspectual variants, such aspectual nuances can sometimes be neutralized. As a result – and despite the tendency explained above – both forms, i.e. unprefixed and prefixed, may be used in all tenses with little or virtually no aspectual difference.<sup>252</sup>

While the imperfective-perfective aspectual opposition and the perfectivizing effect of prefixation are the key components of the Polish verbal system and, to an extent, the verbal system of Wymysorys, their significance for the verbal systems of other West Germanic languages is (much) more limited. Certainly, the process of adding prefixes to verbs is a common device in the Germanic family, including the West Germanic branch, as demonstrated by the so-called “preverbs” in Modern High German and phrasal verbs in English (Hewson & Bubenik 1997:226; Harbert 2007:36-40; Toivonen 2020). However, at least in modern West Germanic languages, the principal function of prefixation is lexical and derivative, i.e. to form new verbs from simple verbal roots or stems and/or to alter the existing verbs’ argument structure (Hewson & Bubenik 1997:226; Jackendoff 2002:77; Harbert 2007:39-40). To be specific, prefixation may have some completive (Denison 1981), complexive (Wedel 1997), ingressive/egressive (Eide 2020:598, 600), or resultative effects (Toivonen 2020:529) on the lexical meaning of a verb. This, however, does not result in the formation of a (ubiquitous or relatively common) aspectual imperfective-perfective contrast similar to that found in West Slavonic languages, including Polish (Coleman 1996; Hewson & Bubenik 1997:226). At best, prefixation contributes to the Aktionsart of a verbal lexeme, “bring[ing] the completion of the event into clearer focus” (Hewson & Bubenik 1997:226). In several verbs, prefixation has no perfectivizing effect at all, instead profiling continuative or iterative nuances. Overall, the aspectual systems of modern West Germanic languages are not comparable to the West

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<sup>252</sup> Compare with a similar situation in Yiddish (Gold 1999:75; Arkadiev 2017:5). See footnotes 255 and 256.

Slavonic system (Coleman 1996; Hewson & Bubenik 1997).<sup>253</sup> The situation in old Germanic languages was similar. Even if the prefix *ga-* (and some other prefixes) might have had some perfectivizing-like effects in Old High German and, earlier, in Gothic (Streitberg 1920; Wedel 1997; Harbert 2007:40), the distinction between imperfective and perfective verbs achieved by means of such prefixes was much less systematic and relevant for these languages' verbal systems than is the case of the West Slavonic family. Again, most likely, this effect concerned Aktionsart or the lexical aspect of the verb (Lehmann 1994:30; Hewson & Bubenik 1997:266). Crucially, this opposition was radically reduced – or, according to some, entirely abandoned – in Middle High German (Lockwood 1968; Paul 2007:247; Hennings 2012:110, 218).<sup>254</sup> That is, in Middle High German, the *ga-* prefix (and some other prefixes) only had a terminative lexical effect. Therefore, it was lexicalized as part of past particles in the verbal paradigm (Banta 1960:76), while its perfectivizing-like use in other verb forms was rather limited. The only Germanic language where imperfective-perfective opposition and the perfectivizing effect of prefixation seem to be (at least slightly) more grammaticalized is Yiddish (Katz 1987:154-155; Geller 1994:106-108; Eggers 1998:310-312, 321-331; Weinreich 2008:528-529; Margolis 2011:102; Hansen & Birzer 2012:430; Shishigin 2016a; 2016b; Arkadiev 2017) – a language that has evolved under close and intense contact with members of the Slavonic language family. As with many other atypical or less typical Germanic features, this perfectivizing prefixation of Yiddish is generally attributed to Slavonic influence (Geller 1994; 1999:84; Weinreich 2008:528-530; Hansen & Birzer 2012:430).<sup>255</sup>

In light of the discussion above, the use of prefixation for aspectual purposes in Wymysorys is most likely a replica of the pattern found in the verbal system of Polish. That is, under the influence of Polish, aspect – and more precisely, an imperfective-perfective aspectual distinction and the perfectivizing strategy built around prefixation – has become one of the

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<sup>253</sup> The grammatical aspect in modern Germanic languages rather concerns the contrast between progressive and non-progressive (unmarked). This type of contrast has been developed in a number of modern Germanic languages. For example, it is highly grammaticalized in English and Icelandic. In Dutch, Modern Standard German, and German dialects, its grammaticalization is somewhat less advanced (Hewson & Bubenik 1997). Germanic languages have also generalized the category of perfect, which is not an aspect *sensu stricto* but a distinct semantic category sometimes referred to as “taxis” (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994; Kiparsky 2002; Nurse 2008; De Haan 2011; Andrason & van der Merwe 2015).

<sup>254</sup> As mentioned above, any type of perfectivizing effect of *ga-* (and its posterior cognates, e.g. *ge-*) has been eliminated in daughter languages, including Modern High German (Paul 2007:247).

<sup>255</sup> The issue of aspect in Yiddish is complex and still constitutes a matter of debate (see Arkadiev 2017:5). This is related to the following facts succinctly captured by Arkadiev (*ibid.*). On the one hand, “prefixes can have clear aspectual impact [...] where the absence resp. presence of the prefix correlates with the imperfective (simultaneity) vs. perfective (precedence) interpretation” (*ibid.*). On the other hand, “the use of prefixed verbs in perfective contexts is not obligatory in Yiddish, and neither are prefixed verbs banned from imperfective contexts” (*ibid.*). Furthermore, the association of a verb with a perfective or imperfective meaning “has no other ramifications for the language [structure]” (Gold 1999:72). As a result, “the use of the Slavicized prefixes in Yiddish has more to do with telicity, i.e. lexically encoded actional properties, rather than with perfectivity (grammatical aspect) per se” – the category of aspect and the aspectualization of verbal prefixes in Yiddish thus being less grammaticalized than in Slavonic (Arkadiev 2017:6). Regarding the issue of aspect in Yiddish and the Slavonic influence on Yiddish prefixes, consult Wexler (1963; 1991), Aronson (1985), Geller (1994; 1999), Eggers (1998), Gold (1999), Weinreich (2008), and Shishigin (2016a; 2016b). (Additionally, Weinreich (1955:608) proposes that some Yiddish verbal prefixes themselves are blends drawing on both native and borrowed affixes. For instance, *da(r)-* = *der-* + Polish *do* and *u(p)-* = *ob* + Polish *u.*) Regarding the Slavonic origin of prefixed verbs in German dialects, consult Siatkowski (1994b; 2015:239-244).

categories of the Wymysorys verbal system. To replicate the Polish strategy of expressing grammatical aspect, Wymysorys has recruited a derivative prefixation mechanism – which could sometimes have completive/terminative/ingressive/resultative lexical effects on the Aktionsart of verbs – which has been inherited by and is widely used in the language and the entire West Germanic branch. In other words, prefixation that has earlier profiled the lexical meaning of a verb in terms of, among others, completion and/or termination has been reanalyzed as a grammatical, aspectual – specifically perfectivizing – device. As explained above, this strategy is fully grammaticalized in verbs borrowed from Polish, whereas in native verbs, its grammaticalization is less advanced.<sup>256</sup> The Slavonic source of the aspectual distinction and its encoding in Wymysorys concords with two facts mentioned above: first, the only West Germanic variety that relatively consistently employs native prefixation mechanisms to encode a perfective aspect is Yiddish – a contact variety, as is Wymysorys; second, in Yiddish, this more profound grammaticalization of the aspectual category and its expression through prefixation is attributed to Slavonic influence.

While the replica of Polish aspectual marking through native material – and thus the pattern borrowing of aspect – can be easily recognized, the use of Polish prefixes for perfectivizing purposes is exceptional in Wymysorys. As explained in section 5.2.4, Polish prefixes are limited to verbal loanwords in which they are “etymological”, i.e. they are transferred as part of the entire lexeme. In such cases, they are preserved only if the prefix primarily functions as a derivative device, substantially contributing to the lexical meaning of the verb rather than to its aspect. Put differently, the presence of the prefix is necessary for the verb to maintain its original meaning. See, for example, *rozloncàn* ‘disengage, disconnect’ from the Polish verb *rozłączać* which has an opposite meaning to the non-prefixed form *łączyć* ‘connect’. (Note that the Polish source of *rozloncàn*, i.e. the verb *rozłączać*, is imperfective.) The only two examples of the use of Polish prefixes with a genuine perfectivizing function in borrowed verbs are: *kidàn* ‘spill’ [ipf.] and *skidàn* [pf.] that match the Polish pair *kidać* [ipf.] and *skidać* [pf.]; and *cüdàn* [ipf.] ‘wonder, wow’ and *scüdàn* [pf.] that are derived from the Polish noun *cud* ‘wonder’. Significantly, Polish prefixes are never employed with native verbs – whether for aspectual or lexical purposes – except in code-switching as illustrated by idiolectal forms such as *naśrājwa* ‘write’, a perfective variant of *śrājwa*, formed by means of the Polish prefix *na-* (cf. the Polish pair *napisać* ‘write’ [pf.] versus *pisać* [ipf.]). Nevertheless, even in code-switching, such examples are very rare. As is typical of borrowings, native Wymysorys prefixes are most preferred when profiling the perfective aspect of a verb during code-switching.<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>256</sup> The status of aspectual prefixation with native verbs would thus be similar to the systemic relevance of aspectual prefixation attested in Yiddish (Arkadiev 2017:5-6).

<sup>257</sup> Compare with the same situation in Yiddish. While the pattern borrowing of Slavonic verbal prefixation is common in Yiddish, the borrowing of actual Slavonic prefixes is generally unattested (cf. Arkadiev 2017). This concords with the virtual lack – or extreme rarity – of transfer of Slavonic prefixes in Yiddish in general (Weinreich 2008:A586).

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### 8. Morpho-syntax

Morpho-syntax – i.e. the part of grammar that is determined by both morphological and syntactic rules, and therefore particularly concerns analytical constructions or non-morphologized types of meaning-form pairing that exhibit a phrase-level structure – is another module of the Wymysorys language affected by contact with Polish. Contrary to borrowing in morphology, where various lexical classes have transferred Polish matter and/or replicated Polish patterns, the morpho-syntactic influence of Polish is virtually limited to the verbal system and mainly concerns pattern borrowing.

This chapter describes in detail the three main changes affecting the morpho-syntax of Wymysorys verbs. This includes the development of the *blājn* passive which has led to a partial restructuring of the system of passive voice (8.1) and the development of two novel TAM constructions, i.e. the future III (8.2) and the conjunctive perfect III (8.3). Additionally, I will review idiomatic phrasal expressions that copy Polish patterns and often also contain matter adopted from Polish (8.4).

#### 8.1 Passive voice

One of the most critical morpho-syntactic changes experienced by Wymysorys due to contact with Polish is the development of the *blājn* passive and, related to it, the emergence of a new semantic contrast governing the system of passive voice.

In Wymysorys, passive voice can be expressed by means of three grammatical constructions or “grams”: the *wada* passive, the *zājn* passive, and the *blājn* passive. Each of these three morpho-syntactic types consists of an auxiliary verb – *zājn* ‘be’, *wada* ‘become, be, occur’, and *blājn* ‘remain, stay, be left, become’, respectively – inflected in various TAM categories available in the language, and an uninflected (past) participle of the main verb, sometimes referred to as “supine”. Even though the three constructions encode the passive, they profile different temporal and aspectual meanings.

The *zājn* passive prototypically expresses simple and acquired states. If the auxiliary stands in the present (e.g. *ejs ej gymaht* lit. ‘it is done’), the construction most often functions as a statal present passive or a resultative present-perfect passive. Accordingly, in example (33.a) below, the gram exhibits two possible readings: one static (in this reading, the house appears ready to move into) and the other more actional (in this reading, the action of constructing the house has been completed). The *zājn* passive exhibits similar values if the auxiliary is

inflected in the preterite (e.g. *ejs wiöe gymaht*). That is, it tends to function as a past statal passive or a past-perfect passive (33.b). The uses with the perfect are fully comparable to those with the preterite, although the nuance of current relevance is probably more evident. However, the *zäjñ* passive can sporadically express fully dynamic processes, progressive (33.c) or habitual (33.d), whether located in a present or past time frame (regarding the functions of the perfect and preterite consult Andrason 2010).

- (33) a. Dos hoüz **ej** sún **gyboüt**  
 ‘The house is already built / has been built’
- b. Dos hoüz **wiöe** can jür y dam **gyboüt**  
 ‘The house was / had been constructed ten years ago’
- c. - Vos höt zih dö?  
 ‘What is happening over there?’  
 - Dos hoüz **ej** eta **gymölt**  
 ‘The house is now being painted’ (i.e. someone is painting it)
- d. Dy öüta **zäjñ** **gyrjyt** diöh dy benzyn  
 ‘Cars are propelled by gas’

In contrast to the *zäjñ* passive, the *wada* passive prototypically involves dynamic events. With the auxiliary *wada* in the present (e.g. *ejs wjyd gymaht* lit. ‘it becomes done’), the construction functions as a dynamic – progressive (34.a) and habitual (34.b) – present passive or as a future passive (34.c).<sup>258</sup> If the auxiliary verb appears in the preterite (e.g. *ejs wiöd gymaht*), the *wada* passive most commonly expresses the meaning of a dynamic past passive – habitual or progressive (34.d). It may also introduce past events that are punctiliar, bound, and complete (34.e). Thus, in a past time sphere, the construction is compatible with all ranges of aspectual configurations, ranging from those that are more imperfective to those that are more perfective. The dynamic meaning of the *wada* passive is also attested if the auxiliary is inflected in the perfect. In such instances, the nuance of current relevance is often more patent. Overall, canonical states are usually not expressed through the passive construction with *wada*. As explained in the paragraph above, this meaning is typically encoded by the *zäjñ* passive.

- (34) a. - Wu ej s’öüta?  
 - ‘Where is the car?’  
 - S’**wjyd** eta grod **gyryht**  
 - ‘It is being repaired’ (i.e. someone is repairing it right now)
- b. Dy öüta **wada** **gyrjyt** diöh dy benzyn  
 ‘Cars are propelled by gas’ (i.e. gas universally serves to propel cars)

<sup>258</sup> For this reason, it is sometimes referred to as “passive present-future” (see section 8.5.2 below).

- c. Wymysiöejer spröh **wjyd** nymer ny **fergasa**  
‘The Wymysorys language will never be forgotten’
- d. Gestyn **wiöd** dy wand **gymölt** á ganca tag  
‘Yesterday, the wall was being painted the whole day’ (i.e. someone was painting it)
- e. Dos hoüz **wiöd** can jür y dam **gyboüt**  
‘The house was built ten years ago’

In addition to the *zäj*n and *wada* passives, Wymysorys possesses another way of encoding passive voice – the *bläj*n passive. With the auxiliary inflected in the present tense (e.g. *ejs bläj*t *gymaht* lit. ‘it remains done’), the *bläj*n passive expresses present situations and activities, either habitual or progressive (35). However, such uses are rather uncommon, with the two other types of passives being preferred in the various present senses.

- (35) Dy kyndyn **bläj**n azu **ufgycün**, do zy zuła sunn zäjna eldyn  
‘The children are educated such that they would respect their parents’ (i.e. people educate the children in such a manner)

Much more commonly, the *bläj*n passive is used in past and future contexts. In such cases, the auxiliary *bläj*n is inflected in one of the tenses compatible with the past temporal sphere, i.e. the preterite (e.g. *ejs blä* *gymaht*), perfect (e.g. *ejs ej gyblejn gymaht*), and pluperfect (e.g. *ejs wiöe gyblejn gymaht*), or with one of the future tenses (e.g. *ejs wyt bläj*n *gymaht*). If the auxiliary appears in the preterite, the *bläj*n passive expresses dynamic past senses (36.a-b) or, if the nuance of current relevance is patent, dynamic present-perfect values – most frequently perfective, i.e. punctiliar and terminative (36.c-d).

- (36) a. Gestyn, der kłop **blä** **deršlön**  
‘The man was killed yesterday’ (i.e. they killed him)
- b. Dos hoüz **blä** can jür y dam **ufgyštelt**  
‘The house was built ten years ago’ (i.e. they constructed it)
- c. Dos **blä** kāmöl **gymaht**  
‘This has never been done’ (i.e. no one has done it thus far)
- d. S’öüta **blä** šun **gyryht**  
‘The car has already been repaired’ (i.e. they have repaired it)

When the introductory verb *bläj*n is inflected in the perfect, the construction provides a comparable set of uses, namely past (37.a) or present-perfect (37.b) passive – invariably dynamic and usually perfective. Additionally, with the auxiliary in the perfect, preterite, and

especially pluperfect, *blàjn* may be used with a force similar to a pluperfect passive, introducing dynamic events that occurred before other overtly past actions (37.c).<sup>259</sup>

- (37) a. Dos hoüz **ej** can jür y dam **gyblejn ufgyştelt**  
‘The house was built ten years ago’ (i.e. someone built it ten years ago)
- b. Zejhže! Dos hoüz **ej gyblejn ufgyştelt!**  
‘Look! The house has been built!’ (i.e. someone has built it)
- c. Dos hoüz **ej gyblejn ufgyştelt** fynf jür bocàr cajt, wen der krig **öüsbroh**  
‘The house had been built five years before the war began’ (i.e. someone had built it before the war began)

The backbone of the Wymysorys passive-voice system is organized around the *zàjn* and *wada* constructions. These two passive grams are very common and are currently being used by all speakers. Even though they exhibit wide ranges of partially overlapping semantic potential, these specific grams tend to specialize in two different spheres of meaning. As described above, only the *zàjn* passive can express statal values. In contrast, the passive with *wada* is predominantly dynamic: progressive and habitual or punctiliar and complete. The *blàjn* passive constitutes a significantly less common manner of expressing the passive voice in Wymysorys. Some Wilamowians, particularly the younger ones, do not use it, clearly preferring the two other constructions. However, the *blàjn* passive is commonly employed by the oldest speakers, who did not attend the German school during the Second World War. Furthermore, according to my informants, the *blàjn* passive was extensively used by the older generation of Wilamowians, i.e. those who had been born in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, although currently in relative decline, the *blàjn* passive had certainly constituted a crucial component of Wymysorys.

As will be demonstrated by the subsequent discussion, the *zàjn* and *wada* passives, and the system organized around them, are etymological, being inherited from older German(ic) varieties. The two constructions with their relative semantic opposition correspond closely with the passive system exhibited by Modern Standard German and the other continental West Germanic languages. In contrast, the *blàjn* passive – both its form and semantic distinctions – has most likely emerged under the influence of Polish.

Germanic languages have two types of passives: synthetic and analytic (Harbert 2007; Alexiadou & Schäfer 2020). Only the latter is relevant for the present discussion. Analytical passives are formed by an auxiliary and the past participle (also referred to as the “passive particle” or “supine”). In all the languages of this linguistic family, auxiliaries most often draw from the set of intransitive verbs of existence such as ‘be’, ‘become’, and ‘remain’ (Harbert 2007:318; Alexiadou & Schäfer 2020:463-464). Less common strategies, irrelevant for my study, involve verbs of receiving such as ‘get’ used in Norwegian, Dutch, and English (Toyota

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<sup>259</sup> For a detailed presentation of the semantic potential of the *zàjn*, *wada*, and *blàjn* passives, consult Andrason (2011).

2009:207; Alexiadou & Schäfer 2020:475-477) or motion verbs such as ‘come’ found in Southern German dialects (Hodler 1969:473). Within the passives that use intransitive auxiliaries of existence, two semantic and/or morpho-syntactic types are further distinguished: a (more) dynamic passive built around the verb ‘become’, and a (more) static passive built around the verb ‘be’ (Harbert 2007:318). This contrast between the ‘become’ passive and the ‘be’ passive in terms of state vs. event or situation vs. action – which stems from the lexical aspect of the auxiliaries used (Toyota 2009:207) – is typical of Germanic: it underlies the passive systems of nearly all languages of the Germanic family, both of its western and northern branches (Harbert 2007:319; Toyota 2009:206).<sup>260</sup> Certainly, due to language-specific idiosyncrasies, the semantic interplay between the two constructions is more complex in several varieties, with a clear dynamic-static contrast sometimes being blurred (Harbert 2007:319). This is not surprising given that, since the time of proto- and old Germanic varieties, the ‘be’ and ‘become’ auxiliaries have competed in various types of verbal constructions (including passives), overlapping in a number of functions and uses (Harbert 2007:319).<sup>261</sup>

When exploiting the contrast between the static and the dynamic passives, West Germanic languages – especially their older varieties – generally make use of two verbs: the successors of Proto-Germanic *\*werþan-* (Kroonen 2013:581) for the ‘become’ type, and the descendants of the suppletive paradigm of Proto-Germanic *\*wesan-* / Old High German *sīn* / Old English *bēon* (ibid. 582) for the ‘be’ type. To be exact, Old and Middle Dutch employ *wal/erden* and *sijn* (van der Wal and Quak 1994:82, 84); Old High German, Old Saxon, and Middle Low German employ *werthan/werdalen* and *sīn/wesalen* (van der Wal and Quak 1994:104); and Old and Middle English employ *weordan* and *beon* (van Kemenade 1994:134). Similarly, in Middle High German – the diachronic predecessor of Wymysorsys – the analytical passive voice was built around the auxiliaries *werden* and *sīn* (Wright 1917:78; Paul 2007:301-304; Jones & Jones 2019). The construction with *werden* functioned as a dynamic or processual passive – the so-called *Vorgangspassiv* (Paul 2007:302-303). The construction with *sīn* was mainly used as a statal passive (*Zustandspassiv*; ibid. 301-303) although it could also convey dynamic or processual meanings (ibid. 303-304).

This system is usually maintained in modern continental West Germanic languages. In Dutch, the auxiliary *worden* is employed with the so-called “imperfect tenses”, while *zijn* appears with perfect tenses (de Schutter 1994:471; Schlücker 2009:96), also allowing for a statal interpretation (Schlücker 2009:97). In Frisian, *wurde* is used with the present and preterite, whereas *wêze* is used with the perfect tenses (Hoekstra & Tiersma 1994:518). In Afrikaans, *word* appears in the past, and *wees* in the present (Donaldson 1994:498). In Modern High German, *werden* functions as a processual passive (*Vorgangspassiv*) introducing dynamic

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<sup>260</sup> One of the exceptions is Modern English. The ‘become’ passive (built around the verb *weorðan*) was lost in the period between late Middle English and early Modern English (Harbert 2007:319; Toyota 2009:206).

<sup>261</sup> This systemic competition between the two types of passives is resolved differently in different languages. In some languages, it surfaces as a statal-actional contrast. In other languages, it can be reinterpreted in terms of compatibility with distinct TAM grams – one type of passive being used with synthetic (imperfective) tenses, the other with analytical (perfectal) tenses. In yet another class of languages, one of the two passive types is lost (Harbert 2007:319; see the previous footnote; see also further below in this section).

actions, whereas *sein* is used as a statal passive (*Zustandspassiv*) introducing resulting states (Eisenberg 1994:378; Russ 1994:186-187; Schlücker 2009:96).<sup>262</sup> The same cognate verbs, *verdn* and *zayn*, are used in Yiddish (Hall 1967; Jacobs, Prince & van der Auwera 1994:407). The former is a general dynamic passive voice. The latter “emphasizes the result of the passive process” (Nath 2009:183; cf. also Hall 1967:130, 129-137). However, in the past, the meanings of the two constructions overlap, the respective differences being nearly indistinguishable (Nath 2009:183).<sup>263</sup> Lastly, in Pennsylvania German, *ward* is employed as an agentive passive to express uncompleted activity, while *sai* appears in perfectal and statal passive functions (van Ness 1994:436).<sup>264</sup>

North Germanic initially employed the same pair of verbs to express the dynamic and static contrast. In Old Scandinavian, *verda* ‘become’ was used in the inchoative passive construction, whereas *vera* ‘be’ was used in the static construction (Faarlund 1994:62). This situation is maintained, to a degree, in Icelandic and Nynorsk where the verbs *verða/verta* and *vera* appear as passive-voice auxiliaries (Askedal 1994:246).<sup>265</sup> In most Scandinavian varieties, however, *verda* was replaced with a different actional verb, *bli(va/e)*, during the Middle Scandinavian period. The verb *bli(va/e)*, which originally meant ‘remain’, was itself borrowed into Scandinavian dialects from Low German in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Faarlund 1994:71; Harbert 2007:319, 321). Currently, the *bli* passive is the primary analytic exponent of passive voice in Scandinavian languages. In Swedish, it tends to be used with perfective verbs. In contrast, the auxiliary *vara* is employed with imperfective verbs, although even in this case, it may be substituted by *bli* (Andersson 1994:285). In a similar vein, Bokmål uses the verb *bli* to derive a dynamic actional passive, and *vaere* to form its statal or perfectal counterpart (Askedal 1994:246). However, as the statal passive inflected in the present tense may also function as a passive equivalent of the present perfect, “the distinction between the statal passive and [...] the actional passive is [...] in many cases less than clear-cut” (ibid.). The verb *blive* as a dynamic passive auxiliary is also found in Danish (Haberland 1994:334). Lastly, Faroese attests to an intermediate stage of substituting the older auxiliary used in the ‘become’ passive with the more recent one, making use of both *verða* and *blíva* (Toyota 2009:206).<sup>266</sup>

The presence of the *zājn* and *wada* passives in Wymysorys and their respective semantic profiles are generally consistent with the pervasive system of passives in the closely related West Germanic languages. That is, as in Old and Middle High German, Modern Standard

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<sup>262</sup> In Dutch and German, *sein/zijn* passives are ambiguous, being able to function as passive constructions and as copula constructions with an adjectivized participle (Schlücker 2009:97). Additionally, the third passive gram has developed in Modern High German – the so-called “*bekommen*-passive” (Eisenberg 1994:378-381).

<sup>263</sup> Yiddish may also use the reflexive pronoun *zix* as a reflexive medio-passive. This development has occurred as a result of Slavonic influence (Nath 2009:184).

<sup>264</sup> Under the influence from English, *ward* is often substituted with *sai* (van Ness 1994:347). Other features likely imported from English are the replacement of *fun* with *bai* as the preposition introducing the agent (cf. *by* in English), and the passivization of non-logical objects, e.g. *ix bm gsagt ward* ‘have been told’ (van Ness 1994:347).

<sup>265</sup> In Icelandic, the verb *verða* has additionally acquired modal values.

<sup>266</sup> There is also a synthetic *s* form in North Germanic languages (e.g. *oppnast* in Icelandic and *öppnas* in Swedish). While in Swedish, genuine passive uses are still patent (see *Bilen kördes av Kalle* ‘The car was driven by Kalle’), in Icelandic, this synthetic construction principally functions as a middle voice (see Harbert 2007; Engdahl 2006; Alexiadou & Schäfer 2020).

German and its dialects, as well as in Old, Middle, and Modern Dutch, and Old Saxon and Middle Low German, Wymysorys uses the successors of PG *\*werþan-* ‘become’ and PG *\*wesan-* ‘be’. Furthermore, similar to all the above-mentioned languages, the passive built around the ‘be’ auxiliary (i.e. the *zājn* type) is compatible with states, while the passive formed with the ‘become’ auxiliary (i.e. the *wada* type) specializes in dynamic events.<sup>267</sup> As a result, this *zājn-wada* system, both morpho-syntactically and semantically, is more likely original, directly drawing on an earlier West Germanic variety (or varieties) from which Wymysorys has descended.

The history of the *blājn* passive is more problematic. To begin with, the *blājn* passive resembles the passive voice typical of Scandinavian languages. As explained, the change in Scandinavian took place in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries after the verb *bli(va/e)* had been introduced from Low German. This verb itself has been present throughout the history of West Germanic. It is attested, with its etymologically correct meaning ‘remain, stay’, in old Germanic languages such as Old High German (*bi-līban*), Old Saxon (*bi-līban*), Old Frisian (*bi-līva*), and Old English (*be-līfan*; Kroonen 2013:335).<sup>268</sup> It is found in Middle High German as *belīben* and *blīben*. It is still widely used in the continental West Germanic languages, e.g. Dutch *blijven* and German *bleiben*, typically with the same existential sense. In Modern (Standard) German, *bleiben* has also developed new constructional uses. One of them arises in cases where *bleiben* is employed in combination with the infinitive. This rather infrequent structure expresses passive-like ideas, functioning as one of the many periphrastic, less grammaticalized alternatives to passive voice. However, rather than passive *sensu stricto*, the *bleiben* + *zu* infinitive construction exhibits an inherent modal shade of meaning. It expresses necessity or obligation, similar to the verb *müssen* ‘must, have to’.

Overall, although the cognates of the Wymysorys verb *blājn* may form passive constructions in (some) Germanic languages, a development towards fully grammaticalized passives is only attested in the North Germanic branch. In contrast, there are no comparable fully grammaticalized passive constructions built around the cognates of *blājn* in West Germanic languages closely related to Wymysorys. At most, one finds poorly grammaticalized modal-passive periphrases with the infinitive (cf. Modern (Standard) German). Of course, a transfer from Scandinavian to Wymysorys is unviable. A language-internal development is equally improbable. First, there were no traces of pre-grammaticalization stages of the *blājn* passive in Middle High German, from which this Wymysorys construction could have emerged. Second, the formation of the *blājn* passive in Wymysorys would be “unnecessary” and even “undesirable” from a systemic perspective. As explained above, Middle High German already had a profoundly grammaticalized and functional system of passives organized around the contrast between *zājn* and *wada* – a system that has persisted in all continental West Germanic

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<sup>267</sup> Of course, this is a simplified picture, which takes into consideration the only most prototypical uses. In Wymysorys, each of the passive constructions has a broad range of semantic potential, partially overlapping with the other passives (as is also common in West Germanic).

<sup>268</sup> It also existed in Gothic, as attested by *bi-leiban* ‘to stay’ (Kroonen 2013:335).

languages. Therefore, the reasons for the development of the *bląjn* passive are most likely external – the influence of Polish being an obvious possibility.

Polish has a relatively complex system of analytical passive constructions – all of them composed of auxiliaries and passive participles (Rothstein 1993:713; Laskowski 1999b:195; Swan 2002:311; Sadowska 2012:432-435). There are two types of dynamic passives that form an aspectual contrast (Laskowski 1999b:195-196). One type is built around the imperfective auxiliary *być* ‘be’ and an imperfective participle, and has an imperfective meaning (e.g. *jest pisany* ‘(it) is being written’). The other type is built around the perfective auxiliary *zostać* ‘remain, stay, be left, become’ with a perfective participle and has a perfective meaning (e.g. *został napisany* ‘(it) has been written’; Rothstein 1993:713; Swan 2002:311-312; Sadowska 2012:432-435; see also De Bray 1980:304-305; Bąk 1984; Strutyński 1998).<sup>269</sup> Additionally, there is a statal passive that is composed of the auxiliary *być* and the perfective participle which expresses “a resultant state” (Swan 2002:313; see also Rothstein 1993:713; Laskowski 1999b:196).<sup>270</sup> Consequently, the Polish passive system is tripartite: the passive constructions with *być* can be dynamic (imperfective) or statal, while the passive construction with *zostać* is dynamic (perfective).

While a language-internal formation of the *bląjn* passive is unlikely, the formal and functional similarity of this construction with the *zostać* passive in Polish suggests its contact-induced origin. That is, the emergence of the *bląjn* passive in Wymysorys and its subsequent grammaticalization have most likely occurred due to Polish influence – both morpho-syntactic and semantic in nature. On the one hand, an extensive use of *zostać* in the dynamic passive in Polish may have stimulated an analogical use of *bląjn* in Wymysorys. In other words, the Polish auxiliary *zostać*, which in its literal lexical sense means ‘remain, stay, be left, become’, has been replicated in Wymysorys by means of a synonymous verb, i.e. *bląjn*. On the other hand, the grammatical semantics of the entire *zostać* passive, particularly its aspectual associations, have been copied to the *bląjn* passive, with the usage of the Wymysorys construction mirroring that of the Polish gram. As explained above, the passive built around the auxiliary *zostać* is typically employed to express perfective nuances: either in the past, e.g. *list został napisany* ‘the letter has been / was written’, or in the future (morphologically, a perfective present), e.g. *list zostanie napisany* ‘the letter will be written’. Its use in the present tense – and in such a case, in an imperfective form of the auxiliary, i.e. *zostawać*, since perfective verbs are generally incompatible with the present meaning and when inflected in the present form have been reinterpreted as perfective futures – is rare, being limited to historical present and performatives (e.g. *zostaje napisany*).<sup>271</sup> The use of the *zostać* passive in other types of imperfective constructions is generally ungrammatical (e.g. *\*\*zostaje pisany* and *\*\*został pisany*). The semantic profile of the *bląjn* passive is highly similar. This passive specializes in a perfective meaning, introducing punctiliar,

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<sup>269</sup> In historical present and performative constructions, the auxiliary found in the *zostać* passive may also be inflected in its imperfective form in the present tense, i.e. *zostaje napisany* (Rothstein 1993:713; Laskowski 1999b:196).

<sup>270</sup> There are also constructions built around the auxiliary *bywać* ‘be usually, used to’ (Laskowski 1999b:195-196).

<sup>271</sup> These two contexts also allow for the use of perfective presents in a non-future sense.

bound, and terminative events in the past or future. Similar to the *zostać* passive in Polish, its use in the present is scarce.<sup>272</sup>

As a result of these changes, the original Wymysorys passive system consisting of the *zàjn* and *wada* constructions has been expanded by an additional construction with *blàjn*. This has led to – at least a partial – restructuring of the entire passive system of Wymysorys. That is, the bipartite passive system has become tripartite. To be exact, the original dynamic-static contrast that underlies the passive category in Germanic languages (i.e. the actional *wada* passive vs. the statal *zàjn* passive) has been reorganized around a triangular system of oppositions (i.e. the actional *wada* passive vs. the statal *zàjn* passive vs. the perfective *blàjn* passive), as in Polish. Crucially, this new system that has emerged in Wymysorys also semantically matches the Polish passive system since, in Polish, the pertinent domains are: action (cf. *być* with the imperfective participle, i.e. *jest/był pisany*), state (cf. *być* with the perfective participle, i.e. *jest/był napisany*), and perfectivity (cf. *zostać* with the perfective participle, i.e. *został napisany*). It is thus not only a specific form, viz. the *blàjn* passive, that has been transferred from Polish to Wymysorys. The entire tripartite passive system that currently operates in Wymysorys may itself be a replica of the Polish system.

## 8.2 The future III

The cases of pattern borrowing in the verbal morpho-syntax of Wymysorys are not limited to the *blàjn* passive or the passive system in general. Two further canonical examples are found in the TAM system of the Wymysorys language and concern the new future and the new conjunctive – the so-called “future III” and “conjunctive perfect III”, respectively. In the present section, I will analyze the contact-induced emergence of the future III.

Wymysorys has a rich system of grams that convey the idea of future. The most common expressions of future are two analytical constructions formed with the auxiliary *wan* ‘become’ (future I) and *zula* ‘shall’ (future II), and the infinitive of a main verb (see examples 38.a-b, respectively). The future I indicates all types of future activities, i.e. imperfective (progressive-continuous, iterative-habitual, and durative) and perfective (unique, bounded, and punctiliar). In contrast, the future II has more patent modal values, often connoting optative, volitional, epistemic, and especially deontic (obligation and necessity) nuances. These two future tenses have their cognate constructions in various West Germanic languages, e.g. Modern High German (*werden* + infinitive) and Dutch (*zullen* + infinitive). Additionally, there are a number of other less grammaticalized constructions that may express future events and situations in Wymysorys. These constructions use modal verbs as their auxiliaries instead of *wan* or *zula*, i.e.: *müsa* ‘must’, *kyna* ‘can’, *wela* ‘want to’, *djefa* ‘need to, ought to, should’, and *mygja* ‘may’ (see 38.c-d). Futurity may also be expressed through the present tense (38.d; for details, see

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<sup>272</sup> A similar transfer – although in an opposite direction, i.e. from West Germanic to Slavonic and involving the borrowing of matter rather than pattern – has occurred in Sorbian. In both Sorbian varieties, one finds a passive construction built around the auxiliary *wordować* (Upper Sorbian) or *wordowaś* (Lower Sorbian) and the passive participle. The auxiliary *wordować/wordowaś* is a clear loanword from the Modern High German *werden* (Stone 1993b:639; Harbert 2007:552).

Andrason 2010; Andrason & Król 2016:93-95). The use of modal constructions and present tenses in future senses is also widely attested in the West Germanic family. In fact, all the means of expressing futurity in Wymysorys that have been mentioned above were already found in Middle High German. That is, to convey a future meaning, Middle High German used the periphrases built around the modal verbs with the infinitive and *suln*, *wellen*, and *müezen*, as well as – albeit rarely – *werden* (Paul 2007:294-296; see also Jones & Jones 2019).<sup>273</sup>

- (38) a. MÜN **wa'h krigja** à pakła  
 'Tomorrow, I will receive a packet'
- b. Zy **zula kiöefa** arpułn  
 'They will/should buy potatoes'
- c. MÜN **djef yh krigja** à briw  
 'Tomorrow, I should receive a letter'
- d. Y piöer tag **fiöen** dy kyndyn wag  
 'In a few days, the children will leave'

Apart from the constructions presented in the paragraph above, which all have equivalents in closely related languages, Wymysorys has developed an alternative manner of conveying future meaning. This new construction consists of the auxiliary *wan* and the past participle of a main verb (see example 39.a below). This form has been referred to as the “future III” (Andrason 2016) in order to differentiate it from two other regular future tenses, the future I (formed with the auxiliary *wan* ‘will’ and infinitive; 39.b) and the future II (formed with the auxiliary *zula* ‘shall’ and infinitive; 39.c). As far as its meaning is concerned, the future III is equivalent to the regular future tenses, especially the future I. That is, the future III principally expresses prospective activities, both perfective (bound, complete, punctual) and imperfective (progressive, durative, habitual), being, in that usage, fully synonymous with the future I (compare 39.a with 39.b).

- (39) a. Yhy **wà gybata** dy nökweryn  
 'I will ask the neighbor'
- b. Yhy **wà byta** dy nökweryn  
 'I will ask the neighbor'
- c. Yhy **zo bata** dy nökweryn  
 'I shall/should ask the neighbor'

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<sup>273</sup> There was an additional future gram in Middle High German that was composed of the auxiliary *werden* and the present participle. This construction was more common than the future built around the verb *warden* and the infinitive (Paul 2007:295-296).

Overall, the future III is a relatively rare construction and is only used by a few speakers. Some informants perceive it as “not entirely correct” and propose alternative ways to express the intended content. Nevertheless, the informants who use(d) the future III belong to a group of the most competent and fluent native speakers, all of whom were born before the Second World War. Therefore, their usage of the future III does not stem from an imperfect language acquisition, as commonly occurs in some constructions coined by younger Wilamowians. Rather, this usage attests to these speakers’ grammatical creativity and the innovations driven by language-internal and/or language-external forces.

The future III exhibits (a degree of) similarity with a number of other verbal grams. To begin with, the future III is structurally similar to a construction formed by the auxiliary *wada* inflected in the present tense – which, like *wan*, is a cognate of the German verb *werden* – and the past participle of a main verb. As explained in section 8.1, this gram invariably has a passive reading, functioning as a dynamic passive present (40.a) or a passive future (40.b). Given its bi-partite semantic potential, as far as tense is concerned, I will refer to this construction as the “passive present-future”. Although structurally similar, the future III and the passive present-future constructions are not identical. As mentioned above, the former uses *wan* as its auxiliary, while the latter uses *wada*. This stems from the fact that, in Wymysorys, the verb that corresponds to the German predicate *werden* has two alternative forms: the shorter one – *wan* (the singular *wa/wā*, *wyst*, *wyt* and the plural *wan*, *wat*, *wan*) – and the longer one – *wada* (sg. *wad*, *wjydst*, *wjyd* and pl. *wada*, *wad*, *wada*). In combination with an infinitive (either the infinitive I or II), the short form – phonetically more reduced – is used. In combination with a participle (as well as with an adjective, noun, or prepositional clause), the long variant – phonetically less reduced – is preferred. Alternatively, the distribution of the two forms depends on whether the verb is used as a semantically void auxiliary (mainly as an indicator of the idea of futurity) or, on the contrary, as a semantically full(er) verb with the meaning of ‘become’, which would also include passive constructions. In the former case, *wan* is employed; in the latter case, *wada* is used.<sup>274</sup>

- (40) a. Wu ej s’oüta? S’**wjyd** eta grod **gyryht**  
 ‘Where is the car? It is being repaired’
- b. Fir dráj jür **wjyd** dy **štrös gyboüt**  
 ‘The street will be built in three years’

There are two other constructions that exhibit formal similarity with the future III, being built around the verb *wan*, inflected in the present, and a past participle. These constructions are, however, additionally accompanied by the infinitive of the verbs *zājn* ‘be’, *hon* ‘have’, or *wada* ‘become’. One of them is the future perfect I, while the other is the passive future I. The future

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<sup>274</sup> It should also be noted that, when inflected in the present, the longer lexically fuller variant *wada* often conveys the future sense ‘will be’, although a present-tense interpretation ‘is, becomes’ is also possible (see the label “passive present-future” used when referring to the *wjyd gymaht* construction; cf. Andrason 2010b, 2011). This approximates the usage of the cognate Icelandic verb *verða* ‘become, will be, must’. Accordingly, the Wymysorys expression *har wjyd ym hoüis* is equivalent to the Icelandic *Hann verður heima* ‘He will be at home’.

perfect I consists of the future-tense auxiliary *wan* and the infinitive II, the latter of which is composed of the passive participle and the verbs *zàjn* ‘be’ or *hon* ‘have’. In its prototypical use, the future perfect I conveys the idea of future anteriority – it expresses future events that precede other future activities (41.a). This construction is a cognate of German expressions such as *werden gekauft haben* ‘will have bought’ or *werden gekommen sein* ‘will have come’. The passive future I is a less common future passive gram alternative to the passive present-future discussed in the previous paragraph. It consists of the passive auxiliaries *wada* or *zàjn* inflected in the future I (*wyt wada* and *wyt zàjn*, respectively) and the passive participle of the main verb (41.b).

- (41) a.      Wen yh s’mytagasa **wà’h hon ogykoht**, wa’h àbysła rün  
                   ‘When I have cooked lunch, I will rest a little’
- b.      Dos **wyt gymaht zàjn/wada**  
                   ‘This will be done’

The formal and semantic relationship of the future III to the other similar constructions is summarized in Table 2 below, where the expression *har maht* ‘he does’ is inflected in the future I, passive present-future, future perfect I, and passive future I. Like the future I, future perfect I, and passive future I, the future III employs the short form of the auxiliary, i.e. *wan*. However, in contrast to these constructions – and similar to the passive present-future – the future III does not use the infinitive, but rather the participle. Thus, it is the form of the auxiliary verb that enables speakers to differentiate between the passive present-future (*wjyd gymaht* ‘it is (being) done, it will be done’) and the future III (*wyt gymaht* ‘he will do’).

Future I	har	<b>wyt</b>	<b>maha</b>	‘he will do’
Passive present-future	har	<b>wjyd</b>	<b>gymaht</b>	‘he will be done / is (being) done’
Future perfect I	har	<b>wyt</b>	<b>gymaht hon</b>	‘he will have done’
Passive future I	har	<b>wyt</b>	<b>gymaht zàjn/wada</b>	‘he will be done’
Future III	har	<b>wyt</b>	<b>gymaht</b>	‘he will do’

Table 2: The future III and its Wymysorys background

While the future III makes use of genuine Wymysorys components and fits relatively well into the class of future-time expressions – although similar to a number of grams, it is distinguishable from them – its form and meaning closely resemble one of the future tenses of Polish, specifically, the so-called “*ł* future” (or participial future). This close resemblance of the future III to the *ł* future most likely stems from the fact that the Wymysorys gram constitutes a replica of the Polish construction.

The *l* future in Polish (e.g. *będę pisał* in (42) below) consists of the verb *być* ‘be’ inflected in the synthetic future (e.g. 1<sup>st</sup>-person singular *będę* ‘I will’) and an original active perfect participle, which nowadays is typically used as a past tense (compare with *(z)robił* ‘he has done, did, was doing’ or *(z)robilem / jam (z)robił / zem (z)robił* ‘I did, have done, was doing’; Łoś 1927:278, 294-300, 306-307; Długosz-Kurczabowa & Dubisz 2006; see also Mönke 1971). Although, the *l* future is related to the Old Polish future perfect or a Slavonic *futurum exactum* (Łoś 1927:307), its sense is invariably non-perfectal (or non-anterior) in Modern Polish. This most likely stems from the fact that, currently, only imperfective verbs may be used in this construction. Indeed, the *l* future regularly introduces imperfective activities – whether progressive, durative, or habitual – and only tolerates the *l* forms (the original participles, as explained above) of imperfective verbs. For perfective verbs, present tense morphology is used to express the idea of futurity, e.g. *napiszę* ‘I will write’ (Laskowski 1999b:262; Swan 2002:256-257; Sadowska 2012:399-402). Nevertheless, historically, the *l* future was also grammatical with perfective verbs, as illustrated by *będzie zakupił* ‘he will have bought’, *będą dali* ‘they will have given’, and *będą byli* ‘they will be’ (Łoś 1927:307).<sup>275</sup>

- (42)           Jutro **będę pisał** egzamin przez cały dzień  
                   ‘Tomorrow I will write an exam the whole day’

The similarities between the future III in Wymysorys (e.g. *wyt gymaht* ‘will do’) and the *l* future in Polish (e.g. *będzie robił* ‘will do’) are unmistakable. On the one hand, the verb *wan/wada* can have an inherent future meaning, ‘will be’, when inflected in the present tense, fully comparable with the Polish auxiliary in the *l* future, e.g. *będzie* ‘will be’. On the other hand, a past participle such as *gymaht* can be perceived as analogous to the original active perfect *l* participle in Polish, as Wymysorys lacks any other types of participle. The past participle in Wymysorys is also used in the most common expression of past, present perfect, and pluperfect – the perfect (e.g. *yhy ho gymaht* ‘I have done, did, had done’) – that is semantically close to the Polish past in *l* (e.g. the perfective and imperfective past *(z)robił* ‘he did, was doing, used to do’). Therefore, the Wymysorys past participle could be employed as a “natural” equivalent of the *l* slot found in the Polish *l* future. Even though the Wymysorys participle originally had a passive value when derived from underlying transitive verbs (e.g. *gymaht* ‘(be) done’), its constructional interpretation in the perfect is currently active (e.g. *ho gymaht* ‘I have done’). Overall, the closest Wymysorys replica – both structural and semantic – of the Polish *l* future (e.g. *będzię robił*) is the future III (e.g. *wyt gymaht*).<sup>276</sup>

The future III may have emerged not only to imitate a particular Polish form, namely the *l* future, as proposed above; its development may also have been motivated by the “wish” to replicate the entire Polish system of analytical futures. Polish has another analytical future gram that is semantically equivalent to the *l* future. This construction is built around the auxiliary

<sup>275</sup> Its emergence in Polish is attributed to Russian influence. Such forms have also existed in Czech (Łoś 1927:307). For an alternative theory of their origin, see Proeme (1991).

<sup>276</sup> It is important to note that the future III is not confined to perfectal or perfective senses but, like the Polish construction, can introduce future progressive or habitual activities.

*być* in the synthetic future (3<sup>rd</sup>-person singular *będzie*) and the infinitive of a main verb instead of the participial form as in the *ł* future. Although there are certain differences in their uses, the two futures usually have an identical aspectual-temporal meaning denoting future imperfective (progressive, durative, habitual) activities (Mikos 1985; Swan 2002:256-257; Sadowska 2012:399-400; see also Mönke 1971). For instance, the expressions *będę pisał list* (the participial *ł* future) and *będę pisać list* (the infinitival future) convey the same TAM meaning, namely ‘I will write / I will be writing a letter’. These two options of conveying the idea of futurity in Polish could have stimulated the development of an analogical situation in Wymysorys. Accordingly, the future I (e.g. *wyt maha*), which has most likely existed in Wymysorys since early in the development of the language, is a typological equivalent of the Polish infinitival future (e.g. *będzie robić*). In contrast, the *ł* future (e.g. *będzie robił*) did not originally have an equivalent in Wymysorys. To fill this gap, and thus maintain an infinitival-participial formal distinction in the future system operating in Polish, the future III has been developed by replicating the structure of the *ł* future. The entire evolution would constitute a system’s analogy: to replicate the Polish pair *będzie robić* and *będzie robił*, the gram *wyt gymaht* (future III) has been added to *wyt maha* (future I).

However, the emergence of the future III need not have been an entirely contact-induced phenomenon, nor is it necessarily a bottom-up reconstruction of the Polish gram developed by combining more atomic units that have existed in Wymysorys into a sequence that would match the pattern found in Polish. The presence of another gram found in Wymysorys may also have contributed to this process. In other words, a construction that had previously been grammaticalized in the language might have been restructured to yield a novel construction more similar to the Polish exemplar. This construction is the future perfect I, a native and relatively common gram used to express the idea of future anteriority, e.g. *har wyt gymaht hon* ‘he will have done’. As explained at the beginning of this section, similar to the future III, the future perfect I uses the short form of the auxiliary, i.e. *wan*, and the past participle of the main verb. However, it also contains the infinitive *hon* ‘have’ or *zājn* ‘be’, the latter being found with inchoative and motion verbs. The future perfect I might have provided a constructional foundation for the creation of the future III (e.g. *wyt gymaht*), which could have been achieved by the mere elimination of the verb *hon* or *zājn* from the sequence *wyt gymaht hon*. Since the lack of the verb *hon* in the future III (e.g. *wyt gymaht*) makes this form clearly distinguishable from the future perfect I (e.g. *wyt gymaht hon*), and since the use of the short variant *wan* makes it likewise distinguishable from the passive present-future (e.g. *wjyd gymaht*), there is no risk that this new future gram would be confused with the other constructions already existing in the Wymysorys language. In other words, when replicating the Polish *ł* future (in which the auxiliary verb exhibits a future sense (‘will be’), the original participle has an active value, and no other ‘have’ and ‘be’ predicates, typical for perfect/anterior grams, are used) the Wymysorys future-perfect pattern *wyt gymaht hon* might have been reused as *wyt gymaht* in the sense of a “non-perfect” active future (the auxiliary *hon* or *zājn* is missing and the short variant *wan* is employed instead of the long *wada* which is found in the passive). This would explain the somewhat irregular use of the short form *wan* in a construction in which no infinitive is found but a participle occurs (and, therefore, the long form *wada* would be expected).

Indeed, the omission of an auxiliary (typically ‘have’) in perfectal grams – i.e. when followed by the past participle – is not exceptional in Germanic. On the contrary, it is well attested, being found in, e.g. Swedish, Norwegian, Faroese, and “pre-twentieth-century” Modern High German (Harbert 2007:304; see also Iversen 1918; Holm 1950; Bandle et al. 2005:1592; Garbacz & Larsson 2014). In Swedish, the language that exhibits the higher propensity to such omissions, the auxiliary *ha* ‘have’ – cognate of the Wymysorys *hon* – can be dropped in perfectal grams in several types of contexts. The finite *ha* can be omitted in all non-V2 syntactic environments, especially in subordinated clauses (e.g. those introduced by *att* ‘that’, *eftersom* ‘because’, and *som* ‘who, which, that’) and exclamatives (Garbacz & Larsson 2014). The non-finite *ha* can be omitted from periphrases with modal verbs, especially those inflected in the past tense (e.g. *hann skulle (ha) jobbat* ‘he should have worked’). Nevertheless, omission of present tense modal auxiliaries is also attested (ibid.). In Swedish, the omission of *ha* – especially its finite forms – is regarded as pattern borrowing from 17<sup>th</sup>-century German (Platzack 1983; Larsson 2009:380-382), where this usage was lost before the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Haugen 1976:377).

Despite certain similarities between the omission of ‘have’ in West and North Germanic, on the one hand, and Wymysorys, on the other, the two processes are different. First, while the omission of the auxiliary ‘have’ in Germanic takes place in a number of perfectal grams, a comparable generalized or wide-ranging omission in Wymysorys is ungrammatical. That is, the verb *hon* cannot be dropped in most grams of the perfectal series, e.g. the perfect, pluperfect, and all the modal future-perfect constructions (e.g. *zula gymaht hon*). The only exception is the conjunctive III (see section 8.3 below). Second, while the omission in Germanic is determined syntactically, being common only in subordinate and exclamative clauses, the future III can be used in both subordinate and main clauses, and is not restricted to some determined syntactic contexts. Third, while the omission in Germanic usually involves modal verbs inflected in past tenses and takes place in counter-factual contexts, the future III is a factual gram with the auxiliary inflected in the present tense. Fourth, while the Germanic grams that attest to the omission tend to preserve their perfectal meaning, the future III does not convey the sense of (future) anteriority. As already explained, similar to the Polish *l* future, the future III expresses simple future actions and activities, including imperfective ones. Therefore, it seems that the emergence of the future III in Wymysorys is not – at least not to the same extent – an analogous process to the omission of the auxiliary ‘have’ attested in West and North Germanic. Rather, the future III is a contact-induced construction – specifically, an example of pattern replication of the *l* future and the entire Polish future system – that has exploited an omission mechanism available to Germanic languages, but distinct in essence.

### 8.3 The conjunctive perfect III

The other innovative TAM construction that has possibly developed in Wymysorys as a result of Polish influence is the conjunctive perfect III. This gram is a periphrasis formed by the conjunctive I form *wje* (inflected in the singular *wje*, *wjest*, *wje* and plural *wjen*, *wjet*, *wjen*) with the literal sense of ‘would’ and/or ‘would be’ (regarding *wje*, see further below in this

section) and the inflected past participle of a main verb. The entire expression provides a modal meaning of unreal counter-factuality (*irrealis*):

- (43)           Wen dy mer dos hetst gyziöet gestyn, **wje**'h ju mytum **gykuzt**  
                   'If you had told me that yesterday, I would already have talked to him'

As far as its meaning is concerned, the conjunctive perfect III overlaps with two constructions that convey the idea of unreal counter-factuality: the conjunctive perfect I and the conjunctive perfect II. The conjunctive perfect I consists of the auxiliary verb *hon* 'have' inflected in the conjunctive I and the past participle of a main verb, for instance *yh het gymaht* '(if) I had done' (44.a). It corresponds to the German conjunctive pluperfect, e.g. *ich hätte gemacht*. Contrary to the remaining perfectal constructions in Wymysorys, the conjunctive perfect I makes use of the auxiliary *hon* with verbs of motion and inchoative verbs, which usually take *zäjn* in the perfectal series. As a result, the conjunctive perfect I of the verb *kuma* 'come' is *het gykuma* 'I would have come / (if) I had come', contrary to the German *ich wäre gekommen*. The conjunctive perfect II is an analytic expression formed by the conjunctive I form *wje*, inflected in person and number, and the infinitive II, i.e. the infinitive *zäjn* 'be' or *hon* 'have' and the past participle of a main verb, e.g. *wje hon gymaht* 'I would have done / (if) I had done' or *wje zäjn gykuma* 'I would have come / (if) I had come'. The conjunctive perfect II corresponds to the constructions *ich würde gemacht haben* or *ich würde gekommen sein* in German (44.b).

- (44) a.       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'
- b.       Wen yh **wje hon gybaka**, **wje**'h šun ołys **hon gymaht**  
                   'If I had cooked (it), I would already have it all done'

From a formal perspective, the conjunctive perfect III exhibits similarities with a number of TAM grams in Wymysorys. First, the conjunctive perfect III shares certain structural similarities with the conjunctive perfect I (see above). Both constructions are built around an auxiliary inflected in the conjunctive I and the past participle of a main verb. The difference between them lies in the auxiliary employed: the conjunctive perfect I invariably uses the verb *hon* (i.e. *het*); the conjunctive perfect III always uses the verb *zäjn* (*wje*), itself possibly a reanalysis of *wjed* from *wada* 'become' (see the discussion further below in this section). Second, the conjunctive perfect III also approximates the conjunctive perfect II (see above), differing only in the absence of the auxiliary infinitive *hon* or *zäjn*. Compare *wje gymaht* and *wje gykuma* (conjunctive perfect III) with *wje hon gymaht* and *wje zäjn gykuma* (conjunctive perfect II), respectively. Third, the conjunctive perfect III is similar in form to the conjunctive II. To be exact, the conjunctive II is built around the auxiliary *wje* like the conjunctive perfect III. However, instead of the participle, it makes use of the infinitive of a main verb.<sup>277</sup> The two

<sup>277</sup> The conjunctive II is a periphrastic alternative to the conjunctive I of *zäjn* 'be', *hon* 'have', *wada* 'become', and all the modal verbs. More importantly, it constitutes the typical conjunctive form of verbs that lack the conjunctive I – the immense majority of verbs in Wymysorys.

constructions also differ semantically. Contrary to the conjunctive perfect III, which expresses the idea of *irrealis*, the meaning of the conjunctive II is a real type of counter-factuality, e.g. *Wen yh wje hon gjeld, wje 'h mer kiöefa ä grusy hyt* ‘If I had money, I would buy myself a big house’. Fourth, the form of the conjunctive perfect II coincides to an extent with the passive conjunctive I. The passive conjunctive I employs the conjunctive I of the verb *wada/wan* (i.e. *wjed*) and the past participle of a meaning verb: *wjed gymaht* (a cognate of *würde gemacht* in Modern High German). The meaning of this construction is not only passive but also real counter-factual instead of an unreal counter-factual sense of the conjunctive perfect III.<sup>278</sup>

The table below summarizes the formal relation between the conjunctive perfect III and the other conjunctive forms in Wymysorys:

Conjunctive perfect I	har	<b>het</b>	<b>gymaht</b>	‘he would have done’
Conjunctive perfect II	har	<b>wje</b>	<b>gymaht hon</b>	‘he would have done’
Conjunctive II	har	<b>wje</b>	<b>maha</b>	‘he would do’
Passive conjunctive I	har	<b>wjed</b>	<b>gymaht</b>	‘he would be done’
Conjunctive perfect III	har	<b>wje</b>	<b>gymaht</b>	‘he would have done / if he had done’

Table 3: The conjunctive perfect III and its Wymysorys background

Historically, the auxiliary used in the conjunctive II and the conjunctive perfect II was most likely *wada/wan* ‘become’, given that, in cognate constructions in Modern High German, i.e. the past conjunctive, one employs the predicate *werden*, e.g. *ich würde gemacht haben* and *ich würde machen*. Furthermore, the auxiliary *wad/wan* is indeed found in Wymysorys in the future I and future perfect I, which are corresponding real factual constructions (i.e. the auxiliary is inflected in the present instead of the conjunctive I, as is the case for the conjunctive (perfect) II). In Wymysorys, the conjunctive I form of *wada/wan* is *wjed*, which appears if the verb is used in its lexical sense of ‘become’, heading nouns or adjectives, and in passives. In turn, the form *wje* constitutes the conjunctive I form of the verb *zäjn* (cognate of the German *wäre*; cf. Kleczkowski 1920:142). It is most likely the case that, in the conjunctive (perfect) II, the original *wjed* form lost its final consonant *d* due to phonological reduction, which typically accompanies the process of grammaticalization. As a result, when functioning as an auxiliary in the conjunctive (perfect) II, the conjunctive I form of *wada/wan* becomes *wje* and, hence, is identical to the conjunctive I of *zäjn*. Indeed, this is how the speakers themselves perceive this element in the conjunctive perfect II gram, i.e. as an inflectional form of the verb *zäjn* and not of *wada*.<sup>279</sup>

<sup>278</sup> Accordingly, this construction does not refer to past situations which are impossible to be changed (‘it would have been done / (if) it had been done’), but rather to situations that, albeit improbable, are current and hence possible to alter (‘it would be done / (if) it was/were done’): e.g. *yhy wjed gybata* ‘I would be (lit. become) asked’.

<sup>279</sup> Alternatively, *wada/wan* would have two conjunctive I forms: a long one, *wjed*, used with nouns and adjectives, and in passives; and a short one, *wje*, used with infinitives, including the infinitive II of the conjunctive perfect II.

While sharing a number of formal and functional similarities with several native TAM grams, the innovative conjunctive perfect III also parallels a Polish construction, specifically the past conditional (Swan 2002:262; Sadowska 2012:406), alternatively referred to as the “unreal conditional” (Laskowski 1999b:263). The past conditional in Polish is formed by the auxiliary *być* ‘be’ in the (real/potential) conditional (see the 2<sup>nd</sup>-person singular *byłbyś* ‘you would be’ and *bylbym* ‘I would be’ in (45) below) and the past *l* form of the main verb – as explained in section 8.2, an original active perfect participle that is currently used as the basis of the past tense (e.g. *powiedział* ‘he told’ or *pomógł* ‘he helped’). As is common cross-linguistically (see Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994), the past conditional in Polish has an unreal counter-factual sense, i.e. ‘I would have done’ or ‘(if) I had done’ (see again (45)) – a meaning that contrasts with the real counter-factual sense of a conditional form such as *zrobiłbym* ‘I would do / (if) I did’ (Laskowski 1999b:262-263; Swan 2002:257-259, 262; Sadowska 2012:404-407).

- (45)            **Byłbyś mi to powiedział, to byłbym ci pomógł**  
                   ‘If you had told me that, [then] I would have helped you.’

From a structural perspective, the form of the conjunctive perfect III (e.g. *wje gymaht*) is an optimal replica of the Polish past conditional (e.g. *bylbym zrobił*). On the one hand, the element *wje* functions in Wymysorys as an equivalent to the Polish conditional of the verb ‘be’ (*byłby*). On the other hand, the Wymysorys past participle (e.g. *gymaht*) can be viewed as the only possible counterpart of the *l* slot of the Polish past conditional (e.g. *zrobił*). As has been argued in section 8.2, even though originally passive, the past participle is used actively in the perfectal series (e.g. the perfect *höt gymaht* ‘has done / did’) in Wymysorys. The perfect itself is the most frequent expression of the active past and present perfect senses, thus being semantically close to the Polish past (e.g. *zrobił* ‘he has done / did’), which is homophonous with the *l* slot of the past conditional (e.g. *byłby zrobił*).

Nevertheless, the development of the conjunctive perfect III – understood as the imitation of a Polish construction – need not have proceeded by following a bottom-up approach. It may have also exploited a top-down approach by restructuring a gram that had already been present in the language and by exploiting the system of closely related constructions presented in Table 3 above. Specifically, to imitate the Polish unreal conditional (*bylbym zrobił*), the sequence *wje gymaht hon* could have been simplified to *wje gymaht* ‘(he) would have done / (if he) had done’, that is formally distinct from both the conjunctive perfect I *het gymaht* (which never uses the auxiliary *zäjñ*, even with the typical *zäjñ* verbs) and the conjunctive II *har wje maha* ‘he would do’ (which uses the infinitive instead of the participle). Crucially, since the form *wje* is used in the conjunctive perfect II instead of the original *wjed*, the outcome is also differentiated from the passive conjunctive I *wjed gymaht* ‘(it) would be done / (if it) were done’, in which, as in the conjunctive perfect III, the auxiliary *wada/wan* and the participle are employed. As a result, the omission of the auxiliary that has led to the emergence of the conjunctive perfect II would not disrupt the conjunctive system of Wymysorys.

Indeed, the top-down scenario involving the loss of the auxiliary (in this case, *hon* and *zājn*) is probable given the relatively common omission of non-finite auxiliaries when used with modal auxiliaries inflected in the past (conditional) tenses in counter-factual contexts in the Germanic family (Garbacz & Larsson 2014). As explained in section 8.2, these types of omissions are common in Swedish and Norwegian, and were also attested in pre-twentieth-century German (Harbert 2007:304). This fact renders the (top-down) restructuring hypothesis more likely than was the case in the future III.

Furthermore, a typologically similar (although not identical) modal construction is found in Yiddish. In this language, the analytical conditional – an equivalent of various Wymysorys conjunctive tenses – is a periphrasis consisting of the auxiliary *woltn*, itself an old preterite of the verb *wellen* ‘to want’, and the past participle of a main verb. This construction has counter-factual senses, both real and unreal, e.g. *ix wolt gezogt* ‘I would tell / have told’ (Katz 1987:160-161; Weinreich 2008:516; Margolis 2011:113-114). Arguably, *woltn gemaxt* emerged due to the merging of *woltn maxn* (the expression of real counter-factuality) and *woltn gemaxt habn* (the expression of unreal counter-factuality), yielding a new formally mixed counter-factual conditional. Accordingly, the unreal conditional structure *woltn gemaxt habn* has been simplified to *woltn gemaxt* through the omission of the non-finite auxiliary *habn* – incorporating the real counter-factual sense of the *woltn maxn* structure. Interestingly, the rise of this participial conditional in Yiddish has been attributed to Slavic influence (Geller 1994:50-52; 1999:81; Hansen & Birzer 2012:456).<sup>280</sup> The scenario posited in this section for the conjunctive perfect III in Wymysorys would *grosso modo* be analogous to the development of the conditional in Yiddish, with the exception of the semantic change. That is, the conjunctive perfect III has not been generalized in real counter-factual uses, likely due to the fact that the dedicated real counter-factual grams, i.e. the conjunctives I and II, are still widely used in Wymysorys.

To conclude, the conjunctive perfect III has probably emerged as the imitation of an equivalent expression that exists in Polish – the *ł* past conditional. However, although a Polish influence seems to have been decisive in developing this novel gram, its emergence may also have been fostered by the existence of certain forms already available in Wymysorys. These older constructions – still under the impact of Polish – would have been re-used and adjusted to the Polish pattern, yielding a new gram. In this manner, the Polish and Germanic languages – the two mother tongues of the Wymysorys speakers – might jointly have contributed to the formation of a new tense.

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<sup>280</sup> The form *woltn maxn* is occasionally found, being restricted to a “parliamentary style” (Katz 1987:160; Margolis 2011:113).

#### 8.4 Idiomatic phrasal structures

The influence of Polish on Wymysorys morpho-syntax is also visible in a number of analytical idiomatic expressions that are currently used in the Wymysorys language and that draw on Polish patterns and/or matter. The most relevant Polish-based idioms – all of them previously mentioned in the chapters of this dissertation dedicated to lexicon and morphology – that I identified during my fieldwork are the following: *fur heja zan* ‘look down, disregard’, lit. ‘look from the height’ (P. *patrzeć z góry*); *jür hon* ‘be...year old’, lit. ‘have...years’ (P. *mieć...lat*); *no ñe* ‘well no!, really?!’ (P. *no nie*); *ñe sposüp* ‘no way’ (P. *nie sposób*); *po kiöelendže/kolyndže gejn* ‘pay Christmas calls; make a round of house calls’, lit. ‘go after kolenda’ (P. *chodzić po kolędzie*); *po rodže kena* ‘know by (lit. after) kin/family’ (P. *(rozpo)znać po rodzie*); *ufum na oku hon* ‘be interested in someone’, lit. ‘have someone on eye’ (P. *mieć na oku*); *ufum na zdjeńcu hon* ‘have in the picture’ (P. *mieć na zdjęciu*); *yr hālikja* ‘during Christmas or Easter’ (P. *w święta*); *zih nama* ‘start, set about’, lit. ‘take oneself’ (P. *brać/wziąć się za*).

Borrowing found in Polish-sourced idioms may be of three types. First, it may be limited to pattern borrowing where a Polish idiom is replicated entirely with Wymysorys material (see *fur heja zan*, *jür hon*, *yr hālikja*, and *zih nama*). Second, the replica may make use of both Wymysorys and Polish matter (see *po kiöelendže/kolyndže gejn*, *po rodže kena*, *ufum na oku hon*, and *ufum na zdjeńcu hon*). Third, all of the matter may be Polish (see *no ñe* and *ñe sposüp*). In a few cases – all of them involving prepositions – specific semantic content is expressed twice, first appearing in Wymysorys and subsequently in Polish, e.g. *uf* and *na*, both meaning ‘on, in’ in *ufum na oku hon* and *ufum na zdjeńcu hon* (cf. section 6.5).

The idiomatic constructions of which the pattern and sometimes matter draw on Polish attest to several syntactic configurations. The most common of these constructions involve verbs governing prepositional phrases, e.g. *fur heja zan*, *po kiöelendže/kolyndže gejn*, *po rodže kena*, *ufum na oku hon*, and *ufum na zdjeńcu hon*. Less common are structures limited to prepositional phrases (e.g. *yr hālikja*) and reflexive verbs (e.g. *zih nama*) as well as those in which the verb governs a nominal object (e.g. *jür hon*). Lastly, one finds a few non-verbal utterances (e.g. *no ñe* and *ñe sposüp*).

The transfer of all of these idioms is responsible for the introduction of several lexicogrammatical features in the Wymysorys grammar that have been described in detail in the previous chapters. The most significant of these features are: (i) the expansion of the semantic potential of nouns (see *hālikja* ‘holiday’ in *yr hālikja* ‘Christmas, Easter’; cf. section 5.1.1) and verbs (see *nama* ‘take’ in *zih nama* ‘start, set about’; *gejn* ‘go’ in *po kiöelendže/kolyndže gejn* ‘pay Christmas calls; make a round of house calls’ and *po śmjrgüśce gejn* ‘celebrate śmiergust’; *hon* ‘have’ in *ufum na oku hon* ‘be interested in someone’; and *zan* ‘see’ in *fur heja zan* ‘look down, disregard’; cf. section 5.2.1); (ii) the presence of Polish prepositions (e.g. *po* ‘after; by’ in *po kiöelendže/kolyndže gejn*, *po śmjrgüśce gejn*, and *po rodže kena* as well as *na* ‘on, in’ in *ufum na oku hon* and *ufum na zdjeńcu hon*; cf. section 6.5); (iii) the use of Polish

case endings (e.g. the locative/prepositional case exhibited by *kiöelendže/kolyndže* in *po kiöelendže/kolyndže gejn*, *šmjyrgüšće* in *po šmjyrgüšće gejn*, *rodže* in *po rodže kena*, *oku* in *ufum na oku hon*, and *wyćećce* in *ufer na wyćećce zäjñ*; cf. section 7.2.1); and (iv) the transfer of the Polish negator (e.g. *ńe* ‘not’ in *no ńe* and *ńe sposüp*; cf. section 6.2.3).<sup>281</sup> Most of these features may not, however, be used outside the idiomatic constructions themselves and are thus unproductive from a more global, systemic perspective.

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<sup>281</sup> The pattern borrowing of Slavonic phrasal idioms has also taken place in Yiddish. See, for instance, *vi cum bestn* ‘as best’ and *nit cu derlajdn* ‘unbearable’ that draw on *jak najlepiej* and *nie do zniesienia* in Polish, respectively (Weinreich 2008:532). Yiddish also attests to the blending of Slavonic and non-Slavonic elements (Germanic or Semitic) in phrasal idioms, e.g. *yavne-veyasne* ‘perfectly clear’ (Kahn 2015:699). Similarly, several idiomatic phrasal expressions have been copied from Polish into Aljzneriś, e.g. *uf ‘em pfaht raita* ‘ride a horse’ that draws on *jechać na koniu* in Polish (Dolatowski 2017). Slavonic phrasal idioms have widely been attested in other German varieties (Siatkowski 2015:283-289).



## CHAPTER NINE

### 9. Syntax

The last language module of Wymysorys that will be examined for the presence of Polish borrowings is syntax, i.e. the broadly understood rules that control the structure of phrases, clauses, and sentences. This examination will be done by determining the placement of components and the scope and characteristics of their syntagmatic relationships. Given the nature of syntax – especially in light of the above definition – only pattern types of borrowing can and have been identified in Wymysorys. Nevertheless, since the syntactic patterns copied from Polish are often pivotal in the Wymysorys language system, the effects of the Polish influence on Wymysorys syntax are far-reaching.

This chapter presents the details of syntactic changes that have taken place in Wymysorys due to contact with Polish. Specifically, I study the Polish influence on the various types of word-order configurations in Wymysorys (see section 9.1), the syntactic properties of negation (section 9.2), the selection of tenses in subordinate clauses (section 9.3), and the omission of referential subject pronouns with finite verbs (9.4).

#### 9.1 Word order

As is the case for many other (West) Germanic languages (Harbert 2007:350-351), Wymysorys can be governed by a relatively rigid type of word order in which the placement of the verb is determined by syntactic rules. In the case of predicate focus, a nominal or pronominal subject regularly precedes the verb which, in turn, occupies the second position in the clause. This second position – or V2 – constitutes a more general characteristic of the verb such that the placement of a constituent at the beginning of a clause for topical, focal, or any other discourse-pragmatic purposes, regularly triggers a subject-verb inversion. Moreover, if the verb phrase consists of both finite and non-finite components, the object, the inverted subject, and all adjuncts are intercalated between the finite and non-finite parts – the verbal component found in main clauses forming the so-called “braces”. Syntactic rules also determine word order in subordinate clauses, differentiating it from the main clause’s configuration: the verb is typically placed at the end of the clause, while the internal and external arguments as well as the adjuncts occupy a pre-verbal position.

Apart from the word order type presented above, Wymysorys allows for a diametrically different syntactic system. This alternative type of word order exhibits a high degree of similarity with the rules governing Polish syntax (Kleczkowski 1921:6, 9; Wicherkiewicz 2003:413). Given its relative combinatory freedom, comparable – although not identical (see

further below) – with that found in Polish and many other Slavonic languages (Sussex & Cubberley 2006:404), this type of word order will be referred to as “free”. As in Polish (Rothstein 1993:723-724; Saloni 1998; Swan 2002:376-377; Sadowska 2012:42), the crux of the Wymysorys free word order lies in its flexibility and dependence on discourse-pragmatic necessities. Put differently, discourse-pragmatics (e.g. focus, topic, frame, foreground, background, and even style) are the main factors determining the position of the components of a clause rather than mechanical syntactic rules characterizing rigid syntax. This discourse-pragmatic principle implies two things. First, the number of possible linear configurations of constituents is significantly larger – although still limited – than the rigid word order. Second, the information conveyed by such syntactic variants is not identical. Rather, different types of word order activate different types of broadly understood meaning – for example, they identify distinct constituents as foci, topoi, or frames (cf. Sussex & Cubberley 2006:404, 417-420 for Slavonic). Therefore, when understanding freedom as the unconstrained ability to combine constituent parts and/or the availability of many fully synonymous and functionally equivalent configurations, the free word order of Wymysorys is not actually free, unlike in Polish.<sup>282</sup> As explained above, the configurations allowed in free word order are not (always) synonymous and their variability is not unlimited.<sup>283</sup> Given the properties of rigid word order mentioned above, the free word order currently found in Wymysorys surfaces through a number of more specific phenomena all of which primarily concern the linear configurations of constituents, mostly finite and non-finite verbs. This includes: the violations of the V2 rule, including the so-called “spontaneous V1” type of word order in main-clause declaratives;<sup>284</sup> the placement of non-finite verbs in a non-final position in main clauses and thus the absence of a “braced” structure of complex predicates; and the non-final position of finite verbs in subordinate clauses and, more generally, the lack of asymmetry between the system of main and subordinate clauses.

Despite significant similarities between free word order in Wymysorys and Polish, the two languages do not exploit their syntactic freedom in an identical manner. First, as already mentioned above, although the flexibility of free word order in Wymysorys is considerable – in fact, being much greater than in closely related West-Germanic languages, specifically Modern Standard German and its dialects – its extent is less than in Polish. In Polish, one may combine components of a sentence in a large number of ways, moving elements to virtually any position, with few restrictions. For instance, Polish commonly allows for separating components of a noun or prepositional phrase, e.g. *W ładnym mieszkam domu* ‘I live in a nice house’ (literal gloss: in nice I-live house). This type of free word order and other similar discontinuous arrangements are unlikely to be found in Wymysorys (Andrason & Król

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<sup>282</sup> However, even in Polish, the free word order is not entirely free and not *all* configurations are (equally) grammatical (see further below).

<sup>283</sup> Of course, rigid types of word order found in Wymysorys discussed in the paragraphs above can also be motivated by pragmatics and information structures, as demonstrated by the case of fronting, which can be applied for focal or topical purposes. However, as fronting occurs, the placement of other constituents, particularly an inflected verb and its subject, is principally triggered by a mechanical syntactic rule, in this case V2.

<sup>284</sup> I borrow the term “spontaneous” from Harbert (2007:413), who describes a similar device found in some Germanic languages (see section 9.1.2 below).

2016a).<sup>285</sup> Second, in Wymysorys, free word-order syntax is highly common only in spoken discourses – whether dialogues or personal narratives – while in literary works, its presence is very limited (compare Król 2011; Ritchie 2014). This contrasts with the situation attested in Polish, where free word order is typical of all registers and genres, governing the syntax of not only colloquial language but also standard and literary varieties. This preference for syntactic rigidity in literary Wymysorys texts is most likely a result of conscious language policies. It reflects the de-polonizing tendencies of modern writers and activists, who emphasize the cultural and linguistic distinctiveness of Wilamowians from Poles and their culture and language.

The above suggests that Wymysorys speakers are generally bestowed with two systems. In the first, the placement of a constituent is primarily determined by syntax – the syntactic type of a constituent (e.g. predicate, subject, object, or adjunct) and the type of clause in which it appears (e.g. main or subordinate). As mentioned above, this system is typical of other West Germanic languages, including Modern Standard German and various German dialects. The other type of system allows for relative freedom in moving the constituents of a clause and thus for the various rigid rules explained above not to operate. Crucially, in this type of word order, the movement of a constituent and its use in certain clausal structures do not determine the position of (other) constituents – their position instead being determined by pragmatic factors. This word order exhibits a remarkable degree of similarity with Polish and Slavonic syntax. Even though the two types of word order – i.e. the rigid system and the free system – are treated in this dissertation as disjointed syntactic organizations, they are not mutually exclusive. They should rather be imagined as two extremes connected by a continuum of situations in which syntactic rigidity is inversely correlated with syntactic freedom. Therefore, rather than being of either the rigid type or the free type, the actual types of word order found in Wymysorys yield a complex amalgam of the two systems. That is, speakers operate with two equally valid and grammatical word-order systems and can choose spontaneously which one they want to follow. Although they may organize their discourses around the rigid system or the free system, they very often exploit the two systems simultaneously in their speech. For instance, they use diverse types of word order in a single sentence or in two consecutive sentences, or they use one word-order type in an initial section of their discourse and subsequently – after a few minutes and often in a gradual manner – switch to the other type. Significantly, even though some speakers exhibit a predisposition towards rigid word order while others show a tendency towards free word order, no speaker adheres to rigid or free word order exclusively – the mixing of word-order systems clearly being the rule.

The rigid word order type outlined in the previous paragraph, which is visible through a set of more specific phenomena mentioned at the beginning of this section, characterizes many Germanic languages, particularly continental West Germanic varieties, including German and its dialects (Harbert 2007). This word-order configuration is generally viewed as etymological – it

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<sup>285</sup> A possible explanation of this phenomenon may be the fact that Wymysorys is an “article language”, and languages with articles generally disallow Left Branch Extraction – a structure exemplified by the aforementioned Polish expression *W ładnym mieszkam domu* ‘I live in a nice house’.

has most likely been inherited from Middle High German, the immediate predecessor of Wymysorys (Kleczkowski 1930; Wicherkiewicz 2003) and reflects the more original stage of the language that also typified other older Germanic varieties (Kiparsky 1995; Eyþórsson 1995; Harbert 2007). In contrast, I will argue that the greater extent of syntactic freedom exhibited by Wymysorys in comparison to Modern Standard German and other West Germanic languages should primarily be attributed to contact with Polish, where, as explained above, free word order constitutes the pervasive and far-ranging rule (see Wicherkiewicz 2003). This statement will be nuanced given that certain elements of free word order found in Wymysorys may also be identified in both old and contemporary West Germanic varieties. Accordingly, although the generalization and stabilization of free word order in Wymysorys is a contact-induced phenomenon, its foundations are native – Polish has significantly strengthened some syntactic possibilities that might already have been available, although exploited only minimally.

In the subsequent parts of this section, I will describe in detail the various phenomena through which the free word-order system is visible in Wymysorys, namely: the non-V2 configuration (section 9.1.1) including spontaneous V1 found in main-clause declaratives (see section 9.1.2); the absence of main-clause verbal braces or the placement of non-finite verbs in a non-final position in main clauses (9.1.3); as well as the lack of asymmetry between the main clause and subordinate clause and, in particular, the non-final placement of finite verbs in subordinate clauses (9.1.4). Additionally, I will describe the pre-verbal position of the negator which, although not necessarily an exponent of syntactic freedom, is often correlated – and indeed not accidentally – with free word order (9.1.5). In each section, I will also discuss the possible origin of these configurations as pattern borrowing from Polish without, however, ignoring language-internal or inherited processes that may (sometimes only minimally) contribute to the development and generalization of such free word-order phenomena.

### 9.1.1 The absence of V2 word order

The most pervasive principle permeating the rigid word order of Wymysorys is the V2 rule, or the placement of an inflected verb in the second position. Nearly all types of grammatical elements count as the first constituents in V2 order, triggering (if possible) the subject-verb inversion: fronted direct and indirect objects (e.g. *dos bihla* ‘that book’ in 46.a); locative and temporal adjuncts, whether prepositional phrases (e.g. *y Wjelička* ‘in Wieliczka’ in 46.b) or adverbs (e.g. *gestyn* ‘yesterday’ 46.c); as well as certain discourse markers and particles (e.g. *no* ‘well’ in 46.d). Even predicative adjectives (e.g. *šejn* ‘beautiful’ in 46.e), past participles (e.g. *gyštiörwa* ‘dead/died’ in 46.f), and infinitives with their dependents (e.g. *Wymysiöeryś cy kuza* ‘to speak Wymysorys’ in 46.g) may sometimes be placed in front of the inflected verb in V2 structures. V2 order is regular in *wh*-type questions (see 46.h). Negative elements – e.g. negative pronouns, adverbs, and even the negative particle *ny* ‘not’ – can also be used as the first constituents in V2 sequences (e.g. *nist* ‘nothing’ and *ny* ‘not’ in 46.i-j). Furthermore, V2 word order is common in cases where the first element is an entire subordinate clause (e.g. 46.k). Last but not least, V2 systematically operates in unmarked predicate-focus clauses where the subject is the first component (e.g. 46.l).

- (46) a. [Dos bihła] **hot** yh gyśrejwa<sup>286</sup>  
‘I had written *that book*’<sup>287</sup>
- b. [Y Wjelička] **ej** dy grysty załcgrüw ufer wełt  
‘The biggest salt mine is in Wieliczka’
- c. [Gestyn] **koüft** yh à brut  
‘Yesterday, I bought a loaf of bread’
- d. [No] **gejn** zy  
‘Well then, they are going’
- e. [Śejn] **ej** zy  
‘She is beautiful’
- f. [Gyściörwa] **ej** der bjugjamäster.  
‘The mayor is dead / has died’
- g. [Wymysiöeryś cy kuza] **ej** ny ferböta  
‘It is not forbidden to speak Wymysorys’
- h. [Wu] **höst**-y zy gykoüft?  
‘Where have you bought them?’
- i. [Nist] **kyna** zy maha.  
‘They can do nothing’
- j. [Ny] **grájnt** kyndyn, [ny] **grájnt!**  
‘Don’t cry, children, don’t cry!’
- k. [Wi yh wiöe klin] **kuzt** yh myta ełdyn wymysiöeryś  
‘When I was little, I used to talk to my parents in Wymysorys’
- l. [Der kłop] **kuzt** Wymysiöeryś  
‘The man speaks Wymysorys’

Wymysorys discourses – or their parts – in which the V2 rule is active can be viewed as governed by a V2-strict system given the extent to which this syntactic principle operates. The exceptions for V2 word order are very few and involve: coordinating conjunctions (47.a),

<sup>286</sup> I will consistently enclose the pre-verbal constituent within square brackets and mark the inflected verb in bold.

<sup>287</sup> The italics symbolize focus.

highly grammaticalized particles and discourse markers (47.b-c), yes/no questions if these are not headed by an interrogative particle (47.d), imperative verbs (47.e), and vocatives (47.f).

- (47) a. Yhy koh [än] [zej] **kjen**  
‘I am cooking, and they are sweeping’
- b. [No] [dy myłih] **ej** nö gyštykjyt ny  
‘Well, the milk is not sour now’
- c. [Har] [šun] **höt** dos gymaht  
‘He has just done this’
- d. **Hösty** der dy apułn šun äjgyšyłt?  
‘Have you already peeled the potatoes?’
- e. **Gejt** cym bek!  
‘Go to the baker’s!’
- f. [Büwy], [yh] **hoü** der yn šaduł!  
‘Boys, I’ll beat you in your heads!’

While Wymysorys speakers may adhere to the V2 rule in their discourses, they may also choose an alternative type of word order. In those other cases, in agreement with the principles of free word order, the placement of the verb is not determined by the mechanic rules of syntax but rather by pragmatics. One of the most common effects of the activation of free word order in Wymysorys is the violation of the V2 rule. This means that the location of an element in the initial position of the clause does not trigger a mechanical subject-verb inversion, as in a V2 system. On the contrary, the subject may still remain in its “original” place, i.e. before the verb, with the verb thus occupying the third or further position. I will refer to this word order type as a “non-V2 configuration”.

The most common cases of this non-adherence to V2 in free word-order discourses concern the fronting of adverbial adjuncts of time, place, and manner (see examples 48.a-b below). The placement of those elements in the initial position of the clause does not trigger subject-verb inversion or the movement of the subject to a post-verbal position. On the contrary, the subject usually precedes the verb – the verb occupying the third position. Significantly, the pre-verbal noun phrase – e.g. *mäj nökwer* ‘my neighbor’ (48.a) and *der klop* ‘the man’ (48.b) – is neither focused nor topicalized. Rather, it occupies a default pre-verbal position in predicate-focused word order, directly copying the structure of the Polish sentence *Jutro mój sądziad kupi samochód* ‘Tomorrow, my neighbor will certainly buy a car’ and *Wczoraj ten człowiek został zabity* ‘The man was killed yesterday’.

- (48) a. [Mün] [**māj nökwer**] wyt hon gykoüft à oüta  
 ‘Tomorrow, my neighbor will certainly buy a car’
- b. [Gestyn] [der klop] **blä** derślön  
 ‘The man was killed yesterday’

Other constituents of which the fronting often violates the V2 rule include adjuncts encoded by prepositional phrases, whether those referring to time (e.g. *y 1960* ‘in 1960’ in 49.a) or broadly understood location (e.g. *y ynzer family* ‘in our family’ in 49.b). This usage seems to be more characteristic of definite and uniquely identifiable subjects. In contrast, indefinite subjects tend to adhere to the V2 system.<sup>288</sup>

- (49) a. [Y 1960] [yhy] **giñ** diöt  
 ‘In 1960, I went there’
- b. [Y ynzer family] [der tata] **at** ufer kölagrëw  
 ‘In our family, the father works in the coalmine’

Cases where the object (e.g. *dos* ‘this’ in 50 below) precedes the subject in free word order, thus failing to trigger the V2 rule, are relatively uncommon. Even less frequently, the V2 rule is suspended if the fronted element is a discourse marker or particle, negative pronoun, negative adverb, or a WH-question word. This “suspension” is further possible with preposed infinitives, predicative adjectives, and past participles, although such examples are again extremely rare.

- (50) [Dos] [yhy] **hot** gyśrejwa  
 ‘I had written this’

In contrast, instances in which V2 order does not operate after a subordinate clause are common. For example, in (51.a) and (51.b), the presence of backward causal clauses (*Wen har kom* ‘Since he came’ and *Wi dos kuzt cyzoma* ‘As this one talks senselessly’) does not trigger the placement of the verb in the subsequent main clause in the second position and, thus, its inversion with the subject. The respective subjects (*à* ‘he’ and *yhy* ‘I’) occupy the second position, while the verbs (*zo* ‘shall’ and *kon* ‘can’) appear in the third position. This type of word order is fully analogous to the default arrangement of constituents in main clauses that follow subordinate clauses in Polish, e.g. *Jak wrócił, samochód już tam nie stal* ‘When he came back, the car was already not there’.

- (51) a. [Wen har kom], [à] **zo** rün  
 ‘Since he came, he shall rest’
- b. [Wi dos kuzt cyzoma], [yhy] **kon** dos àni ny oüshałda  
 ‘As this one talks senselessly, I cannot tolerate this at all’ (Król n.d. (a))

<sup>288</sup> Even though less frequent, examples with indefinite subjects are also attested.

Lastly, in some cases, both the subordinate clause and a main-clause adverb may precede the verb and its subject without activating V2:

- (52) a. [Wen bej dyham, do ho'h à fernseher], [diöt] [yh] **fernzeje**<sup>289</sup>  
'When I am at home, as I have a TV, I watch TV there'
- b. [Gestyn] [wi der nökwer kom] [yhy] **kuzt** myta ełdyn  
'Yesterday, when the neighbor came, I was talking to my parents'

The issue that emerges from the above description of the non-V2 configuration, which is currently available in Wymysorys, concerns its origin. That is, should this word-order type be attributed to Polish influence or has it arisen language- or family-internally? Is it thus a borrowed or inherited syntactic device?

As has been mentioned several times in this section, and demonstrated by canonical examples, the V2 rule is not observed in Polish and Slavonic languages. Crucially, the fronting of a constituent never determines the placement of the other constituents, especially the inflected verb and its subject. This absence of the V2 rule stems from the combinatory freedom characterizing Polish word order – freedom that is itself a result of the pragmatic foundation of this language's syntax (Saloni 1998; Swan 2002; Sussex & Cubberley 2006; Sadowska 2012).

The situation characterizing Polish syntax starkly contrasts with syntactic properties exhibited by members of the Germanic linguistic family. To begin with, all West Germanic languages make use of the V2 rule to some extent, which is viewed as the prevalent trait of their syntax (Harbert 2007; Vikner 2020:368-371). For example, in Modern Standard German, V2 is characteristic of declarative main clauses and wh-questions (Russ 1994:188; Johnson & Braber 2008:184-188; Fagan 2009:138-139; Lohnstein 2020; Lohnstein & Tsiknakis 2020). To various degrees, V2 also operates in Dutch (De Schutter 1994:466-467), Frisian (Hoekstra & Tiersma 1994:523-524), Afrikaans (Donaldson 1994:499), Yiddish (Jacobs, Prince & van der Auwera 1994:409-410; Diesing & Santorini 2020), and, in a residual and vestigial form, English (König 1994:553-556; van Kemenade 1994:137; Santorini & Kroch 2007; Haeberli, Pintzuk & Taylor 2020; Vikner 2020:371-373). The typical exceptions of V2 word order are fully comparable with those enumerated for Wymysorys and involve yes/no questions, imperative verbs, coordinating conjunctions, left dislocation, and vocatives. In such cases, V1 and V3 are regular.

Certainly, instances of genuine violations of V2 are also attested in the West Germanic branch of languages. They are even found in Modern (Standard) German and its dialects. For example, Haider (1982) and Wunderlich (1984) discuss cases of apparent V2-order violations in clauses with two prepositional phrases in the prefield position in West Germanic. However, both authors argue that the V2 rule is in fact not violated, as two prepositional phrases form a single complex

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<sup>289</sup> The form *fernzeje* is a loanword from Modern Standard German.

slot in which the first prepositional phrase is modified by the second one. As illustrated by the examples provided above, this is not the case in Wymysorys. Another example of the violation of the V2 rule is V3 word order found in main-clause declaratives in spoken varieties of Modern (Standard) German (Wiese et al. 2020). More substantial deviations, including *wh*-questions, are only found outside the West Germanic branch, specifically in certain northern dialects of Nynorsk (Taraldsen 1986:20).<sup>290</sup> Overall, true violations of the V2 rule constitute an exception in West Germanic languages rather than a norm: they are generally rare and highly marked from a stylistic perspective. To my knowledge, no West Germanic system has eliminated the V2 rule to the extent typifying at least some Wymysorys speakers and their discourses. In other words, the absence of the V2 rule has not been fully systematic in any Germanic variety, as is – or can be – the case of Wymysorys.

This preference for V2 exhibited by modern West and North Germanic languages is fully consistent with the situation attested in older Germanic varieties. According to comparative and diachronic studies, V2 word order, albeit most likely in its non-strict version (Harbert 2007:405), and subject-verb inversion were already present in earliest members of the family such as Gothic (Kiparsky 1995; Eypórssón 1995; Harbert 2007:405-406). At least for some contexts, such syntactic operations are also reconstructed for Proto-Germanic (Harbert 2007:406; for a discussion, consult Harbert 2007:405-409). Even though in the earliest West Germanic, e.g. Old High German, V2 word order in unmarked declarative sentences was not obligatory (van der Wal & Quak 1994:105), it became consolidated during the Old High German period (Axel 2009). Indeed, in Middle High German, V2 operated quite effectively in declarative clauses, in certain interrogative and, less usually, in subordinate clauses (Paul 2007:449). Crucially, in main-clause declaratives, V2 clearly predominated above any other configurations.<sup>291</sup> The V2 rule was also typical of Middle Low German (Breitbarth 2014) as well as earlier varieties of English (Pintzuk 1991; 1993; van Kemenade 1994:137; Santorini & Kroch 2007; Haeberli, Pintzuk & Taylor 2020).

As a result, it is likely that the immediate variety – or a cluster of varieties – from which Wymysorys has emerged would have inherited the V2 rule from its predecessor, specifically Middle High German, and used it as one of the main principles governing its syntax. The sporadic and stylistically marked cases of the violation of V2 found in some modern Germanic languages as well as the cases of V1 and V3 that are syntactically regulated do not demonstrate that the non-V2 configuration in Wymysorys could be an inherited family-internal mechanism. After all, exceptions and sporadic deviations from rules are inherent to grammar, including syntax. Rather, the simultaneous presence of multiple types of V2 violations as well as the frequency, regularity, and general acceptability of the non-V2 configuration suggest that this

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<sup>290</sup> As mentioned above, V2 does not operate in imperatives and yes-no questions (where V1 is regular), in clauses headed by coordinating conjunctions, left dislocation, and vocatives (where V3 is regular), as well as in subordinate clauses (where a verb-final type is common). These, however, are not true violations of V2.

<sup>291</sup> Other positions were much less common in main declarative clauses. For instance, V1 was limited to the context of speech verbs (Paul 2007:449-450). In subordinate clauses, the finite verb typically occupied a position more to the right, including the final position (Paul 2007:452). Furthermore, after a subordinate adverbial clause, the subject or object of the main clause could occupy the pre-verbal position (Paul 2007:451).

type of word order in Wymysorys is a replica of Polish syntax. Of course, it is possible that a few specific types of V2 violations were already – albeit to a limited extent – grammatical in the immediate predecessor of Wymysorys, which was otherwise governed by a relatively strict V2 principle. Polish would then have significantly intensified and accelerated certain tendencies that had already been in place, ensuring their ultimate stabilization. To conclude, the grammaticalization of non-V2 as a configuration on par with V2 could, in my view, have only taken place due to the impact of Polish.

### 9.1.2 Spontaneous V1 word order

Another characteristic feature of free word-order discourses – and a further exception to or violation of V2 – is the spontaneous placement of the finite verb in the first position in declarative main clauses. This configuration is stylistically loaded, being typical of – and by definition implying – personal narratives or broadly understood oral literature. More specifically, spontaneous V1 can be used for two main purposes: to open a paragraph, fragment, or section, for instance by setting up a scene (53.a), or to close a paragraph, fragment, or section by summing it up and evaluating its content (53.b). Alternatively, V1 may be exploited to add vivacity to the story (53.c-d).

- (53) a.     **Wün** zy zyca àn fercyła  
           ‘They were sitting and narrating’
- b.     ... **Colt**’s dy taksa  
           ‘... She paid the fees’ (Andrason & Król 2014b:103)
- c.     **Gejn** zy àn kuza ...  
           ‘They go and talk’
- d.     **Ziöet** yh: Kášü!  
           ‘I said: Kate!’

The spontaneous V1 word order currently found in Wymysorys matches the use of V1 in Polish and its dialects. In Polish – whether in its standard, colloquial, or dialectal varieties – V1 often appears in narratives with a force similar to that described above for Wymysorys, i.e. as an opening (43.a), closing (54.b), or vivacity-triggering (54.c) stylistic device. In such cases, the overt nominal or pronominal subject is placed after the verb instead of its usual pre-verbal position (Jacennik & Dryer 1992).<sup>292</sup>

- (54) a.     Żył sobie król  
           ‘There was a king’

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<sup>292</sup> Many clauses exhibit a superficial V1 configuration in Polish. This is possible because the subject need not be expressed by pronouns but is instead encoded through inflections on the verb itself. Such cases are not analyzed here as V1 *stricto sensu*.

- b. Poszedł więc król na wojnę  
'The king went thus to war'
- c. Idą sobie chłopcy i rozmawiają a tu nagle...  
'The boys are walking and talking, and suddenly...'

In light of the functional correspondence between spontaneous V1 configurations in Wymysorys and Polish described above, and given that this type of syntactic alignment is typical of Wymysorys discourses that are generally insensitive towards the V2 rule, rather than of discourses that comply with it, the stylistic use of V1 in Wymysorys is probably a replica of an analogous usage found in Polish.

Nevertheless, the presence of V1 order in Wymysorys narratives need not be solely attributed to Polish influence. Similar types of V1 are exploited in “lively narration” in some West Germanic languages (Harbert 2007:413), especially in colloquial German and colloquial Dutch (Lenerz 1985; Vikner 1995; Harbert 2007:401, 413-414), as well as in Yiddish, albeit for slightly distinct discourse-pragmatic purposes and in distinct syntactic environments (Katz 1987:236; Jacobs, Prince & van der Auwera 1994:410).<sup>293</sup> Spontaneous V1 was also found in introductory main clauses, usually with speech verbs, in Middle High German (Paul 2007:449-450)<sup>294</sup> and Old English (Kiparsky 1995a; Harbert 2007:413). Additionally, outside the West Germanic branch, V1 configurations are present in declaratives in Icelandic and the Swedish dialect of Malmö (Vikner 1995; Harbert 2007:413). In contrast, spontaneous V1 is absent in the standard variety of Modern High German and Standard Dutch (Vikner 1995; Harbert 2007:413-414).<sup>295</sup>

Consequently, both internal and external factors may have played a role in the stabilization of spontaneous V1 word order in main-clause declaratives in narrative discourses in Wymysorys. Polish may have stimulated and accelerated the spread of this configuration, being responsible for its ultimate entrenchment, as it provided a fully operative model that could easily be replicated by Wymysorys speakers. However, the syntactic device itself may have been – at least, to a certain extent – present in Germanic varieties from which Wymysorys has emerged. In other words, V1 is an inherited Germanic mechanism that Wymysorys has systematically exploited in order to imitate a grammatical phenomenon which had already stabilized and become functional in Polish.

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<sup>293</sup> In Yiddish, V1 declaratives “necessarily follow some other clause and convey the understanding that the proposition they represent somehow follows from or is caused by the proposition represented by the preceding clause” (Jacobs, Prince & van der Auwera 1994:410). Thus, contrary to the V1 declaratives described in this section, V1 declaratives in Yiddish “may not be discourse-initial” (ibid.).

<sup>294</sup> Nevertheless, V2 was also possible in such instances in Middle High German.

<sup>295</sup> Of course, in those languages, V1 word order regularly operates in imperatives and yes-no questions.

### 9.1.3 The non-final position of non-finite verbs in main clauses – the absence of braces

Free word order and the Polish influence on the configuration of constituents in Wymysorys is visible beyond the common violations of the V2 rule, including spontaneous V1. Another phenomenon suggesting the lack of syntactic rigidity concerns the position of the non-finite verb in main clauses.

In Wymysorys, in the rigid word-order system, the finite verb and the non-finite verb regularly yield the so-called “verbal or sentential braces” – also referred to as “brackets” or “frames” (Eisenberg 1994:382; Fagan 2009:197) – around certain constituents in main clauses. That is, the finite verb occupies the second position, whereas non-finite verbs – whether infinitives (55.a-b) or participles (55.c-d) – tend to be placed at the end of the clause. As a result, all internal arguments, i.e. direct or indirect objects (e.g. *arpułn* ‘potatoes’ in 55.a), and adjuncts, e.g. adverbials and particles (*grođ* ‘just’ in 55.b), as well as the subject (e.g. *der nökwer* ‘the neighbor’ in 55.b) – if the subject-verb inversion is activated due to the V2 rule – appear between the inflected verb and its non-finite part(s).

- (55) a. Zy **zon** arpułn **kiöefa**  
‘They shall buy potatoes’
- b. Yta **ej** der nökwer grođ **gykuma**  
‘The neighbor has just arrived’
- c. Yhy **ho** dy kyh **ufgyroümt**  
‘I get the kitchen as clean’
- d. Yhy **bej** ni ká möł hynder granc **gywast**  
‘I have never been abroad’

If a verbal complex is composed of three parts, i.e. an inflected verb, an infinitive, and a participle, rigid word order requires the two non-finite verbal forms to be placed at the end of the clause, with objects (e.g. *s’mytagasa* ‘the lunch’ and *dos* ‘this’ in 56.a-b) and adjuncts (e.g. *ind* ‘always’ in (56.b) and *mün* in (56.c-d)) appearing within the verbal braces. As far as the right edge of such clauses is concerned, the participle may precede the infinitive (see *gykoht hon* ‘have cooked’ in (56.a) and *gyljyt zajn* ‘be taught’ in 56.a-b) or, more commonly, it is the infinitive that precedes the participle (see *wyt zajn gymölt* ‘it will be painted’ in (56.c) and *wyt wada reperjyt* ‘it will be reconstructed’ in (56.d)).<sup>296</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> This usage possibly imitates sequences commonly found in Polish, where the participle tends to come after the verb, e.g. *będę mieć zrobione* ‘I will have done’ or *mialo być zrobione* ‘it should have been done’. Overall, the [infinitive + participle] order is prevalent in Wymysorys, while the reverse arrangement is significantly less frequent. This contrasts with the word order typifying Modern Standard German.

- (56) a. Yh **wà** s'mytagasa **gykoht hon**  
 'I will have cooked the lunch'
- b. Dy wymysiöejer kyndyn **wan** ind dos **gyljyt zajn**  
 'Wymysorys children will always be taught this'
- c. Dy wand **wyt mün zàjn gymölt**  
 'The wall will be painted tomorrow'
- d. Dy hoüz **wyt mün wada reperjyt**  
 'The house will be repaired tomorrow'

Contrary to the word order type outlined above, Wymysorys also allows for the non-finite parts of a verbal complex to be placed immediately after the inflected verb, rather than locating them at the end of the main clause (see examples 57.a-d, 58.a-b, and 59 below). This contiguous syntactic arrangement of verbal components is very common in Wymysorys, being preferred by far – but not limited to – when speakers make use of other phenomena associated with free word order, especially the generalized absence of V2. One of the results of this contiguous placement of the finite and non-finite verb is the absence of the verbal braces, which are typical of rigid word order. In the contiguous verbal configuration, all internal arguments (direct or indirect objects) and adjuncts (e.g. adverbs and prepositional phrases indicating time, place, and manner) are placed outside the verbal sequence. For example, in (57.a-b), the direct object (i.e. *arpuln* 'potatoes' and *s'öwytasa* 'the dinner') follows the finite verb (i.e. *zon* 'shall' and *mü* 'may') and the infinitive (i.e. *kiöefa* 'buy' and *fietik maha* 'make ready'). In (57.c-d), the direct object follows the finite verb (*ho* and *höt* – 1<sup>st</sup>- and 3<sup>rd</sup>-person sg. of *hon* 'have') and the participle (*gykoüft* 'bought' and *ufgyboüt* 'built').

- (57) a. Zy **zon kiöefa** arpuln  
 'They shall buy potatoes'
- b. Yh **mü** fietik **maha** s'öwytasa  
 'I will have to prepare the dinner'
- c. Hoüts mügies h'**ho gykoüft** à brut  
 'Today in the morning I bought a loaf of bread'
- d. Der jysty kyng **höt ufgyboüt** Krök  
 'The first king [of Poland] built Kraków'

Similarly, in (58.a-b), the adverbial adjuncts of time, i.e. *mün* 'tomorrow' and *gestyn* 'yesterday', are placed outside the verbal complex, occupying a final position in the clause:

- (58) a. Máj nökwer **wyt kuma** mün  
 ‘My neighbor will come tomorrow’
- b. Máj nökwer **ej gykuma** gestyn  
 ‘The neighbor arrived (lit. has arrived) yesterday’

Additionally, the continuity of the finite and non-finite verbal components explained above has important bearings on the position of the external argument, i.e. the subject. That is, one may detach the subject from the inflected verb and place it after the last component of a complex predicate, i.e. after the participle (e.g. *gykuma* ‘arrived’ in 59.a) or the infinitive (e.g. *kuma* ‘come’ in 59.b).

- (59) a. Yta **ej gykuma** der nökwer  
 ‘The neighbor has arrived’
- b. Wen **wyt kuma** der nökwer, yhy wà dos maha  
 ‘When the neighbor comes, I will do this’

In cases where verbal complexes consist of three elements, all arguments (internal or external) and adjuncts are placed outside the verbal sequence. This external position is typically post-verbal (i.e. occurring after the infinitive and participle) for objects (see *à oüta* ‘a car’ in 60.a), while for subjects, it tends to be pre-verbal (see *máj nökwer* in 60.a-b). Adjuncts may occur before (see *mün* ‘tomorrow’ in 60.a) or after (see *mün* in 60.b) the verbal complex with equal frequency. In all such three-member contiguous verbal sequences, the infinitive regularly precedes the participle (see *hon gykoüft* ‘have bought’ in 60.a and *zàjn gykuma* ‘have (lit. be) come’ in 60.b).

- (60) a. Mün máj nökwer **wyt hon gykoüft** à oüta  
 ‘Tomorrow, my neighbor will have bought a car’
- b. Máj nökwer **wyt zàjn gykuma** mün  
 ‘My neighbor will have come tomorrow’

The contiguous structure of verbal predicates composed of auxiliaries and non-finite parts – fully comparable with the word order found in (57.a-d) and (58.a-b) above – is common in Polish, even though discontinuous configurations are also possible given the in-built combinatory freedom of Polish syntax. To be exact, contiguous verbal sequences (e.g. *będe pisać/pisał list* ‘I will write the letter’, *byłbym pisał list* ‘I would write a letter’, or *żem napisal list* ‘I have written a letter’) are significantly less marked than discontinuous ones (e.g. *będe list pisać/pisał*, *byłbym list pisał*, or *żem list napisal*) in which the object is intercalated between the inflected verb (e.g. *będe* ‘I will (be)’ and *byłbym* ‘I would (be)’ or inflectional clitic (e.g. *żem* ‘that I have/did’), on the one hand, and the infinitive (e.g. *pisać* ‘write’) or the (original) participle (e.g. *pisał*), on the other. The word order found in (59.a-b) above also seems to be analogous to the alignment that is available in Polish in which the subject occupies a position external to the verbal complex built around finite and non-finite parts,

specifically post-verbally (see, for instance, *Jutro będą pisali studenci egzamin* ‘Tomorrow the students will write the exam’).<sup>297</sup>

While marked in Polish, the main-clause verbal braces constitute an unmarked syntactic strategy in continental West Germanic languages (Harbert 2007). The braces, formed by the finite verb on the left edge and the non-finite verb(s) on the right edge, are a pervasive feature of Modern Standard German (Eisenberg 1994:382-383; Harbert 2007:351; Johnson & Braber 2008:189-191; Fagan 2009:138-139). See, for example, *Ich will eines Tages diese Länder besuchen* ‘I want to visit these countries someday’ and *Ich habe letztes Jahr diese Länder besucht* ‘I have visited these countries last year’ (Harbert 2007:351). A similar situation is attested in Dutch where braces are an essential syntactic characteristic (Shetter & Ham 2007:162-163; Donaldson 2008; Zwart 2011:33). In verbal complexes composed of three parts, the participle precedes the infinitive on the right edge in Modern Standard German (e.g. *sie werden geschrieben haben* ‘they will have written’; Russ 1994:179; Fagan 2009), while in Dutch two combinations are grammatical: the infinitive preceding the participle or the participle preceding the infinitive (e.g. *Hij zal het gedaan hebben* or *Hij zal hebben gedaan*; Donaldson 2008:182-183). Similarly, in Middle High German, verbal complexes composed of a finite verb and non-finite forms yield braces around certain other constituents (Paul 2007:453, 456). In main clauses, the left edge of the braces was formed by the finite verb (typically in the second or, less commonly, the first position) while the right edge was formed by non-finite parts and separable prefixes (Paul 2007:456). In three-member verbal complexes, as in Dutch, two sequences were possible: finite + non-finite 2 (participle) + non-finite 1 (infinitive; e.g. *wolte... geboren werden*) or, less common and gradually decreasingly, finite + non-finite 1 (infinitive) + non-finite 2 (participle; *mohten... haben gesehen*; *ibid.* 453-454). In contrast, the lack of braces is relatively rare in West Germanic. The braces are absent or residual only in non-continental and peripheral varieties, e.g. English, Pennsylvania German (Van Ness 1994:437), and Yiddish (Katz 1987; Jacobs, Prince & van der Auwera 1994).

Given the pervasiveness of verbal braces in contemporary West Germanic languages and their presence in the diachronic predecessor, i.e. Middle High German, on the one hand, and the common presence of non-braced configurations in Polish, on the other hand, the lack of braces and the contiguous placement of all the components of a verbal complex in Wymysorys is probably a contact induced phenomenon. This observation is strengthened by the fact that in two closely related West Germanic languages where the braces are residual or less strict, i.e. Pennsylvania German and Yiddish, the loosening of the system of braces is also attributed to language contact, particularly the influence of English and Slavonic patterns, respectively.

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<sup>297</sup> Of course, other configurations including non-contiguous ones are also possible and widely attested in Polish (e.g. *Jutro będą studenci pisali egzamin* or *Jutro będą egzamin studenci pisali egzamin* ‘Tomorrow the students will write the exam’). The availability of such alternative configurations is consistent with the pragmatic principles governing free word order in Polish.

#### 9.1.4 The non-final position of verbs in subordinate clauses and main-clause subordinate-clause symmetry

The rigid word order of Wymysorys tends to exhibit asymmetries in the placement of finite verbs in main and subordinate clauses. In main clauses, the verb is usually the second constituent, even being able to precede its subject in cases of fronting (see section 9.1.1). In contrast, in subordinate clauses introduced by complementizers, the verb – including verbal complexes consisting of finite and non-finite elements – typically occupies a final position. As a result, in subordinate clauses, the verb tends to follow its external and internal arguments as well as adjuncts. For examples, the verbs *maht* ‘did’, *gylejn höst* ‘has lent’, and *kom* ‘came’ in (61.a-c) below occupy a clause-final position. They follow the subjects (*har* ‘he’, *dü* ‘you’, and *’h* ‘I’), the objects (*dos* ‘this’ and *mjyr* ‘to me’), and the adjuncts, where the latter may take the form of an adverb (*gestyn* ‘yesterday’ in 61.a), a particle (*sun* ‘already’ in 61.a), or prepositional phrase (*uf dy weld* ‘in the world’).

- (61) a. Har kuzt do har sun dos gestyn **maht**  
‘He said that he had already done this’
- b. Yh laz a bihla wu dü mjyr **gylejn höst**  
‘I am reading a book which you have lent me’
- c. Yhy wön y Wymysoü wi’h uf dy welt **kom**  
‘I have lived in Wilamowice since I was born (lit. since I came in the world)’

Apart from the arrangement of constituents in which the verb occupies the final position in subordinate clauses and which typifies rigid word order, Wymysorys allows for a different type of syntactic configuration. In these alternative cases, which are characteristic of free word order, the order of constituents found in subordinate clauses mirrors the word order of main clauses. Accordingly, the inflected verb occupies the second (after the subject) or the third (after the subject and the adjunct of time or place) position in unmarked, predicate-focused clauses, as well as in any other position if this is required by the pragmatics of the clause. Crucially, in pragmatically unmarked contexts, the verb tends to precede internal arguments and (at least some) adjuncts. For example, in (62.a), the verb *ufroüms* ‘you clean’ precedes the direct object *dy goncy hyt* ‘the whole house’, appearing after the conjunction *wen* ‘when, if’, the pronominal subject *dy* ‘you’, and the negator *ny* ‘not’. In (62.b-c), the analytical future-tense verbal constructions *wyt kiöefa* ‘will buy’ and *wyt maha* ‘will do’, consisting of the auxiliary *wyt* ‘will’ and the infinitives *kiöefa* ‘buy’ and *maha* ‘do’, precede the direct objects *s’brut* ‘bread’ and *di at* ‘this work’. Similarly, in (62.d-e), the analytical perfectal grams *höt gymaht* ‘have done’ and *höt gylaza* ‘has read’, formed by the auxiliary *höt* ‘has’ and the participles *maht* ‘done’ and *gylaza* ‘read’, precede the direct object *dy at* ‘the work’ and *dos bihla* ‘this book’.

- (62) a. Dü wüst ny roüsgen wen dy ny **ufroüms** dy gancy hyt  
‘You will not leave before you clean the whole house’

- b.     À kuzt do à **wyt kiöefa** s’brut  
        ‘He said that he would buy the bread’
- c.     À höt gyziöet do à **wyt maha** di at  
        ‘He said that he would do this work’
- d.     À ziöet do à **höt gylaza** dos bihła  
        ‘He said that he had read this book’
- e.     À ziöet do à **höt gymaht** dy at  
        ‘He said that he had already done it’

Also regular in Polish is the configuration typical of free word order in which the verb need not appear in a final position in subordinate clauses but rather, if pragmatically unmarked, occurs immediately after the clause marker (e.g. conjunction, complementizer, or relative pronoun) and the subject (and, in addition, possibly headed by a temporal or locative adjunct). This configuration therefore mirrors the constituent order found in main clauses (see 63.a-b below). Although a number of configurations are possible in Polish, the one mentioned above is prevalent in pragmatically unmarked contexts. Crucially, subordinate clauses are not governed by syntactic rules that would be substantially different from those operating in main clauses. Thus, word order in both types of clauses are generally the same (compare the position of the subject (e.g. *matka* ‘mother’), predicate (e.g. *przyniesie* ‘will bring’), direct object (e.g. *jedzenie* ‘food’), indirect object (e.g. *mu* ‘to him’), and adjunct (e.g. *jutro* ‘tomorrow’) in 63.a with 63.b), as is exactly the case of the free word order in Wymysorys.

- (63) a.     Powiedział że matka przyniesie mu jutro jedzenie  
           ‘He said that mother would bring him the food tomorrow’
- b.     Matka przyniesie mu jutro jedzenie  
           ‘Mother would bring him the food tomorrow’

Contrary to Polish, West Germanic languages tend to display asymmetries in the word order of main and subordinate clauses (Harbert 2007:400). As explained in section 9.1.1, in main clauses in Modern Standard German and its various dialects, Dutch, Frisian, and Afrikaans, the verb is usually placed in the second position. In contrast, in overt subordinate clauses, the verb occupies a final position (Harbert 2007:400-401). As a result, in West Germanic, verbs found in subordinate clauses follow their internal and external arguments as well as adjuncts (Harbert 2007:350; consult Eisenberg 1994:381 and Fagan 2009:127, 129-130, 138-139 for German; for Dutch, consult Shetter & Ham 2007:142-143 and Donaldson 2008:293). A similar situation was attested in Middle High German where the verb typically, although not exclusively, occupies the final position in subordinate clauses (Paul 2007:449, 452).

Even though this type of word order asymmetry between main and subordinate clauses is characteristic of the West Germanic languages, it is not universal (Harbert 2007:01). However, at least in the continental varieties, the exceptions are rare and restricted to strictly determined contexts. For instance, in Modern Standard German, the main-clause word order is found in subordinate clauses if these do not contain overt complementizers or conjunctions. This can be illustrated by *Er sagt, morgen fahre sie ab* ‘He says, she departs tomorrow’ in which the subordinate clause lacks the overt complementizer *daß* ‘that’ and therefore exhibits the word order typical of main clauses (Harbert 2007:403). The same types of exceptions, i.e. main-clause word order being found in unmarked subordinate clauses, are also attested in Middle High German (Paul 2007:452).<sup>298</sup> The only language that attests to the consistent symmetrical configuration of main and subordinate clauses is Yiddish. In Yiddish, verbs in subordinate clauses do not occupy the final position but rather appear in the second position as is typical of main clauses (Katz 1987; Jacobs, Prince & van der Auwera 1994:410). Interestingly, this phenomenon is attributed to Slavonic influence (Geller 1999:84; Weinreich 2008:532).

To conclude, I propose that the non-final placement of the verb in subordinate clauses and the use of the same syntactic configurations in main and subordinate clauses in Wymysorys stems from Polish influence. This proposal can be supported by the following arguments which have been discussed in this section: the profound similarities between Wymysorys and Polish systems; the particularly common presence of the verb-non-final/symmetrical configuration in discourses organized around the free word-order principle in Wymysorys; the rare attestation of this type of syntactic symmetry in West Germanic, where asymmetry and the final position in subordinate clauses are typical; and last but not least, the fact that the only continental West Germanic language with a clear absence of asymmetry and verb-final placement in a subordinate clause is Yiddish, where this is phenomenon is viewed as contact-induced.

#### 9.1.5 The pre-verbal position of the negator *ny*

Another phenomenon typical of free word order in Wymysorys is the pre-verbal position of the negator *ny* ‘not, don’t’ in main clauses. Strictly speaking, this phenomenon does not constitute direct evidence for free word order since the placement of *ny* is predetermined and any type of syntactic freedom is absent here. However, as the pre-verbal position *ny* is often correlated with other features typical of free word order in Wymysorys – and as it matches the position of the negator in Polish similar to other characteristics of free word order in Wymysorys – I include it in the chapter dedicated to free word order.

To begin with, in rigid word order, the general negator *ny* regularly appears in a postverbal position in main clauses, as illustrated by *yhy wiöe ny* ‘I was not’ in (64.a). If the verb is a complex predicate or verbal phrase containing modal auxiliaries, the negator comes immediately after the finite verb and thus before an infinitive (see *wyt ny postarcán* ‘will not follow’ in 64.b) or a participle (see *wiöd ny gyryht* ‘was not repaired’ in 64.c).

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<sup>298</sup> Main and subordinate clauses exhibit symmetrical V2 word order in Icelandic (Harbert 2007:404).

- (64) a. Yhy wiöe **ny** hynder dy granc  
 ‘I haven’t been abroad’
- b. Der oldy wyt **ny** postárcán  
 ‘The old people will not follow’
- c. S’öüta wiöd **ny** gyryht  
 ‘The car has not been repaired’

While the postverbal placement of the negator typifies discourses governed by rigid word order, conversations that are organized around free word order may use *ny* in a pre-verbal field. This is illustrated in (65.a-c) below. In (65.a), *ny* precedes the inflected main verb *at* ‘I work’. In (65.b), *ny* precedes the modal auxiliary *djyft* ‘he dares’. In (65.c), *ny* precedes the inflected copula verb *ej* ‘is’.

- (65) a. Yh **ny** at hoüt  
 ‘I don’t work today’
- b. Yh **ny** djyft gejn  
 ‘I don’t dare to go’
- c. Dar, wu ny ej bykant, **ny** ej hamyś  
 ‘The one that is not known, is not native’

This alternative placement of *ny* in Wymysorys coincides with the position of the general negator *nie* ‘not, don’t’ in Polish. In Polish, *nie* regularly precedes the inflected main verb, e.g. *nie rozmawiają* ‘they are not talking’ in (66.a). It also tends to be used before the finite component of complex tenses or analytical expressions, e.g. the future *nie będą chodzić* ‘they will not go’ (66.b) and the possessive resultative *nie mam odrobionych* ‘I haven’t done’ (66.c; see Swan 2002:400; Sadowska 2012:300).<sup>299</sup>

- (66) a. Chłopcy **nie** rozmawiają o tych sprawach!  
 ‘Boys are not talking about such matters’
- b. Moje dzieci **nie** będą chodzić do tej szkoły  
 ‘My children won’t go to this school’
- c. **Nie** mam odrobionych zadań  
 ‘I haven’t done my homework’

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<sup>299</sup> The exceptions are verbal forms that allow for disjointed variants, e.g. *żem nie zrobił* ‘I haven’t done’, *żebyś nie zrobił* ‘so that you don’t do’, *gdybym nie zrobił* ‘if I hadn’t done’, etc.

In West Germanic languages, the general negators, such as *nicht* in Modern Standard German, *niet* in Dutch, *nie* in Afrikaans, and *not* in English, regularly appear after the inflected verb in main clauses (see Russ 1994; Shetter & Ham 2007; Donaldson 2008; Fagan 2009; Breitbarth 2014). As explained above, this is also the case of the syntax of *ny* in rigid word order in Wymysorys. Although in Old and Middle High German, the negators *ne*, *en*, *in*, *-n*, and *n-* appeared before the verb in main clauses, the negative complement *ni(e)ht* – from which the German *nicht* and Wymysorys *ny* have emerged – occupied a postverbal position (Wright 1917:78; Paul 2007:388-389; Jäger 2008). Similarly, in Old and Middle Low German, the element that was later generalized as a negator in daughter languages was placed postverbally (Breitbarth 2014). Even Yiddish – a language heavily influenced by Slavonic varieties – regularly places its negator *nit* in a postverbal position (Katz 1987:227-228). Given the above, it is likely that the negator *ny* in Wymysorys acquired its pre-verbal position by replicating the syntactic pattern that is ubiquitous in Polish, according to which the general negator preceded the verb.

## 9.2 Poly-negation

Poly-negation is another syntactic feature of which the presence in Wymysorys may – to a large extent – be attributed to contact with Polish.

To begin with, Wymysorys may – and often does – exhibit the system based on mono-negation, in which a single negative word suffices to express the idea of negative polarity. Negative words of this type include *ńist* ‘nothing’ (67.a), *ńimand(a)* ‘no one’ (67.b), *ńynt/njynt* ‘nowhere’ (67.c), and the various forms of *kā* ‘not any, none’ (67.d-e). This means that, in all such cases, the use of the general negator *ny* ‘not’ is not necessary.

- (67) a. Zy weła **ńist** ata  
‘They don’t want to eat anything’
- b. Har kuzt wymysiöeryś myt **ńimand**  
‘He did not speak Wymysorys with anyone’
- c. **ńynt** ej’ s ázu güt wi bym foter án ber müter  
‘Nowhere is better than (lit. so good as) my mother and fathers’
- d. Yhy ho **kā** cajt  
‘I do not have time’
- e. Ufer Bejł ej der śpytuł, y Wymysoü ej **kāner**  
‘The hospital is in Biała; in Wilamowice, there is none’

Apart from mono-negation discussed above, Wymysorys allows for another negative system – the so-called “poly-negation” or “negative concord” (cf. Harbert 2007), sometimes referred to as “double negation” (Andersson 1994:297). In this system, to yield grammatical negative

expressions, a specific negative word, such as *nist* ‘nothing’ (68.a), *nimand(a)* ‘no one’ (68.b), *nynt/njynt* ‘nowhere’ (68.c), and *ká* ‘not any’ (68.d), must be accompanied by the general negator *ny* ‘not’. Accordingly, the use of a specific negative word together with the general negator specifies negative meaning but does not cancel it. The presence of two (68.a-d) or more (68.e) negative elements in a clause always resolves into a negative reading.

- (68) a. Yhy kon **nist ny** maha  
‘I cannot do anything’
- b. Yhy gej **nynt ny**  
‘I am not going anywhere’
- c. Ny renčá fjyr **nimanda!**  
‘Don’t vouch for anyone!’
- d. Dy döktyň **ny maha ká** höfnung  
‘The doctors do not have any hope’
- e. Har wył **nimanda nist ny** gan  
‘He does not want to give anything to anyone’

The system of poly-negation is typical of the Slavonic family, including Polish. In Polish, negative pronouns and adverbs, e.g. *nikt* ‘no one’, *nic* ‘nothing’ (69.a), *nigdzie* ‘nowhere’, or *nigdy* ‘never’ (69.b), must be accompanied by the general negative particle *nie* ‘not’ to express a negative meaning. Inversely, the use of two or more negative elements never yields an interpretation in terms of positive polarity. Even more importantly, the use of negative pronouns and adverbs without the general negator *nie* is not sufficient for a clause to be interpreted as negative and, in fact, be grammatical. Therefore, example (69.c) is ungrammatical. To be grammatical, the verb must be preceded by the negator *nie* (see Swan 2002:400; Sadowska 2012:300).

- (69) a. **Nie** mam **niczego**  
‘I don’t have anything’
- b. **Nikt** z nich **nigdy nigdzie nie** był  
‘No one of them has ever been anywhere’
- c. **\*\*Poszedł nigdzie**  
Intended meaning: ‘He went nowhere’

Despite similarities between poly-negation in Wymysorys and Polish, which could suggest a direct transfer of this Slavonic pattern to Wymysorys syntax, the origin of poly-negation in Wymysorys is more complex.

Certainly, mono-negation prevails in modern West Germanic languages, especially the standard ones. The negative systems of Modern Standard German (Lenz 1996:183-185; Harbert 2007:280; Salmons 2012:13), Dutch (Shetter & Ham 2007; Donaldson 2008), and English, both in its American and British versions (König 1994:562), are built around mono-negation. Mono-negation is also typical of standard North Germanic languages: Danish (Lundskær-Nielsen & Holmes 2010:603-604), Swedish (Andersson 1994:297), Norwegian (in both Bokmål and Nynorsk; see Holmes & Enger 2018), Faroese (Barnes & Weyhe 1994:216), and Icelandic (Þráinsson 1994:187).

Nevertheless, although less visible, poly-negation is not entirely foreign to the Germanic family. On the contrary, it may be found in a few standardized varieties and, especially, in a number of dialects. To be exact, poly-negation characterizes regional varieties of English, e.g. Southern American English, African American English, and lower-class registers of British English (König 1994:562; Cheshire 1999; Harbert 2007:280). It features in Low Franconian dialects, in certain regional and/or colloquial forms of Dutch (van der Wal & Quak 1994:87-88), Flemish (Breitbarth & Haegemann 2010), Frisian (Tiersma 1985; Hoekstra & Tiersma 1994:528), and Low German (Lindow et al. 1998; Reershemius 2004), as well as, in a more regular manner, in Standard Afrikaans. It is also attested in the North Germanic branch, e.g. in Swedish dialects (Andersson 1994:297), in Elfdalian (Garbacz 2010), and in some Finland Swedish varieties (Fuster Sansalvador 2013:21). Crucially, poly-negation is found in a number of German dialects, e.g. Thuringian, Bavarian, and Swiss German (Jacobs, Prince & van der Auwera 1994:417), as well as in colloquial Modern Standard German, especially for emphatic purposes (Harbert 2007:280; Elspaß & Langer 2012:283, 286-289; Salmons 2012:213; see also Donhauser 1996). Its presence is particularly evident in Eastern varieties of German, namely East Central German (Davies and Langer 2006:242, following Pensel 1976) and East Upper German (Grandel 2011, as cited by Elspaß & Langer 2012:289). It is also typical of Standard Yiddish (Katz 1987; Jacobs, Prince & van der Auwera 1994:417; Harbert 2007:281; Weinreich 2008) and features in Aljzneriś (Dolatowski 2017:260-261, 266-267).

As far as the history of German is concerned, poly-negation arose in Middle High German (Donhauser 1996; Elspaß & Langer 2012:281). It evolved from the system of mono-negation that operated in Old High German and subsequently gave rise, in a cyclical manner, to mono-negation in Modern Standard German (Lenz 1996:183-185; Harbert 2007:280; Salmons 2012:13).<sup>300</sup> However, this widely accepted scenario has recently been nuanced, the respective historical stages being significantly less discrete (Elspaß & Langer 2012:283). At the time of Old High German, although mono-negation prevailed, poly-negation with *ni/ne* existed and constituted a less common alternative (*ibid.*). In Middle High German, the situation was the reverse. Poly-negation constituted a prevalent strategy with the general negator *ne* (or its variants *en*, *in*, *-n*, or *n-*) heading the verb, while *niht/nieht* and other specific negative adverbials and pronouns followed it (Wright 1917:78; Paul 2007:388-389). Nevertheless,

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<sup>300</sup> A similar development has been postulated for Dutch, Frisian, English, and Low German (see van der Wal & Quak 1994:87-88; Harbert 2007:280; Breitbarth 2014).

mono-negation was also attested, and negative adverbs and pronouns could occur on their own (Donhauser 1996; Jäger 2008; Elspaß & Langer 2012:281; Salmons 2012:213). For instance, *nicht* was often absent with preterite present verbs, modal verbs, and in subordinate clauses (Wright 1917:78; Paul 2007:289-390).<sup>301</sup> Currently, the situation has again been reversed. Although mono-negation prevails in Modern Standard German, poly-negation is grammatical in the colloquial register and several dialects (Elspaß & Langer 2012:283). Overall, poly-negation has been persistent throughout the development of New High German, the most recent stage of which is Modern Standard German. It constituted a common strategy in 16<sup>th</sup> century Early New High German (Ebert 1993:426; Langer 2001:167). It also operated in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Macha et al. 2005:86; Elspaß & Langer 2012:283-285). Even the famous German writers of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, e.g. Schiller and Goethe, still employed it (Elspaß & Langer 2012:286). Despite attempts (see next paragraph), it has remained a more or less visible feature in the current linguistic landscape of German and its varieties.<sup>302</sup>

It is probable that the development from a poly-negative system in Middle High German to a mono-negative system in Modern Standard German has not resulted from an unconstrained language-internal change. Instead, it may have stemmed from the external pressures of determined language policies (Elspaß & Langer 2012:286). To be exact, the loss of poly-negation when used in a negative sense or, at least, the reduction of the poly-negative system, the emergence of a positive reading of double negation, and the rise of mono-negation occurred first in the written language. This was due to the pressure of prescriptive grammars and the stigmatization of the negative reading of poly-negation as illogical (Harbert 2007:280; Elspaß & Langer 2012:283-284). While poly-negation is no longer used in the standard language, dialectal and colloquial varieties have generally resisted this pressure, thus retaining the poly-negative system to a certain extent (Elspaß & Langer 2012:283-284).<sup>303</sup>

In light of the above discussion, the use of poly-negation in Wymysorys need not be solely attributed to Polish influence. As it existed in Middle High German and has never disappeared from German dialects, especially Eastern varieties including Silesian German and Yiddish, its presence in Wymysorys could be interpreted as retention (see Kleczkowski 1921:39-41). However, there are certain differences between poly-negation in Middle High German and in some other German(ic) languages, and the poly-negation of Wymysorys, which may suggest some degree of Polish contribution. First, in Wymysorys, poly-negation has no emphatic function – the “additional” presence of *ny* does not strengthen the negative meaning in terms of focus, firmness, or assertiveness. When it occurs, the meaning of a poly-negative structure

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<sup>301</sup> The situation in Middle Dutch was even more complex. Middle Dutch exhibited three optional strategies: poly-negation (which was prevalent); the mono-negative pre-verbal *en* (which was rare and constituted a retention strategy from an older evolutionary stage); and another mono-negation *niet* (which was the new pattern; van der Wal & Quak 1994:87).

<sup>302</sup> Despite the relative visibility of poly-negation in German varieties since Middle High German, poly-negation has never been quantitatively prominent in New High German (Elspaß & Langer 2012:289). In Early New High German, it constituted no more than 35% of negation cases. At the beginning of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the overall frequency of poly-negation in texts radically decreased to less than 3%.

<sup>303</sup> Prescriptive grammars have played a similar role in the stabilization of mono-negation in Dutch (van der Wal & Quak 1994:87) and English (Harbert 2007:280).

corresponds to simple negation, exactly as in Polish. Second, by further following the Polish norm, the use of a general negator and negative adverbial and pronoun virtually always resolves into a negative, both in the poly-negative system and in the mono-negative system, contrary to most West Germanic varieties. This means that the interpretation of the sentences in (68.a-e) as affirmative is virtually impossible. Accordingly, the poly-negative system has a significantly stronger position in Wymysorys than the mono-negative system. Third, while in Middle High German and many other West Germanic varieties the general negator usually appears before the specific negative word, in Wymysorys the placement of the negator and a specific negative word can be – and often is – inverse: e.g. *nist ny* ‘nothing not’ (70.a), *ńimanda ny* ‘no-one not’ (70.b), and *kā...ny* ‘no-one not’ (70.c; see also 68.a-b, e). This type of mutual arrangement is an exact replica of poly-negative structures found in Polish in which the general negator is often preceded by negative adverbials and pronouns, e.g. *nic nie* ‘nothing not’, *nikt nie* ‘no-one not’, and *żadny...nie* ‘no-one not’, respectively (see Swan 2002:400; Sadowska 2012:300).

- (70) a.     *À meńc wu nist ny zit*  
           ‘A man who cannot see anything’
- b.     Ma djef *ńimanda ny* śiöehja  
           ‘One should not scare anyone’
- c.     Yhy ho *kā* rānabōga *ny* gyzan  
           ‘I have not seen any rainbow / I have seen no rainbow’

To conclude, both language-/family-internal and contact mechanisms may have contributed to the development and stabilization of poly-negation in Wymysorys, having operated simultaneously during the history of this language. In other words, the presence of poly-negation can be attributed to the West Germanic and East Central German background of Wymysorys as well as to its prolonged contact with Polish. While the poly-negative strategy is in essence an inherited syntactic device – a device that has never disappeared from the West Germanic branch – its retention and fully systemic use in Wymysorys is probably an areal phenomenon resulting from its convergence with the Polish negative system, in which only poly-negative structures are grammatical. This explanation would concord with the proposal formulated by Weinreich (2008) for Yiddish, according to whom, although drawing on an inherited strategy, the generalized presence of poly-negation in Yiddish should principally be attributed to contact with Slavonic languages (ibid. 423, 532; see also Geller 1994; 1999). It would also harmonize with the mainly Polish origin of poly-negation in Aljzneriś (although, again, drawing on an inherited Middle High German strategy), which is only attested in the language of speakers still living in Poland (Dolatowski 2017:260-261, 266-267).<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>304</sup> Note that in Elfdalian, poly-negation is also viewed as an innovation (Garbacz 2010).

### 9.3 The use of tenses in subordinate clauses

The impact of Polish on Wymysorys syntax and a possible restructuring of the latter's original – more West Germanic – character may be observed in the manner in which Wymysorys deals with the sequence of tenses or tense harmony – the so-called *consecutio temporum*. The concept of *consecutio temporum* refers to a rule that governs the agreement between the tenses in the main and subordinate clauses. The most prototypical environment where this principle appears cross-linguistically is in reported or indirect speech introduced by overt complementizers.<sup>305</sup>

As was the case with word order and negation, Wymysorys has access to two systems of tense sequences. In the one system, the tense of verbs employed in the subordinate clause is conditioned by the timeframe of the main clause. Accordingly, if the main clause's verb, especially the introductory verb of speech, is inflected in the preterite or perfect, and the timeframe of that clause is determined as past, the tenses used in the subordinate clause exhibit the following changes: (a) if the verb was or should be inflected in the present in direct speech, it appears as the preterite in reported speech, conveying the idea of simultaneity (see *wiöe* 'was' in 71.a); (b) if the verb was inflected in the perfect or the preterite, it appears in the pluperfect, conveying the idea of anteriority (e.g. *hot gymaht* 'had done' in 71.b); if the verb was inflected in the future, it appears in the conjunctive, conveying the idea of prospectivity (e.g. *wje maha* 'would do' in 72.c).

- (71) a. Der meńc ziöet do'a **wiöe** krank  
'The man said that he was sick'
- b. Har kuzt do har sun **hot** dos **gymaht**  
'He said that he had already done it'
- c. Å ziöet do har **wje** dos **maha**  
'He said that he would do this'

Although the rule of *consecutio temporum* may be observed in Wymysorys, it is not compulsory (Kleczkowski 1921:3; Wicherkiewicz 2003:414). Indeed, most commonly, Wymysorys speakers make use of the other system in which this principle is violated. In such cases, the tense of the verb used in the main clause – and the timeframe interpretation of that clause – does not affect the use of tenses in the subordinate clause such that the tenses used in direct speech remain the same in reported speech. As a result, even if the main clause contains a verb inflected in the preterite or perfect and its time reference is past, the verb in the subordinate clause may be inflected in the present (e.g. *lejzt* 'reads / is reading' in 72.a), perfect (e.g. *har maht* 'has done' in 72.b), and future (e.g. *wyt maha* 'will do' and *wyt kiöefa* 'will buy' in 72.c-d), i.e. without the change into the preterite, pluperfect, and conjunctive, respectively.

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<sup>305</sup> Since the rule of *consecutio temporum* – or its absence – determines the choice of tenses, it is related not only to syntax, but also to semantics.

- (72) a. À ziöet do à **lejzt** dos bihła  
 ‘He said that he was reading (lit. is reading) that book’
- b. Har kuzt do **har** sun dos **maht**  
 ‘He said that he had already done it’
- c. À höt gyziöet do’á **wyt** dos **maha**  
 ‘He said that he would do (lit. will do) it’
- d. À kuzt do’á **wyt kiöefa** s’brut  
 ‘He said that he would buy (lit. will buy) the bread’

Other future periphrases, i.e. constructions with *zula* ‘shall’ (73.a), *müsa* ‘must’ (73.b), and *djyfa* ‘should, must’ (73.c), also preserve the present tense of their auxiliaries even though they are introduced by the main clause’s speech verb inflected in the preterite:

- (73) a. Der dökter ziöet do yh **zo rün**  
 ‘The doctor said that I should rest’
- b. Der dökter ziöet do’h **mü rün**  
 ‘The doctor told me to rest (lit. said that I should rest)’
- c. Der dökter ziöet do’h **djyft kuma**  
 ‘The doctor asked me to come (lit. said that I should come)’

This latter system governing the use of tenses in subordinate clauses in reported speech, in which the *consecutio temporum* rule is not observed, coincides with the system operating in Polish and, more generally, in the Slavonic family (Sussex & Cubberley 2006:399). In Polish, the tense of the verb employed in subordinate clauses in reported speech is not determined by the tense of the introductory speech verb and/or the timeframe of the main clause. Instead, it agrees with the tense of the verb used in the “original” clause in direct speech, for instance, the present tense as in (74.a-b) below (Sadowska 2012:460-461; see also Strutyński 1998:285-286).

- (74) a. Adam: Ewa jest chora (Sadowska 2012:460)  
 ‘Adam: Ewa is sick’
- b. Adam powiedział że Ewa jest chora (ibid.)  
 ‘Adam said that Ewa was sick’

In contrast to Polish and the Slavonic linguistic family, the rule of *consecutio temporum* tends to operate in Germanic languages (Comrie 1985; 1986; Declerck 1990; 1991; Harbert 2007).

However, despite its pervasiveness, this rule is not uniform – particular languages exploit it differently and/or to a different extent.

The rule of the sequence of tenses is fully observed in North Germanic, e.g. in Icelandic (Þráinsson 1994:183),<sup>306</sup> Norwegian (Askedal 1994:238), and Swedish (Perridon 1996:175), and in certain members of the West Germanic branch, e.g. English (Comrie 1985; 1986; Declerck 1990; 1991; Janssen 1996; van der Wurff 1996) and Dutch (Boogaart 1996:213-214, 227). Although scholars disagree about the specific mechanisms underlying the phenomenon (compare Comrie 1986; Declerck 1990; 1991; van der Wurff 1996), the phenomenon itself is well understood. Similar to the *consecutio temporum* in Wymysorys, the use of tenses in subordinate clauses in indirect speech is conditioned by the tense employed in the introductory matrix clause. If the matrix clause contains a past-type verb (usually a simple past or a preterite), the tenses of the subordinate clause are “backshifted into the past” (van der Wurff 1996:262; Comrie 1985; 1986:279) or, within an alternative view, they are reanalyzed as relative tenses (Declerck 1990:519; 1991:157-192). That is, the events expressed in the embedded clause are presented in relation to the past domain established by the matrix clause as anterior, simultaneous, or prospective/posterior (Declerck 1990:519; 1991:157-192). This yields the following modifications of tenses: a present tense is shifted to a past tense (simultaneity), a perfect to a pluperfect (anteriority), and a future to a conditional or past conditional (prospectivity; Declerck 1991:157, 515; Comrie 1985; 1986; Boogaart 1996:213-214, 227; Janssen 1996:239; Perridon 1996:175). The treatment of the simple past or preterite is slightly less consistent. Due to the idiosyncrasies of individual TAM systems, a simple past or preterite tense can appear as either preterite or pluperfect in the embedded clauses of the reported speech in Germanic languages (Boogaart 1996; Perridon 1996; van der Wurff 1996). In cases where the event remains currently applicable and relevant, “backshifting” or relativization of tenses does not occur (Comrie 1986).

Modern Standard German differs from this relatively uniform picture. Rather than organizing its grammar of the sequence of tenses around the principle of “backshifting” or relativization (Harbert 2007:281), Modern Standard German exhibits a mood shift (Coulmas 1986:15). That is, it converts direct-speech indicatives into subjunctives – present or past – in subordinate clauses in reported speech (ten Cate 1996:189; Harbert 2007:281). The past subjunctive is preferred if “the speaker wants to express doubt or, [...] is not in agreement with the proposition of the reported clause” (Coulmas 1986:15). Alternatively, the selection of one of the two subjunctives is governed by formal characteristics: the present subjunctive is used as “the default form” (ten Cate 1996:198), while the past subjunctive appears in instances where the form of the present subjunctive is indistinguishable from the present indicative (ten Cate 1996:199; Harbert 2007:281). Furthermore, even indicative tenses can be used in subordinate clauses, especially if inflected in the first person, i.e. “when reported speaker and reporter are identical” (ten Cate 1996:200). Overall, “distance” constitutes the overarching principle that underlies the selection of tenses and moods in subordinate clauses (ten Cate 1996:208): by means of the subjunctive(s), the speaker distances him-/herself from the reported utterances,

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<sup>306</sup> In Icelandic, speech verbs also trigger a change in the modality of verbs used in subordinate clauses from indicative to subjunctive.

thereby avoiding the commitment regarding their accuracy (ten Cate 1996:208; Harbert 2007:281). Therefore, despite the regularities explained above, the use of verbal grams in the subordinate clause in Modern Standard German is not fully predictable, not in the case of the subjunctive forms nor when indicative forms are employed (Coulmas 1986:16; ten Cate 1995; 1996:192). Instead, a number of combinations of tenses and moods are possible – each profiles a different shade of meaning and the speaker’s attitude towards the reported words and their truth or certainty (Coulmas 1986:16; Harbert 2007:281).

The situation attested in Middle High German was probably even messier. In this variety, both the indicative and subjunctive can be used in subordinate clauses such that strict regularities in their use and distribution cannot be established (Paul 2007; Brückner 2011:108). Moreover, due to the common phenomenon of attraction, the mood (i.e. indicative or subjunctive) of the subordinate clause can be adjusted to the mood of the main clause for mood uniformity (Paul 2007:432; Brückner 2011:108). Nevertheless, as far as the subjunctive is concerned, certain dependencies similar to those of *consecutio temporum* have been proposed. In cases where simultaneity needs to be expressed, the following agreements are found: if the main clause is inflected in the present, imperative, or perfect, the verb found in the subordinate clause tends to be inflected in the subjunctive present; if, however, the main-clause verb is in the preterite, the verb in the subordinate clause is in the past subjunctive (Paul 2007:432-433; Brückner 2011:108-109).

To my knowledge, the only West Germanic language – at least, a standard variety – that regularly fails to comply with the rule of *consecutio temporum* is Yiddish (Geller 1999:85). Interestingly, this absence is explained as the elimination rather than retention of the original system in which the rule of *consecutio temporum* was respected and still operated in Old Yiddish. The elimination has, in turn, apparently occurred as a result of Slavonic influence (Prince 1998:356-357).

To conclude, the *consecutio temporum* rule is prevalent across (West) Germanic languages with the agreement concerning the tense of verbs and/or their mood. To an extent, this system also seems to have been in place in older (West) Germanic languages. In any case, in varieties in which this system fails to operate, its absence is viewed as reduction (and thus innovation) rather than retention. The consistency with which the principle of *consecutio temporum* is violated in Wymysorys and the preference of such violations over the use of *consecutio temporum* implies at least some degree of Polish influence. However, rather than a direct pattern of borrowing, contact with Polish has mostly contributed to the spread and generalization of one of the syntactic strategies that might have been available at earlier diachronic stages. Consequently, and similar to Old and Modern Yiddish, the Wymysorys system built around the sequence of tenses could be viewed as more original and etymological, while the system with no tense agreement – especially in its current magnitude – could be regarded as a posterior development due, in most part, to Polish influence (Latosiński 1909:272; Wicherkiewicz 1998a:211-212; 2003:413-414; *contra* Kleczkowski 1921:39-41).

## 9.4 Pro-drop

The last syntactic feature that may be attributed to contact with Polish is the pro-drop rule or null subjects – that is, the omission of referential pronominal subjects with finite verbs and thus a pronoun-less use of verbs.

In most cases, a Wymysorys verb that is inflected in person and number, and marked by appropriate endings must co-occur with an overt subject pronoun if a nominal subject is absent. These pronouns may be one of three types: accented independent pronouns or “full” pronouns (e.g. 1<sup>st</sup>-person sg. *yhy* in 75.a), independent unaccented pronouns or “reduced” pronouns (e.g. 1sg. *yh* in 75.b), and dependent pronouns or pronominal clitics (e.g. *'h* in 76.c; Andrason & Król 2014b; 2016a:46-49).

- (75) a. **Yhy** łaz s'bihła  
'I read a book'
- b. **Yh** wa jyn dos gan  
'I will give it to them'
- c. MÜN wa'**h** müsa fjetik maha s'öwytasa  
'Tomorrow, I will have to make dinner'

Despite the tendency outlined above, certain exceptions are attested in which subject pronouns may be omitted. To begin with, in coordinated clauses that contain verbs whose subject referents coincide, the pronominal subject is regularly unexpressed in all verbs but the first one (see *zy* ‘they’ that is omitted in the second conjunct in 76 below).

- (76) WÜN **zy** zyca än \_ fercyła  
'They were sitting and narrating'

More significantly, subject pronouns may be omitted if their referent is “easily” inferable from the grammatical properties of the verb itself, such as person-number endings and vowel patterns (i.e. root-vowel mutation). In other words, the omission is grammatical if the verbal form used is non-syncretic, thus being clearly distinguished from the other forms of the paradigm. Most examples of this type of pro-drop concern strong verbs inflected in the 2<sup>nd</sup>- and 3<sup>rd</sup>-persons singular of the present tense and the 2<sup>nd</sup>-person singular of the strong preterite. For example, the 2<sup>nd</sup>- and 3<sup>rd</sup>-persons sg. present and the 2<sup>nd</sup>-person sg. preterite of *nama* ‘take’ and *kuma* ‘come’ (i.e. *nymst* ‘you take’ and *kymst* ‘you come’; *nymt* ‘s/he takes’ and *kymt* ‘s/he comes’; *nomst* ‘you took’ and *komst* ‘you came’) are non-syncretic with any other forms found in the paradigms of these two verbs. Therefore, they can be omitted, as illustrated in (77.a) and (77.b) where the null-pronoun forms are used (see *nymst* and *kymst*, respectively). Furthermore, this efficient marking of the 2<sup>nd</sup>- and 3<sup>rd</sup>-persons sg. present by means of endings and root-vowel mutations also enables the pronoun-less use of the 1<sup>st</sup>-person sg., even though this form

does not exhibit root-vowel mutations. See, for example, 1<sup>st</sup>-person sg. *nam* ‘I take’, which is differentiated from all the other forms, especially those with vowel mutations like *nymst* and *nymt* mentioned above (78.c). In contrast, plural forms of all verbs in the present, as well as the preterite forms of weak verbs, are the least propitious for this type of omission given the high degree of their syncretism. For instance, the 1<sup>st</sup>- and 2<sup>nd</sup>-persons pl. of the present are the same (e.g. *nama* ‘we/they take’) and coincide with the infinitive. Similarly, the 1<sup>st</sup>- and 3<sup>rd</sup>-persons sg. as well as the 2<sup>nd</sup>-person pl. of the weak preterite are identical (e.g. *maht* ‘I/you [sg./pl.] did’), as is also the case for the 1<sup>st</sup>- and 3<sup>rd</sup>-persons pl. (e.g. *mahta* ‘we/they did’).<sup>307</sup>

- (77) a. Nymst \_ dos?  
‘Are you taking this?’
- b. \_ Kymst sun wejder  
‘You are already coming’
- c. \_ Ny nam kà fan  
‘I am not taking any flag’

The least syncretic are the paradigms of the three auxiliary verbs *zàjn* ‘be’, *hon* ‘have’, and *wada* ‘become, be’. The verb *zàjn* ‘be’ is especially noticeable as it makes use of – at least from a synchronic perspective – four different stems in its inflections. See, for instance, *bej* and *byst* – 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>-person sg. present, respectively; *zàjn* and *zàjt* – 1<sup>st</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>-person pl. present; *ej* – 3<sup>rd</sup>-person sg. present; and *wiöe* – 1<sup>st</sup>-person pl. preterite. This morphological saliency of the three auxiliaries renders them highly susceptible to the omission of pronominal subjects, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (78) a. \_ Bej mi  
‘I am tired’
- b. \_ Byst ázu duł wi à noser kłop  
‘You are as stupid as a newborn man’
- c. Gejsty y dy kjuh, to \_ byst ju ondehtik  
‘If you go to church, then you are a believer’
- d. Wos höst \_ ym saduł?  
‘What do you think?’

The relatively common absence of referential subjects with the auxiliaries *zàjn* ‘be’, *hon* ‘have’, and *wada* ‘become, be’, discussed above, has important bearings on the use of pro-drop in other tenses, moods, and voices. The vast majority of TAM grams as well as the expressions of voice are analytical in Wymysorys. These analytical tenses, moods, and voices consist of

<sup>307</sup> In fact, the forms of the 1<sup>st</sup>- and 3<sup>rd</sup>-persons plural coincide in all verbs.

(one of) the three auxiliaries – as well as the verb *blájn* ‘remain, be’ – inflected in the present, preterite, and conjunctive I tense, and a non-finite form of the main verb.<sup>308</sup> Since the auxiliaries *zájn*, *hon*, and *wada* often allow for referential pronouns to be omitted, pronominal subjects are equally omissible with the verbs inflected in the analytical gram, e.g. the perfect (*höst gykrikt* ‘you have gotten’ in 79.a), the future (*wá diyfa* ‘I will need to’ and *wá ferkiöefa* ‘I will sell’ in 79.b-c), and the passive (*byst ogasa* ‘you are satiated’ 79.d). As a result, pro-drop and null subjects are, at least in some discourses, relatively pervasive.

- (79) a. Dáj tál höst \_ sun gykrikt  
 ‘You have already gotten your part’
- b. \_ Wá diyfa ata mün  
 ‘I should work tomorrow’
- c. Der nökwér hót mih gyfret op \_ wá ferkiöefa s’fald  
 ‘The neighbor has asked me if I will sell him the field’
- d. \_ Byst sun ogasa?  
 ‘Are you full (i.e. satiated)?’

Additionally, subject pronouns may be omitted if their referents can be recovered from the broad pragmatic context. This allows for pro-drop with verbal forms that are syncretic. Two main subtypes of this usage are distinguished. First, pro-drop may operate in dialogues, in answers to questions where the subject referent is discourse active and fully accessible, thus constituting the conversation’s topic or one such a topic:

- (80) a. - Kuma zy?  
 ‘Are they coming?’  
 - Ju, \_ kuma  
 ‘Yes, they are coming’
- b. - Kuzt der büw Wymysiöeryś?  
 ‘Does this boy speak Wymysorys?’  
 - Ju, \_ kuzt  
 ‘Yes, he does’

Second, the pro-drop rule is exploited with relative frequency in personal narratives. The omission usually concerns the 1<sup>st</sup>-person pronoun co-indexed with the speaker themselves (see the absence of *yh(y)* ‘I’ with *gih* in 81.a) if the narrator is the topic of the discourse, or 3<sup>rd</sup>-person pronouns if their referents are the protagonist of the story and thus entertain a topical status (see the absence of *har* or *á* ‘he’ with *ziöet* ‘said’ in 81.b).

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<sup>308</sup> The only two fully productive synthetic constructions are the present and the preterite, as well as the imperative. As explained in section 8.3, the synthetic conjunctive is limited to *zájn*, *hon*, *wada*, and a few modal verbs.

- (81) a. Nöht ewe jür giń \_ ys gimnazjum  
 ‘Two years later, I went to secondary school’
- b. Derzànk ziöet \_ :...  
 ‘Then he said ...’

Sometimes, the pro-drop motivated by the topicality of the referent occurs outside a question-answer frame and personal narratives. The only condition is that, similar to the other cases, the omitted referential pronoun must be pragmatically inferable:

- (82) Mùn djef \_ krigja à pakła  
 ‘Tomorrow I should receive a packet’

Lastly, apart from being motivated by structural and pragmatic reasons, pro-drop and null subjects are grammatical if the reading of a clause is impersonal. For example, in (83), the pronominal subject of the verb *kon* ‘can’ may be omitted because it corresponds to the indefinite pronoun *mā* ‘one’. However, if the subject pronoun were co-indexed with a specific referent (which, given the form of the verb, may be 1<sup>st</sup>- or 3<sup>rd</sup>-person singular), the omission would be ungrammatical – unless, of course, it is warranted by pragmatic reasons discussed in the paragraphs above.

- (83) Yr kjuh kon \_ bata  
 ‘In church one can pray’  
 \*\*‘In church I/he can pray’

The relatively noticeable use of the pro-drop rule in Wymysorys seems to coincide, to an extent, with null subjects in Polish. Polish – and Slavonic languages more generally – is a “standard” pro-drop language (Bondaruk 2001; Ruda 2018:241). Accordingly, inflected verbs need not be accompanied by referential pronouns unless this is required for pragmatic reasons such as focus, contrast, or comparison. Therefore, in the case of predicate-focus structures and structures in which constituents other than the subject are pragmatically salient, the subject of a verb is only encoded through verbal inflections, null-subject forms being typical of these types of inflections (Bondaruk 2001; Swan 2002:155, 157; Sadowska 2012:267; Ruda 2018:241). Nevertheless, the Wymysorys pro-drop system and the Polish system are not identical. Pro-drop is a default rule for all subjects and verbs in Polish – it is the presence of pronominal subjects that implies some type of markedness. However, the situation in Wymysorys is opposite: the use of referential pronouns is default, while null subjects are only possible in certain grammatical and pragmatic contexts. Significantly, in all such cases, the use of a pronominal subject is also grammatical without triggering focal readings, contrary to what is typical in Polish.

In stark contrast to Polish and Slavonic, and despite considerable debate or even disparate opinions (see discussion further below), modern Germanic languages tend to be viewed as non-

pro-drop languages or, at most, partial pro-drop languages (Harbert 2007:222). In members of the West Germanic branch, such as Dutch, Flemish, Frisian, Afrikaans, English, and Modern Standard German, the use of referential subject pronouns is the default, while their omission is either disallowed or restricted to particular contexts (Harbert 2007:222-223). Similarly, in North Germanic languages – e.g. Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Icelandic – the referential subject is compulsory “except under certain syntactically specifiable conditions” (Faarlund 1994:56; Harbert 2007:223).

As mentioned above, although predominantly non-pro-drop, West Germanic languages allow for referential pronouns to be omitted in determined contexts.<sup>309</sup> For instance, in Frisian and English, the 2<sup>nd</sup>-person singular and 1<sup>st</sup>-person singular/plural may be omitted “in certain types of discourse” and pragmatic contexts (Hoekstra & Tiersma 1994:526; Harbert 2007:222). A similar situation is attested in Modern Standard German. Even though Modern Standard German is a canonical pro-drop language (Weiß & Volodina 2018:262) and “(referential) subject pronouns have to be overtly realized” (Axel & Weiß 2010:15), null subjects are grammatical in a number of cases. Pronominal subjects may be omitted in impersonal passives with the expletive *es*, if another constituent appears in the left periphery (Weiß & Volodina 2018:262-263). Null subjects are also grammatical if they are recoverable from context. This may stem from the topical role assumed by their referents (see the so-called “context-linked” null subjects; Weiß & Volodina 2018:263) or from the fact that these subjects are co-indexed with the narrator in personal narratives (see the so-called “diary drop”; *ibid.* 264). The former usage warrants the omission of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, whereas the latter warrants the omission of the 1<sup>st</sup> person as well as the 2<sup>nd</sup> person (*ibid.* 263-264). Certain instances of omission are additionally motivated by grammatical properties of the verb, specifically its “non-syncretic inflection” (Weiß & Volodina 2018:264; Trutkowski 2011; 2016). This type of pro-drop particularly concerns 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons (Weiß & Volodina 2018:264). It is significant that all such cases in which pro-drop is grammatical in Modern Standard German closely match the instances of null subjects in Wymysorys identified above. Similarly, several German dialects, e.g. Bavarian, Swabian, and Zürich German, allow for certain types of null subjects. All of them concord with the cases of pro-drop attested in Modern Standard German and/or other continental West Germanic languages (Prince 1999:16; Rosenkvist 2009; 2010; Axel & Weiß 2010:15-17, 21; Weiß & Volodina 2018:267, 282). Among all the members of the West Germanic branch, Yiddish tolerates null subjects to the greatest extent. For example, all pronouns, irrespective of number and person, may be dropped if they are discourse-active and salient (Jacobs, Prince & van der Auwera 1994:408; Prince 1999; Jacobs 2005:262). This greater extent of pro-drop in Yiddish – i.e. the greater “frequency of its occurrence and [...] much broader scope than in German” (Geller 1999:74) – is explained as a parallel to Slavonic languages and thus principally a contact phenomenon (Geller *ibid.*; Hansen & Birzer 2012).

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<sup>309</sup> As in Wymysorys, pro-drop is grammatical in coordinated clauses in all Germanic languages. I exclude such cases from the subsequent discussion of null subjects.

The complex situation with regard to pro-drop and null subjects found in Modern Standard German was equally messy in older varieties of the German language. Traditionally, it is assumed that the pro-drop rule was lost – and the overt pronominal subjects generalized – relatively early in the history of German (see Paul 1919:22 and Hopper 1975:31, as discussed in Axel & Weiß 2010:15, 18). In this scenario, referential subject pronouns were already common in Old High German and became fully generalized in Middle High German (Harbert 2007:222-223; Fagan 2009:192, 119; Axel & Weiß 2010:19).<sup>310</sup> Although Old High German indeed often exhibits referential subject pronouns, multiple counterexamples and cases of pro-drop are also attested. In general, the range of pro-drop was greater than in Modern Standard German and the omissions were also more consistent. In addition to pro-drop types that are currently grammatical, Old High German tolerated a few types that are now ungrammatical in Modern Standard German (Weiß & Volodina 2018:265-267). To be exact, the omissions attested in Old High German involved topic pro-drop and pro-drop in question-answer sequences (both motivated pragmatically), structural pro-drop (motivated by the form of the verb, especially in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons), and referential pro-drop in the middle field (*ibid.* 265-267).<sup>311</sup> Given this greater extent of pro-drop and its grammaticality with all persons, some argue that Old High German could be classified as “a consistent pro-drop language” (*ibid.* 266). However, contrary to canonical pro-drop languages, such omissions were the “default” only in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person (*ibid.* 267).<sup>312</sup> In a further divergence from a pro-drop prototype, the prevalence of pro-drop decreased considerably in late Old High German (Axel & Weiß 2010:21). Therefore, it is more appropriate to consider Old High German as a partial pro-drop language with the active diachronic tendency to gradually limit the scope of the pro-drop rule. Unfortunately, scholarship lacks systematic corpus-driven studies dedicated to pro-drop in Middle High German (Weiß & Volodina 2018:274). Evidence is inconclusive and some of the generalizations which are proposed (see Harbert 2007:222-223; Fagan 2009:192, 119) should be considered with caution (Weiß & Volodina 2018:274). The available studies do not enable us to determine whether the pro-drop system of Middle High German followed the system found in Old High German, or if it rather complied with the system present in modern dialects (Weiß & Volodina 2018:274, 283). This, in turn, means that we cannot be certain that the drift towards non-pro-drop, which initiated in Old High German, continued in Middle High German. In any case, the types of pro-drop that are grammatical in Modern Standard German and modern dialects are generally explained as retentions rather than innovations (Axel & Weiß 2010; Weiß & Volodina 2018:267).

In light of the facts presented above, cases of pro-drop in Wymysorys and its partial pro-drop status can most likely be explained as the retention of the strategies available at older stages of German and West Germanic. Similar to Yiddish, the extent of this retention and the

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<sup>310</sup> Similarly, for North Germanic, pronominal subjects are already attested in old runic inscriptions (see Antonsen 1981:53, as discussed in Harbert 2007:222), and Old Scandinavian and Old Icelandic were not “true” pro-drop languages (Faarlund 1994:56). Indeed, the only language with a general pro-drop rule was Gothic, where referential pronominal subjects could be omitted in “all syntactic contexts” (Harbert 2007:221-223).

<sup>311</sup> This “referential pro-drop” in the middle field has been lost in Modern Standard German (Weiß & Volodina 2018:267).

<sup>312</sup> In contrast, in Polish, which is a standard pro-drop language (Bondaruk 2001; Ruda 2018), omissions are also a default strategy with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons.

grammaticality of pro-drop with all persons may be attributed to contact with the canonical pro-drop language, viz. Polish. Nevertheless, Polish influence has not been critical, given that the contexts of the omissions are largely consistent with those typical of the other (old and modern) West Germanic languages and that, contrary to Polish, null subjects do not constitute a default strategy in Wymysorys, meaning that Wymysorys is not a canonical pro-drop language. Overall, Polish has been unable to alter the core of this part of the language structure and trigger a typological change in Wymysorys, i.e. to transition fully to a pro-drop class of languages. As mentioned above, Polish has instead contributed to the preservation of the partial pro-drop structure that Wymysorys had probably inherited from its predecessor(s).



PART IV

DISCUSSION



## CHAPTER TEN

### 10. Discussion

Having introduced the various pieces of evidence related to the impact of Polish on the Wymysorys language, I will evaluate the data presented, with the aim to answer the main and subsidiary research questions, and subsequently identify other implications of my study – both with regard to Wymysorys and broader linguistic theory – that will ultimately enable me to formulate new hypotheses.

To be exact, I will begin by summarizing the principal findings of my empirical research (section 10.1). Next, I will critically review and evaluate these findings within the adopted framework. I will answer my main research question and the subsidiary enquiries, and demonstrate how my results interact with the previous literature on the controversial issues and thus how the entirety of my research contributes to scholarly debates (section 10.2). Afterwards, I will identify further implications of my findings that lie beyond the scope of the research question(s), whether these implications concern Wymysorys or the broader theory of borrowing and contact linguistics in general (section 10.3). That is, I will identify new generalizations and theoretical novelties, and propose explanations for certain unexpected patterns and anomalies observed. This will make it possible to determine the remaining gaps in the knowledge of Wymysorys, recommend possible ways for their elimination, and formulate new hypotheses, thus pointing the way forward for further research. At the end of this section, I will explain the limitations of my study.

#### 10.1 Findings

Given the amount of data introduced in chapters 3-9 and their detail-oriented description, a review of the main findings is, in my view, necessary before the evidence can be properly evaluated and the research questions answered. In this section, I summarize the results of the study of Polish borrowings in the sound system, content and functional lexica, morphology, morpho-syntax, and syntax of Wymysorys.

##### 10.1.1 Sound system

The influence of Polish on the Wymysorys sound system is considerable, both quantitatively and qualitatively. All of the components of the sound system have been affected, including consonants, vowels, phonological rules, phonotactics, or prosody. The extent of this impact is, however, unequal in each module.

The consonantal system of Wymysorys has been profoundly altered. By donating a sound, by modifying the distribution of a sound and/or enhancing its systemic status, and by stimulating a change in the pronunciation of a sound, Polish has determined or influenced the development of a number of consonants. The affected consonants are: [ɕ], [z], [tɕ], [dʑ], [s̪], [z̪], [ts̪], [dʒ̪], [ʒ], [dʒ̪], [tʃ̪], [ɲ], [ɬ]/[w], [r], and [x]. Several others are also affected if the phonological rules of palatalization, aspiration, and nasalization are taken into consideration, for instance, [pʲ], [bʲ], [tʲ], [dʲ], [kʲ]/[c], [gʲ]/[ɟ], [mʲ], [nʲ], [fʲ], [vʲ], [ɸ]/[ʌ], [xʲ]/[ç], [rʲ], [wʲ], [w̃], and [j̃].

First, Wymysorys has borrowed the two series of sibilant fricatives and affricates from Polish: alveolo-palatals [ɕ], [z], [tɕ], [dʑ] and postalveolars [s̪], [z̪], [ts̪], [dʒ̪]. The former series is more common, whereas the latter is less frequent and can, in most cases, be replaced by the former. As the two borrowed series have been added to the inherited series of palatalo-alveolars [ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ̪], and [dʒ̪], Wymysorys currently includes three series of sibilants and affricates. Even though particularly common in loanwords, the Polish-sourced sibilants and affricates, especially the alveolo-palatals, are also present in the inherited lexicon. The transfer thus concerns not only sounds in loanwords, but also the individual sounds themselves, although the borrowing of these Polish sounds is probably a byproduct of the incorporation of particular lexemes. A certain degree of phonological opposition between [ɕ], [z], [tɕ], [dʑ] on the one hand, and [s̪], [z̪], [ts̪], [dʒ̪] on the other hand, can be observed in loanwords. This, however, never occurs in the inherited lexicon. The prevalence of alveolo-palatals over postalveolars stems from the dialectal foundation of transfer (i.e. the process of *siakanie*) as well as from the acoustic proximity to the inherited palatalo-alveolars, thus constituting a possible case of phonetic adjustment. The other dialectal phenomenon – *sziakanie* – may have contributed to the maintenance of the native palatalo-alveolars. Second, the abovementioned borrowing of alveolo-palatals and postalveolars and, in particular, the transfer of a large number of lexemes which contain(ed) the consonants [z] and [z̪], [dʑ] and [dʒ̪], [tɕ] and [ts̪] in their Polish sources but which, in Wymysorys, can be and often are pronounced with the native palatalo-alveolar counterparts [ʒ], [dʒ̪], [tʃ̪], has led to the phonemization of these three consonants. Third, Polish has significantly contributed to the presence and/or spread of the alveolo-palatal nasal [ɲ], as well as its ultimate phonemization, even though language- and family-internal processes have also been at play here. Fourth, Polish has altered the distribution and pronunciation of the guttural sounds [x] and [h]. Due to the transfer of several lexemes that in Polish begin with the voiceless velar fricative [x], [x] has become grammatical in a word-initial position in Wymysorys – a position previously reserved for the voiceless glottal fricative [h]. The grammaticality of the initial [x] exceeds Polish loanwords as the etymological [h] may also – although much less commonly – be realized as [x]. As a result, the system of complementary distribution of [x] and [h] that used to exist in Wymysorys has been eliminated (or at least weakened). Fifth, the presence of the labialized velar approximant [w] and its development from the velarized alveolar lateral approximant [ɬ] may largely be attributed to Polish influence. That is, Polish has instigated, intensified, and accelerated the process(es) whose foundations had already been present – even though to a rather limited extent – in Wymysorys. Polish also played a role in the formation of the dark / [ɬ] itself at an earlier stage of the Wymysorys language and the establishment of the complementary distribution of [ɬ] with [l]. In this case,

however, Polish most likely reinforced a relatively patent language- and family-internal development instead of having instigated it. Sixth, contact with Polish has led to the restoration of /r/ in a pre-consonantal position, specifically in codas before another consonant, and the generalization of its apical alveolar trill pronunciation, i.e. as [r].

In contrast to consonants, Wymysorys vowels have been affected by Polish to a much lesser extent. Polish is responsible of the presence and phonemization of the fronted close-mid central unrounded vowel [ɘ], which is now used in free and bound morphemes, whether borrowed or native. Polish is also the source of the nasal vowels [ɔ̃] and [ɛ̃], as well as, albeit rarely, [ĩ], [ã], [ũ], and [ɔ̃]. Nasal vowels are, however, limited to Polish loanwords, conversely being absent in the native lexicon.

Contact with Polish has importantly affected phonological rules operating in Wymysorys, especially those governing the consonantal system. First, the loss of the aspiration of the plosives /p/, /t/, and /k/ as well as the affricate /tʃ/, in a prominent, i.e. word-initial, position and, more importantly, the replacement of the fortis-lenis system of plosives and affricates by its voiceless-voiced counterpart can primarily be attributed to Polish influence. Nevertheless, despite playing a critical role in these phenomena, Polish has operated in conjunction with language- and/or family-internal processes, further intensifying and accelerating them. Second, the wide-scale borrowing of Polish lexemes containing palatal(ized) consonants as well as the transfer of certain palatalization laws typical of Polish has significantly expanded the range of palatalization in Wymysorys, rendering it one of the key phonetic and phonological features of the language. Again, although Polish has been the main factor for the palatalization acquiring a central position in the consonantal system of Wymysorys, language- and family-internal processes have contributed to this development as well. That is, Polish has fortified and amplified less pervasive palatalizing tendencies that had been at play earlier in the Wymysorys language and that had been operating in its Silesian relatives. Third, Polish has contributed to the maintenance of consonantal length, a feature that had been fully operational in Middle High German and is therefore most likely etymological. In other words, via loanwords and a general systemic analogy to the Polish consonantal system, the simplification of long consonants, which has taken place in closely related languages, has been avoided.

Similar to the imbalance between the Polish impact on Wymysorys consonants and vowels, the influence of Polish on the phonological rules of Wymysorys is much larger in the consonantal system than in the vocalic system. Indeed, only one rule governing the vocalic module can be attributed to Polish, namely nasalization. Due to contact with Polish, nasalization – ranging from genuine nasal vowels ([ɔ̃], [ɛ̃], [ĩ], [ã], [ũ], and [ɔ̃]) to nasal vocoids ([ũ̃] or [ĩ̃]), which form partial nasal diphthongs) and nasal approximants ([ɰ̃]/[ɰ̃̃] or [j̃]/[j̃̃]) – has been introduced into the Wymysorys sound system. However, the effects of this are peripheral as nasalization is limited to Polish loanwords while inversely being absent in the native lexicon. Furthermore, even in loanwords, nasalization can always resolve into an oral vowel and a nasal consonant.

Polish has significantly affected the phonotactic structure of Wymysorys. The transfer of a large number of Polish borrowings has led to the common presence of complex – qualitatively varied and quantitatively elaborated – consonant clusters in onsets. This has occurred despite the general tendency to simplify complex consonant clusters found in original Polish lexemes during their adaptation to Wymysorys, in agreement with the rules governing the phonotactics of West Germanic languages, including the native phonotactics of Wymysorys. Indeed, the longest sequences of clustered consonants – i.e. those formed of four consonants – and the sequences that violate the sonority scale more blatantly, thus being the most “ill-formed”, are only typical in Polish loanwords.

Lastly, the rules governing the placement of accents in Wymysorys have been altered considerably by contact with Polish. The inherited system of accentuation of the root-initial accent (in the Germanic lexicon) and the root-final accent (in the non-Germanic lexicon) has been expanded by a root-/stem-penultimate accent found in Polish loanwords. This penultimate accentuation is fully grammatical in a large number of Polish loanwords, in which the original placement of stress on the next-to-last syllable has been maintained. In contrast, accentuation rules operating in the non-Polish lexicon (Germanic or not) have persisted intact.

#### 10.1.2 Content lexicon

Contact with Polish has profoundly affected the content lexicon of Wymysorys. Both quantitatively and qualitatively, this impact is the greatest in nouns and verbs. In contrast, adjectives, adverbs, and ideophones have been influenced to a much lesser extent. Overall, matter borrowing is significantly more common than pattern borrowing.

Nouns have experienced the largest extent of borrowing among all lexical classes, attesting to both matter and pattern borrowing. While the transfer of matter is impressive quantitatively, with 594 lexemes having been adopted, the transfer of (semantic) patterns is limited to a few cases. As far as matter borrowing is concerned, the impact of Polish is also qualitatively significant as borrowed lexemes belong to extremely varied semantic domains. These include tangible and non-tangible, concrete and abstract, common and proper domains. A considerable number of loanwords refer to everyday life, including family (i.e. kinship terms) and religion. A large amount of borrowings – most of which are related to the cultural and political reality of Poland, technology and inventions, as well as religion – have been transferred due to need, specifically, lexical gaps (whether original or acquired) and/or loss of functionality. However, the borrowing of many other nouns – e.g. nouns referring to family members, functions and qualities of human beings, and especially abstract concepts – has not been motivated by need or lexical gaps. In many of these cases, the adoption of Polish nouns has resulted in the development of pairs of (nearly) synonymous native and borrowed lexemes.

Nominal borrowings derive from both Standard Polish and Polish dialects spoken in the western part of Lesser Poland and eastern Upper Silesia. Lexemes drawing on Standard Polish are recent imports often referring to technological inventions or constituting cases of re-adaptations of

forms of dialectal origin to Standard Polish pronunciation – in such instances, both dialectal and standard variants are available. The dialectal component is substantial and permeates all semantic types and surfaces in both phonetics and semantics. As far as phonetics are concerned, the dialectal origin of loanwords is visible in the following: the pronunciation of *pochylone* vowels (*ą* surfaces as [ɔ], *ę* surfaces as [ɛ] after hard and soft consonants, and *ó* surfaces as [ɔ] and rarely as (*i*)*ö*(*e*) [ø]/[ɤøœ] – albeit for *ó*, a Standard Polish realization is more common); the labialization of back vowels; the plosive realization of the Standard Polish *ch* [x] as *k* [k]; *siakanie* (whereby [s], [z], [ts], [dʒ] and [ɕ], [ʒ], [tɕ], and [dʒ]) or *sziakanie* (whereby the abovementioned sounds merge into [ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ], [dʒ]); the preservation of the nasal feature of nasal vowels and their pronunciation as an oral vowel and a nasal consonant; and simplification of consonant clusters – these three last phenomena are also typical of colloquial Standard Polish and/or converge with adaptive mechanisms. Other dialectal features are much less pervasive: the voicing of intervocalic *-k-* [k] to *-g-* [g], the realization of *ch* [x] as *f* [f] after *t* [t], vowel mutation, *szadzenie*, and *mazurzenie*. All such dialectal traits may also be absent with loanwords, attesting to a Standard Polish pronunciation. With regard to semantics, several borrowings draw on lexemes that are only (or mostly) present in dialects.

Nouns borrowed from Polish are generally well adapted to the Wymysorys language system, whether phonetically, morphologically, or semantically. In phonetics, *u* [u] (and *ó* if borrowed from Standard Polish) is often replaced by *ü* [y]/[ɤ]; *o* [ɔ] (and *ó* if borrowed from dialects) is replaced with (*i*)*ö*(*e*) [ø]/[ɤøœ]; nasal vowels are resolved into oral vowels and nasal consonants; and consonant clusters are simplified (the two last features converge with tendencies found in Polish dialects). Additionally, the stress of loanwords may be assimilated to native accentuation rules. In morphology, borrowed nouns adjust their singular and plural endings to the rules of Wymysorys: feminine nouns that end in *-a* often lose their final vowel; many masculine and some feminine nouns as well as *pluralia tanta* ending in *-ki* are backformations derived from the underlying Polish plurals expanded by the native pluralizer *-a*; and a few neuter nouns lose the *-o* ending. Loanwords are regularly inflected in number by using the endings typical of Wymysorys nouns. Those that are not marked by the pluralizers *-(j)a* or *-n* in the nominative exhibit an overt marking in the dative, which is characteristic of native inflections. Borrowed nouns can also be accompanied by native derivational suffixes, especially the diminutive morpheme *-la/-la* and the nominalizers *-yj* and *-yn*. In semantics, nominal loanwords may modify their gender (e.g. feminine nouns that do not lose their *-a* ending and those that exhibit the suffix *-ki* are reanalyzed as masculine) and/or alter their semantic potential (e.g. by restricting its scope, yielding pejorative connotations, or limiting the usage to nicknames). In a few cases, hybrids or loanblends have emerged by compounding the inherited lexeme and a synonymous loanword.

Overall, as a result of all of these changes, the structure of the category of nouns has been altered. The most relevant structural modification is the formation of new morpho-semantic and declensional classes, especially those of masculine singulars ending in *-ki* and feminine singulars ending in *-a*.

Verbs are the lexical class that has experienced the second-largest degree of borrowing, right after nouns, with cases of the transfer of both matter and pattern. With 115 loanwords attested, matter borrowing predominates. In contrast, pattern borrowing is residual, being found in a few instances of which most concern idiomatic expressions. With regard to the borrowing of matter, loanwords exhibit great semantic diversity, belonging to various semantic domains and lexical fields: concrete and abstract, rural and urban, mental and cognitive activities, actions and states, secular and religious, bodily reflexes, and speech acts. In some instances, borrowed verbs are the only fully lexicalized, synthetic manners of expressing determined concepts. Such verbs often denote activities related to religion, technology, and specific local instruments, and most of these lexemes have been transferred to fill in gaps. Nevertheless, a vast majority of loans have their relatively synonymous equivalents in the inherited vocabulary. Their transfer has been stimulated by semantic specificity and/or precision.

The presence of dialectal features in borrowed verbs is less persistent than is the case with nouns. The most characteristic dialectal features are: the pronunciation of *pochylone* vowels (*â* as [ɔ] and *é* as [ɛ] after both hard and soft consonants); the plosive realization of [x]; the pronunciation of [s], [z], [ts̺], [dz̺] as [ɕ], [ʒ], [tɕ], [dʒ], or the pronunciation of both series as [ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ], [dʒ] (suggesting *siakanie* and/or *sziakanie*, respectively); the pronunciation of nasal vowels as oral vowels and nasal consonants; and the simplification of complex consonant clusters. However, the [k] pronunciation of [x] is extremely rare, while the treatment of postalveolars and alveolo-palatals, nasals, and clusters coincide with a pronunciation found in colloquial Standard Polish and/or with adaptive mechanisms. In contrast, there are no examples of labialization, *mazurzenie*, and *szadzenie*. Polish dialects also transpire in the specific lexemes transferred. All of this suggests a more recent time of transfer where Standard Polish gained in relevance, most likely after World War II, or if a verb was borrowed earlier, a recent readjustment to its pronunciation in Standard Polish.

Verbal loans are often adapted phonologically, morphologically, morpho-syntactically, and semantically to the language system of Wymysorys. In phonetics, *u* [u] (and *ó*, if it reflects a Standard Polish pronunciation) is substituted with *ü* [y]/[ʏ]; *o* [ɔ] (and *ó*, if it reflects a dialectal pronunciation) is substituted with (*i*)*ö*(*e*) [ø]/[ʏøœ]; nasal vowels tend to be realized as oral vowels with a nasal consonant; and consonant clusters are simplified. Nevertheless, a number of exceptions are attested. In morphology, almost all verbal loans display an *â*-type stem element in Wymysorys: either the simple *-â-* (i.e. non-palatal *-â-* and palatalized *-â-/jâ-*) or the extended *-owâ-*, regardless of the stem in Polish. Accordingly, for lexemes drawing on Polish *-i/y-*, *-e-*, and *-q-* verbs, the original stem vowel has been replaced with *-â-* by analogy of the borrowings derived from Polish *-a-* verbs. Only four examples in which this adaptive mechanism is absent are attested. All borrowed verbs are well integrated in the inflectional and derivational system of Wymysorys. They can be conjugated in all tenses and moods, typically following the weak inflectional pattern. However, with a few exceptions, the participles derived from borrowed verbs do not require the prefix *gy-*, which contrasts with nearly all unprefixated native verbs in Wymysorys. Polish prefixes are usually only transferred if they have a derivative function in a Polish verb, even then sometimes being omissible to avoid complex

consonant clusters. The transfer of purely perfectivizing prefixes is, on the contrary, very rare. The more common and fully-productive prefixation strategy consists of using inherited elements – as is typical of native Wymysorys verbs – i.e. the prefixes such as *áj-*, *by-*, *cü-*, *cy-*, *ejwer-*, *fer-*, *oüis-*, or *uf-*. This yields hybridized or blended native-borrowed forms. Original reflexive verbs may lose their reflexivity in analogy to equivalent native non-reflexive verbs. However, this phenomenon is inconsistent and reflexivity may be preserved, with two evenly common variants being found: one reflexive reflecting the Polish donor and the other non-reflexive reflecting the native equivalent. Very few loan verbs exhibit a change in meaning when compared with their sources in Polish.

Overall, the category of verb in Wymysorys has experienced significant systemic changes. First, a new conjugational paradigm has been formed, i.e. a variant of the weak paradigm with the following principal forms: *pytä – pytät / pytäta – pytät*.<sup>313</sup> Second, the introduction of more than 100 of these types of borrowings has resulted in the formation of a new productive class of *-ä-* verbs which, albeit present before, has been non-productive and traditionally represented very sparsely. Third, the verbal loans have increased the visibility of *-n* infinitives, as all of the borrowed infinitives – irrespective of their stem – exhibit the ending *-n*.

In contrast to nouns and verbs, the borrowing of adjectives is less abundant. Adjectives mainly attest to matter borrowing – pattern borrowing being extremely rare – with only 36 lexemes having their roots in Polish. Although limited in number, adjectival loans are semantically diverse. Most adjectival loanwords refer to qualities pertinent to human beings, while others have animals, inanimate objects, and abstract concepts as their referents. Borrowed adjectives may denote both physical properties (often defects) and character traits (both positive and negative). A number of features suggest a dialectal foundation of the loans, such as the pronunciation of the *pochylone* vowel *â* and, only exceptionally, of the *pochylone* *ó*. Further features suggesting a dialectal foundation in loans include the treatment of nasal vowels as well as the common pronunciation of postalveolar fricatives and affricates as alveolo-palatals, and the realization of both these series as palatalo-alveolars (these last two phenomena converge with colloquial Standard Polish and adjustment mechanisms). Some borrowings originate in adjectives that are restricted to Polish dialects and absent in the standard language. Adaptation mechanisms are evident. Adjectival loans tend to be adapted both phonologically and morphologically to the Wymysorys language system. In phonetics, *u* [u] (and the Standard Polish *ó*) is replaced by *ü* [y]/[ɣ]; *o* [ɔ] (and the dialectal *ó*) is replaced by *(i)ö(e)* [ø]/[ɣøœ] (although, in both cases, exceptions are attested); and the nasal vowels *ę* [ɛ̃] and *ą* [ɔ̃] are resolved as an oral vowel with a nasal consonant. In morphology, nearly all lexemes are adjusted to one of the morphological patterns available to native adjectives by accompanying the transferred adjectival suffix with a native suffix: *-ik*, *-i/yś*, or, less likely, *-ńik*. The selection of the particular native suffix is motivated. The vast majority of adjectives, i.e. those that draw on Polish stems ending in *-t*, *-l*, *-w*, and *-n*, host the most common native adverbializer *-ik*. Less likely, the Polish *-n* adjectives make use of the native suffix *-ńik*. Adjectives that draw on the

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<sup>313</sup> The parts provided are the 3<sup>rd</sup>-person singular present, the 3<sup>rd</sup>-person singular and plural preterite, and the participle.

Polish stem ending in *-m* or on Polish nouns rather than adjectives host the adjectivizer *-i/yś*. In one case, the Polish lexeme has been extended by the complex suffix *-ńiś* – a composite of the native *-iś* and the element *ń*, introduced by analogy, to *-ńik*. These adaptive mechanisms have led to the creation of blended forms in which the adjectival base is imported from Polish, while the overt marking of the base as an adjective is achieved by native material. Alternatively, the resultant suffixes *-ńik*, *-tik*, *-wik*, *-lik*, and *-miś* found in these loans can be viewed as hybrids. The first consonant is donated by Polish and the last consonant is donated by Wymysorys, while the middle element is donated simultaneously by the two languages. Although typical of adjectival loans, these blended adjectivizers are not productive in Wymysorys – they never occur in the native lexicon. Furthermore, all borrowed adjectives can be inflected according to the rules of the Wymysorys adjectival system, thus taking on the specific case, gender, and number endings, both in the weak and strong declensional paradigms. Overall, the structure of the adjectival system has not been altered by contact with Polish. Neither new means of encoding adjectives (although the visibility of the *-ńik* class has certainly increased), nor new semantic and functional categories have been developed or introduced.

Adverbs only attest to matter borrowing, with 27 lexemes being transferred from Polish – a number nearly identical to that for adjectives. Although qualitatively limited, adverbial loans are semantically diverse. Adverbs of manner (usually modifying activities carried out by humans and, less commonly, actions associated with animals and natural phenomena) predominate, while adverbs of time and degree are attested less extensively. One adverb is specifically related to religion. Borrowed adverbs draw on both standard and dialectal Polish sources. The most evident dialectal features are: the dialectal realization of *pochylone* vowels (i.e. *ą* as [ɔ]) and the labialization of *o* (although non-labialized forms are far more common than labialized ones), as well as three phenomena that also characterize colloquial Standard Polish and/or adjustment mechanisms, i.e. the pronunciation of postalveolars as alveolo-palatals and palatalo-alveolars, the realization of nasal vowels as oral vowels and nasal consonants (i.e. [ɔ̃] > [ɔn]), and the treatment of some clusters of consonants. Adverbs undergo both phonological and morphological adaptation. As far as their phonetics is concerned, *o* [ɔ] surfaces quite regularly as (*i*)*ö*(*e*) [ø]/[ɤøœ] and *u* [u] as *ü* [y]/[ɤ]. Two other phonetic adaptive mechanisms converge traits typical of Polish dialects, i.e. nasal vowels surfacing as oral vowels and nasal consonants, and consonant clusters being simplified. In contrast, the morphological adaptation of adverbial loans is less patent, with no true adjustment to the adverbial system of Wymysorys taking place (e.g. by means of the productive native Wymysorys adverbializer *-(n)ik* and *-i/yś*). Indeed, adverbs are the least adapted to the rules of Wymysorys morphology out of all the types of content lexemes. They rather make use of morphological marking that distinguishes adverbs in Polish. This lack of morphological adjustment of adverbial loanwords may stem from the accidental formal similarity between some Polish adverbs and the adverbial morphology of Wymysorys: the adverbializer *-ńe* is phonologically and functionally similar to *-ńik* and both languages contain the non-productive adverbializers *-m* and *-t*. This accidental similarity may have created favorable grounds for the direct

borrowing of Polish adverbs. From a broader systemic perspective, due to the relative size of adverbial loanwords, a new class of adverbs has been created in Wymysorys – the *-nie* class.

Similar to adverbs, ideophones only attest to matter borrowing. Polish has donated 24 ideophones of two semantic types: ideophones that depict sounds (whether pertaining to nature or produced by people and/or inanimate objects) and ideophones that depict motion (referring to human beings, animals, or unspecified entities), as well as ideophones that draw on these two domains simultaneously. There is no explicit evidence demonstrating a dialectal origin of ideophones. That is, no examples are attested that imply a dialectal realization of *pochylone* vowels, labialization, *mazurzenie*, or the reduction of consonant clusters. The postalveolar affricate [tʂ] is usually pronounced as an alveolo-palatal [tʃ] or palatalo-alveolar [tʃʲ], and the nasal vowel ɛ̃ [ɛ̃] is often resolved into an oral vowel and a nasal consonant. Nevertheless, these two phenomena are typical of Polish dialects and colloquial Standard Polish, additionally converging with adaptive mechanisms. Ideophones also fail to draw on lexemes the use of which would be restricted to Polish dialects. Adaptive mechanisms are equally limited. Those that are attested are either exceptional (the replacement of *o* [ɔ] and *u* [u] by (*i*)*ö*(*e*) [ø]/[ɤøœ] and *ü* [y]/[ɥ], respectively) or overlap with traits that are found in colloquial Standard and/or dialectal Polish (see the realization of postalveolars as alveolo-palatals and palatalo-alveolars and the pronunciation of nasals as oral vowels and nasal consonants). The adaptation is more evident from a syntactic perspective. Even though ideophones may appear on their own, the onomatopoeic type is often headed by native *verba dicendi*, while the motion type tends to be introduced by *verba facendi*.

### 10.1.3 Functional lexicon

The functional vocabulary of Wymysorys has been noticeably affected by contact with Polish, although to a lesser extent than was the case with the content lexicon. This lesser degree of impact concerns the borrowing of matter. In contrast, for function words, pattern borrowing is more visible. As with content words, the Polish influence is uneven for different lexical classes. The impact of Polish is relatively evident in connectors, particles, and especially interjections, whereas pronouns and prepositions have been affected to a much lesser degree. Other canonical components of the functional lexicon – in particular, numerals – have failed to undergo any contact-induced changes.

Polish has influenced the system of Wymysorys connectors, both in terms of matter and pattern. Four lexemes draw their forms from Polish sources, while two native lexemes have modified their meanings by analogy to their respective Polish equivalents. As far as matter borrowing is concerned, causal conjunctions have been affected the most, with two backward causal conjunctions and one forward causal conjunction having been adopted from Polish. In contrast, non-causal connectors are attested poorly, with only one lexeme – the negative coordinating conjunction of joint denial – being transferred. The borrowed connectors are practically identical to their Polish sources and fail to exhibit any type of phonological adaptive mechanisms, e.g. the replacement of the Polish *o* [ɔ] with (*i*)*ö*(*e*) [ø]/[ɤøœ]. They may also have

both dialectal and Standard Polish origins, as their equivalents in Polish are typical of dialects as well as the colloquial variety of Standard Polish. As far as pattern borrowing is concerned, the original semantic potential of the native connectors *do* (i.e. a complementizer function) and *wi* (i.e. a first-degree comparative conjunction, as well as interrogative and exclamatory adverb) has been expanded by functions exhibited by their equivalents in Polish. These functions include a purposive and backward causal conjunction for *do*; and causal, conditional, and second-degree comparative conjunctions as well as a temporal (anteriority) conjunction for *wi*.

The Polish impact on Wymysorys particles is slightly more significant than is the case with connectors, with a total of 16 lexemes having been transferred (three of which also function as connectors). The category of modal particles has been affected to the largest extent among all types of particles, with nine examples of matter borrowing. The majority (specifically, seven lexemes) concern modality *sensu stricto*, i.e. probability, evidentiality, and certainty, while two are focal particles. Most modal particles exhibit the same morpho-phonological form as their Polish sources. They have not made use of adaptive mechanisms – neither phonological nor morphological – typical of the transfer from Polish to Wymysorys. The only change is the morphologization of original prepositional phrases into fully synthetic, word-like structures. Three loans contravene this tendency and exhibit two adjustment mechanics: the replacement of *u* [u] by *ü* [y]/[ɣ] and suffixation with native morphemes (e.g. *-ś* and *-nok*). The same three particles are also the only ones that exhibit clear dialectal origin, attesting to *mazurzenie* and dialectal pronunciation of *o* [ɔ] as *u* [u], or drawing on inherently dialectal lexemes. Accordingly, the presence of adaptive mechanisms correlates with a more evident dialectal origin, which may in turn suggest an earlier time of the transfer of these three loanwords. Only three pragmatic particles are borrowed from Polish. They are formally identical to their Polish sources with no obvious features that would suggest their dialectal or standard-language foundation. They make no use of adaptive mechanisms, the only change is, as in the other class, their more profound morphologization. Other types of particles include the question particle, the caesura particle, the empty filler, as well as – albeit to a very limited extent – the negative particle of which the use is restricted to idiomatic expressions, being otherwise unproductive. Among the particles of this type, the only one that suggests a dialectal origin is the question particle, attesting to *mazurzenie* or, alternatively, the alveolo-palatal and palatalo-alveolar pronunciation of a postalveolar affricate. None of these particles exhibit adaptive phenomena.

The lexical class of interjections has been heavily affected by contact with Polish, attesting to a considerable extent of both matter and pattern borrowing. This larger extent of Polish influence on interjections, than was the case with connectors and particles, is likely related to the fact that interjections are not a canonical functional category. With regard to the borrowing of matter, 36 interjections have been transferred. The four main semantic types of interjections are represented among such loanwords, i.e. emotive, cognitive, conative, and phatic. However, the respective contributions of these types is uneven. The impact of Polish is significant in emotive and conative interjections, whereas it is more limited in cognitive and phatic interjections. Similarly, the transfer of both primary and secondary interjections is attested. Emotive interjections – and, in

particular, expletives – also attest to most cases of pattern borrowing. The majority of interjective loanwords are identical to their Polish sources with no typical phonological adaptations. A few cases of the replacement of *u* [u] with *ü* [y]/[ʏ] and *o* [ɔ] with *(i)ö(e)* [ø]/[ɤøœ] are attested, as is the realization of nasals as oral vowels with a nasal consonant. The dialectal foundation is often evident and transpires in: the pronunciation of the *pochylone* vowels *â* and *é* as [ɔ] and [ɤ], respectively; the labialization of *o*; the plosive realization of [x]; the pronunciation of postalveolar fricatives and affricates ([ʒ] and [tʃ]) as alveolo-palatals ([ʒ] and [tʃ]) or palatalo-alveolars ([ʒ] and [tʃ]); and the realization of nasal vowels as oral vowels with a nasal consonant – these last two traits are also typical of colloquial Standard Polish and/or assimilating mechanisms.

With regard to pronouns, the only cases of borrowing concern patterns, whereby the uses of two lexemes have been remodeled in analogy to the usage of equivalent words in Polish, with the Polish influence sometimes converging with language-internal and typological processes. The use of the interrogative and relative adverb *wu* ‘where’ has been extended to a relative pronoun, while the use of the reflexive accusative 3<sup>rd</sup>-person *zejh/zih* ‘himself, herself, itself’ has been extended to all persons and numbers, as well as to the dative. Additionally, in analogy to reflexive verbs in Polish, the reflexive *zejh/zih* has been introduced to native verbs that were originally non-reflexive. Often, both the original non-reflexive and the analogical reflexive variants coexist.

Similar to pronouns, the borrowing of prepositions is exceptional. Only one productive preposition has been transferred from Polish – the comparative preposition *niby* ‘as, like, as if’. The use of other Polish prepositions is restricted to idioms, which can be of two types: constructions formed by verbs and prepositional phrases, and prepositional phrases (including those forming parts of larger clauses) in which the native preposition is followed by a Polish preposition. This latter type constitutes a less canonical example of hybrids or loanblends. All prepositions are identical to their Polish sources, with no overt dialectal traits and adaptive mechanisms being present.

#### 10.1.4 Morphology

The transfer of Polish features to the morphological system of Wymysorys is less substantial than was the case with borrowing in the content and functional vocabulary. Although quantitatively limited, the qualitative influence of morphological loans is nevertheless considerable and has relatively profound bearings on the overall structure of the derivational and inflectional systems of Wymysorys.

The Polish impact on the derivational morphology of Wymysorys is visible in all lexical classes that make (productive) use of affixes, namely nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, as well as interjections. However, the relevance of morphological loans in these five lexeme types is uneven. It is the highest in the nominal system, rather limited in the adjectival, adverbial, and verbal systems, and marginal in the interjective system.

The lexical class of nouns attests to the largest number of derivational bound morphemes borrowed from Polish – all of them suffixes, except one. Eleven morphemes (i.e. *-ok*, *-ka*, *-ńa*, *-ćki*, *-ek*,<sup>314</sup> *-(ü)ś(ü)*, *-(ü)ź(ü)*, *-(ü)ć(ü)*, *-ś(a)*, *-ź(a)*, and *-ć(a)*) are at least minimally productive, being used with Polish and native stems or roots. The majority of these affixes are diminutives, and all affixes generally preserve the functions associated with their Polish inputs. Many other morphemes are non-productive, having been reanalyzed as more or less inalienable parts of roots or stems (e.g. *-oź*, *-ot*, *-ek*, *-ńec*, *-stwo*, and *-sko*, as well as the only prefix, the negative morpheme *ńe-*). Several affixes exhibit dialectal features: the pronunciation of the *pochylone* *â* as [ɔ] and the realization of postalveolar sibilants and affricates as alveolo-palatals and palatalo-alveolars. They also attest to adjustment tendencies: apart from the palatalo-alveolar realization of sibilants and affricates, this includes the replacement of *u* [u] with *ü* [y]/[ɣ]. Crucially, the incorporation of the feminine suffix *-ka* has more global effects on the nominal system of Wymysorys. It has led to the grammaticality of feminine nouns ending in the singular *-a*, which was previously disallowed, the ending *-a* being historically restricted to masculine and neuter nouns.

Polish influence on the derivational morphology of adjectives is more limited and surfaces in two phenomena. First, two Polish diminutive suffixes, *-üśik* and *-üćik*, have been borrowed and used productively, although these were probably accompanied by the native adjectivizer *-ik* thus attesting to loanblends. Second, Polish adjectival suffixes and endings (i.e. *-y* in *-n-y*, *-t-y*, *-ł-y*, *-w(y)*, and *-m(y)*) have merged with native Wymysorys suffixes (i.e. *-ik* or *-iś/-yś*), yielding the blended morphemes *-ńik*, *-tik*, *-wik*, *-lik*, *-miś*, and *-liś*, the first of which is homophonous with the native Wymysorys adjectivizer *-ńik*. The adaptive mechanism whereby *u* [u] is replaced with *ü* [y]/[ɣ] and the postalveolars are rendered as alveolo-palatals and palatalo-alveolars (which is also a feature linking these morphemes to Polish dialects) are attested.

The quantitative impact of Polish on the morphology of Wymysorys adverbs is less than is the case with adjectives. Only one true adverbial suffix has been borrowed from Polish, i.e. *-ńe/-će*. Although this suffix is never employed productively with native bases, in some borrowed lexemes, it does function as a genuine adverbializer rather than an inalienable part of a root holistically used as an adverb. More crucially, the transfer of *-ńe/-će* has had bearings on the global structure of the lexical class of adverbs, leading to the formation of a new adverbial class, i.e. adverbs ending in *-ńe/-će*. The remaining adverbial morphemes borrowed from Polish, e.g. *-m* or *-t*, are preserved as parts of the root/stem rather than (productive) suffixes.

Similarly, the Polish influence on the derivational morphology of Wymysorys verbs is limited and is only quantitatively visible in two phenomena: the adoption of *â*-type verbalizers and the use of the morpheme *że*. Despite this quantitative marginality, the effects of the borrowing of these two morphemes are profound. The various types of the morpheme *-â-* (i.e. *-â-*, *-'â-*, *-jâ-* and *-owâ-*) constitute one of the most productive verbalizers used currently in Wymysorys: they serve as typical means of deriving new verbs from Polish verbal and non-verbal bases,

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<sup>314</sup> This includes the “secondary” readjusted form *-ki*.

and from native roots and stems. Even more critically, as mentioned in section 10.1.1, the borrowing of the *á*-type verbalizers has had three more systemic effects on the verbal system of Wymysorys: it has led to the formation of a new inflectional class of verbs, upgraded the status of all *-á*- verbs, and contributed to the visibility of *-n* infinitives. The suffix *-že*, typically fused to verbs and – less frequently – to interjections (and which can also be used as a clitic added to a wider range of lexical classes), is a broadly understood emphatic (focal) and politeness morpheme – the latter function being a new meaning extension which is central in Wymysorys but marginal in Polish. The suffix *-že* also exhibits a more advanced grammaticalization profile than its Polish source, attesting not only to agglutination but also fusion. Overall, *-že* is fully productive, being compatible with all types of lexemes, whether native or borrowed from Polish. Furthermore, it exhibits the typical realization of the original postalveolar as an alveolo-palatal and palatalo-alveolar – a feature typical of both dialectal pronunciation and adaptive strategies.

The borrowing of Polish inflections is much more limited than is the case with derivations. In a further contrast to derivations, it is pattern borrowing that predominates in inflections, whereas matter borrowing is residual. Overall, only the inflectional morphology of nouns and verbs has been affected by contact with Polish whereas that of adjectives and pronouns has remained generally unaltered.

The most evident cases of inflectional borrowings – both of the matter and pattern type – are found in the nominal system. Apart from the common preservation of the Polish nominative-singular case marking, the genuine borrowing of Polish inflections into Wymysorys surfaces in four phenomena. First, by analogy to the Polish inflectional system, Wymysorys has developed the morphological category of vocative and marked it with native material, i.e. [y], a probable successor of the common hypocoristic suffixes *-i* and/or *-e*. However, both the vocative category and its marking are unproductive, being limited to a few – mostly native – nouns. Second, the Polish vocative form has been preserved and reanalyzed as part of the root/stem and is used in all the cases in the singular, i.e. vocative, nominative, accusative, and dative. Third, some Polish plural morphemes have been preserved as components of hybridized pluralizers, and subsequently reanalyzed as parts of roots/stems in the singular. The most relevant class of Wymysorys nouns that have preserved the plural marking of their Polish sources are loanwords, the plural form of which ends in Wymysorys in *-kja*. Fourth, other morphological cases and their markings, especially the locative, have been preserved in prepositional phrases in idioms. However, such endings are unproductive and their use even with Polish loanwords outside the borrowed idioms is ungrammatical.

Verbal inflections have been affected by contact with Polish to a lesser extent than the inflections of nouns. The only category in which borrowing is attested is aspect – a semi-inflectional and semi-derivational category in both the donor and recipient language. The predominant type of borrowing related to aspect is pattern borrowing, whereby the Polish aspectual system and its encoding strategy have been copied to Wymysorys and reconstructed with the native material. On the one hand, Wymysorys has replicated the aspectual contrast permeating the Polish verbal

system, i.e. imperfective vs. perfective. On the other hand, it has replicated the very encoding of this contrast, with unprefixated verbs functioning as imperfective and prefixated verbs as perfective. However, the prefixation itself typically draws on native material. That is, native derivative prefixes which have previously (and still can) profiled the lexical meaning of a verb as well as its Aktionsart (e.g. as completion or termination) have been reanalyzed as a grammatical, aspectual – specifically perfectivizing – device. While this imperfective-perfective opposition between prefixated and unprefixated forms and thus the perfectivizing effect of prefixation is grammaticalized most evidently in borrowed lexemes, it is also patent with native verbal bases. In contrast, the matter borrowing of aspectual marking, i.e. of Polish perfectivizing prefixes, is extremely rare, being confined to (a few) borrowed lexemes.

#### 10.1.5 Morpho-syntax

The Polish influence on Wymysorys morpho-syntax is relatively limited, at least in quantitative terms. As far as grammatical constructions are concerned, only three cases of borrowing are attested – all of them of the pattern type – namely: the formation of the *blājn* passive, the future III, and the conjunctive perfect III. As far as lexical constructions are concerned, there are nine cases of borrowing of a pattern, matter, or mixed matter-pattern type. Despite their quantitative marginality, morpho-syntactic borrowings – especially the grammatical ones – have important systemic effects on the Wymysorys language, particularly its passive, future, and conjunctive modules.

Both the form and meaning of the *blājn* passive has emerged under the influence of Polish. On the one hand, Wymysorys has replicated the structure of the Polish passive construction with its own native material. On the other hand, it has copied fairly faithfully the semantic potential of that donor construction. As a result of the development and stabilization of the *blājn* passive, the original bipartite passive system built around the opposition between the dynamic (actional or processual) passive and the statal passive has been altered. This system has been expanded to a tripartite system and reorganized around a triangular system of oppositions with a new distinction added, i.e. perfectivity, which is overtly encoded by the *blājn* passive. It is thus not only the specific passive form that is a replica of a Polish construction – the entire passive system is also a replica of the Polish system.

Similar to the *blājn* passive, the future III makes use of genuine Wymysorys components to replicate the form and meaning of a construction found in Polish, namely participial future tense. Nevertheless, rather than exclusively constituting a contact-induced phenomenon and a bottom-up reconstruction of the Polish structure through native elements, the emergence of the future III also results, at least to some extent, from the recombination of similar constructions (both formally and semantically) that have been available in the language and the reorganization of their components. As in the case of the *blājn* passive, the borrowing of the future III has led to – or results from – the replica of the entire system of analytical Polish futures, in which two synonymous futures are used: a participial future and an infinitival future. In other words, an

infinitival-participial formal distinction found in the future system of Polish has been copied into Wymysorys with futures I and III constituting participial and infinitival variants, respectively.

Comparable contact phenomena characterize the conjunctive perfect III. This gram replicates the form and, to an extent, the meaning of the Polish past conditional. Although Polish influence has been decisive, the development of the conjunctive perfect III has also been fostered by the existence of native constructions that, due to contact with Polish, have been adjusted in a top-down manner to the foreign pattern through the recombination of their own components. During the formation of the conjunctive perfect III, this top-down mechanism has operated more robustly than was the case of the future III. In further similarity to the future III, the borrowing of the conjunctive perfect III resulted in – or was driven by – the copying of the entire system of analytical conditionals found in Polish: one infinitival and the other participial.

Lastly, contact with Polish has led to the transfer of a number of phrasal idioms that copy Polish patterns and often contain Polish matter as well. These borrowings are of three types: pattern borrowings in which a Polish construction is replicated entirely with Wymysorys material; pattern borrowings in which the replica makes use of both Wymysorys and Polish material; pattern borrowings in which the material used is entirely Polish. This joint contribution of Wymysorys and Polish matter is the most evident in cases where the prepositional idea present in an idiom is expressed twice, first in Wymysorys and then in Polish. Overall, phrasal idioms are not constrained to a specific syntactic type. On the contrary, the syntactic structures attested are diverse despite the relatively small number of examples and include prepositional phrases, verbs governing prepositional phrases, reflexive verbs, verbs governing objects, and non-verbal utterances. The borrowing of phrasal idioms has a further, no less important, effect on the language structure of Wymysorys. It has contributed to the presence of Polish prepositions, negators, and case endings which, although not adopted as autonomous and/or productive elements, constitute inalienable parts of contemporary Wymysorys.

#### 10.1.6 Syntax

Contact with Polish has had profound bearings on Wymysorys syntax, particularly its word order rules or the configurations of its constituents, the syntactic properties of negations, the use of tenses in subordinate clauses and their dependency on main-clause tenses, as well as the presence (or absence) of referential subject pronouns with finite verbs. Given the ubiquity of the various syntactic phenomena related to word order, negation, subordinate-clause verbs, and pronominal subjects, the effects of such contact-induced changes on the overall language structure of Wymysorys are profound. Indeed, some of the abovementioned phenomena have altered, or at least affected, the typological classification of Wymysorys.

The generalization and stabilization of (relatively) free – or pragmatically driven – word order as a fully-fledged option in Wymysorys, and in fact its preference in non-prescriptive discourses, is primarily due to contact with Polish. However, the foundations of this phenomenon are native and lie in the inbuilt variability of syntactic structures in any given

language as well as the diversity of patterns found, even in rigid-syntax languages. The following syntactic phenomena related to free word order – which concern the linear configurations of constituents, mostly finite and non-finite verbs – developed as a result of Polish influence: the non-V2 configuration (or the violation of the V2 rule); the spontaneous V1 in main-clause declaratives; the absence of main-clause verbal braces or the placement of non-finite verbs in a non-final position in main clauses; the lack of asymmetry between the main clause and subordinate clause and, in particular, the non-final placement of finite verbs in subordinate clauses. Additionally, the pre-verbal position of the negator which, although not necessarily an exponent of syntactic freedom, is often correlated with free word order has been acquired by replicating the syntactic pattern found in Polish. Overall, Wymysorys allows for a word order system that, from a typological perspective, is radically different from the other inherited one which still exists in the language as a prescriptively favored alternative.

Polish influence has also been crucial for the development of poly-negation, even though poly-negation, understood as a general grammatical strategy, has always been present to at least some degree in closely related dialects and languages. Therefore, similar to free word order, both language-/family-internal and contact mechanisms have contributed to the development and stabilization of poly-negation in Wymysorys, having operated simultaneously during the history of this language. While the poly-negative strategy is in essence an inherited syntactic device, its retention and fully systemic use in Wymysorys are areal phenomena resulting from convergence with the Polish negative system. Again, these changes have caused the simultaneous presence of two typological systems in Wymysorys: a mono-negation system (which is entirely language-/family-internal) and a poly-negative system (which, as previously explained, results from both internal and external forces).

The lack of compliance with the principle of *consecutio temporum* – i.e. the selection of different tenses in main and subordinate clauses and/or the dependence of the tenses used in subordinate clauses on the tenses used in main clauses – is also, at least partially, attributed to Polish influence. However, rather than a result of direct pattern borrowing, contact with Polish has contributed to the spread and generalization of one of the syntactic strategies that might have been available at the earlier diachronic stages of the language. In any case, the system with a sequence of tenses is more original and etymological, while the system with no tense agreement – especially in its current extent – is a posterior, mostly contact-induced development.

Lastly, the (variant of the) pro-drop rule that operates in Wymysorys – i.e. the omission of referential pronominal subjects with finite verbs and thus a pronoun-less usage of verbs under certain conditions – can similarly be attributed, at least in part, to contact with Polish. Although most of the cases of pro-drop in Wymysorys can be explained as the retention of the strategies available at earlier diachronic stages, the magnitude of this retention and its widespread grammaticality are contact-induced phenomena developed under the pressure of Polish. Nevertheless, this external influence has not been critical, as Polish has been unable to trigger a typological change in this part of the Wymysorys language system. That is, Wymysorys (still) exhibits a partial pro-drop system rather than a canonical pro-drop system as the case in Polish.

## 10.2 Evaluation – Responding to research questions

In this section, I evaluate the principal findings of my empirical research within the adopted framework. I also explain how my conclusions contribute to the debates permeating Wymysorys scholarship, thus determining the views that are positively corroborated, the views that, although in essence are correct, need to be nuanced, and the views that may be regarded as falsified and should therefore be abandoned. First, I will provide answers to the main research question (10.2.1). Subsequently, I will respond to the two groups of subsidiary enquiries identified at the beginning of my study (10.2.2).

### 10.2.1 Responding to the main research question

The main research question that has prompted and guided my research is the determination of the quantitative and qualitative extent of Polish borrowing in Wymysorys. In other words: How profound is the Polish influence on the Wymysorys language system? Is it highly significant, moderately significant, or perhaps insignificant?

The evidence provided in chapters 3-9 and succinctly captured in section 10.1 above enables me to conclude that Polish has influenced Wymysorys to a large extent, both in quantitative and qualitative terms. Polish influence on Wymysorys is thus highly significant.

The quantitative impact of Polish is visible in the number of linguistic elements affected by contact with Polish, whether sounds, lexemes (free morphemes), bound morphemes, phrase- and clause-level constructions, or rules. To be exact:

- Polish has had some type of influence on nearly 1000 elements of the Wymysorys language system.
- It has influenced 20 to more than 40 sounds, i.e. between 15 and some 35 consonants (if palatal and (non-)aspirated consonants are included), and maximally 7 vowels.
- It has influenced around 900 morphemic elements, i.e. approximately 870 free morphemes (lexemes) – some 800 content words and 70 function words – and between 25 and 35 bound morphemes, as well as 12 morpho-syntactic and syntactic constructions.<sup>315</sup>
- It has influenced 12 grammatical rules, of which four govern the Wymysorys sound system and a further nine govern syntax.

The qualitative impact of Polish on Wymysorys is even more evident, more so than the quantitative bearing. It is visible in the wide range and immense diversity of language modules, lexical classes, and semantic and morpho-syntactic types of elements affected. To be exact:

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<sup>315</sup> The numbers provided in this section should be viewed as gross approximates. That is, they should be interpreted as exponents of general tendencies rather than precise numerical quantities. This stems from the fact that the quantification of both pattern borrowings and various systemic changes affecting the sound system is complicated, allowing for more than one result. In morphology, the number of borrowings varies depending on whether all loan morphemes are counted or only those that are productive.

- Polish has influenced all modules of the Wymysorys language, including:
  - the sound system
  - the lexicon
  - and grammar – i.e. a (deep) language structure.
  
- Within the Wymysorys sound system, the impact of Polish is ubiquitous:
  - Polish permeates the phonetics, phonology, phonotactics, and prosody of the Wymysorys language.
  - It permeates consonants, vowels, and semi-vowels/approximants.
  - It permeates rules governing the sound system, some of which are critically relevant.
  
- Within Wymysorys lexicon:
  - The impact of Polish is visible in both content and functional types of lexica.
  - All lexical classes – with the exception of numerals – found in Wymysorys have been affected, i.e. nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, ideophones, interjections, connectors, particles, pronouns, and prepositions.
  - In all lexical classes except pronouns and prepositions, no (significant) semantic restrictions are found that would impede borrowing. On the contrary, lexemes are usually borrowed irrespective of their specific meaning. To be exact, borrowing is attested in:
    - all semantic types of nouns, i.e. tangible and non-tangible, concrete and abstract, common and proper;
    - all semantic types of verbs, i.e. verbs denoting activities that are concrete and abstract, rural and urban, physical and mental (cognitive), secular and religious, as well as in verbs expressing bodily reflexes, actions and states, and speech acts;
    - several types of adjectives, i.e. adjectives with human, animal, inanimate, and abstract referents; adjectives denoting physical and psychological properties, as well as positive and negative characteristics;
    - most types of adverbs, i.e. adverbs of manner, time, and degree;
    - all types of interjections, i.e. emotive, cognitive, conative, and phatic;
    - the two types of ideophones that are available for transfer from Polish, i.e. those imitating sound and those imitating motion;
    - various types of connectors, i.e. coordinating, causal, comparative, and temporal conjunctions, as well as complementizers;
    - and most types of particles, i.e. modal, focal, pragmatic, interrogative, and caesura particles, as well as empty fillers.

- In the case of pronouns and prepositions, the semantic variation of borrowings is less extensive. Contact with Polish has influenced two types of pronouns (relative and reflexive) and three types of prepositions (comparative *niby* ‘as, like, as if’, locative *na* ‘on, at’, and locative-temporal *po* ‘behind, after’).
- With regard to grammar, Polish has had a significant impact on the morphology, morpho-syntax, and syntax of Wymysorys. This influence may concern individual forms or, more critically, global rules.
  - Within morphology, Polish has influenced the derivational and inflectional systems of Wymysorys, donating or altering both suffixes and prefixes.
  - Within morpho-syntax, Polish has influenced lexical constructions (e.g. specific idioms) as well as grammatical constructions (whether tenses, moods, and/or voices).
  - Within syntax, Polish has influenced word-order rules in main and subordinate clauses, the placement and structure of negation, the use of pronominal subjects, and the choice of tenses in subordinate clauses.

The extent of Polish influence is such that the Germanic essence of Wymysorys can be viewed as compromised to a degree, with the language (or at least some parts of it) drifting towards a blended Germanic-Slavonic profile. That is, since a large number of diverse properties (i.e. sounds, vocabulary, or grammar) are identical or at least similar to Polish, Wymysorys has considerably approximated the structure of its Slavonic donor. Indeed, in some discourses and for some speakers, the convergence of the Wymysorys language structure with that of Polish may be extreme, with Wymysorys sounds, lexicon, and grammar being nearly identical to Polish ones. Nevertheless, in many other instances, especially if various types of Polonisms are (artificially) avoided, Wymysorys exhibits a neater Germanic character (see section 10.3 below).

As a result, the present study concords with the views expressed more than a century ago by Latosiński (1909) as well as those formulated more recently by Źak (2013; 2016) and myself and Król in our earlier publications (Andrason 2014c; 2015a; Andrason & Król 2016a), according to which the overall impact of Polish on Wymysorys is profound and thus Wymysorys-Polish borrowing is heavy. In contrast, Kleczkowski’s (1920; 1921) and Ritchie’s (2012) claims that Polish influence is minor, constituting a secondary feature of Wymysorys, especially as far as core grammar is concerned, are less accurate. In particular, contrary to Młynek (1907), for whom the Wymysorys sound system remains mostly “German”, and contrary to Kleczkowski (1920; 1921) and – to a degree – Ritchie (2012), for whom Wymysorys morphology, morpho-syntax, and syntax have been affected by Polish only minimally – or remained virtually unaffected – my research demonstrates that borrowing found beyond the lexicon is both quantitatively and qualitatively substantial.

## 10.2.2 Responding to the subsidiary research questions

Having answered the main research question and demonstrated that Polish borrowing in Wymysorys is significant, I will respond to the subsidiary inquiries. The first class of inquiries has emerged from the framework adopted in my study and is oriented towards the recipient language and/or the endpoint of the contact process. These sub-questions concern the types of borrowings (i.e. matter and/or pattern), their hierarchy (i.e. susceptibility to the borrowing of different elements), and contribution to the resultant system (i.e. the complexifying or simplifying effects of borrowing). To be exact: (a) Are both matter and pattern borrowing types attested and, if so, what is their respective share in the totality of Polish influence on the Wymysorys language? (b) What types of hierarchies of matter and pattern borrowing emerge in Wymysorys-Polish language contact? And thus, what is their tendency to occur in different lexical classes and morpho-syntactic types? (c) What is the proportion of additive, negative, and neutral types of borrowings? And thus, is borrowing an enriching or impoverishing phenomenon? As will be evident from the discussion below, the responses provided to these three inquiries further demonstrate the depth and extent of Polish influence on Wymysorys and Wymysorys-Polish borrowing.

### *Matter and pattern borrowing*

The evidence provided in the empirical chapters of this dissertation demonstrates that both matter borrowing and pattern borrowing are well attested in Wymysorys. While borrowing of pure matter is unattested – matter is always transferred with some content – two types of pattern borrowing are found, namely borrowing of semantic and structural patterns. Overall, the visibility of matter and pattern borrowing is dissimilar, as both types differ in quantitative and (certain) qualitative aspects.

- Matter borrowing is much more noticeable than pattern borrowing from a quantitative perspective.
  - o The instances of matter borrowing ascend to 860/870 cases.
  - o The instances of pattern borrowing account for more than 30 cases.<sup>316</sup>
- Similarly, matter borrowing is somewhat more visible than pattern borrowing from a qualitative perspective:
  - o Matter borrowing permeates the Wymysorys language:
    - This type of borrowing is found in nearly all lexical classes and modules, namely nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, ideophones, connectors,

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<sup>316</sup> Again, these numbers are gross approximates as it is sometimes difficult to determine what constitutes a single instance in pattern borrowing. It should be noted that changes taking place in the sound system of Wymysorys are excluded from these statistics and from the discussion on matter and pattern borrowing in this section.

particles, interjections, morphology (both derivational and inflectional), and morpho-syntax.

- It is only absent in pronouns (as well as numerals for which borrowing is generally unattested). It is also by definition excluded from syntax while, in morpho-syntax, it is limited to phrasal idioms, thus being absent in grammatical constructions.

○ Pattern borrowing is slightly less visible across the various language modules.

- In contrast to matter borrowing, pattern borrowing is absent in ideophones, adverbs, particles, and derivational morphology.
- Furthermore, it is residual in adjectives; in interjections, it is virtually limited to their expletive type; in nouns and verbs, as well as in connectors, it is much less common than matter borrowing.
- Nevertheless, pattern borrowing is the only type of borrowing affecting pronouns, syntax, and morpho-syntax (if phrasal idioms are ignored). With regard to inflectional morphology (in particular, aspect and vocative), while matter borrowing is rare and largely dispreferred, changes caused by pattern borrowing are pervasive and fully grammatical.

Overall, the evidence demonstrates that, despite its more limited attestation, the transfer of patterns has critical bearings on the Wymysorys language system that are no less important than the transfer of matter. Indeed, some types of pattern borrowing have significant systemic effects as they concern rules governing larger language modules, e.g. the nominal system (i.e. inflections and gender) or the verbal system, whether TAM (i.e. passives, futures, and conditionals) or voice and reflexivity. The transfer of patterns related to word order, negation, and the pro-drop rule has the most profound and wide-ranging consequences for the Wymysorys language system, being able to alter its (entire) typological profile. Therefore, the impact of matter and pattern borrowing on Wymysorys can be viewed as fully comparable, although resulting from two distinct causation mechanisms: bottom-up and top-down. That is, matter borrowing has affected the global structure of the language through a plethora of individual cases of transfer. Pattern borrowing has affected myriad individual items (words, morphemes, constructions, phrases, clauses, and sentences) through the transfer of a few global rules.

Consequently, the above results provide systematic evidence-based support for the ideas that have thus far been expressed implicitly (cf. Andrason 2014c; 2015b; Andrason & Król 2016a) or formulated in impressionistic terms and with no empirical substantiation (Młynek 1907), according to which Polish influence on Wymysorys is significant not only with regard to matter but also structural patterns. Inversely, views that minimize or negate the possibility of the transfer of Polish grammatical patterns to Wymysorys – especially morphological, morpho-syntactic, and syntactic ones (see Kleczkowski 1920; 2012) – may be deemed incorrect. Overall, my study draws attention to pattern borrowing in Wymysorys, demonstrating that it is

significantly more common than suggested thus far (see Latosiński 1909; Wicherkiewicz 1998a; 2003; Żak 2013; 2016), without questioning the relevance of matter borrowing on which scholars have traditionally focused.

### *Hierarchies of borrowing*

The evidence provided in this dissertation reveals several hierarchies encapsulating the borrowability of different linguistic elements. I will consider three types of hierarchies separately: those related to matter, pattern, and sounds.

- As far as the borrowing of matter is concerned, from the most coarse-grained perspective, the content lexicon is more borrowable (785 items) than the functional lexicon (53/55 items), which is in turn more borrowable than morphological items (maximum 29 items; see Figure 1 below).
- With regard to the lexical classes of the transferred items (see Figure 2 below), the following dependencies can be observed:
  - o Globally,
    - Nouns are the most borrowable (594 items) and occupy the highest position in the hierarchy.
    - Verbs are lower and are nearly six times less borrowable than nouns (115 items).
    - Interjections (37 items) and adjectives (36 items) are approximately three times less borrowable than verbs.<sup>317</sup>
    - Adverbs (27 items) and ideophones (24 items) are approximately four times less borrowable than verbs.
    - Particles (16 items) are located lower in the hierarchy, followed by connectors, which are even less borrowable (4 items).
    - Within the lexical classes that attest to borrowing, prepositions (1/3 item(s)) are least propitious for transference.
    - There are no cases of the transfer of pronouns and numerals.
  - o As far as the borrowability of lexemes belonging to a particular lexical class is concerned, the following hierarchical dependencies can be identified:

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<sup>317</sup> However, the instances of interjective loans may be slightly exaggerated, in some cases reflecting the formal convergence of typologically common, “natural” interjections, rather than resulting from language contact *sensu stricto*. Therefore, the realistic position of interjections on the hierarchy may be more similar to that of adverbs and ideophones.

- Within adverbs, adverbs of manner are more borrowable than adverbs of time and degree, which are in turn more borrowable than (unattested) locative adverbs.
  - Within connectors, causal conjunctions (3 items) are more borrowable than the remaining types of linking items (1 negative coordinating conjunction).
  - Within particles, modal particles (9 items) are more borrowable than pragmatic particles (3 items). The negative (answer) particle (1 item) is more borrowable, albeit to a very limited extent, than positive answer particles, the latter being unattested.
  - Within interjections, emotive and conative interjections are more borrowable than phatic and cognitive interjections.
- With regard to morphology, the evidence reveals the following hierarchies:
- Globally:
    - Derivational morphemes (minimally 18 items) are at least six times more borrowable than inflectional morphemes (maximum of 3 items, all of them peripheral; see Figure 3.1 below).
    - Only inherent context-autonomous inflections (plural, semantic case, and aspect markers) are attested, while matter borrowing of contextual inflections is unattested (or only occurs in idioms).
  - Taking into consideration the lexical classes of the elements hosting bound morphemes, two further – and virtually parallel – dependencies may be proposed:
    - Within derivational morphology, nominal morphemes are more borrowable (11 productive items) than verbal morphemes (4 productive items). The borrowability of adjectival (2 productive and 7 non-productive) and adverbial (1/2 semi-productive and 2 non-productive) morphemes is the lowest (see Figure 3.2 below).
    - Within inflectional morphology, nominal morphemes are again more borrowable than verbal morphemes. Within verbal inflections, only one aspectual marker has been transferred, itself being attested in only two verbs. The borrowing of adjectival inflections is unattested (see Figure 3.3 below).

**content lexicon** → **functional lexicon** → **morphology**

Figure 1: Hierarchy of matter borrowing across the main types of morphemes

**nouns** → **verbs** → **interjections** → **adverbs** → **particles** → **prepositions** → **numerals**  
**adjectives** → **ideophones** → **connectors** → **pronouns**

Figure 2: Hierarchy of matter borrowing across lexical classes

3.a

**derivational morphology** → **inflectional morphology**

3.b

**nominal** → **verbal** → **adjectival**  
**adverbial**

3.c

**nominal** → **verbal** → **adjectival**

Figure 3: Hierarchy of matter borrowing in bound morphology: (a) globally; (b) derivations; (c) inflections

As far as pattern borrowing is concerned, its semantic and structural types yield two distinct – in fact, opposite – hierarchies:

- With regard to semantic pattern borrowing (or polysemy copying):
  - Its presence is equally visible in the content lexicon (9 items) than in the functional lexicon (10 items).
  - If specific lexical classes are considered, pattern borrowing is the most common in verbs (6 times) and (expletive) interjections (6 items). It is less common in nouns (2 items), connectors (2 items), and pronouns (2 items). It is the least common in adjectives (1/2 item). No cases of polysemy copying of adverbs and ideophones are attested. Similarly, canonical examples of polysemy copying are unattested in morphology (see Figure 4 below).
  
- With regard to structural pattern borrowing:
  - The subtype related to individual forms, or idioms, typically involves prepositional phrases and verbs governing prepositional phrases or objects. Non-verbal utterances are the least common.
  - The borrowability of proper structural patterns seems to decrease from larger units to smaller units, or from clausal to phrasal structures and then to morphology and lexicon.
  - To be exact, syntactic (clausal) patterns are more borrowable (9 items) than morpho-syntactic (phrasal) patterns (3 items, excluding the individual idioms). The borrowability of morphological structural patterns is even lower (2 items; see Figure 5 below).

**content lexicon**      →      **morphology**  
**functional lexicon**

Figure 4: Hierarchy of semantic pattern borrowing

**syntax**      →      **morpho-syntax**      →      **morphology**

Figure 5: Hierarchy of structural pattern borrowing

As far as the sound system is concerned, the evidence reveals the following hierarchies of borrowability:

- With regard to sound types, consonants are much more borrowable than vowels. Between 15 and 35 consonantal sounds have been transferred or affected by contact with Polish.<sup>318</sup> The number of borrowed vowels oscillates between 3 and 7.<sup>319</sup>
  - As for consonants (excluding palatalized and nasalized sounds):
    - With regard to the manner of articulation:
      - Fricatives ([ç], [ʒ], [ʃ], [ʒ], [x]) and (corresponding) affricates ([tʃ], [dʒ], [tʂ], [dʐ]) are the most borrowable.
      - Sonorants – i.e. nasal [ŋ], liquid [r], and semi-vowel [w] – are less borrowable.
    - With regard to the place of articulation:
      - Alveolo-palatals ([ç], [ʒ], [tʃ], [dʒ], [ŋ]) are the most borrowable;
      - Postalveolars ([ʃ], [ʒ], [tʂ], [dʐ]) are somewhat less common;
      - Alveolars and velars (i.e. [r] and [x], respectively) are the least common.
    - In general, all consonants that were available for transfer have been borrowed.
  - With regard to vowels:
    - Only a central vowel ([ə]) and nasal vowels ([ɔ̃], [ɛ̃], [ĩ], [ã], [ũ], and [ɞ̃]) have been transferred.
    - All vowels that were available for transfer have been borrowed.
  - With regard to the phonology and phonetics of consonants and vowels:
    - The unaltered incorporation of a new phoneme in particular lexemes is more common than a separate, unaltered incorporation of the donor-language phoneme. In other words, phonological features are more borrowable in loanwords than as independent phonemes. Therefore, most consonantal and vocalic phonemes are only typical of loanwords.<sup>320</sup>

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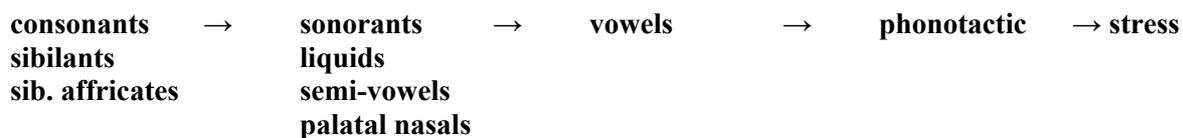
<sup>318</sup> There are at least 35 if palatalized and (non-)aspirated consonants are included.

<sup>319</sup> There are seven if all nasal vowels are included.

<sup>320</sup> For example, the semi-phonemic status of sibilants and affricates is limited to loanwords.

- Phonetic/allophonic features are more borrowable than phonemic features. That is, more sounds have been borrowed as allophonic variants of native sounds than as true phonemes. For instance, one vocalic phoneme has been transferred, while there are six borrowed allophones.
  - Thus, the primary change in the sound system is the increase in the allophonic variation of consonantal phonemes.
  
- As far as phonological rules are concerned:
  - Voicing (i.e. a voice-voiceless distinction) is more evident than palatalization, which is in turn more evident than nasalization.
  - Phonological rules affecting consonants are more borrowable (two such rules have been transferred and both are central) than those affecting vowels (only one peripheral rule has been transferred).
  
- As far as phonotactics and prosody are concerned, the following dependencies can be formulated:
  - The borrowing of phonotactic features (consonant clustering) is less prominent than the borrowing of sounds, the former being virtually limited to loanwords. Nevertheless, the number and diversity of borrowed clusters is considerable and constitutes a recognizable property of Wymysorys.
  - The borrowing of prosodic features (accent) is limited to loanwords. Inversely, the accentuation rules of the native lexicon (Germanic or non-Germanic) have not been altered.
  
- All dependencies presented above can ultimately be combined in two global hierarchies:
  - Consonants are more borrowable than vowels. Jointly, consonantal and vocalic sounds are more borrowable than phonotactic features, which are in turn more borrowable than prosodic features (see Figure 6.a).
  - Allophonic features are more borrowable than phonemic features. Phonemic features in loanwords are more borrowable than entire phonemes. Phonemes are more borrowable than deep phonetic modifications (e.g. fortis-lenis > voiced-voiceless) (see Figure 6.b).

6.a



6.b

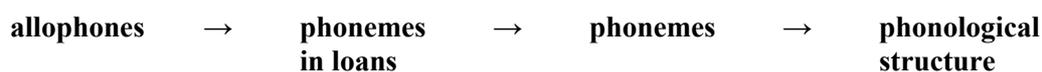


Figure 6: Hierarchy of borrowability in the sound system of Wymysorys

To conclude, the traditional, commonly adopted view whereby content vocabulary – specifically nouns and, albeit less so, verbs – has been the most affected module of the language system, significantly more so than functional vocabulary, morphology, morpho-syntax, and syntax (Kleczkowski 1920; 1921; see also Waniek 1880; Młynek 1907, Latosiński 1909, Wicherkiewicz 1998a; 2003, Ritchie 2012, Żak 2013; 2016; 2019), may be regarded as corroborated. My study provides robust empirical quantitative and qualitative support for this far more intuitive than evidence-based hypothesis, which is also far more precise, detailed, and accurate than what was offered in my earlier studies (Andrason 2014c; Andrason & Król 2016a). Nevertheless, the present study demonstrates that the above hierarchy mainly applies to matter borrowing and, to an extent, semantic pattern borrowing. As far as structural pattern borrowing is concerned, the hierarchy is reversed, with syntax being the most influenced module. This discrepancy in the hierarchies characterizing matter and pattern borrowings has remained undiscovered until now. Additionally, contrary to Waniek’s (1880:20) claim, the borrowing of Polish numerals is unattested in Wymysorys.

#### *Additive and negative borrowing – Complexity*

The evidence provided in this dissertation shows that the proportion of additive, negative, and neutral types of borrowings is highly uneven.

- The vast majority of changes are additive, of which two main types are attested:
  - new distinctions, i.e. semantic, functional, and structural categories earlier absent, have been included in the linguistic repertoire of Wymysorys;
  - new manners of encoding the categories that had previously existed in Wymysorys have been introduced, leading to the (near-)synonymy of several items.
- Additive changes are visible in all lexical classes and language modules:

- In the content lexicon, most cases of the borrowing of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs are incremental, thus enriching the native vocabulary by new lexemes and near/full synonyms.
- In the functional lexicon, the borrowing of conjunctions, particles, interjections, and even prepositions is additive: entirely new lexemes are transferred (e.g. a question particle that did not previously exist in the language) or relatively close synonyms are added to the native equivalents (see the conjunction *bo* that has expanded the set of native causal conjunctions such as *den* and *wál*).
- In morphology, the borrowing of derivations and inflections is regularly additive:
  - With regard to derivations, new encoding manners involve diminutives in nouns, adjectives, adverbializers, verbalizers, and a focal/emphatic marker. The development of a new class of feminine words and a new gender-ending pairing also constitutes an incremental change.
  - With regard to inflections, additive changes involve both new distinctions and their encoding manners, e.g. vocative case and plural marker for nouns, and aspect for verbs. The transfer of Polish nouns and verbs has also resulted in the formation of new inflectional paradigms.
- The three cases of morpho-syntactic borrowing are additive in that new distinctions and/or encoding manners have been added, namely the future tense, conditional mood, and passive voice.
- Borrowing in syntax is regularly additive, with new rules accompanying the existing ones. To be exact, the following additions have been made: free word-order systems have been added to the system of rigid word order; a non-V2 rule has been added to the V2 rule; the absence of braces has been added to the principle of braces; the rule of word-order symmetry in main and subordinate clauses has been added to the rule of word-order asymmetry; the principle of poly-negation has been added to mono-negation; the lack of observance of *consecutio temporum* has been added to the rule of *consecutio temporum*; and a semi pro-drop rule has been added to the non-pro-drop rule.
- Most cases of borrowing in the sound system are also additive:
  - New consonants and vowels have been added, often as alternatives to native sounds.<sup>321</sup>
  - New rules have been acquired or the range of the rules that was originally limited has been expanded.
  - New combinations of consonant clusters have become grammatical.
  - A new position for the accent has been introduced.

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<sup>321</sup> Borrowing from Polish would be responsible for both the maintenance of the native series of sibilants and affricates ([ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ], and [dʒ]) and their eventual complexification by means of the two Polish series ([e], [z], [tɕ], [dʑ] and [s], [z], [ts], [dz]).

- In some cases, the additive change consists of enhancing and stimulating a phenomenon that, although present earlier, was residual and/or operated in an unsystematic way.
- The effect of a number of other changes is neutral:
  - The transfer of content lexemes in domains from which Wymysorys has gradually been excluded (e.g. terminology related to religion and church) may be neutral, with loans having replaced the original native words. Arguably, this neutral effect would itself have resulted from first an additive change (new lexemes added) and then a negative change (the subsequent loss of native lexemes).
  - The neutral effect of borrowing is pervasive in ideophones, where loans have typically replaced native expressions.
  - Neutral borrowing is also attested in the sound system, e.g. the replacement of a fortis-lenis system by a voiced-voiceless system; the labialization of [ɬ] to [w] (this specific change was first incremental, with both variants being available, and then negative, as [ɬ] was lost); and the apical alveolar trill pronunciation of [r]. The maintenance of consonantal length may also be an example of the neutral effect of Polish influence.
- Negative changes are extremely rare:
  - The most visible negative change is the loss of aspiration as a result of the replacement of a fortis-lenis system by a voiced-voiceless system.
  - Outside the sound system, the only negative change is the partial simplification of the variation of reflexive pronouns in that one pronoun (*zejh/zih*) can be used instead of the four others.<sup>322</sup>

Given the evident prevalence of an additive type of borrowing in all language modules of Wymysorys, borrowing can be regarded as a principally enriching phenomenon rather than an impoverishing one. Therefore, contact with Polish significantly contributes to the complexification of Wymysorys instead of triggering its simplification. The major meta-principle operating in Wymysorys-Polish contact and borrowing is to preserve the original native system of distinctions and encoding manners, and to expand this system with the distinctions and encoding manners transferred from the external donor system, thus ultimately enriching and complexifying the sound, lexicon, and grammar of Wymysorys. The most evident cases of complexification involve three phenomena. First, the development of three strategies in lexicon, where native, borrowed, and hybridized lexemes coexist. Second, the grammaticality of three partially equivalent series of sibilants and affricates, one inherited and

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<sup>322</sup> This replacement and thus simplification can be viewed as partial, given that the old native system with five different reflexive pronouns may still be used. This means that two systems are currently used, which in turn implies an overall complexification.

two borrowed. Third, the access to two systems of word order, negation, *consecutio temporum*, and – to an extent – pro-drop rules: one native and the other imported from Polish.

Overall, the results of the present research corroborate my earlier claims regarding the relationship between language-contact and the complexity of Wymysorys (Andrason 2015a:78-79; forthcoming (b); Andrason & Król 2016a:130). To be exact, I show that the contact-driven complexification of Wymysorys, thus far empirically demonstrated only in the sound system (Andrason forthcoming (b)), also typifies the remaining modules of the language, namely lexicon, morphology, morpho-syntax, and syntax. Additionally, I provide more systematic evidence of the neutral and negative changes effected by Polish on Wymysorys, suggested impressionistically by Ritchie (2012) and implicitly by myself in earlier publications (Andrason 2014c; forthcoming (b)). Accordingly, I have expanded the scope of borrowings traditionally observed in scholarly literature from those more easily identifiable, additive changes (see Młynek 1907; Latosiński 1909; Kleczkowski 1920; 1921; Wicherkiewicz 1998a; 2003; Andrason 2014c; Andrason & Król 2016a; Żak 2013; 2016; 2019) to more “concealed”, neutral, and negative modifications.

Having answered the three subsidiary research questions that are oriented towards the recipient language and/or the endpoint of the contact process and which concern the various types of borrowings (whether matter or pattern, occurring in the sound system, lexicon, or core grammar, and whether additive, neutral, or negative in nature), I will respond to three further sub-questions. The enquiries of this group are more oriented towards the donor language and/or the beginning of the contact process and concern the specific source of borrowing, and its motivation for and possible adaptation during transfer. To be exact: (a) Do the borrowed elements draw on Standard Polish or on Polish dialects? (b) What are the motivations for the borrowing of Polish elements in Wymysorys? (c) Do elements transferred from Polish tend to preserve their donor-language characteristics or do they lose them in order to fit into the recipient-language system?<sup>323</sup>

#### *Standard and dialectal Polish sources*

According to the evidence presented, borrowings found in Wymysorys may draw on Standard Polish and local Polish dialects. From a quantitative perspective, both types of origin are equally common, with a large number of examples illustrating each of the two possibilities. From a qualitative perspective, features suggesting standard or dialectal provenance are also equally common, with both types of loans appearing in the various lexical classes, morpheme types, and language modules. The availability of the two sources of borrowing is most evident in cases where a loan exhibits two equally grammatical variants that each reflect a different origin of transfer, i.e. standard or dialectal. Consequently, the contribution of Standard Polish and the Polish dialects to Wymysorys – at least in its current form, as attested in the 21<sup>st</sup> century – can be viewed as comparable.

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<sup>323</sup> As explained in section 3.3, this last research question is evidently related to the donor and recipient code, and concerns the beginning and endpoint of the borrowing process.

Features that demonstrate the dialectal provenance of loans are principally related to phonetics. Additionally, in some instances, the very lexeme or morpheme being transferred attests to a dialectal origin. All such features suggest the western part of Lesser Poland and eastern Upper Silesia – or the Silesian and Lesser Polish borderline – as the dialectal zone of influence.

As far as free morphemes are concerned, the dialectal origin of loanwords transpires in the following relatively common phonetic properties:

- The pronunciation of *pochylone* vowels:
  - *â* surfaces as *o* [ɔ] (attested in nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and interjections);
  - *é* surfaces as *y* [ɤ] after hard and soft consonants (attested in nouns, verbs, adjectives, and interjections);
  - and *ó* surfaces as *o* [ɔ] or as (*i*)*ö*(*e*) [ø]/[ɤøœ] (attested in nouns and rarely in adjectives).
- The labialization of back vowels (attested in nouns, interjections, and rarely adverbs).
- The plosive realization of the Standard Polish *ch* [x] as *k* [k] (attested in nouns, verbs, and interjections).
- The pronunciation of postalveolar and alveolo-palatal fricatives and affricates:
  - The realization of postalveolar fricatives and affricates ([ʂ], [ʐ], [tʂ], [dʐ]) as alveolo-palatals ([ç], [ʒ], [tç], [dç]), which suggests *siakanie* (attested in nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, ideophones, particles, and interjections).
  - The realization of postalveolar and alveolo-palatal fricatives and affricates (i.e. [ʂ], [ʐ], [tʂ], [dʐ] and [ç], [ʒ], [tç], [dç] respectively) as palatalo-alveolars ([ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ], [dʒ]), which suggests *sziakanie* (attested in nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, ideophones, particles, and interjections).
- The preservation of the nasal feature of nasal vowels and their pronunciation as an oral vowel and a nasal consonant (attested in nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, ideophones, and interjections).
- The simplification of consonant clusters (attested in nouns, verbs, and adverbs). It should be emphasized that the last three phenomena converge with adaptive mechanisms, while the treatment of nasality and consonant clusters is also typical of colloquial Standard Polish.

Other dialectal features are much less pervasive, being limited to a few, mostly nominal lexemes:

- The voicing of intervocalic *-k-* [k] to *-g-* [g] (attested in two cases in nouns).
- The pronunciation of *ch* [x] as *f* [f] after *t* (attested in one case in nouns).
- Lack of the vowel mutation of 'e to 'o (attested in one case in nouns).
- *Szadzenie* (attested in two cases in nouns).
- *Mazurzenie* (attested in three instances: one case in nouns and two cases in particles).

Additionally, several lexemes draw on forms that are mostly or only found in dialects. This is attested in nouns, verbs, and adjectives.

Overall, nominal loanwords are the lexical class in which the dialectal component is the most evident. The presence of dialectal features in verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and interjections is also visible, although somewhat less so than in nouns. Ideophones and particles attest less clearly to a dialectal foundation. Lastly, no overt dialectal traces can be identified in the borrowed connectors and prepositions – their sources may be both standard and dialectal. The greater visibility of dialectal components in nouns in comparison with the other lexical classes is arguably related to the fact that nominal loans are significantly more common, amounting to around 70% of all cases of borrowing of free morphemes. Therefore, borrowed nouns may allow for more dialectal features to be exhibited. However, the same imbalance in the dialectal foundation of loans belonging to distinct lexical classes may also stem from another phenomenon. As nouns are most borrowable, a larger amount of them may have been fully incorporated into Wymysorys in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, i.e. at the time when the presence of Polish dialects in Wilamowice and its neighboring areas was substantial, while that of Standard Polish was more limited. Such nouns would have resisted readjustment to Standard Polish during the post-war period, where the use of Standard Polish expanded greatly and that of dialects diminished. In contrast, connectors and prepositions are the least borrowable. Their pre-war entrenchment in Wymysorys was probably less significant than that of nouns. After the war, when the influence of Standard Polish drastically increased, the pronunciation of these lexemes could have been readjusted more easily to Standard Polish. All loans transferred after the war – whether nouns, connectors, or prepositions – more likely draw on Standard Polish rather than the Polish dialects, given the abovementioned change in the visibility of Standard Polish and Polish dialects in Wilamowice.

Dialectal features are also visible in morphological loans. As was typical of lexemes, the dialectal origin of bound morphemes surfaces in phonetics and in the particular form being transferred. The typical phonetic features are:

- The pronunciation of the *pochylone á* as [ɔ] (attested in nominal morphology).
- The realization of postalveolar fricatives and affricates as alveolo-palatals, and the additional realization of those two series as palatalo-alveolars, which suggests *siakanie* and *sziakanie*, respectively (attested in nominal, verbal, and adjectival morphology).<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> As explained above, these features converge with the adaptive strategies operating in the transfer.

Additionally, the pervasive use of the suffix *-że* in Wymysorys may be regarded as an indication of dialectal influence since *że* (although used as a clitic) is particularly common in Polish dialects, including Lesser Polish and Eastern Upper Silesian.

Apart from being identifiable in the form of the individual borrowed morphemes, whether free or bound, Polish dialectal features are also recognizable at a more systemic level, namely in the sound system of Wymysorys. This dialectal foundation is visible in two phonetic phenomena that have already been mentioned above:

- The prevalence of alveolo-palatals over flat postalveolars reflects the dialectal foundation of transfer, specifically the phenomenon of *siakanie*.
- The use of native palatalo-alveolars as the most common realization of sibilants and affricates – and the maintenance of the native palatalo-alveolars in the language – may reflect the phenomenon of *sziiakanie*.<sup>325</sup>

With regard to the specific dialectal variety that underlies Polish borrowings in Wymysorys, the evidence suggests the following: the dialectal component in Polish loans tends to reflect Western Lesser Polish, although sharing a large number of similarities with Eastern Upper Silesian. In other words, most dialectal traits comply with the transition area of the Lesser Polish-Silesian border and are comparable to the dialect of Piszowice recorded more than 100 years ago. To be exact, as far as the most regular dialectal features exhibited in Polish borrowings are concerned, the realization of the *pochylone* vowels coincides with their pronunciation attested in peripheral (Southwestern) Lesser Polish, Cracovian and Piszowice dialects, and Eastern Upper Silesian, as is also true of the plosive realization of the Standard Polish *ch* [x] as *k* [k], the simplification of consonant clusters, and the preservation of the nasal feature of nasal vowels and their realization as an oral vowel with a nasal consonant (cf. Kosiński 1891:2-8, 13; Nitsch 1939; ; Kucala 1957; Urbańczyk 1962; Dejna 1973; Dubisz, Karaś & Kolis 1995).<sup>326</sup> In contrast, the labialization of back vowels is typical of Lesser Polish, Cracovian, and Piszowice, generally being absent in Upper Silesian (Dejna 1973). The phenomenon of *siakanie* is attested in some parts of Lesser Poland including Piszowice, especially in foreign loanwords and/or as an alternative strategy to *mazurzenie* (Kosiński 1891:101; Nitsch 1939; Dejna 1973). In contrast, *sziiakanie* only typifies the Silesian variety of Cieszyn (Dejna 1973:106-107). The less consistent dialectal features found in Polish borrowings in Wymysorys also coincide with Western Lesser Polish: the voicing of intervocalic *-k-* [k] to *-g-* [g], the pronunciation of *ch* [x] as *f* [f] after *t* [t], and *mazurzenie* are attested in Lesser Polish, including the westernmost parts of Piszowice, rather than in Silesian Polish (Kosiński 1891:4, 7, 11-12; Dejna 1973). *Szadzenie*, which may be an indirect result of *mazurzenie*, was attested in Piszowice (Kosiński 1891:10). The lack of vowel mutation of *'e* to *'o* is typical of both Lesser Polish (including the Cracovian and Piszowice regions) and Upper Silesian (Kosiński 1891:3; Dejna 1973). Similarly, the

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<sup>325</sup> These two phenomena may also result from adaptive processes.

<sup>326</sup> Although nasalization is lost in many variants of Lesser Polish, it still persists in Cracovian and peripheral western varieties.

lexical loans principally draw on Western Lesser Polish, including Cracovian and Piszczowice (see the common use of the particle *że*, the verbal infix *-owa-* instead of *-iwa/ywa-*, and the verb *kidać* ‘sprinkle, spill’), as well as Eastern Upper Silesian (see the common use of the suffixes *-orz* and *-ok*, and the noun *familijo* ‘family’; cf. Kosiński 1891:11, 24; Zaręba 1969-1989; Dejna 1973; Kwaśnicka-Janowicz 2010).

Nevertheless, since loans may draw equally on Standard Polish, in various cases, the abovementioned features are absent, with the Standard Polish component being prevalent. To be exact, the *pochylone* vowels *â*, *ê*, and *ô* are realized as [a], [ɛ], and [u] (or [y]/[ɣ] after adaptation), respectively; back vowels are not labialized; *ch* is realized as [x]; postalveolar ([ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ], [dʒ]) and alveolo-palatal ([ç], [ʝ], [tʃ], [dʒ]) fricatives and affricates are realized as such; nasal vowels are realized as pure nasal vowels or resolved into an oral vowel with a nasal vocoid or approximant; and consonant clusters are not simplified.<sup>327</sup>

Overall, the present study corroborates the relevance of the dialectal components of Polish loans in Wymysorys, which has widely been recognized in scholarly literature (see Kleczkowski 1920; Wicherkiewicz 1998b; 2003; Andrason 2014c; 2015a; Andrason & Król 2014a; 2016a; Żak 2013; 2016; 2019). However, the proposed evidence equally demonstrates a substantial contribution by Standard Polish to borrowing – a phenomenon that has also been suggested by Kleczkowski (1920) and myself in my previous publications (Andrason & Król 2014a; 2016a:114; Andrason 2015:82). According to this dissertation, both sources of Polish borrowings – i.e. dialectal and standard – are similarly important, whether qualitatively or quantitatively. As for the exact dialectal variety that underlies loans, I propose a conciliatory view whereby the dialectal component reflects a transitional Lesser Polish-Silesian zone, thus mixing properties typical of Western Lesser Polish (cf. Kleczkowski 1920; Wicherkiewicz 1998:207, Andrason 2014c; Andrason & Król 2016a) with those characterizing eastern Upper Silesia (cf. Wicherkiewicz 2003:403).

### *Motivations for borrowing*

My research suggests two classes of motivations for the borrowing of Polish elements and features. One class is related to needs, whereas the other relates to language processing.

A significant amount of the items and properties adopted from Polish has been transferred due to need. The first group of such borrowings has emerged because of lexical or grammatical gaps that Wymysorys speakers must have encountered in their own language. The gaps concern(ed) distinctions or categories that existed in Polish but were absent in the inherited component of the Wymysorys language system. Lexical concepts related to technological inventions, Polish culture and politics, as well as activities, objects, and instruments typical of western Lesser Poland – all typically nouns and verbs – are the most evident examples of gaps which have been filled by the transfer of Polish matter. For such concepts, Wymysorys may

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<sup>327</sup> Furthermore, the mutation of *'e* to *'o*, typical of Standard Polish, is widely attested.

have always lacked precise native equivalent concepts – i.e. words denoting them had never been developed – such that direct borrowing from Polish seemed a satisfactory solution. The other class of gaps is related to grammatical categories present in Polish but absent in the German variety (or varieties) from which Wymysorys has evolved. The most patent examples are vocative, imperfective-perfective aspectual distinction, perfective dynamic passive, as well as all consonants and vowels borrowed from Polish.

The second group of items that have been transferred due to need includes lexemes for which borrowing has been motivated by loss of functionality, i.e. the gradual removal of Wymysorys from certain facets of life. In such cases, concepts that had existed in the language have ceased to be expressed through native lexemes and have been replaced with Polish material. The two most evident types of loan lexica transferred due to functional reduction are words – again, typically nouns and verbs – related to the religious sphere of life, i.e. church and faith.

However, borrowing from Polish has also affected parts of the Wymysorys language in which gaps – be they lexical or grammatical – had not existed, and/or is visible in domains in which functional reduction has never occurred. In such cases, need seems an unlikely reason for transfer, borrowing instead being motivated by language processing phenomena.

One type of item that certainly used to have its native equivalents and thus did not require borrowing is kinship terms and nouns referring to months. These original lexemes have been replaced entirely by Polish loans. Similarly, most ideophones transferred from Polish have probably supplanted native, more original, equivalents.

Another type of element that did not necessitate borrowing includes loans of which the transfer has not resulted in the loss of the original native words. Instead, a Polish element, typically a lexeme, has been added to a native element that has also remained in use. As a result, a large set of near-synonyms has been developed. The most numerous class of referents for which two alternative lexemes are currently available – the one original and native, and the other imported from Polish – involves abstract concepts. Although full synonyms are attested, in most instances the loan and the native lexeme differ at least minimally. These semantic differences may surface in three main phenomena: the semantic potential of the loanword is narrower than the corresponding inherited lexeme; the functional scope of the loan is more restricted, e.g. its usage being limited to nicknames; and the semantic potential of the loan includes additional senses or shades of meaning absent in the native lexeme, e.g. a word yields pejorative connotations. Similar, relatively synonymous doublets are also typical of adjectival and adverbial loans, as well as connectors, particles, and prepositions transferred from Polish (compare with the distinct behavior of ideophones mentioned above). It also characterizes derivational morphology, e.g. diminutives.

Overall, irrespective of its final outcome (i.e. whether triggering the loss of a native equivalent or the development of synonymous pairs), these types of borrowings are likely motivated by optimality exploration, whether specificity, transparency, or precision. That is, speakers

employ a form that, in their view, expresses a given meaning or function in the most accurate – efficient, economical, and precise – manner.

In light of the above results, the views regarding the motivations for Polish borrowing in Wymysorys expressed in my earlier studies (Andrason 2015a; Andrason & Król 2016a) – which constitute the only publications that have thus far treated this issue explicitly – need to be revised and nuanced. Although some Polish features may indeed have been introduced in a conscious and creative manner due to expressive needs – for instance, to mark ethnic identity (Andrason 2015a:79-80; Andrason & Król 2016a:129) – many others have stemmed from semantic gaps and the reduction of functionality of the language in determined domains of life. Thus, freedom in drawing on the Polish component and the creativity of this process may be lesser than proposed earlier.

### *Adaptation of loans*

The evidence provided in this study demonstrates that elements borrowed from Polish tend to be relatively well adapted to the Wymysorys language system, even though the extent of this adaptation may vary considerably. Four types of adaptations are attested, which are related to phonetics, morphology, gender, and syntax.

- With regards to phonetics, the following mechanisms are used to adapt the donor language's elements to the recipient system:
  - *u* [u] and *ó* if borrowed from Standard Polish are realized as *ü* [y]/[Y].
  - *o* [ɔ] and *ó* if borrowed from dialects are realized as (*i*)*ö*(*e*) [ø]/[Yøœ].
  - The stress of loanwords is (occasionally) adjusted to native accentuation rules.
  - Postalveolar and alveolo-palatal fricatives and affricates (i.e. [s̺], [z̺], [t̺s̺], [d̺z̺] and [ç], [ʒ], [t̺ç], [d̺ʒ] respectively) are realized as palatalo-alveolars ([ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ], [dʒ]).
  - Nasal vowels are resolved into oral vowels and nasal consonants.
  - Consonant clusters are occasionally simplified.<sup>328</sup>
  - The oldest loans exhibit two further changes: *b* [b] is reflected as *w* [v] (in an intervocalic position) and *r* is lost (in a position before a consonant) – these two changes stem from language-internal phonetic developments that took place earlier in Wymysorys and widely affected the native lexicon.
  
- Phonetic adaptations are uneven in the different lexical classes and morpheme types:
  - The above adaptations are common in nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, which all tend to be adjusted accordingly to the native sound system. Nevertheless, many exceptions to the adaptations listed above are also attested.

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<sup>328</sup> These last three features converge with tendencies found in Polish dialects. The realization of nasal vowels and consonant clusters is also typical of the colloquial pronunciation of Standard Polish.

In such cases, loanwords are incorporated with the donor-language phoneme(s) remaining unaltered. In several instances, two variants co-exist: an adjusted one and an unadjusted one.

- In contrast, ideophones, interjections, and especially particles, connectors, and prepositions tend to be unadjusted. However, a few exceptions which concord with the adaptive mechanisms presented above are attested.
  - Phonetic adaptation of morphological loans is typical of nominal bound morphemes, which are also present in a few adjectival morphemes and one verbal morpheme. The typical change is the replacement of *u* [u] with *ü* [y]/[ɣ] and the palatalo-alveolar realization of postalveolar and alveolo-palatal fricatives and affricates.
  - Sometimes, the presence of adaptive mechanisms is correlated with a more evident dialectal origin, which may, in turn, suggest the earlier transfer of certain lexemes.
- With regard to morphology, adaptation may involve four types of phenomena:
- The original derivational suffix of a loanword is adjusted to the morphological rules of Wymysorys:
    - Feminine nouns tend to lose their suffix *-a* and a few (original) neuter nouns lose *-o*.
    - Nominal loans are accompanied by native derivational suffixes, especially the diminutive morpheme *-tal/-la* and the nominalizers *-yj* and *-yn*.
    - The verbal loans derive their participles by means of the suffix *-t* and rarely the prefix *gy-*.
    - Original reflexive verbs may lose or introduce the reflexive feature in analogy to the equivalent native verbs.
    - Adjectives are accompanied by one of the native adjectival suffixes *-ik*, *-i/yś*, or (less likely) *-ńik*, with the Polish suffix being reinterpreted as part of new hybridized suffixes (see below).
    - A few particles host native suffixes (e.g. *-ś* and *-nok*).<sup>329</sup>
  - The loanword is inflected according to the rules of the Wymysorys language system, thus exhibiting native inflectional endings:
    - Nominal loans are regularly inflected in number by means of the native endings *-a* or *-n*.
    - Polish plurals ending in *-ki* (including those found in *pluralia tanta*) are expanded by the native pluralizer *-a*.<sup>330</sup>

<sup>329</sup> Additionally, the borrowed verbalizer *-â-* and its varieties *-'â-/jâ-* and *-owâ-* are analogically extended to other verbs which are not *a* verbs in Polish. Accordingly, the borrowed suffix has expanded to nearly all cases of verb transfer.

<sup>330</sup> Subsequently, singular forms are derived as backformations from these new plurals.

- If morphologically possible, nominal loans exhibit an overt marking in the dative plural (i.e. *-a* or *-n*) typical of native nouns.
  - All borrowed verbs are integrated in the inflection of Wymysorys. They can be conjugated in all tenses, moods, and non-finite categories, typically following a weak inflectional pattern.
  - Polish prefixed verbs and the entire prefixation strategy marking perfective aspect is adapted through the use of inherited prefixes.
  - All borrowed adjectives can be inflected according to the rules of the adjectival system of Wymysorys, thus taking on specific case, gender, and number endings, both in the weak and strong declensional paradigms.
- If applicable, loans tend to exhibit a more grammaticalized status, thus advancing along the grammaticalization cline:
- The morpheme *-že* is used as a suffix rather than a clitic and attests not only to agglutination but also fusion.
  - Original prepositional phrases are morphologized into fully synthetic, word-like particles.
- Additionally, borrowed elements may be accompanied by native elements, yielding hybridized compounds or loanblends. The following hybrids are found:
- The adjectival suffixes *-tik*, *-wik*, and *-lik*, which consist of the Polish elements *-ty*, *-wy*, and *-ły* and the native *-ik*.
  - The adjectival suffix *-ńik* (used in loanwords), which consists of the Polish element *-ny* and the native adjectivizer *-ik* (homophonous with the native, but infrequent, suffix *-ńik*).
  - The adjectival suffix *-miś*, which consists of the Polish elements *-my* and the native *iś*.
  - The adjectival diminutive suffixes *-üşik* and *-üćik* which consist of the reflexes of the Polish suffixes *-uśi/uśki* and *-uczki* and the Wymysorys *-ik*.
  - The plural ending *-kja*, which consists of the Polish and Wymysorys pluralizers *-ki* and *-a*, respectively.
  - The form *cudzoźymca* ‘foreigners’, which combines the Polish plural stem *cudzoźymc-* and the Wymysorys plural ending *-a*.
  - Iterative uses of prepositions in idioms, first in Wymysorys and then in Polish.
  - Nouns such as *kapelüşhüt* composed of two lexemes: a Polish one and a Wymysorys one.
  - The arrangement of native and borrowed components in hybrids is invariably: Polish element + Wymysorys element, which is also the case for morpho-syntactic blends involving prepositions.

Overall, as far as morphology is concerned, nouns, verbs, and adjectives are well adjusted to the Wymysorys language system. In contrast, the morphological adaptation of adverbial loans is less patent, with no true adjustment to the adverbial system of Wymysorys taking place.

- With regard to gender, nominal loans may exhibit the following adjustments:
  - o Feminine nouns may modify their gender to the masculine if the suffix *-a* – that is typical of feminine nouns in Polish, but disallowed according to the native rules – is not lost during transfer.
  - o Polish feminine nouns with *-ki* plurals (adjusted to *-kja* in Wymysorys) modify their gender to masculine.
  - o Polish neuter nouns may change their gender to feminine in analogy to the native synonyms.
  
- With regard to syntax, all types of free morphemes, irrespective of their lexical class, are well integrated into the phrasal, clausal, and sentence grammar of Wymysorys.
  - o In particular, ideophones can be integrated syntactically in an overt manner by means of native *verba dicendi* (typical of sound ideophones) and *verba facendi* (typical of motion ideophones). In such cases, the TAM of ideophones – which are not an inflectional lexical class in Polish and Wymysorys – is encoded on the introductory verb.

Nevertheless, most of the abovementioned adaptive mechanisms may equally be absent, so much so that loans that contravene the native rules of the Wymysorys language – especially with regard to phonetics and morphology, including form-gender pairing – are widely attested. These loans are, in turn, the sources of deeper systemic changes that have altered the sound and morphological systems of Wymysorys.

The results of my research *grosso modo* corroborate the previous hypotheses regarding adaptive mechanisms found in Polish borrowings in Wymysorys (Kleczkowski 1920; 1921; Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997; Wicherkiewicz 1998a; Andrason 2014c; 2015; Andrason & Król 2016a; Żak 2016), while offering a more systematic and comprehensive analysis. To be exact, several adaptations identified in this dissertation concur with changes acknowledged earlier in scholarship. First, with regard to phonetics of the loan: the replacement of *u* [u] with *ü* [y]/[ɣ] and *o* [ɔ] with *(i)ö(e)* [ø]/[ɣøœ], the simplification of consonant clusters, and modifications of accentuation (Kleczkowski 1920:173-174; Andrason 2014c; Andrason & Król 2016a:122; Żak 2016:141). Second, with regard to the morphology of loans: the loss of the ending *-a* in the feminine singular and *-o* in the neuter singular; the replacement of masculine and feminine forms ending in *-ek* and *-ka* with *-ki* in the singular; the use of the native nominal derivative suffixes *-yn*, *-yj*, and *-lal-la*; the use of the native pluralizers *-a* and *-n*; the use of native adjectival suffixes with borrowed adjectives and as part of the hybrid

adjectivizer *-ńik*; the use of native prefixes (including *gy-* in the participle) and the infinitive endings with verbal bases; changes in reflexivity of the verb; and, in general, the inflection of borrowed verbs according to Wymysorys paradigms (Kleczkowski 1920:174-176; Wicherkiewicz 1998a:209-210; Andrason 2014c; 2015a:73; Andrason & Król 2016a:121-124, 128; Żak 2016:141-142). Third, with regard to hybridization: compound nouns such as *kapelüşhüt*, the plural *-kia*, the morphemes *-ńik*, *-ik*, and *-iś* (when used with loans) (Andrason 2015a:73; 2015b; Andrason & Król 2016a:128). Fourth, with regard to gender: the gender adjustment of some loanwords to the Wymysorys form-gender pairing rules (Kleczkowski 1920; Andrason & Król 2016a:121-124).

In addition to these adaptive mechanisms recognized previously, I identify a number of new ones, whether in phonetics (e.g. the treatment of nasal vowels) or morphology (e.g. the hybridization of the suffixes *-üşik* and *-űcik*, and forms such as *cudzoźymca* ‘foreigners’), some of them expanding beyond the content lexicon (see the use of native suffixes with some particles). I also propose alternative explanations of several adaptations (e.g. the backformation of *-ki* from the adjusted plural *-kja*). Furthermore, I detect changes in the grammaticalization of certain lexemes and syntactic adjustments typifying ideophones. Even more significantly, contrary to Kleczkowski (1920:174) for whom adaptive morphological changes are very rare (“bardzo rzadkie”) in their totality, the evidence provided in this study demonstrates that adaptations (both phonetic and morphological) are as common as the maintenance of the intact Polish loans. Significantly, the extent of such adaptations may depend on the lexical class of the item, its standard or dialectal foundation, as well as (as suggested by Kleczkowski 1920) the time of its borrowing.

### 10.3 Implications

After responding to the main research question and the six sub-questions, I will discuss the further implications of my study. Although related to my principal inquiry, these implications lie beyond the narrow scope of the research questions. To be exact, I will show how some of my explanations of particular cases of borrowing advance scholarly debates; I will identify phenomena and patterns thus far ignored; and, lastly, I will formulate original theoretical hypotheses and suggest possible avenues for future research. All such novelties offered by my study may concern the Wymysorys language (section 10.3.1) or the general theory of borrowing (section 10.3.2). I will end my discussion by explaining the limitations of my research (section 10.3.3).

#### 10.3.1 Implications for Wymysorys scholarship

The findings of my study have several, relatively critical implications for Wymysorys scholarship. All such implications can be grouped into four clusters: novel explanations of specific borrowing cases; the recognition of multi-causality in most instances of the transfer of sounds and patterns; the understanding of the Wymysorys language as a fluid combination of the native and borrowed

systems; and the identification of similarities – as well as differences – with Polish and/or Slavonic borrowing in two closely related languages, namely Aljzneriś and Yiddish.

Apart from distinguishing a much larger set of loans than has been done in scholarly literature thus far, the direct and probably most obvious implication of the present research is its contribution to a number of debates and issues related to specific cases of Polish borrowing in Wymysorys. Four subtypes of such contributions may be discerned. First, my study provides further evidence supporting the meticulous and well-argued explanations of contact phenomena that have been proposed by Wymysorys scholars, particularly the change of [t] to [w] (see Żak 2019).<sup>331</sup> Second, I provide arguments demonstrating the Polish origin of features that, although claimed in scholarly literature, have never been supported by robust areal and comparative evidence. This includes the borrowing of a number of sounds such as: the alveolo-palatal and postalveolar fricatives and affricates ([ç], [ʒ], [tʃ], [dʒ] and [ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ], [dʒ]), as well as other palatal sounds and palatalization more generally (which are suggested by Latosiński 1909, Kleczkowski 1920, Wicherkiewicz 2003, Andrason 2014c, and Żak 2016); the voiceless velar fricative [x] in word-initial position (which is recognized by Kleczkowski 1920, Andrason 2014c, and Andrason & Król 2016a); the vowel [ɔ̃] (which is mentioned by Wicherkiewicz 1998:207, 2003, and Andrason 2014c); and nasalization (which is implied by Kleczkowski 1920 and Mojmir 1930-1936). With regards to lexicon and morphology, I offer arguments for the pattern borrowing of the connectors *do* ‘that’ and *wi* ‘as’, as well as the relative pronoun *wu* ‘who, that, which’ (which is suggested by Wicherkiewicz 1998, 2003, Andrason 2014c, and Andrason & Król 2016a), the development of the vocative case category (the areal origin of which is mentioned by Andrason 2014c, Andrason & Król 2016a, and Żak 2013; 2016), and the transfer of some adjectival suffixes, e.g. *-üśik* and *-üćik* (which is proposed by Kleczkowski 1920 and Wicherkiewicz 1998, 2003). I also provide a more in-depth explanation for another case of pattern borrowing where native prefixes are used with borrowed verbs (Kleczkowski 1920), and demonstrate the link of this strategy with the category of grammatical aspect. Third, some findings lead to the rejection of several claims – or, at least, to more or less radical changes in the hypotheses formulated in scholarly literature. In particular, I propose the native origin of the palatalo-alveolar sibilants and affricates ([ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ], and [dʒ]) instead of tracing them to the Silesian variety of Cieszyn, as argued by Żak (2016); I view the lack of aspiration and the presence of the voiced-voiceless contrast in plosive consonants as principally contact-induced phenomena rather than language- or family-internal ones as suggested by Kleczkowski (1920); I analyze the plural morpheme *-kia* as a Polish-Wymysorys hybrid, and its singular counterpart as backformations, contrary to Kleczkowski (1920), who derives these forms from Polish genitives. Fourth, my research clarifies certain debates that permeate Wymysorys scholarship, demonstrating the accuracy of one of the hypotheses while refuting the other. Specifically, I show that the presence of free word order and poly-negation, as well as the lack of the rule of agreement for tenses are principally contact-induced phenomena as postulated – although without substantiation – by Latosiński (1909), Wicherkiewicz (1998a; 2003), Andrason (2014c),

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<sup>331</sup> See Ritchie (2012:39), Andrason (2014c), and Andrason & Król (2016a), where the use of [w] is classified as borrowing but without being demonstrated.

Andrason & Król (2016), and Żak (2016), thus rebutting Kleczkowski's claim (1920) that these phenomena are, in essence, language- or family-internal.

The present study also indicates that, for a large group of features, borrowing has co-existed with language- or family-internal phenomena. In other words, contact with Polish has, more or less decisively, stimulated, enhanced, or advanced processes and/or features that have been inherited or are typologically common. Therefore, they are, usually to a significantly reduced extent, visible in Modern Standard German, East Central German varieties, and Middle High German. Contact with Polish was also one of the decisive forces that prevented the loss of native features. This two-source origin – i.e. both language-internal and -external – is common in the sound system and involves: the phonemization of /ʒ/, /dʒ/, and /tʃ/; the generalization of the alveolo-palatal nasal [ɲ]; the presence of the velarized alveolar lateral approximant [ɭ] and its subsequent development into the labialized velar approximant [w]; the apical alveolar trill realization of *r* [r]; the replacement of the fortis-lenis system of plosives and affricates by a voiceless-voiced system and the elimination of aspirated plosives and affricates in prominent positions; the palatalization of consonants; and the presence of consonantal length. In morphology, the two-source origin may be attributed to the establishment of the vocative case category and the use of prefixation for aspectual purposes, and thus the development of an imperfective-perfective aspectual distinction. In morpho-syntax, the two-source origin concerns the emergence of the future III and especially of the conjunctive perfect III. Lastly, it is widely attested in syntax where the following features stem from external and internal pressures: the V2 rule, spontaneous V1 word order in main-clause declaratives; the lack of braces and the contiguous placement of all the components of a verbal complex in the main clause; the non-final position of verbs in subordinate clauses and thus main-clause subordinate-clause symmetry; the development and stabilization of poly-negation; the violation of the principle of *consecutio temporum*; and the partial pro-drop profile.

The evidence provided in this dissertation suggests that Wymysorys – at least, in its form attested in the 21<sup>st</sup> century – can draw on two types (or clusters) of systems, namely native systems and borrowed systems. The former are inherited and/or language-internal, while the latter are contact-induced and draw heavily on Polish. This access to both systems is clearly visible in syntax where Wymysorys speakers may operate according to native rules (i.e. V2, main-clause braces, verb-final position in the subordinate clause and thus asymmetry between main and subordinate clauses, postverbal placement of the negator, mono-negation, *consecutio temporum*, and pro-drop avoidance) or according to contact-induced rules similar to those operating in Polish (i.e. absence of V2, main-clause braces, and *consecutio temporum*; symmetry between main and subordinate clauses; the pre-verbal position of the negator; poly-negation; and preference for pro-drop). Similarly, in morpho-syntax, one may make use of native systems (i.e. a bipartite system of passives and the absence of future III and conjunctive III in the future and modal systems) or contact-induced systems (i.e. a tripartite passive system and the future and conditional systems with future III and conjunctive III). In morphology, one may adhere to various contact-induced systems (e.g. the system of perfective prefixation and nominal, adjectival, adverbial, and verbal suffixations, e.g. *-üšik* and *-üčik*, *-šik*, *-šel/če*, *-že*, and *-('j)á-/owá-*) or, by avoiding all such traits

entirely, employ the “pure” native system. Lastly, in lexicon, one may make significant use of Polish loans – whether of the content or functional type – or exploit mainly native vocabulary, thus largely eschewing Polish borrowings.

Instead of constituting mutually exclusive organizations, these two systems, or rather their clusters – i.e. the native systems and the contact-induced ones – should be imagined as connected extremes of a continuum within which speakers can operate by employing features typical of one of the systems’ clusters. That is, the two systems constitute only two possibilities within a broad range of realistic usages. Speakers can travel along the continuum, from one extreme to the other, by intermingling such native and borrowed properties and rules. The actual types of Wymysorys used by individual speakers – or their “Wymysoryses” – form such a flexible or fluid composition of the two systems’ clusters instead of being of either the native or the borrowed type. In such cases – which can be represented as transitory zones on the continuum – the two systems are mixed, and the Wymysorys language used approaches one of the ideal prototypes but only to a certain extent. Overall, even though some speakers exhibit a predisposition towards a cluster of native systems (or a particular native system), while others show a tendency towards a cluster of borrowed systems (or a particular borrowed system), no speaker adheres exclusively to the native or borrowed clusters. In other words, similar to no speaker using a “pure” Wymysorys without a substantial degree of Polish borrowings, no speaker uses all such borrowings consistently either. Therefore, the system of borrowings presented in this dissertation is maximal in the sense that no person instantiates all its features in all of their conversations.<sup>332</sup> These results and the view of the contact-induced component in Wymysorys as one of the two prototypes on which speakers may draw in their speech comply with my previous research on Wymysorys word order (Andrason 2020a) and Wymysorys conversations in general (Andrason & Król 2014a). Similar to the present understanding of the native and borrowed components, I have depicted Wymysorys word order and conversational strategies as networks confined between two prototypes, namely native (Germanic) and borrowed (Slavonic).

Lastly, the present research reveals a number of similarities – and differences – with other closely related colonial East Central German varieties heavily influenced by contact with Polish, specifically Aljzneriś and Yiddish.

As far as Aljzneriś is concerned, the cases of Polish borrowings reported by Dolatowski (2017) generally coincide with the most critical contact-induced changes in Wymysorys. In the sound system, this includes the borrowing of alveolo-palatals, especially [tɕ] and [ɕ], the use of [ɔ̯] (in Dolatowski’s notation [i̯]) instead of [ə], and the palatalization of consonants, e.g. [ɲ]. In the lexicon, there is a preference for the transfer of content lexemes, particularly nouns. In the functional lexicon, the attested changes are the pattern borrowing of the connectors *vi(h)* ‘how’ and *vo* ‘what, which’, as well as of the preposition *no(h)* ‘after’, and the matter borrowing of the causal conjunction *bo* ‘because’ and the particle *(no) to* ‘so then’. In morpho-syntax, the most

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<sup>332</sup> Furthermore, some properties are more common in discourses and/or across the population while others are less frequent (see section 10.3.3 dedicated to limitations).

visible type of transfer is the pattern borrowing of idiomatic expressions, while in syntax it is the pro-drop rule (especially with the 3<sup>rd</sup>-person plural and 2<sup>nd</sup>-person singular) and poly-negation. The most patent difference between Wymysorys and Aljzneriś lies in the extent of Polish influence on the respective systems of these two languages. The comparison of the evidence provided in this dissertation with the analysis offered by Dolatowski (2017) suggests that Polish borrowing in Wymysorys is significantly greater than in Aljzneriś, both in quantitative and qualitative terms.

Similarly, most Slavonic borrowings introduced into Yiddish discussed in the literature (see Uriel Weinreich 1953; 1955; 1958; Wexler 1963; 1971; 1987; 1991; 2002; Geller 1993; 1994; 1999; 2010; Jacobs, Prince & van der Auwera 1994; Prince 1998; Jacobs 2005; Harbert 2007; Max Weinreich 2008; Hansen & Birzer 2012; Kahn 2015; Arkadiev 2017; van Oostendorp 2020, whose proposals have been mentioned in the evidence chapters of this dissertation) coincide with Polish loans attested in Wymysorys. To elaborate briefly, the following phenomena occur in the sound system: the increased presence and phonemization of the palatalo-alveolar sibilants and affricates [ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ], and [dʒ], the phonemization of [ŋ], the use of [x] in all positions; the distinction between [l] and [ɫ]; the lack of initial aspiration and the replacement of the fortis-lenis system of plosives and affricates by a voicing-based system; the presence of palatal(ized) consonants and an extensive use of palatalization; the grammaticality of nasalization; and an increased presence of onset consonant clusters. In the lexicon, the borrowing exhibits a similar hierarchy with content lexemes, with nouns being more borrowable than functional lexemes. With regard to function words, the most typical are connectors (the form or meaning of which can be transferred from Slavonic) and modal particles, including the interrogative *ci* (cf. Wymysorys *ćy/cy*). As in Wymysorys, the transfer of prepositions is rare (see *jakbe* ‘as if’, similar to *niby* in Wymysorys) and that of pronominal matter is unattested. The pattern borrowing of pronouns is also similar to Wymysorys: the interrogative pronoun *vos* is reanalyzed as a general relative pronoun compatible with non-human and human referents, and the reflexive *zix* has been extended to all persons and numbers as well as to originally non-reflexive verbs. In morphology, most borrowed derivational suffixes match those transferred to Wymysorys, e.g. the nominalizer such as *-ak* and many diminutive morphemes, adjective morphemes such as *-at-* and *-evat-*, the verbal morpheme *-ev-* (cf. *-ow-* in Wymysorys), as well as the use of *že* with the imperative (or as a clitic with pronouns). As in Wymysorys, the transfer of derivative nominal and adjectival prefixes is rare in Yiddish. With regard to inflectional morphology, Yiddish has borrowed the vocative category and marking, and exploited native prefixation as an aspectual (or aspectoid) strategy. Similar to Wymysorys, while the pattern borrowing of Slavonic verbal prefixation is common, the borrowing of actual Slavonic prefixes is exceptional. In further resemblance to Wymysorys, the contact-induced changes in morpho-syntax involve the development of a conditional built around *woltn* and the past participle (similar to the conjunctive III in Wymysorys) and the pattern borrowing of several phrasal idioms. The syntactic borrowings are also comparable and involve: V1 word order in main-clause declaratives, the lack of main-clause braces, the symmetrical configuration of

main and subordinate clauses, poly-negation, the lack of the rule of *consecutio temporum*, and the considerable grammaticality of null subjects and a wide range of the pro-drop rule.

Despite the above correspondences between Polish/Slavonic borrowings in Wymysorys and Yiddish, a few important differences can also be discerned. The first class of differences suggests a greater extent of borrowing and Polish influence in Wymysorys. To be exact, contrary to Wymysorys, the original alveolo-palatals and postalveolars transferred into Yiddish have merged entirely with palatalo-alveolars, even in the borrowed lexicon; palatalization is virtually limited to Slavonic loanwords; the transfer of interjections is marginal; and the perfectivizing effect of prefixation is less grammaticalized. The second class of differences suggests a greater extent of borrowing and Polish influence in Yiddish: the transfer of the positive coordinator *i...i...* ‘both ... and’, the productive use of the suffix *-nik* and its feminine variant *-nica*, and the borrowing of the adjective morpheme *-sk*. The third class corresponds to different solutions to similar types of borrowing. The most evident example involves the relative clauses introduced by the pronoun *vu* in Yiddish and *wu* in Wymysorys. In Yiddish, these types of relative clauses require the presence of a resumptive pronoun, while this is not necessary (and in fact avoided) in Wymysorys.

Overall, it seems that both in qualitative and quantitative terms, the Polish influence on Wymysorys is comparable to that exerted by Slavonic languages on Yiddish. The Slavonic impact on Yiddish is regarded as “very deep” and “strongly restructuring” (Geller 1999:85-96; Weinreich 2008). It extends beyond “a simple linguistic borrowing” and attests to a systematic, structural, typological convergence (ibid. 86). The same holds true for Wymysorys, the language structure of which can be viewed as semi-Slavonic (cf. Andrason 2015a; Andrason & Król 2016a).

The implications presented above – especially those related to the multi-causal emergence of features (i.e. both contact-induced and language-/family-internal), accessibility to the clusters of systems (i.e. native ones and borrowed ones), and similarities and differences in contact with Wymysorys, on the one hand, and Aljzneriś and Yiddish, on the other hand – enable me to propose original hypotheses and/or new research questions. Regarding the multi-causality of changes: can some of the changes identified in Wymysorys also draw on contact with Modern Standard German (especially its Austrian version) and other East Central German dialects? Regarding the bi-systemic composition of realistic Wymysorys(es): which contact-induced features are common in conversations and texts, and which are rare? This would establish the token frequency of the borrowings, not only their type frequency as has been done in this dissertation. In other words, the question could be posed as to what types of native-borrowed combinations are typical. Regarding the similarity with Aljzneriś and Yiddish: an in-depth comparative study between a Slavonic component in Wymysorys and other colonial varieties of East Central German is needed that would determine if the similarities and differences attested are more systematic, and whether Wymysorys is the most Polonized or Slavicized

Germanic language.<sup>333</sup> Furthermore, in relation to the first question, given that Modern Standard German and Yiddish were also spoken in Wilamowice (Król p.c.) and Wilamowians have regularly travelled to Austria, Germany, Netherlands, and Flanders, a study dedicated to other Germanic sources of borrowing in Wymysorys seems necessary. This research could establish the range of the changes that draw on contact with West Germanic and East Central German varieties.

### 10.3.2 Implications for linguistic theory

Apart from advancing Wymysorys scholarship, the results of my research also contribute to the broader theory of borrowing. The various contributions can be grouped into three classes that concern: the properties of the major types of borrowing and their mutual relationships; links between borrowing and code-switching; and the hierarchies of borrowings.

With regard to the properties of major borrowing types (matter and pattern as well as additive, neutral, and negative) my research suggests the following: First, as expected in a situation of persistent contact, such as in the case of Wymysorys and Polish, both the borrowing of matter and pattern (whether of a structural or semantic type) are attested. In further agreement with linguistic theory (see Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001:16; Matras 2009:236), while matter borrowing predominates quantitatively (there are simply many more instances of borrowed matter), the effects of pattern borrowing (the number of which is much less substantial) are equally or even more significant. Pattern borrowing has altered large parts of the Wymysorys language structure, ultimately being responsible for its considerable structural convergence with Polish. This occurs because pattern borrowing operates in a top-down manner: it directly affects the structure of the language through the transfer of a few rules that, due to their global reach, impact a plethora of individual items. Matter borrowing, on the other hand, affects the global language system in a bottom-up manner through the accumulation of an increasingly larger number of individual cases of transfer (compare with a similar relationship between the borrowing of free morphemes and structures postulated by Winford 2005). Second, although additive borrowing (where new elements and distinctions are combined with those that already exist), neutral borrowing (elements and distinctions previously in place are replaced, restructured, or retained), and negative borrowing (previously existing elements and distinctions are eliminated; cf. Curnow 2001; Aikhenvald 2006) are attested in Wymysorys, the first type is considerably more common than the others. Significantly, both neutral and negative borrowings often result from borrowing that was originally additive. That is, an element or distinction is first added to the existing one; subsequently, the inherited feature is lost, thus triggering a neutral outcome. Third, in several instances, especially those involving sounds and morphological, morpho-syntactic, and syntactic patterns, the influence of Polish has substantially modified the frequency of phenomena already existing in Wymysorys. Usually, a feature or distinction that was originally uncommon and/or peripheral, has become

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<sup>333</sup> An excellent starting point would be Siatkowski's (2015) monograph.

frequent and central due to contact with Polish. This corroborates Thomason's (2015:43) hypothesis that changes in frequency play an important role in borrowing.

The findings of my research generally support the view that borrowing originates from code-switching. To be exact, an idiolectal, conscious, and stylistically-motivated use of larger structures and/or referent-specific elements in their original form and with original content cedes place to a panlectal and default presence of single-referent non-specific foreign elements that are fully integrated phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically, and devoid of particular stylistic effects (Myers-Scotton 1993; Matras 2009; Velupillai 2015). This origin of borrowing in code-switching and a gradual transformation of switches into loans are visible in two phenomena. First, the older the transfer of a Polish item is – especially of Polish matter transfer – the more integrated the loan is in the Wymysorys language system as far as its phonology and morphology are concerned. Therefore, recent loans are typically less adjusted than older loans, which can, in turn, be almost indistinguishable from native elements as they have partaken in phonetic and morphological processes affecting native vocabulary. Second, several cases of borrowing that continue to be uncommon or peripheral in the Wymysorys language system, are (more) typical and frequent in Wymysorys-Polish code-switching. Therefore, I propose that acceptability and frequent occurrence in code-switching is a precondition for (gradual) grammaticality in the language. In other words, by entrenchment, patterns that first constitute common instances of code-switching become stable parts of the language. This developmental link between borrowing and code-switching in Wymysorys is demonstrated by: (a) lexical hybrids and double prepositions which are rare as borrowings but feature commonly in code-switching; (b) the use of Polish prefixes with native verbs to mark perfective aspect which is virtually unattested outside of code-switching; (c) the regular presence of the hybrid ending *-kia* on all Polish nouns ending in plural *-ki* during code-switching; (d) and the much more productive use of the verbalizers *-(/j)ă-* and *-owă-* in code-switching than in the Wymysorys language.

The results of my research enable me to verify the validity of several hierarchies of borrowing that have been postulated in scholarly literature. Some hierarchies are corroborated by the evidence provided in this dissertation, others require minor modifications, and still others could be questioned in light of my findings.

With regard to matter borrowing, my study fully corroborates the global hierarchy of borrowing according to which free morphemes are more borrowable than bound morphemes (cf. Moravcsik 1978; Curnow 2001; Matras 2009). Furthermore, in compliance with linguistic theory, the content lexicon is more borrowable than the functional lexicon (cf. Moravcsik 1975; 1978; Muysken 1981; 2000; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Field 2002; Matras 2007; 2009) and derivational morphology is more borrowable than inflectional morphology (cf. Matras 2009; 2015; Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015).<sup>334</sup>

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<sup>334</sup> With regard to the borrowing hierarchy of “semantic fields” (Tadmor 2009:64), all semantic fields are attested in Polish loans in Wymysorys. The domains of religion, belief, and clothing, which occupy the highest position in the hierarchy, according to Tadmor (*ibid.*), play an important role in the borrowed lexicon of Wymysorys.

The implications of my research for the borrowing hierarchy of lexical classes is more complex. Overall, my findings corroborate Matras' (2009) hypothesis that nouns are the most borrowable (which is widely recognized by most language-contact scholars) while pronouns are the least borrowable. In further similarity with Matras' (2007:24; 2009:157; see also Tadmor 2009) views, verbs are the second most borrowable class in Wymysorys and are significantly more borrowable than the remaining lexical classes, similar to the observations conducted by Hekking & Bakker (2007) for Quechua and Guarani. In Wymysorys, adjectives/interjections and adverbs occupy adjunct positions in the hierarchy of borrowing, which is also similar to their position in Matras' model, where they appear contiguously (i.e. adjectives → interjections → adverbs) after verbs but before other lexical classes.<sup>335</sup> My data suggest that adjectives are slightly more borrowable than adverbs, in agreement with Curnow's view (2001:417) and the distributions identified by Hekking & Bakker (2007) in Quechua and Guarani but contrary to Hekking & Bakker's (2007) study on Otomi. Furthermore, the borrowability of adjectives is substantially lower than that of verbs (*contra* Muysken 1981; 2000 and Field 2002). Wymysorys particles (whether pragmatic, modal, or of other types) occupy the fourth position in the hierarchy, which, although not identical to Matras' (2007; 2009) proposal, is relatively comparable.<sup>336</sup> Connectors appear in the fifth position in the hierarchy of borrowing in Wymysorys. This roughly complies with their position in Muysken's (1981; 2000) model (where they are placed after nouns, adjectives, and verbs) but differs from their position in Matras' (2007; 2009) hierarchy (where they are located at the beginning of the scale together with nouns). Prepositions and especially pronouns and numerals are the least borrowable lexical classes in Wymysorys. This fact harmonizes with the models proposed by Matras (2007; 2009) and, to an extent, Muysken (1981; 2000), in which these three types of lexemes occupy the lowest position in the following order: adpositions → numerals → pronouns. My data also corroborate the hierarchy proposed by Thomason & Kaufman (1988), according to which prepositions are overall less borrowable than other function words. Contrary to Matras (2007:57; 2009), who locates discourse markers higher in the hierarchy than other particles, in Wymysorys the opposite is true. That is, modal particles are more borrowable than any other particles, including pragmatic ones.<sup>337</sup>

As far as morphology is concerned, apart from supporting the widely recognized higher borrowability of derivational morphology over inflectional morphology (see above; cf. Moravcsik 1975; 1978; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Matras 2007; 2009; Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015; Gardani 2020), my study confirms that inherent or context-autonomous inflections are more borrowable than contextual inflections (Matras 2007:43; Gardani 2008;

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However, the domains of kinship, body, spatial relations, and sense perceptions are also well represented in the vocabulary transferred to Wymysorys despite being the least borrowable according to the theory (*ibid.*).

<sup>335</sup> Except for conjunctions and discourse markers (see further below).

<sup>336</sup> Compare with Matras' (2007; 2009) hierarchy: verbs → *discourse markers* → adjectives → interjections → adverbs → *other particles*.

<sup>337</sup> This mismatch may, however, result from differences in terminology and the theory-laden classification of an element as a particle or an adverb. Overall, my research corroborates the validity of (most of) the hierarchies formulated by Matras (2007; 2009) for lexical classes.

2012; Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015; Gardani 2020). In agreement with Matras' (2007 43-44; 2009:218) hypothesis, I demonstrate that the markers encoding plurality and diminutive are the most borrowable among all bound morphemes, while case markers are the least borrowable. Furthermore, as proposed by Matras (2009:211), nominal derivations are more borrowable than non-nominal derivations. Additionally, the evidence provided suggests that, among all non-nominal derivations, verbal derivational morphemes are slightly more borrowable than adjectival and adverbial ones.<sup>338</sup> According to my data, a similar hierarchy for inflections can be proposed, i.e. nominal inflections are more borrowable than verbal inflections, with adjectival inflections being the least borrowable.

With regard to the hierarchies of pattern borrowing, the data suggest that the borrowing of semantic patterns is rare (*contra* to Matras 2009:245) in the situation of contact in which there are no institutional or ideological restrictions on matter borrowing, leading to unconstrained access to loanwords and loan-morphemes. Bilingual speakers seem to prefer transfer of the meaning with its form rather than adapting the meaning of the native form to the lexemes and/or morphemes of the model language. When it takes place, polysemy is equally borrowable in the content lexicon and in the functional lexicon, being the least borrowable in morphology. Furthermore, with regards to structural patterns, my evidence corroborates the hypothesis that the hierarchy of its borrowability proceeds from top to bottom, i.e. from larger to smaller units, or from inter-clausal structures to phrase and morphology (Stolz & Stolz 1996:112; Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001:17; Matras 2007:17-18; 2009:244). In Wymysorys, syntactic patterns are more borrowable than morpho-syntactic ones, which are, in turn, more borrowable than morphological patterns. My research also confirms that inflectional patterns are significantly more borrowable than inflectional matter (cf. Matras 2009:258-260; 2015). Overall, as predicted by the theory (Ross 2001:145-146), metatypy has primarily and heavily affected the syntax of Wymysorys (sentences and clauses), which exhibits a blended Germanic-Slavonic character.

Lastly, as far as the borrowability of sounds is concerned, the present study corroborates the view that consonants are more borrowable than vowels, with semi-vowels and liquids occupying an intermediate position in the hierarchy (cf. Matras 2007:37; 2009:232). As observed by Matras (2009:232), this higher susceptibility of consonants to borrowing may be a mere epiphenomenon of the fact that “the inventory of consonants in any given phonological system is usually larger than the inventory of vowels”. Wymysorys-Polish contact fully confirms this view. The lower position of vowels when compared with that of consonants may be apparent. In fact, all vowels and all consonants that were available for transfer have been borrowed. The ultimate difference in the number of the transferred sounds stems from the larger set of “transferable” consonants – the number of consonants that existed in Polish but were absent in Wymysorys was much larger than that of vowels. Furthermore, my research suggests a different position of stress in the hierarchy, much lower than that proposed by Matras

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<sup>338</sup> However, Gardani's (2020) hypothesis that prototypical derivations (e.g. verbal nouns, denominal adjectives, de-adjectival nouns) are more borrowable than non-prototypical derivations (e.g. agentive nouns, action nouns, and diminutives) is not corroborated by my evidence, as diminutives constitute the largest class of borrowed affixes in Wymysorys.

(2009:232). Indeed, Wymysorys reveals a hierarchy that is opposite to the one proposed by Matras (*ibid.*) for Romani (cf. prosody → stress → vowels → semi-vowels and liquids → consonants). This mismatch does, however, resonate with Matras' (*ibid.*) observation that a global hierarchy of sound borrowability may be cross-linguistically erratic. My research corroborates two other commonly accepted hierarchies. First, the borrowability of phonological features in loanwords is greater than the borrowability of independent phonological features (cf. Matras 2007:39). Second, minor phonological features are more borrowable than entire phonemes, which are, in turn, more borrowable than distinctive phonological features, with deep phonetic modifications being the least transferable (cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988:74-75; Matras 2009:156). Overall, in agreement with what has been observed across languages, the introduction of allophonic variation of a consonantal phoneme – especially in loanwords themselves – seems to be the most common sound change in the situation of contact (see Matras 2007:38).

In light of the theoretical implications explained above, three clusters of new research questions and hypotheses can be formulated. First: how often is negative as well as neutral borrowing preceded by additive borrowing? Perhaps, as suggested by the Wymysorys data, true cases of negative and even neutral borrowing – i.e. in which the loss of a native feature is not the result of the previous incorporation of foreign features – are uncommon across languages, and speakers prefer adding new distinctions and encodings to the available native ones rather than abandoning inherited distinctions and encodings due to language contact. It seems that specificity and transparency play a more important role in borrowing than economy (cf. Field 2002). Second: are all types of borrowing identified in Wymysorys definitely more visible and more acceptable in Wymysorys-Polish code-switching? Given the above results, which indicate that rare and peripheral types of borrowing are always more common in code-switching, a comprehensive study of code-switching in Wymysorys should confirm this tendency for all borrowed features. Furthermore, Wymysorys-Polish code-switching should attest to mixes that are (still) ungrammatical in the Wymysorys language. Even more generally, the study of code-switching could be employed to identify the most probable changes that will take place in contact languages – including Wymysorys – during their subsequent development, should the contact persist. Third: can the structures of all hierarchies of borrowing be (to some extent) epiphenomena of the quantitative differences in the sizes of their respective components, as is the case with consonants and vowels? Perhaps the highest position of nouns and the second-highest position of verbs result from the fact that any given language system (or the vast majority of them) contains more nouns than verbs, and the type frequency of nouns and verbs is jointly greater than that of adjectives, adverbs, connectors, particles, pronouns, interjections, and ideophones (cf. Wohlgenuth 2009). Similarly, the following direction of the commonly accepted hierarchy of matter borrowing, i.e. lexicon (free morphemes) → morphology (bound morphemes), may stem from the size of these morpheme types in the languages on which this hierarchy draws. If this is the case, the number of non-nominal loans should increase in contact situations involving donor languages in which non-nominal lexical classes are more numerous.<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>339</sup> For example, in contact with Xhosa as a donor language – a language in which ideophones are the third most numerous lexical class, with nearly 3000 items (Andrason 2020a) – a recipient language is expected to borrow

### 10.3.3 Limitations

All research has some limitations, and my study is not devoid of them. Three types of broadly understood limitations can be distinguished. Although these limitations do not invalidate or question the results of my dissertation, it is necessary to identify such shortcomings explicitly so that any scholar who may, in future, draw on my findings in his or her own research may be aware of them.

First, in my analysis, I have only dealt with one quantitative aspect of borrowing, namely the type frequency of loans or the number of different lexemes, morphemes, sounds, or patterns borrowed from Polish into Wymysorys. In contrast, I have not discussed the token frequency of borrowings, i.e. how common determined loans are in texts and/or conversations. Token frequency may be significant for proposing more accurate hierarchies of borrowing, especially in the case of pattern borrowing, where the impact of changes rather than their number is crucial. Second, the estimation of the total extent of matter borrowing and pattern borrowing, and the comparison of their respective contributions to the Wymysorys language system are approximate and presented in a narrative form. No attempt at a more precise quantification of (the relevance of) matter and pattern borrowing, especially in numerical terms, has been proposed. Crucially – and in relation to the first limitation explained above – the only objective aspect suggesting the higher or lower relevance of matter and pattern borrowing has drawn on type frequency. The contribution of token frequency to the respective significance of matter and pattern borrowing for the Wymysorys language system, and the very probable inverse outcomes of token frequency in these two borrowing types, have merely been assumed by recognizing the global top-down effect of pattern borrowing. Third, the number of loans included in different lexical classes, as well as the number of morpheme and construction types, consonants, semi-vowels, and vowels heavily depend on the linguistic theory chosen in this study. For instance, the definition of a particle, adverb, connector, and interjection, as well as the understanding of the distinction between morpho-syntax and syntax or inflection and derivation, inevitably condition the potential number of loans included in each of these categories. Again, this has subsequent bearings on the structure of the hierarchies of borrowings proposed.

The first limitation mentioned above can be eliminated by a quantitative corpus study in which the token frequency of loans is examined in Wymysorys texts and conversations. This will make it possible to determine which contact features are frequent and play a key role in language use, and which are scarcely attested, thus being less critical. One of my future research activities will be dedicated to such a corpus-driven examination of Polish borrowings in Wymysorys. The other two limitations are virtually unavoidable in linguistic studies, especially in those that deal with a

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more ideophonic lexemes than traditionally assumed; substantially more than if the donor language was an Indo-European language such as Polish. This partially resonates with Wohlgemuth's (2009:291-292) claims discussed in section 3.2.1. Wohlgemuth views the dependency of borrowability on the lexical class of a borrowed element as indirect. To be exact, the dissimilar positions of the different lexical classes on borrowability hierarchies – especially the higher position of nouns than verbs – results from the distinct “discourse frequencies” (ibid. 292) exhibited by the lexical classes found in a language.

language in its totality. Therefore, they do not constitute an objection to my study *per se*, but rather to linguistics and – as far as the third limitation is concerned – science, in general. There may be no solution to the commensuration problem, i.e. how to compare matter borrowing with pattern borrowing, or the borrowing of lexemes with that of morphemes, as one is dealing with essentially different entities and phenomena. Nevertheless, a corpus-driven analysis of the token frequency of loans will substantially enhance the (always approximate) estimation of the relevance of matter and pattern borrowing. Given the more global reach of pattern borrowing, especially of its structural type – which I have recognized in my dissertation rather axiomatically – the study of the token frequency of loans should reverse the imbalance between matter and pattern borrowing from the perspective of type frequency. Lastly, similar to the commensuration problem, the issue of theory-dependence is generally unavoidable in any branch of science, including linguistics. I have already mentioned these two problems – i.e. commensuration and theory-dependence – in two articles dedicated to the complexity of Wymysorys (Andrason forthcoming (b); Andrason, Sullivan & Olko forthcoming). There I have explained that, rather than “solving” these issues, one should “spell them out” overtly in order to be aware of theoretical biases and presuppositions.



PART V

CONCLUSION



## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### 11. Conclusion

The present chapter concludes this dissertation – my scientific journey across different languages, different epochs, and different linguistic phenomena. I will travel through my research explaining what I aimed to achieve, how I proceeded to accomplish my goals, what I discovered, and where my findings ultimately took me to. I will start from the very beginning of my adventure where I determined my topic, appraised scholarly literature, designed my framework, and formulated my research questions (see section 11.1). Subsequently, I will review my empirical study of Polish borrowings in Wymysorys (section 11.2) and recall its principal findings: the answers I provided to my research questions and further contributions to Wymysorys and language-contact scholarship (section 11.3). I will finish my journey by looking towards the future and suggesting possible avenues for future research (section 11.4).

#### 11.1 Aspirations

I launched my research in chapter 1 by determining its broad topic – formal aspects of Polish borrowing in 21<sup>st</sup>-century Wymysorys. To be able to ask relevant research questions, I first needed to identify the gaps in Wymysorys scholarship concerned with issues of borrowing as well as the debates that permeate this type of scholarly literature. Therefore, in chapter 2, I carefully reviewed the literature dedicated to Wymysorys-Polish language contact, including borrowing, that was published before the Second World War (Waniek 1880; Młynek 1907; Latosiński 1909; Kleczkowski 1920; 1921; Mojmir 1930-1936) and after it (Lasatowicz 1992; Zieniukowa & Wicherkiewicz 1997; Wicherkiewicz 1998a; 1998b; 2003; Ritchie 2012; Andrason 2014; 2015a; 2015b; 2016; 2020a; forthcoming (b); Andrason & Król 2014; 2016; and Żak 2016; 2017; 2019). At the end of this appraisal, I discerned a number of limitations and controversies. The limitations included: that discussions of Polish influence on Wymysorys occupy a peripheral position in most scholarly works; that scholars adopt atomic perspectives, focusing on borrowing found in separate modules and individual phenomena, rather than offering a global and systemic picture of Polish borrowings in Wymysorys; that studies are descriptive rather than explanatory and fail to be developed within a theory of borrowing; that studies are incomplete – they do not include comprehensive inventories of borrowings, and provide unreliable evaluations of the extent of the impact of Polish on Wymysorys, with the quantitative assertions proposed thus far being empirically unsupported; that scholars focus on the lexicon, with grammatical phenomena being analyzed residually; that the adaptation of loans is seldom discussed; and that the analysis of loans with regard to their dialectal provenance is superficial. The disagreements that permeated Wymysorys scholarship were no less significant and the following issues remained controversial: the extent

to which Polish has influenced the Wymysorys language system; the specific language modules that have experienced borrowing and their respective susceptibility to Polish influence; the determination of the exact dialectal variety that underlies the loans; and the origin of a number of particular features, i.e. whether they are indeed contact-induced or rather language-/family-internal phenomena.

Having discerned lacunae in the knowledge and the debates that characterize Wymysorys scholarship, I recognized that, in the attempt to first avoid the shortcomings discerned, I needed to frame my research within a robust and up-to-date theory of borrowing. Therefore, in chapter 3, I designed a comprehensive, synthetic, and original framework that would be the most suitable for my research. In this design, I took into consideration the linguistic and socio-linguistic dynamics of borrowing, its main types, and their respective synchronic and diachronic properties. I drew on the most recognized and most satisfactory approaches to borrowing currently available in linguistic scholarship (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2001; Ross 2001; 2006; 2020; Field 2002; Heine & Kuteva 2003; 2006; Aikhenvald 2007; Matras 2007; 2009; 2011; 2015; Sakel 2007; Gardani 2008; 2020; Tradmore 2009; Wohlgemuth 2009; Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015), offering their original synthesis.

In light of the limitations and controversies identified, and equipped with a systematic theoretical approach, I was prepared to narrow my topic to specific problems and thus to formulate main and subsidiary research questions. My main research question – How profound is Polish influence on the Wymysorys language system: highly significant, moderately significant, or rather insignificant? – centered my study on the determination of the quantitative and qualitative extent of Polish borrowing in Wymysorys. This warranted two clusters of subsidiary inquiries. The first cluster of sub-questions was oriented towards the recipient language (i.e. Wymysorys) and/or the endpoint of the contact process, and directly reflected the adopted framework. These inquiries concerned the major categories of borrowing (Are both matter and pattern borrowing types attested and, if so, what is their respective share in the totality of Polish influence on the Wymysorys language?), their hierarchy (What types of hierarchies of matter and pattern borrowing emerge in Wymysorys-Polish language contact? And thus, what is their tendency to occur in different lexical classes and morpho-syntactic types?), and the ultimate contribution to the resultant system (What is the proportion of additive, negative, and neutral types of borrowings? And thus, is borrowing an enriching or impoverishing phenomenon?). The other cluster of sub-questions was oriented more specifically towards the donor language (i.e. Polish) and/or the beginning of the contact process, and directly engaged with the debates and knowledge gaps characterizing Wymysorys scholarship. These inquiries concerned specific sources of borrowings (Do the borrowed elements draw on Standard Polish or on Polish dialects?), their motivations (What are the motivations for the borrowing of Polish elements in Wymysorys?), and possible adaptations during the process of transfer (Do elements transferred from Polish tend to preserve their donor-language characteristics or do they lose them in order to fit into the recipient-language system?).

## 11.2 Investigations

With the research questions clearly formulated and the research strategy in hand, I proceeded to present my evidence. This evidence drew on the data collected during the many years of my empirical studies and frequent fieldwork activities in Wilamowice that resulted in hours of audio recordings and hundreds of pages of notes and questionnaires.

I began the presentation of the evidence by describing the impact of Polish on the Wymysorys sound system. In chapter 4, I examined the influence of Polish on the phonetics, phonology, and phonotactics of Wymysorys. I reviewed the contact phenomena affecting consonants (i.e. [ɛ], [z], [tɛ], [dʒ], [s], [z], [ts], [dʒ], [ʒ], [dʒ], [tʃ], [ɲ], [t]/[w], [r], and [x], as well as several others, if palatalization, aspiration, and nasalization are taken into consideration) and vowels (i.e. [ɔ], [ɔ̃], and [ɛ̃], as well as – albeit rarely – [ĩ], [ã], [ũ], and [ɔ̃]). I studied the changes in phonetic and/or phonological rules (i.e. the phonemization of certain sounds; the loss of aspiration of the plosives and affricates, and the replacement of their fortis-lenis opposition by a voiceless-voiced contact; the transfer of nasalization; the spread of palatalization; and the maintenance of consonantal length), phonotactics (i.e. the transfer of complex consonant clusters in onsets), and prosody (i.e. the placement of accents in a root-/stem-penultimate syllable). Overall, I noticed that the impact of Polish was visible in: the introduction of new, previously absent features; the enhancement or propagation of features that had originally existed in the language; the preservation of inherited features that had been lost in related languages; and, conversely, the elimination of certain features.

From the Wymysorys sound system, I then moved on to the lexicon or free morphemes. First, in chapter 5, I studied borrowing that had taken place in the content vocabulary of Wymysorys, i.e. in nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and ideophones. For each lexical class, I provided a comprehensive inventory of cases of matter borrowing, i.e. a complete list of words transferred, as well as the available examples of pattern borrowing. Furthermore, I described the different semantic types of loanwords; determined their origin in Standard and/or dialectal Polish; analyzed the adaptive mechanisms that had operated during the transfer; and discussed the impact of the borrowed words and their features on the nominal, verbal, adjectival, adverbial, and ideophonic language modules. Overall, I observed that loanwords and contact-induced features in the lexical classes of nouns and verbs were quantitatively and qualitatively substantial, with hundreds of cases and a great semantic variety of loans being attested. In contrast, borrowing taking place in adjectives, adverbs, and ideophones was less abundant, with only a few dozen examples attested in each lexical class. I also noticed that the cases of matter borrowing were significantly more common than those of pattern borrowing.

Second, in chapter 6, I examined the impact of Polish on the functional vocabulary of Wymysorys, specifically, connectors (i.e. backward and forward causal conjunctions, coordinating conjunctions of joint denial, complementizers, and comparative conjunctions), particles (i.e. modal and pragmatic particles, question and caesura particles, the empty filler, and a negative particle), interjections (i.e. emotive, cognitive, conative, and phatic interjections), pronouns (i.e. relative and

reflexive pronouns), and prepositions (comparative and locative prepositions in idioms). Again, I provided comprehensive lists of the borrowed lexemes, discussed their matter and pattern types as well as semantic classes, analyzed their origin in Standard or dialectal Polish, and identified adaptive mechanisms that had operated during the transfer. I noted that although Polish influence on functional vocabulary was noticeable, its extent was less than was the case with content lexicon. Interjections were heavily affected by Polish, connectors and particles were less affected, prepositions and pronouns were minimally affected, and numerals were entirely unaffected.

Having presented Polish borrowings in the lexicon, I examined the extent to which Polish has influenced Wymysorys grammar. First, in chapter 7, I studied the influence of Polish on the derivational and inflectional morphology of Wymysorys. With regard to derivations, I observed that Polish had impacted all lexical classes that make use of derivative affixes: nouns (i.e. *-ok*, *-ka*, *-na*, *-cki*, *-ek*, *-(ü)ś(ü)*, *-(ü)ź(ü)*, *-(ü)ć(ü)*, *-ś(a)*, *-ź(a)*, and *-ć(a)*), verbs (i.e. *-ą*, *-'jã*, and *-owã*, as well as *-że*), adjectives (i.e. *-üśik* and *-üćik*, and the blended morphemes *-ńik*, *-tik*, *-wik*, *-lik*, *-miś*, and *-liš*), adverbs (i.e. *-ńe/-će*), as well as interjections (i.e. *-ku* and *-ću*). With regards to inflections, Polish influenced the morphology of nouns (i.e. the vocative category and its encoding, plural morphemes as components of hybridized pluralizers, and locative marking of prepositional phrases in idioms) and verbs (i.e. aspect). In contrast, the inflections of adjectives and pronouns – two other inflectional lexical classes in Wymysorys – remained unaltered. Subsequently, in chapter 8, I described the three main changes affecting the morpho-syntax of Wymysorys. I noticed that all of these changes pertained to verbal phrases (i.e. the *blajn* passive, which has led to a partial restructuring of the system of passive voice; and the development of two novel TAM constructions – the future III and the conjunctive perfect III). Additionally, I studied idiomatic phrasal expressions that had copied Polish patterns, sometimes also preserving matter from the donor language. Lastly, in chapter 9, I presented the syntactic changes that had taken place in Wymysorys due to contact with Polish. I studied the Polish influence on the various types of word-order configurations in Wymysorys (i.e. free word order, which concerns the linear arrangements of constituents – mostly finite and non-finite verbs; the non-V2 configuration or the violation of the V2 rule; the spontaneous V1 in main-clause declaratives; the absence of main-clause verbal braces or the placement of non-finite verbs in a non-final position in main clauses; the lack of asymmetry between the main clause and the subordinate clause and, in particular, a non-final placement of finite verbs in subordinate clauses), the syntactic properties of negation (i.e. poly-negation and the pre-verbal position of the negator), the selection of tenses in subordinate clauses or the lack of compliance with the principle of *consecutio temporum*, and the omission of referential subject pronouns with finite verbs – the partial pro-drop rule. Similar to my approach to the lexicon, I paid attention to the dialectal or Standard Polish origin of the grammatical borrowings, their adaptation to native phonology, and the effect of changes on the respective language modules.

### 11.3 Answers

Having described the various pieces of evidence, I was now prepared to answer my research questions and to formulate other generalizations or implications for my study.

Responding to the main research question, I concluded that Polish has influenced Wymysorys to a highly significant extent, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative impact surfaces in the high (type) frequency of linguistic elements that have been borrowed – around 1000 sounds, free morphemes (lexemes), bound morphemes, phrase- and clause-level constructions, and other kinds of grammatical rules. The qualitative impact is equally evident and transpires in the wide range and diversity of parts of the language being affected, whether in the sound system (Polish has affected phonetics, phonology, phonotactics, and prosody, in addition to consonants and vowels), lexicon (Polish has affected nearly all lexical classes, both content and functional, and most of their sub-types), and grammar (Polish has affected morphology (both derivational and inflectional), morpho-syntax, and syntax). The extent of Polish influence is such that the typological profile of Wymysorys and its Germanic essence or metatypy could be viewed as compromised, to a degree, as the language shifts towards a blended Germanic-Slavonic profile.

In answering the first cluster of sub-questions – those oriented towards the recipient language of borrowing and/or the endpoint of the transfer – I reached three conclusions. First, both matter borrowing and pattern borrowing, whether semantic or structural, are well attested in Wymysorys. However, their visibility is quantitatively and qualitatively dissimilar. From a quantitative perspective, matter borrowing clearly predominates. It is also somewhat more visible from a qualitative perspective, being attested in nearly all lexical classes (except pronouns) as well as language modules and their parts (except syntax). Although the quantitative and even qualitative visibility of pattern borrowing is lower (it is absent in ideophones, adverbs, particles, and derivational morphology, being residual in adjectives; and furthermore, the type frequency of all such cases is much lower than that of matter borrowing), pattern borrowing has critical bearings on the language structure of Wymysorys. It is the only type of borrowing that has significantly affected pronouns, inflectional morphology, syntax, and morpho-syntax. Second, Wymysorys-Polish language contact reveals a number of hierarchies of borrowing. As far as matter borrowing is concerned, three major hierarchies were constructed: (a) with regard to morpheme types: content lexicon → functional lexicon → morphology; with regard to lexical classes: nouns → verbs → interjections/adjectives → adverbs/ideophones → particles → connectors → prepositions → pronouns/numerals; (b) with regard to morphology: derivational morphology → inflectional morphology; inherent context-autonomous inflections → contextual inflections; (c) with regard to morphology and lexical classes: nominal morphology → verbal morphology → adjectival and adverbial morphology. I also proposed a few minor hierarchies, e.g. for adverbs: manner → time/degree → locative; for connectors: causal → coordinating → others; for particles: modal → pragmatic → others; negative answer particle → positive answer particle; and for interjections: emotive/conative → phatic/cognitive. As far as pattern borrowing is concerned, its semantic and structural types yielded two opposite hierarchies, i.e. for semantic pattern borrowing: content lexicon /

functional lexicon → morphology; for structural pattern borrowing: syntax → morpho-syntax → morphology. As far as the sound system is concerned, my data revealed two types of hierarchies: (a) consonants (sibilants and sibilant affricates) → sonorants (liquids, semi-vowels, palatal nasals) → vowels → phonotactics → stress; and (b) allophones → phonemes in loans → phonemes → phonological structure. Third, I observed that most changes triggered by borrowing are additive. Additive changes – whether concerning distinctions or manners of their expression – are visible in all language modules, lexical classes, and morpheme types. Neutral changes are much less common, while negative changes are extremely rare. As a result, I viewed Polish borrowing in Wymysorys as a principally enriching, rather than impoverishing, phenomenon that contributes to the complexification of Wymysorys instead of its simplification.

Responses to the other cluster of sub-questions – those oriented towards the donor language and/or the beginning of the transfer process – yielded three further conclusions. First, Polish borrowings in Wymysorys draw, equally commonly, on both Standard and dialectal Polish. The dialectal origin of loanwords transpires in the following relatively pervasive phonetic properties: dialectal pronunciation of *pochylone* vowels, labialization of back vowels, plosive pronunciation of [x], the realization of postalveolar fricatives and affricates as alveolo-palatals and the realization of postalveolar and alveolo-palatal fricatives as palatalo-alveolars, the preservation of the nasal feature (albeit as a nasal consonant) of nasal vowels, and the simplification of consonant clusters. Significantly less common dialectal features are: voicing of the intervocalic [k], pronunciation of [x] as [f], *szadzenie*, *mazurzenie*, and the lack of vowel mutation. Additionally, several lexemes draw on forms that are (only) typical of Polish dialects. All such dialectal features are most common in nouns but the least infrequent in connectors and prepositions. Overall, the dialectal component attested in Polish loans may be traced to the Lesser Polish-Silesian border: these dialectal loans are mostly compatible with Western Lesser Polish, yet share a considerable degree of similarity with Eastern Upper Silesian as well. Second, I identified two classes of motivations for the borrowing of Polish elements, namely needs and language processing. The first type includes: (a) loans that filled in lexical or grammatical gaps that existed or appeared in Wymysorys (e.g. concepts related to technological inventions and the reality of (western Lesser) Poland, as well as grammatical categories absent in the German variety (or varieties) from which Wymysorys had evolved); and (b) loans that were necessitated as a result of the loss of functionality of Wymysorys and its gradual removal from certain facets of life (e.g. church and faith). The other type includes loans for which the transfer was motivated by optimality exploration, whether specificity, transparency, or precision. I distinguished between two sub-classes of this type of borrowing: loans that had replaced the native equivalents (e.g. kinship terms and nouns referring to months) and loans that had been added to native equivalents yielding a large number of relatively close synonyms (e.g. abstract nouns). Third, I established that elements borrowed from Polish tended to be well adapted to the Wymysorys language system, although the extent of this adaptation varied significantly. I distinguished between four types of adaptations. With regard to phonetics: *u* [u] / (Standard Polish) *ó* → *ü* [y]/[ɥ]; *o* [ɔ] / (dialectal) *ó* → (*i*)*ö*(*e*) [ø]/[ɤøœ]; adjustment of stress; the realization of postalveolar and alveolo-palatal fricatives

and affricates as palatalo-alveolars; the pronunciation of nasal vowels as sequences of a corresponding oral vowel and nasal consonant; occasional simplification of consonant clusters; and, in the case of the oldest loans, the realization of the intervocalic *b* [b] as *w* [v] and the loss of the pre-consonantal *r*. With regard to morphology: a loan may host a native derivational suffix typical of the specific lexical class to which it belongs; the loanword may be inflected according to the rules of the Wymysorys language system, thus exhibiting the appropriate native inflectional endings; and the loanword may be accompanied by native elements, yielding hybridized compounds or loanblends. With regard to syntax, all types of free morphemes, irrespective of their lexical class, are integrated into the phrase, clause, or sentence grammar. And lastly, borrowed nouns adjust their gender to fit into the native form-gender pairing. Phonetic adaptations are common in nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, while ideophones, interjections, and, especially, particles, connectors, and prepositions tend to be unadjusted. Morphological adaptations are common in nouns, verbs, and adjectives, whereas the adjustment of adverbial loans is less patent. Most of the adaptive mechanisms identified may be absent, which is the source of deeper systemic changes in the sound and morphological systems of Wymysorys.

After answering all the research questions, I discussed further implications of my study which, although related to, lay beyond the narrow scope of my principal inquiry. These implications concerned Wymysorys scholarship and/or the theory of borrowing.

Regarding the implications relating (more closely) to Wymysorys scholarship, my study first provided evidence that: (a) supports the few empirically-based explanations of concrete cases of borrowing proposed thus far; (b) demonstrates the Polish origin of multiple features that, although claimed in scholarly literature, have never been supported by areal and comparative evidence; (c) allows us to reject several claims postulated in scholarship; and (d) clarifies certain debates demonstrating that one of the proposals was accurate while the other(s) was/were erroneous. Second, I demonstrated a common multi-causal emergence of features, i.e. their simultaneous contact-induced and language-/family-internal origin. Third, I established that Wymysorys drew on two clusters of systems, namely native systems and borrowed systems. Instead of constituting mutually exclusive organizations, these two clusters of systems should be imagined as connected extremes of a continuum within which speakers might operate by employing features typical of one of the clusters. Fourth, I discerned a number of similarities (and differences) with Aljzneriś and Yiddish – two closely related, colonial East Central German varieties that had been heavily influenced by contact with Polish. Polish borrowing in Wymysorys is significantly greater than in Aljzneriś, but roughly comparable, both in qualitative and quantitative terms, to the impact exerted by Slavonic languages on Yiddish.

Regarding the implications relating (more closely) to the theory of borrowing, I concluded the following: first, in light of the distinct quantitative and qualitative profiles exhibited by matter borrowing and pattern borrowing, I proposed that such differences resulted from the opposite mechanisms associated with these two borrowing types. Matter borrowing operates in a bottom-up manner: it affects the global language system through the accumulation of an

increasingly larger number of individual cases of transfer. In contrast, pattern borrowing operates in a top-down manner: it directly affects the structure of the language through the transfer of a few rules that, due to their global reach, affect a plethora of individual items. Therefore, although matter borrowing tends to predominate quantitatively, the effects of pattern borrowing are equally or even more significant. Second, given the substantial disproportion of additive, neutral, and negative borrowings in Wymysorys and given the fact that neutral and negative types are more advanced stages of a transfer that was in principle additive, I proposed that most – perhaps all – cases of borrowing would originally be additive. Third, my study showed that language contact might substantially alter the frequency of existing phenomena, ultimately being responsible for the modification of the typological profile of a language. Overall, changes in frequency play important roles in borrowing. Fourth, I demonstrated that borrowing might often originate from code-switching. On the one hand, the older the transfer of an item is – especially of the donor’s matter – the more integrated the loan is in the recipient language system, as far as its phonology and morphology are concerned. On the other hand, borrowings that continue to be uncommon or peripheral in the recipient language system is (or should be) more typical and frequent in code-switching. Fifth, I verified the validity of several hierarchies of borrowing that had been postulated in scholarly literature. Most hierarchies, especially those proposed by Matras (2007; 2009), were corroborated by my findings. A few others required minor realignments or more radical modifications.<sup>340</sup>

#### 11.4 Prospects

With the research questions answered, and further implications stated, I realized that what seemed to be the endpoint of my journey was in fact a beginning of many new adventures. These new adventures emerged naturally as I reflected upon the unavoidable limitations of my study and arrived at landscapes that had originally lain beyond the narrow field of my enquiry.

Six prospective research activities appeared the most urgent to me. First, given the certain range of similarities between language-contact phenomena attested in Wymysorys and those experienced by Aljzneriś and Yiddish, a systematic comprehensive qualitative-quantitative comparative study of the Slavonic component in all (or most) colonial varieties of East Central German is needed. This study should determine the tendencies operating in Slavonic-Polish contact and should verify whether, as hypothesized in this dissertation, Wymysorys is the most Slavicized East Central German language. Second, given the multi-causality of changes observed and the fact that Modern Standard German and Yiddish were also spoken in Wilamowice, a study dedicated to other sources of borrowing in Wymysorys is necessary. This study should establish if some of the changes identified as Polish-sourced may additionally draw on the contact with Modern Standard German and/or other East Central German varieties e.g. Yiddish. Third, given that true cases of negative and neutral borrowing are uncommon in

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<sup>340</sup> For instance, there is a significantly lower number of cases of semantic pattern borrowing than of matter borrowing, which suggests that bilingual speakers prefer transferring meaning with its form; the borrowability of pragmatic particles is lower than that of modal particles; and the borrowing hierarchy in the sound system of Wymysorys is (in parts) opposite to that proposed by Matras (2009) for Romani.

Wymysorys, a study on the early stages of borrowings seems unavoidable. This study should determine whether speakers of the recipient language – be it Wymysorys or other contact varieties – indeed prefer adding new distinctions and encodings from the donor code rather than eliminating or replacing those already existing in the recipient code, and thus whether, as postulated, specificity and transparency are the key factors in the early stages of language contact. Fourth, given that all types of borrowing identified in Wymysorys – especially those that are peripheral and semi-grammatical – are more visible, more common, and more acceptable in Wymysorys-Polish code-switching, a comprehensive study of code-switching in Wymysorys is suggested. This study should identify uses of Polish elements that are ungrammatical in the Wymysorys language and should definitely confirm (or disprove) the hypothesis of the code-switching origin of borrowing. Fifth, given the possible dependency of borrowability on the donor language's properties – in particular, the size of lexical classes, morpheme types, and constructions available for transfer – a study dedicated to the donor language and its “availability for borrowing” should be designed. This study should reveal whether the structures of the hierarchies of borrowing are genuine language-contact tendencies or whether they are instead epiphenomena of the quantitative differences in the sizes of certain lexical classes, morpheme types, and other grammatical categories of the language involved. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, given the fact that I have only dealt with one quantitative aspect of borrowing, i.e. the type frequency of borrowings, a study of their token frequency is necessary. This study should establish how common particular loans are in texts and/or conversations. This could, in turn, have important bearings on the hierarchies of borrowing, especially those related to pattern borrowing, and may assist scholars in a more objective determination of the respective relevance of matter and pattern borrowing given their inverse causation mechanisms, i.e. top-down and bottom-up.

Indisputably, the aim to provide satisfactory solutions to some of the above-mentioned problems will guide my research activities in the near future. In particular, the study of the token frequency of loans seems critical given its potential bearings on both Wymysorys scholarship and the theory of borrowing. I plan to engage in such a study because, for the first time in the history of Wymysorys studies, large corpora are available as a number of texts have been written, published, and transcribed by me and my colleagues, specifically Tymoteusz Król and Andrzej Żak.



## POSTFACE



## POSTFACE

Two and a half years have passed since I boarded my ship, and now that journey is completed. The coast is close, and the sails can be rolled up. Look! The masts are already naked. The long-shore current is strong enough to propel my boat towards the harbour – there is no need for winds and oars.

What a journey! I have seen places, I have met people, I have learned languages. But is this all? Was this the purpose of me roaming across oceans of books, continents of recordings, and skies of ideas?

I initially thought I was telling a story of a language and its life-long relationship with another linguistic system. I thought that this is someone else's story. I was only halfway through when I realized that this journey was truly *mine* and the story was about *me*. It was about my *oberschlesisch* grandmother who taught me German and so often recounted her extraordinary life during World War II when, as a little girl living in Schoppinitz near Kattowitz, she navigated between German and Polish kindness as well as cruelty. It was about my *neiderschlesisch* mother, who introduced me to multilingualism and multiculturalism and, born in Breslau, romantically tied me to this magical city forever. It was about that *westschlesisch* boy who, while strolling in Sagan, spoke Polish but thought in German, and never really knew whether he was Slavic or Germanic.

It was about myself understanding that all countries are my country and all languages are my language. It was about discovering Caиko, the hyper-multilingual global nomad – a free but solitary traveller.

Now I know what I aimed to discover, or perhaps what I wanted to (re)construct. “What is it?” – the boy asks. “It is my own *Heimat*” – I answer. “Our *Heimat*” – he whispers – “Ours”. I look in his eyes – “Yes, our *Heimat*. How could I forget?”. “Everyone does” – he nods sadly.

“So, have you found it?” – the boy asks again. I fear to respond and quietly answer with a question – “Have I?”. He takes my hand and says – “You have,

*Elle est retrouvée.  
[...] – L'Éternité.  
C'est la mer mêlée  
Au soleil.”<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> “It is recovered. / [...] Eternity. / In the whirling light / Of the sun in the sea” (translation of Arthur Rimbaud's “Alchimie du Verbe” by Paul Schmidt 1976).

*This journey is dedicated to you*



## ADDENDA



## ADDENDUM ONE

The list below introduces the native speakers of Wymysorys whose language has been documented in the corpus comprising the data for this dissertation. This list is arranged according to the birth date of the speakers and provides their names, surnames, and nicknames.

Franciszka Bilczewska fum Frycki	(1913-2012)
Kazimierz Grygierczyk fum Bierünjok	(1913-2010)
Anna Danek fum Pejtela	(1916-2015)
Zofia Danek fum Stańcu	(1917-2012)
Franciszek Mosler fum Mözler	(1918-2011)
Helena Danek fum Kwaka	(1919-2012)
Jan Biba fum Tüma-Jaški	(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	(1923-2020)
Anna Zejma fum Lüft	(1923-2010)
Elżbieta Matysiak fum Håla-Mockja	(1924-2014)
Anna Danek fum Küpsela	(born 1924)
Helena Gasidło fum Biöeźnjok	(1924-2014)
Waleria Brzezina fum Cepok	(1925-2013)
Rozalia Kowalik fum Poüermin	(1925-2016)
Jan Formas	(1925-2016)
Katarzyna Balcarczyk fum Karol	(1925-2013)
Stanisław Fox fum Lüft	(born 1926)
Elżbieta Formas fum Mözler	(1926-2019)
Stanisław Rak	(1926-2014)
Katarzyna Nowak fum Tobyś	(1926-2010)
Rozalia Hanusz fum Linküs	(1926-2009)
Anna Korczyk fum Kołodziej	(1927-2015)
Anna Janosz fum Håla-Frana-Jaškja	(1927-2015)
Elżbieta Gąsiorek fum Anta	(born 1927)
Elżbieta Figwer fum Böba	(1927-2018)
Anna Fox fum Lüft	(born 1927)
Kazimierz Schneider fum Pejter	(1927-2011)

Ingeborg Matzner-Danek	(1928-2016)
Helena Nowak fum Holećkla	(1928-2017)
Jan Balcarczyk fum Siöeba	(1928-2013)
Bronisława Pyka	(1928-2017)
Helena Rosner fum Böba-Lojzka	(1928-2015)
Emilia Biesik fum Raćek	(1929-2013)
Józef Gara fum Tołer	(1929-2013)
Elżbieta Merta fum Håla-Fråna-Jåškja	(1929-2014)
Katarzyna Nowak fum Pejtel	(1929-2019)
Elżbieta Nycz fum Śleżok	(1929-2007)
Helena Dobroczyńska fum Osiećan	(1929-2012)
Elżbieta Gandor fum Baranła	(1930-2017)
Zofia Kozieł fum Śübert	(1930-2016)
Anna Biba-fum Küćlik	(1930-2009)
Anna Kowalczyk fum Tobys	(born 1930)
Hilda Kasperczyk fum Ćiöe	(1930-2005)
Eugenia Fox fum Bröda	(born 1930)
Rozalia Danek fum Mjyra-Winca	(born 1931)
Elżbieta Nikiel fum Linküs	(born 1931)
Rozalia Węgrodzka fum Gådła	(born 1931)
Stanisław Zejma	(1931-2015)
Stefania Kuczmierczyk fum Jonkla	(born 1932)
Anna Nowak fum Håla-Mockja	(1932-2011)
Emilia Danek fum Biöeźniok	(1933-2020)
Kazimierz Fox fum Baranła	(1934-2020)
Anna Kuczmierczyk fum Zelbst	(1934-2018)
Anna Schneider fum Pejter	(1934-2014)
Barbara Tomanek	(born 1935)
Elżbieta Schneider fum Freślik	(born 1938)
Stanisław Merta fum Håla-Frana-Jåškja-Håla	(1955-2011)
Janusz Brzezina fum Urbon	(born 1956)
Tymoteusz Król	(born 1993)

## ADDENDUM TWO

The chart below presents the main pronunciation rules of the standardized Wymysorys orthography.

### Consonants

#### Plosives:

p	[p]
b- / -b-	[b]
-b	[p]

t	[t]
d- / -d-	[d]
-d	[t]

k	[k]
g- / -g-	[g]
-g	[k]
kj / -ik	[c]
gj	[ɟ]

#### Nasals:

m	[m]
n	[n]
ń	[ɲ]
ng	[ŋ]

#### Affricates:

c	[t͡s]
ć	[t͡ʃ] / [t͡ʃe] / [t͡ʃs]
cz	[t͡ʃ] / [t͡ʃe] / [t͡ʃs]
dz- / -dz-	[d͡z]
-dz	[t͡s]

#### Fricatives:

f	[f]
w- / -w-	[v]
-w	[f]

s	[s]
z- / -z-	[z]
-z	[s]

ś	[ʃ] / [ʃe]
ź- / -ź-	[ʒ] / [ʒe]
-ź	[ʃ] / [ʃe]
ż- / -ż-	[ʒ] / [ʒe] / [ʒs]
-ż	[ʃ] / [ʃe] / [ʃs]

h	[x] / [h] / [ç] / [çe]
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#### Liquids:

r	[r]
l	[l]

dź- / -dź-	[d͡ʒ] / [d͡ʒe]
-dź	[t͡ʃ] / [t͡ʃe]
dż- / -dż-	[d͡ʒ] / [d͡ʒe] / [d͡ʒs]
-dż	[t͡ʃ] / [t͡ʃe] / [t͡ʃs]

Approximants:

ɫ	[w]	j	[j]
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Vowels

Monophthongs

i	[i] / [ɪ]	u	[u]
e	[e] / [ɛ]	ü	[y] / [ʏ]
à	[a]	y	[ø] / [œ]
a	[ɑ]	ö	[ø]
o	[o] / [ɔ]		

Diphthongs

áj	[aj̥]	oj	[ɔj̥]
ej	[ej̥]	iö	[iø]
oü	[œy̥]	jy	[jɔ]

Triphthong:

iöe	[yøœ]
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