The Vilamovicean Passive

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0. Introduction

Vilamovicean (Wymysōeryś [vimisōːrie]) is a Germanic language spoken in the town of Wilamowice situated in Western Galicia on the boundary with Silesia. According to the contemporary administrative division, Wilamowice constitutes a part of the Silesian Province (Województwo Śląskie), in the southern part of Poland. Like other Silesian vernaculars, it is a Central East German dialect which derives from Middle High German. Nowadays, Vilamovicean is the smallest Germanic language in the world: it is understood by roughly eighty persons, but actively employed by no more than twenty fully competent speakers. The fact that the language is used by a highly limited number of native speakers (among whom all are older than 80 years) and that, furthermore, there is no committed policy in the protection or popularization of Vilamovicean among younger members of the community, necessarily implies that its future is in real danger. According to the most probable scenario, in approximately ten years the actively spoken language will have disappeared entirely. Therefore, it is extremely important to collect as much grammatical evidence as possible concerning Vilamovicean: in that manner, we hope to be able to compile a complete picture of the language (built on
the empirical data and contrasted with native speakers’ competition) before it dies for ever.

The present paper, which forms a part of a wider project conducted by the author in collaboration with Tymoteusz Król – and which aims at writing a compendious Vilamovicean grammar as well as an extensive Vilamovicean-Polish-English dictionary – will deal with one aspect of the Vilamovicean verbal system, namely the passive voice, and in particular with its uses and meanings. This matter has almost entirely been omitted in all – extremely scarce – existing grammatical descriptions of the language. Młynek (1907), Kleczkowski (1920) and Wicherkiewicz (2004) completely ignore the question of the passive, and Lasatowicz (1992: 74–75) limits herself to a superficial observation that the dialect includes only one passive construction employed in three tenses: passive perfect *dos ej gamoht wada*, passive pluperfect *dos vör gamoht wada* and passive future perfect *dos werde gamoht wada*. In all three cases, the formation perfectly matches the corresponding German constructions, respectively *ist geschlagen worden*, *war geschlagen worden* and *wird geschlagen werden*. As will be demonstrated in the next section, the paradigm provided by Lasatowicz (1992) is far from being accurate and exhaustive. Besides the sweeping character of her affirmation, the principal objection against Lasatowicz’s grammatical overview consists in the fact that she does not specify the source of the data (number of speakers, their names and age, etc.). In fact, the entire grammatical model provided by Lasatowicz has a suspiciously German character and various forms (e.g. the conjugation of the past forms of the verb *zajn* ‘be’) given as norms are unrecorded in the database developed by Tymoteusz Król and Alexander Andrason since 2007. Consequently, Lasatowicz’s book cannot be regarded as trustworthy information on the language – though it can show some interesting variations extrapolated from a vernacular employed by one or more speakers, a variant which in some aspects importantly diverges from the linguistic system used by all informants in our studies.

As will be demonstrated in the following sections of the article, the passive voice can be expressed in Vilamovicean not through one but through

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1 This means that a detailed syntactic behavior and structural properties of the passive constructions will not be studied.

2 Lasatowicz’s examples – originally provided in the IPA phonetic transcription – are spelled here using the convention developed by Tymoteusz Król and Alexander Andrason.
three periphrastic locutions which employ an auxiliary verb and a passive participle. Furthermore, in each of these formations the auxiliary may appear in various tenses (Future, Present, Preterite, Perfect and Pluperfect). In section 1, the expression built on the verb zajn ‘be’ will be presented. Afterwards in section 2, we will discuss the passive construction that uses the auxiliary wada ‘become’, while in section 3, the formation which includes the verb bļajn ‘remain’ will be analyzed. Finally in section 4, we will summarize and contrast all the previously introduced means of conveying the passive value, proposing a final general conclusion.

For the study of passive expressions nineteen persons with the best proficiency in Vilamovicean were chosen: Kazimierz Grygierczyk (1913), Anna Danek (1916), Anna Schneider (1920), Elżbieta Młynarska ‘Milerka’ (1921), Helena Biba ‘Placznik’ (1922), Anna Zejma ‘Luft’ (1923), Elżbieta Babiuch (1923), Elżbieta Matysiak, ‘Hala-Mockii’ (1924), Helena Gasidło (1924), Waleria Brzezina ‘Cepok’ (1925), Rozalia Hanusz ‘Linkuś’ (1926), Stanisław Fox ‘Luft’ (1926), Anna Fox ‘Luft’ (1927), Helena Rozner ‘Biba’ (1928), Helena Nowak (1928), Inga Danek (1928), Józef Gara (1929), Elżbieta Gandor (1930) and Emilia Danek (1933). Our field research (carried out in August 2009 and October 2010) included two tasks: on the one hand the native speakers were asked to translate Polish passive sentences and on the other hand, they were required to evaluate the correctness and specify the exact meaning of Vilamovicean examples.3

It should be emphasized that since – aside from several poems composed by Florian Biesik at the beginning of the 20th century (and some other scarce texts4) – there is no Vilamovicean literature, the field work conducted by the author seems to be the only reliable source of the contemporary state of the language.

One shall also note that the author follows the Vilamovicean spelling convention which has been proposed by Tymoteusz Król and which he has himself already employed both in the work on the Vilamovicean Grammar and

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3 Theses examples were either those proposed by the speakers themselves (i.e. they had to explain what they exactly meant providing a determined translation of the Polish sentence) or corresponded to phrases composed by the author of the present article.

4 For a review of all written records of the Vilamovicean language see Wicherkiewicz (2004). Additionally, it should be noted that some songs were recently published by Dobczyński (2002), Gara (2006) and Danek (2007).

1. Zajn passive

The passive in zajn corresponds to a periphrasis composed by the auxiliary zajn ‘be’ and the passive participle, e.g. gmoht ‘done’. Depending on the tense of the auxiliary verb (Future, Present, Preterite, Perfect or Pluperfect) the construction can provide various meanings. In the present section, we will describe all such variations of the zajn passive and their possible values.\(^5\)

1.1. wyt zajn gmoht

When the verb zajn stands in the Future tense\(^6\) – in the 3\(^{rd}\) person singular taking the shape wyt zajn, and in the 3\(^{rd}\) plural wan zajn\(^7\) – the periphrasis can function as a dynamic progressive future indicating that a given event will be in progress of being performed:

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\(^5\) When we state that a given construction is used with a certain temporal, aspectual or taxis (perfect) force, we intend to say that it is compatible with that value. In each case, the meaning is clearly imposed by the context which makes such temporal (e.g., con jür y dom ‘ten years ago’), aspectual (e.g., a gonca tog ‘the whole day’) or taxis (e.g., eta ‘already’ or eta grod ‘already, right now’) connotations explicit. Thus, when describing the semantic-functional potential of each variant of the three periphrases, we will demonstrate its compatibility with a given unambiguous tense-aspect-taxis environment. The computation of all acceptable contexts will constitute the “inherent” meaning of the construction (this understanding of the meaning of verbal formations harmonizes with ideas formulated by Dahl 2000 and Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994).

\(^6\) The explicit future activities are most frequently conveyed by the so called “wada Future” which consists of the auxiliary wada and the infinitive of the main verb, e.g. wyt moha ‘will do’ (Andrason 2010b). Thus, the future passive described in this section will surface in the wada Future as wyt zajn gmoht ‘will be done’. Other possible future constructions may use the introductory verb zula ‘shall’ (giving the passive form zo zajn gmoht) or various modal auxiliaries such as müssa ‘must’ or mygja ‘may’ (for a review of all possible future expressions in the Vilamovicean language see Andrason 2010b).

\(^7\) It should be noted that these forms, i.e. wyt and wan, differ from the “regular” 3\(^{rd}\) persons of the verb wada when used as a main verb with the meaning ‘become’ and not as a future auxiliary (3\(^{rd}\) singular wjyd and 3\(^{rd}\) plural wada).
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(1) a. Mün wyt dos hoüz zajn gymölt\(^8\) a gonca tog
   Tomorrow will the house be painted a whole day
   Tomorrow the house will be being painted the whole day (i.e. someone will be painting it)\(^9\)

b. Mün ym mytag wyt dy kjyh zajn reperiyt
   Tomorrow at-the noon the kitchen will be repaired
   Tomorrow at noon, the kitchen will be being repaired (i.e. someone will be repairing it)

The same construction may also function as a simple future with no progressive nuances available. In that case, it denotes simple general events, including habitual and permanent ones (2a and 2.b).

(2) a. Wymysiöejer śpröh wyt nymer ny zajn fergasa
   Vilamovicean language will never not be forgotten
   The Vilamovicean language will never be forgotten (i.e. they will not forget it)

b. Dy wymysiöejer kyndyn wan ind gyljyt zajn cy kuza wymysiöeryś
   The Vilamovicean children will always taught be to speak Vilamovicean
   Vilamovicean children will always be taught to speak Vilamovicean (i.e. people will always teach them)

Furthermore, the formation frequently expresses future perfect events indicating that a given prospective event will occur before another future action (3.a and 3.b). The periphrasis may be employed to indicate future stative (resultative non-dynamic) situations (3.c). In these instances the construction conveys nuances suggesting a resultative endpoint and/or a static conclusion

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\(^8\) The relevant Vilamovicean forms that convey the passive meaning will be given in bold type.

\(^9\) Throughout the article, we will also provide active meanings which are equivalent to the exact and literal passive translations. These meanings will be put in parentheses. In that manner, the intended taxis, aspectual or temporal values will be clarified and made more explicit. It shall be noted that the meanings put in parentheses were meanings which the informers “had in mind” when translating underlying Polish sentences or when judging the acceptability and specifying the sense of a given example.
of a future activity contrasting with a clearly non-resultative and dynamic sense of examples 1.a and 1.b, presented above.

(3) a. Fir draj jür, wen haor kum cyryk, *wyt* dy štrös *zajn gyboūt*
    In three years, when he comes back, will the street be built
    In three years, when he returns, the street will be constructed
    (i.e. they will have built it)

b. Wen yh kum cyryk, *wyt* dy wond ūn *zajn gymölūt*
    When I come back, will the wall already be painted
    When I come back, the wall will already be painted (i.e. they will have painted it)

c. Ym mytag *wyt* ūn dos mytagasa *zajn gykoht*
    At noon will already the lunch be cooked
    At noon, the lunch will already be cooked (cf. the Polish original perfective future *będzie ugotowany*, i.e. the subject will encounter a stative situation of a lunch being ready)

1.2. *ej gymoht*

    When the *zajn* passive employs the auxiliary verb in the present tense – giving, in the 3rd person singular, the shape *ej gymoht* – the periphrasis can provide various meanings. Frequently, it approximates a resultative stative (a present static situation viewed as resulting from a previously performed action, such as in English *is done*) and a present perfect (a dynamic anterior event currently relevant for the present state of affairs, such as in English *has been done*) (4):

(4) *Dos hoûz ej ūn gyboūt*
    The house is already built
    The house is already built / has been built (i.e. someone has been built the house and it stands ready)

    Consequently, the above quoted sentence can have two possible readings: one static – the house appears as ready to move in; and the other dynamic – the construction of the house has concluded. As already mentioned, the former equals a present (resultative) stative while the other approximates a passive (resultative) present perfect.

    Moreover, the *ej gymoht* passive pattern can be used with the value of a present progressive passive indicating that a given activity is being per-
formed at the very moment of the enunciation (5.a and 5.b). Here, in contrast to example (4) above, the periphrasis does not provide any evident resultative or anterior nuances. Furthermore, opposite to the stative reading of the passive in (4), the value of the passive voice in sentences quoted below is invariably dynamic.

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

   b. Wu ej s‘oüta? S’ej eta grod gyryht
    When is the-car? It already right-now repaired
    Where is the car? It is being repaired (i.e. someone is repairing it)

The construction may also be employed with the simple present passive force describing regular, habitual or universal events and activities:

(6)  a. Dy oüta zajn gyryjt diöh dy benzyn
    The cars are driven by the gas
    Cars are propelled by gas (i.e. gas propels / serves to propel cars)

   b. Dy kyndyn zajn azu ufgycün, do zy zuła şunn zajna ełdyn
    The children are so educated that they should respect their parents
    Children are educated so that they would respect their parents
    (i.e. people always educate their children in that manner)

Furthermore, the expression can denote events that began in the past and continue being performed in the present time frame approximating the meaning of an inclusive (universal) present perfect:

(7)  Dos hoüz ej şun gyboüty diöh fir jür
    The house is already built through four years
    The house has been built for four years (i.e. someone has been building it)

Finally, the ej gymoht construction can be used in explicit past contexts indicating past passive situations, both simple (8.a), stative (8.b) and pluperfect (8.c) ones.

(8)  a. Dos hoüz ej con jür y dom gyboüty
    The house is ten years ago built
    The house was constructed ten years ago (i.e. they built it)

   b. Dy śtųw ej şun gymölt wih kom cyryk
    The room is already painted when-I came back
The room was already painted when I came back (i.e. it appeared as painted / it was ready)

c. Dy štuw ej gymölt fynf śtunda ejer wał yh bej cyrykkuma
   The room is painted five hours earlier before I am come-back
   The room had been painted five hours before I came back
   (i.e. someone had painted it before I came)

1.3. wiöe gymoht

   When the zajn passive employs the auxiliary in the simple past tense ‘Pret-erite’ – surfacing in the 3rd person singular in the shape wiöe gymoht – it can express past resultative events triggering both dynamic (simple 9.a or pluperfect 9.b) and stative (past stative) (9.c) readings.

   (9) a. Dos hoüz wiöe con jür y dom gyboùt
      The house was ten years ago built
      The house was / had been constructed ten years ago (i.e. they built it)

   b. Der klop wiöe derślö̀n, dy śondorn zajn kuma
      The man was killed before the police have come
      The man had been killed before the police came (i.e. they had killed him before the police came)

   c. Wi’h kom cyryk fur at, wiöe dy štuw śun ufgyroùmt
      When-I came back from work, was the room already cleaned
      When I came back from work, the room was / had been already cleaned (i.e. someone had already cleaned it / it was clean)

      The formation may also have a past progressive or durative sense clearly opposite to the resultative (anterior) value of the sentences given in (9.b) and (9.c) above. In those instances, it indicates that an activity was in process of being performed in a particular moment in the past (10):

   (10) Gestyn wiöe dy wond gymölt a gonca tog
      Yesterday was the wall painted a whole day
      Yesterday, the wall was being painted the whole day (i.e. someone was painting it)

      A similar durative value may be observed in examples where the construction approximates an inclusive past perfect passive. In this function, someone
had been performing a given activity from a given moment in the past to another past point of time:

(11)  Dy kjy$h wiöe remontiy$t ejwerfunfcik jür bocar cajt, wen der krig oüsbruh
The church was repaired 50 years to-the time when the war began
The church had been repaired for 50 years until the war began
(i.e. they had been repairing it until the war began)

Due to a partial functional overlap between the Preterite and the Perfect, and in particular to the fact that the Preterite may be used instead of the Perfect in two prototypical perfect functions – commonly with the meaning of an experiential present perfect and less frequently as a resultative perfect (Andrason 2010a: 276 and 282–284), the wiöe gymoht passive can also express present perfect events (12.a and 12.b):

(12) a. Dos wiöe kamöl gymoht
This was never done
This has been never done (i.e. they have never done it / it is still undone)
b. S’ōüta wiöe ny śun gyryht
The-car was not already repaired
The car has not been repaired yet (i.e. they have not repaired it yet / it is still broken)

1.4. ej gywost gymoht

The zajn passive may additionally employ the auxiliary verb in the Perfect providing dynamic present perfect meaning (13.a), simple past meaning (13.b) or pluperfect meaning (13.c):

(13) a. Zejhže! Dos hoüz ej gywost ufgyśtelt
Look! the house is been built
Look, the house has been constructed (i.e. someone has built it)
b. Dos hoüz ej con jür y dom gywost ufgyśtelt
The house is ten years ago been built
The house was constructed ten years ago (i.e. someone built it)
c. Dos hoüz ej gywost ufgyśtelt funf jür bocar cajt, wen der krig oüsbruh
The house is been built five years before-the time when the war began
The house had been constructed five years before the war began (i.e. someone had built it before the war began)

1.5. wiöe gywost gymoht

Finally, the zajn passive periphrasis in case it uses the auxiliary in the pluperfect tense – giving thus the shape wiöe gywost gymoht – invariably indicates pluperfect (dynamic or static) activities (14):

(14) Dos hoüz wiöe gywost ufgyöstelt bocar cajt, wen der krig öüsbruh
    The house was been built before-the time when the was began
    The house had been constructed before the war began (i.e. someone had built it before the war began)

2. Wada passive

Another passive construction is structurally analogous to the zajn passive differing only in the fact that this time the periphrasis employs the verb wada ‘become’ as an auxiliary instead of the predicate zajn. Similarly to the previously described formation, the introductory verb may be inflected in the Future, Present, Preterite, Perfect and Pluperfect tenses, and the passive locution itself may provide a broad range of meanings whose detailed description is presented below.

2.1. wyt wada gymoht

When the passive construction employs the auxiliary wada in the Future tense – appearing thus in the 3rd person singular as wyt wada gymoht\(^{10}\) – the periphrasis expresses simple future events (15):

\[^{10}\text{As already explained, explicit future activities are most frequently conveyed by the wada future which consists of the auxiliary wada and the infinitive of the main verb wyt moha ‘will do’ (Andrason 2010b). Thus, the future passive wyt wada gymoht employs the verb wada twice, i.e. as a future tense auxiliary wyt wada gymoht and as a passive voice auxiliary wyt wada gymoht. Other possible future locutions may use introductory verbs such as zula ‘shall’, müssa ‘must’ or mygja ‘may’ (Andrason 2010b).}\]
(15) a. Wymysiöejer śpröh \textit{wyt} nymer ny \textit{wada fergasa}
Vilamovicean language will never not become forgotten
The Vilamovicean language will never be forgotten (i.e. people
will not forget it)
b. Dy wymysiöejer kyndyn \textit{wan} ind \textit{gyljyt wada} cy kuza
wymysiöeryś
The Vilamovicean children will always taught become to speak
Vilamovicean
Vilamovicean children will always be taught to speak Vilamov-
vicean (i.e. people will always teach them how to speak Vilamov-
vicean)

However, the same formation can denote future progressive activities (16):
(16) a. Mün \textit{wyt} dos hoüz \textit{wada gymölt} a gonca tog
Tomorrow will the house become painted a whole day
Tomorrow the house will be being painted the whole day
(i.e. someone will be painting it)
b. Mün \textit{wyt} dy hoüz \textit{wada reperiyt}
Tomorrow will the house become repaired
Tomorrow, the house will be being reconstructed (i.e. someone
will be reconstructing it)

Furthermore, when the auxiliary stands in the Future tense, the \textit{wada} pas-
sive may also express future perfect (anterior) events, i.e. actions which will
occur in the future time frame before other prospective activities (17):
(17) a. Zy kuza do dy kjiyh \textit{wyt wada gyryht}, ejer wał der fiöer \textit{wyt}
cyrykkuma
They say that the church will become restored earlier before the
priest will come back
They say that the church will be restored before the priest comes
(they will have restored before he comes)
b. Wen yh kum cyryk, \textit{wyt} dy wond śun \textit{wada gymölt}
When I come back, will the wall already be painted
When I come back, the wall will already be painted (i.e. some will
have painted it)
2.2. wjyd gmoht

When the *wada* auxiliary is inflected in the Present tense, the meaning of the periphrasis is – contrary to the *zajn* passive – most commonly future. This stems from the fact that when *wada* stands in the Present tense and is not used as an auxiliary introducing another verb, it denotes future events. In that function, it is frequently followed by a passive participle (as in our case), a noun, an adjective, or a prepositional phrase, and it means ‘will be, will become’ (cf. Andrason 2010b). It should be observed that in those cases the 3rd person forms of the verb *wada* are systematically *wjyd* (singular) and *wada* (plural) instead of the form *wyt* and *wan* respectively, encountered in the examples where *wada* functions as the future auxiliary (cf. *wyt moha* ‘he will do’ or *wyt gmoht zajn/wada* ‘will be(come) done’). It is interesting to note that in this usage, *wada* behaves like the Icelandic verb *verða* ‘become, will be’: hence, Vilamovicean *haor wjyd ym hoüs* is equivalent to Icelandic *Hann verður heima* ‘He will be at home’.\footnote{This means that the present tense of Vilamovicean *wada* and Icelandic *verða*, in cases where the two predicates are used as lexical main verbs with the meaning ‘become’, has consistently a future reading, i.e. ‘will become / will be’. Compare again the Vilamovicean sentence *Haor wjyd mid* ‘He will be tired’ with an analogous Icelandic expression *Hann verður breyttur*.}

The future value of the *wjyd* passive may be simple (with a bound unique reading close to the perfective future as in Polish) (18.a and 18.b), progressive (18.c) and perfect (anterior) (18.d):

(18) a. Fir draj jür **wjyd** dy štrös gyboût  
    For three year will/becomes the street built  
    The street will be built in three years (i.e. they will build it)

b. Wymysiöejer śpröh **wjyd** nymer ny **fergasa**  
    Vilamovicean language will never not become forgotten  
    The Vilamovicean language will never be forgotten (i.e. people will not forget it)

c. Mün **wjyd** dy hyt **gymölt** a gonca tog  
    Tomorrow will/becomes the wall painted a whole day  
    Tomorrow, the wall will be painted the whole day (i.e. someone will be painting it)

d. Zy kuza do fjyr fynf dy kjih **wjyd gyryht**
They say that for 5 the church will become restored
They say that the church will be restored by five o’clock (i.e. they will have restored it by that time)

However, exactly the same formation can also be used to express dynamic present passive values, both progressive (19.a) and simple (19.b and 19.c):

(19) a. Wu ej s’oüta? S’wjyd eta grod gyryht
   When is the-car? It becomes already right-now repaired
   Where is the car? It is being repaired (i.e. someone is repairing it)

b. Dy oüta wada gyrjyt diöh dy benzyn
   The cars become driven by the gas
   Cars are propelled by gas (i.e. gas serves to propel cars)

c. Dy kyndyn wada azu ufgyćün, do zy zula śunn zajna ěldyn
   The children become so educated that they should respect their parents
   Children are educated so that they would respect their parents
   (i.e. parents habitually educate their children in that manner)

It should be noted that the wjyd gymoht periphrasis, when describing present activities, invariably pictures them as dynamic, contrary to a possible static lecture of the is gymoht expression (cf. 8.b).

2.3. wiöd gymoht

The auxiliary wada may also appear in the Preterite giving a dynamic past passive, in the 3rd person singular wiöd gymoht. It seems that the meaning is invariably dynamic – simple (20.a), progressive (20.b) or pluperfect (anterior, 20.c) –, and thus never stative contrary to the examples with the auxiliary zajn in the same tense (cf. wiöe + passive participle in examples (9.c) above).

(20) a. Dos hoüz wiöd con jür y dom gyboĭt
   The house became ten years ago built
   The house was built ten years ago (i.e. someone built it)

b. Gestyn wiöd dy wond gymōlt a gonca tog
   Yesterday became the wall painted a whole day
   Yesterday, the wall was being painted the whole day (i.e. someone was painting it)

c. Der kłop wiöd deslōn, wał dy śondorn zajn kuma
   The man became killed before the police have come
The man had been killed before the police came (i.e. someone had killed him before the police came)

Furthermore, due to the already explained property of the Preterite being able to express some prototypical perfect meanings (e.g. resultative and experiential, cf. examples 12.a and 12.b above), the wiöd gymoht passive may be employed with the force of a present perfect. In that case, it describes anterior currently relevant events, either resultative or experiential.

(21) a. S’ōūta wiöd ny śun gyryht
   The-car became not already repaired yet
   The car has not been repaired yet (i.e. they have not repaired it yet)

### 2.4. ej gywoda gymoht

When the wada passive employs the auxiliary in the Perfect, it normally provides the meaning of a prototypical dynamic present perfect (22.a). Nevertheless, due to the functional proximity between the Perfect and the Preterite (cf. Andrason 2010a), it can also indicate simple past (22.b) and pluperfect (22.c) events.

(22) a. Zejhźe! Dos hoüz ej śun gywoda reperiyt
   Look! the house is already become repaired
   Look, the house has already been reconstructed (i.e. someone has reconstructed it)

b. Dy kjyh ej con jür y dom gywoda ufgyśtel
   The church is ten years ago become built
   The church was constructed ten years ago (i.e. someone built it)

c. Gestyn wi ej kuma dy nökweryn, dy kyh ej gywost śün ufgyro-ūmt
   Yesterday when is come the neighbor the kitchen is become already cleaned
   Yesterday, when the neighbor came, the kitchen had already been cleaned (i.e. someone had cleaned it before the neighbor came)

### 2.5. wiöe gywoda gymoht

Finally, the wada passive can also use the auxiliary in the Pluperfect tense. In that case, the value of the periphrasis seems to be invariably pluperfect; it describes past anterior events, i.e. events which precede other past actions. It
should be noted that, in contrast with the pluperfect zajn passive (wiöe gywost gymoht), the meaning is always dynamic and never stative.

(23)  Dos hoüz wiöe gywoda ufgyśtelt bocar cajt, wen der krig oüs-bruh
The house was become built before-the time when the was began
The house had been constructed before the war began (i.e. someone had built it before the war began)

3. Blajn passive

The last passive construction encountered in the Vilamovicean language is a participial periphrasis – analogous to the two previously analyzed locutions, i.e. the zajn and wada passives – built on the verb blajn ‘remain’. The expression seems to be significantly less common than the zajn and wada locutions, failing to be accepted by all the informants, in particular younger ones. On the other hand, the formation is more commonly employed by older speakers who were not forced to go to the German school during the Second World War. Vilamoviceans also relate that this passive construction was extensively used by people who had been born in the 19th century. Finally, it should be noted that various informants, who accepted the blajn formation as correct, also suggested that other passive expressions, namely the zajn or the wada periphrases, “would sound better”.

3.1. wyt blajn gymoht

When the auxiliary verb stands in the Future tense receiving the form wyt blajn, the periphrasis may express all kinds of prospective activities, simple (24.a) durative-progressive (24.a) or resultative (future perfect) (24.b).

(24)  a. Dy śtrös wyt blajn gyryht

12 According to our interviewees, some persons born in the 19th century only used the blajn passive.
13 In the case of Vilamovicean, it is hardly appropriate to speak about the correctness. It shall be observed that there is no such thing as a standard Vilamovicean. The language, even though limited to a small area and a scarce population, surprisingly includes some dialectal variations – this is especially evident in the lexicon. In consequence, people do not classify a given form as incorrect but rather propose an alternative solution, i.e. what they would say.
The street will remain repaired  
The street will be repaired (i.e. they will repair it)

b. Mün wyt dos hoüz blajn gymölt a gonca tog  
Tomorrow will the house remain painted a whole day  
Tomorrow, the house will be being painted the whole day (i.e. they will be painting it)

c. Wen yh kum cyryk, wyt dy wond šun blajn gymölt  
When I come back will the wall already remain painted  
When I came back, the wall will already be painted (i.e. someone will have painted it)

3.2. Blajt gymoht

In cases where the verb blajn stands in the Present tense, it provides various present meanings, such as simple (habitual, 25.a), progressive (25.b and 25.c), and resultative stative (25.d).

(25) a. Dy kyndyn blajt azu ufgycün, do zy zula šunn zajna ełdyn  
The children remain so educated that they would respect their parents  
The children are educated so that they would respect their parents (i.e. people educate the children)

b. Dos hoüz blajt eta grod gyboüt  
The house remains already right-now built  
The house is just right now being built (i.e. they are building it)

c. Wu ej s'oüta? S’ blajt eta grod gyryht  
Where is the-car? It-remains already right-now repaired  
Where it the car? It is just being repaired

d. Dos hoüz blajt šun gyboüt  
The house remains already built  
The house is already built (i.e. it stands ready)

It should be noted that the blajn passive with the auxiliary in the Present tense – contrary to the zajn passive – does not denote perfect (anterior) or past activities so that the following sentences cannot be employed with the perfect, anterior or past force:

(26) a. Dos blajt šun gymoht  
This remains already done
*(intended meaning) This has already been done (i.e. someone has done it)

b. Dos hoüz **blajt** con jür y dom **gyboît**
The house remains 10 years ago built
*(intended meaning) The house was built 10 years ago (i.e. someone built it 10 years ago)

### 3.3. Bla gymoht

When the auxiliary **blajn** appears in the Preterite, the construction may express a wide range of past values, indicating simple (27.a), progressive (27.b), stative and pluperfect activities (27.c). Additionally, the same expression can also correspond to a present perfect passive (27.d and 27.e).

(27) a. Gestyn, der klop **bla derślön**
Yesterday the man remained killed
The man was killed yesterday (i.e. someone killed him)

b. Gestyn **bla** dy wond **gymölt** a gonca tog
Yesterday remained the wall painted a whole day
Yesterday, the wall was being painted the whole day (i.e. someone was painting it)

c. Der klop **bla** ǻn **derślön**, dy ǻndorn zajn kuma
The man remained already killed when the police came
The man was already killed / had already been killed, when the police came (i.e. he was not alive / someone had killed him before)

d. Dos **bla** kamöl **gymoht**
This remained never done
This has never been done

e. S’oüta **bla** ny ǻn **gyryht**
The-car remained not already repaired
The car has not been repaired yet

### 3.4. Ej gybłyjn gymoht and wiôe gybłyjn gymoht

The introductory verb **blajn** may also be employed in the Perfect and Pluperfect. When it stands in the Perfect, the **blajn** passive construction does not
only correspond to a present perfect (28.a) but also approximates prototypical
simple past (28.b) and pluperfect categories (28.c):

(28) a. Zejhže! Dos hoüz ej gyblyjn ufgyśtelt!
    Look! The house is remained constructed
    Look! The house has been built! (i.e. someone has built it)

b. Dos hoüz ej con jür y dom gyblyjn ufgyśtelt
    The house is 10 years ago remained constructed
    The house was built 10 years ago (i.e. someone built it 10 years ago)

c. Dos hoüz ej gyblyjn ufgyśtelt funf jür bocar cajt, wen der krig
    oüsbruh
    The house is remained constructed 5 years before time when the
    war began
    The house had been built 5 years before-the the war began
    (i.e. someone had built it before the war began)

Finally, using the auxiliary verb in the Preterite, the periphrasis expresses
past stative and past perfect events (29):

(29) Dos hoüz wiöe gyblyjn ufgyśtelt bocar cajt, wen der krig oüsbruh
    The house was remained constructed before-the time the war began
    The house had been built before the war began (i.e. someone had
    built it before the war began)

4. Conclusion

In the previous sections of the article, we have demonstrated that one may
distinguish three major ways of expressing passive meaning in the Vilamov-
iecean language, namely the zajn, wada and blaj passive constructions – all of
them consist of an auxiliary verb (zajn, wada or blaj respectively) and a pas-
itive participle. It has also been noted that the auxiliary included in each one
of these formations may be inflected in the Future, Present, Preterite, Perfect
and Pluperfect tenses giving rise to various specific uses and functions.

As for the zajn passive, the wyt zajn gymoht variant is used in all future
functions (simple, progressive, perfect and stative). The ej gymoht expres-
sion is employed as a simple, progressive, perfect and stative present, and as
a simple and perfect past. The wiöe gymoht construction approximates a sim-
ple, progressive, perfect and stative past as well as a present perfect. The ej
gywost gyroht formation functions as a present perfect, simple past and past perfect; and the wiöe gywost gyroht sequence is employed as a pluperfect (past perfect).

In respect to the wada periphrasis, the wyt wada gyroht type denotes all future events (simple, progressive and perfect) except stative ones. The wjyd gyroht variant is employed as a simple, progressive and perfect future (equaling the wyt wada gyroht sequence) and as a simple and progressive present. The wiöd gyroht expression indicates present perfect situations as well as simple, progressive and perfect past (pluperfect) activities. The ej gywoda gyroht construction functions as a present perfect and as a simple and perfect past. Finally, the wiöe gywoda gyroht chain equals a past perfect.

The blajn passive is the least common passive periphrasis being accepted only by some – but on the other hand, the oldest, the most trustful and the least germanized – informants. In cases where it is viewed as admissible, the wyt blajn gyroht variant indicates all sorts of future events (simple, progressive, perfect and stative). The blajt gyroht locution expresses simple, progressive and resultative-stative present situations. The form bla gyroht usually denotes past (simple, progressive, perfective and stative) activities being also able to provide meanings which correspond to a present perfect. The ej gybłynj gyroht construction is employed as a present perfect and as a past (simple, progressive and perfect) while the wiöe gybłynj gyroht conveys pluperfect passive values. All the evidence is summarized in the table below:
### Table: Passive constructions in the Vilamovicean language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Zajn passive</th>
<th>Wada passive</th>
<th>Blajn passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Future</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simple</td>
<td>wyt zajn gymoht</td>
<td>wyt wada gymoht</td>
<td>wyt blajn gymoht</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wjt gymoht</td>
<td>wjyd gymoht</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>wyt zajn gymoht</td>
<td>wyt wada gymoht</td>
<td>wyt blajn gymoht</td>
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<td></td>
<td>wjt gymoht</td>
<td>wjyd gymoht</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>wyt zajn gymoht</td>
<td>wyt wada gymoht</td>
<td>wyt blajn gymoht</td>
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<td></td>
<td>wjt gymoht</td>
<td>wjyd gymoht</td>
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<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>wyt zajn gymoht</td>
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<td>wyt blajn gymoht</td>
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<td>wjt gymoht</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Present</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>simple</td>
<td>ej gymoht</td>
<td>wjyd gymoht</td>
<td>blajt gymoht</td>
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<td>perfect</td>
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<td>wiöd gymoht</td>
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<td><strong>Past</strong></td>
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<td>simple</td>
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<td>stative</td>
<td>ej gymoht</td>
<td>wiöe gymoht</td>
<td>blajt gymoht</td>
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<td>was gymoht</td>
<td>ej gywosta</td>
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<td></td>
<td>wiöe gymoht</td>
<td>ej gywoda gymoht</td>
<td>ej gyblyjn gymoht</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a general conclusion extrapolated from the data presented in the present article, one may suggest the following.

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14 The grey squares represent meanings which are incompatible with a given construction. In all the squares, the subtypes of the three passive periphrases have been arranged so that the auxiliary verbs appearing in the same horizontal line would correspond to the same tense (Future, Present, Preterite, Perfect or Pluperfect).
First, the Vilamovicean passive voice is not limited to the *wada* expression (itself restricted to three tenses, cf. Lasatowicz 1992: 74–75) but is conveyed by three periphrastic locutions built on auxiliary verbs *zajn*, *wada* and *blajn*, each one employed in five possible tenses (Future, Present, Preterite, Perfect and Pluperfect). In that manner, Vilamovicean employs the three main ways (built on auxiliary verbs) of expressing the passive meaning, available in the Germanic family: the *zajn* formation (as in English *is done* as well as in other languages), the *wada* construction (as in German *wird gemacht* and in the case of the *wada* in the Present tense as in Icelandic *verður gerður* ‘will be done’) and the *blajn* periphrasis (as in Scandinavian languages such as Swedish *blev gjort* ‘was done’).

Second, the main difference between the *zajn* passive and the *wada* construction consists in the fact that the former (but not the latter) can provide stative values – thus, the meaning of the *wada* periphrases is invariably dynamic – and that the latter (but not the former) in the Present tense (i.e. *wjyd gymhot*) most commonly expresses future events.

Third, the *blajn* passive – nowadays, a less common manner of conveying the passive value – displays a similar behavior to that of the *zajn* formation: namely, it is able to express stative meanings. The only difference is that the *blajt gymoht* expression (with the verb in the Present tense) cannot be used as a past stative contrary to the *ej gymoht*. On the other hand in all the remaining uses, the locution approximates the *wada* periphrasis.

The dissimilarities in the meaning of the three passive constructions certainly stem from the different semantic load of the employed auxiliary. In particular, the verb *wada* has a more evident dynamic character than the predicates *zajn* and *blajn*. When used as a concrete non-auxiliary verb, it signifies ‘become, turn into’ while the latter verbs can offer more static readings: ‘be’ and ‘remain’ respectively. This explains the incompatibility of the *wada* passive with the stative meaning. However, it should be observed that in various passive functions the value of the three periphrases is highly similar, if not identical. For instance, passive simple past events – analogous to that conveyed by the English sentence *It was done 10 years ago* – can be expressed by the following, fully synonymous (in this precise function), constructions: *wiöe gymoht*, *wiöd gymoht* and *bla gymoht*.

15 The other common way of conveying the passive meaning is the use of reflexive forms such as the Swedish form *boken skrevs* ‘the book was written’.
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Strona bierna w języku wilamowskim

(Streszczenie)

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest szczegółowy opis konstrukcji składniowych wprowadzających stronę bierną w języku wilamowskim. Analiza materiału zgromadzonego podczas badań terenowych w Wilamowicach w roku 2009 i 2010 dowodzi, iż wilamowski ma nie jedną, jak dotychczas twierdzono, lecz trzy peryfrastyczne formacje pasywne. Konstrukcje te składają się z czasowników posiłkowych zajn, wada lub blajn – mogących pojawić się w czasie teraźniejszym, przyszłym, przeszłym złożonym (perfekcie), przeszłym prostym (preteritum) i zaprzeszłym – oraz z nieodmiennego imiesłowu biernego. Użycie tych formacji, choć w wielu wypadkach zbliżone, nie jest identyczne. Na przykład, strona bierna z zajn oraz blajn wyraźnie się tym, iż ma znaczenie statyczne, podczas gdy konstrukcja z czasownikiem wada niezmiennie wyraża znaczenie dynamiczne. Inna różnica dotyczy częstości użycia. Formacje z zajn i wada są uznawane za poprawne przez wszystkich informatorów, strona bierna z blajn jest konstrukcją używaną jedynie przez najstarszych Wilamowian, w szczególności przez tych, którzy nie zostali poddani germanizacji w czasie drugiej wojny światowej.