

ALEXANDER ANDRASON

University of Stellenbosch
Department of Ancient Studies

The Vilamovicean Passive

Key words: Germanic linguistics, endangered and minority languages, verbal system, passive.

0. Introduction

Vilamovicean (Wymysöeryś [vɨmɨsø:ɾɨɛ]) 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.¹ 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 gymoht wada*², passive pluperfect *dos vör gymoht wada* and passive future perfect *dos werde gymoht 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

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 *blajn* ‘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 ‘Płacznik’ (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

³ These 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 Wicherkiwicz (2004). Additionally, it should be noted that some songs were recently published by Dobczyński (2002), Gara (2006) and Danek (2007).

in all published articles and given talks (cf. Andrason 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2010a and 2010b).

1. *Zajn* passive

The passive in *zajn* corresponds to a periphrasis composed by the auxiliary *zajn* ‘be’ and the passive participle, e.g. *gymoht* ‘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 gymoht*

When the verb *zajn* stands in the Future tense⁶ – in the 3rd person singular taking the shape *wyt zajn*, and in the 3rd 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:

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 gymoht* ‘will be done’. Other possible future constructions may use the introductory verb *zula* ‘shall’ (giving the passive form *zo zajn gymoht*) 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” 3rd persons of the verb *wada* when used as a main verb with the meaning ‘become’ and not as a future auxiliary (3rd singular *wjyd* and 3rd plural *wada*).

- (1) a. Mūn **wyt** dos hoūz **zajn gymōlt**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. Mūn ym mytag **wyt** dy kjuh **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. Wymysiōejer śprōh **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 wymysiōejer kyndyn **wan** ind **gyljyt zajn** cy kuza wymysiōeryś
 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

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

⁹ Through-out 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 gyboüt**
 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 šun **zajn gymölt**
 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** šun 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 hoüz **ej** šun **gyboüt**
 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 hôt 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'öüta? S'ej eta grod gyyrht*
 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 öüta 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 śunn zajna eldyn*
 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 śun gyboüt 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 gyboüt*
 The house is ten years ago built
 The house was constructed ten years ago (i.e. they built it)
- b. *Dy śtuw ej śun gymölt wi'h 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 štunda 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 ‘Preterite’ – 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 **gyböüt**
 The house was ten years ago built
 The house was / had been constructed ten years ago (i.e. they built it)
- b. Der kłop **wiöe deršlön**, dy šondorn *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 šun **ufgyroümt**
 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 kjyh **wiöe remontiyt** ejwerfunfcik jür bocar cajt, wen der krig öüsbruh
 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'öüta **wiöe ny šun 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 ufgyštelt**
 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 ufgyštelt**
 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 ufgyštelt** funf jür bocar cajt, wen der krig **öüsbruh**

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 ufgyştelt** bocar cajt, wen der krig öusbruh
 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 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 špröh **wyt** nymer ny **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 **wan** ind **gyljyt wada** cy kuza wymysiöeryś
 The Vilamovicean children will always taught become to speak Vilamovicean
 Vilamovicean children will always be taught to speak Vilamovicean (i.e. people will always teach them how to speak Vilamovicean)

However, the same formation can denote future progressive activities (16):

- (16) a. MÜN **wyt** dos hoüz **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 **wyt** dy hoüz **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 *wada* passive 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 kjih **wyt wada giryht**, ejer wał der fiöer 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, **wyt** dy wond šun **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 gymoht*

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 gymoht 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’.¹¹

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 gyboüt*
 For three year will/becomes the street built
 The street will be built in three years (i.e. they will build it)
- b. *Wymysiöejer špröh 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 goryht*

¹¹ 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 þreyttur*.

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'öüta? 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 öüta **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 **ufgycün**, do zy zuła sunn zajna eldyn

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 **gyboüt**

The house became ten years ago built

The house was built ten years ago (i.e. someone built it)

b. Gestyn **wiöd** dy wond **gymölt** 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 derślön**, 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'öüta **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. Zejhže! 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 ufgyştelt**

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-ümt**

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 ufgyştelt** bocar cajt, wen der krig öüs-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.¹² 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”.¹³

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 štrös **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 sun **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 zuła sunn 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'öüta? 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** sun **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** sun **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 **gyboüt**

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** śun **derślön**, dy śondorn 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'öüta **bla** ny śun **gyryht**

The-car remained not already repaired

The car has not been repaired yet

3.4. *Ej gyblyjn gymoht and wiöe gyblyjn 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. Zējžē! Dos hoüz **ej gyblyjn ufgyštelt!**
 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 ufgyštelt**
 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 ufgyštelt** funf jür bocar cajt, wen der krig **öüsbruh**
 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 ufgyštelt** bocar cajt, wen der krig öüsbruh
 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 Vilamovicean language, namely the *zajn*, *wada* and *blaj* passive constructions – all of them consist of an auxiliary verb (*zajn*, *wada* or *blaj* respectively) and a passive 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* expression is employed as a simple, progressive, perfect and stative present, and as a simple and perfect past. The *wiöe gymoht* construction approximates a simple, progressive, perfect and stative past as well as a present perfect. The *ej*

gywost gymoht formation functions as a present perfect, simple past and past perfect; and the *wiöe gywost gymoht* sequence is employed as a pluperfect (past perfect).

In respect to the *wada* periphrasis, the *wyt wada gymoht* type denotes all future events (simple, progressive and perfect) except stative ones. The *wjyd gymoht* variant is employed as a simple, progressive and perfect future (equaling the *wyt wada gymoht* sequence) and as a simple and progressive present. The *wiöd gymoht* expression indicates present perfect situations as well as simple, progressive and perfect past (pluperfect) activities. The *ej gywoda gymoht* construction functions as a present perfect and as a simple and perfect past. Finally, the *wiöe gywoda gymoht* 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 gymoht* variant indicates all sorts of future events (simple, progressive, perfect and stative). The *blajt gymoht* locution expresses simple, progressive and resultative-stative present situations. The form *bla gymoht* usually denotes past (simple, progressive, perfective and stative) activities being also able to provide meanings which correspond to a present perfect. The *ej gyblyjn gymoht* construction is employed as a present perfect and as a past (simple, progressive and perfect) while the *wiöe gyblyjn gymoht* conveys pluperfect passive values. All the evidence is summarized in the table below:

Table: Passive constructions in the Vilamovicean language¹⁴

Meaning		<i>Zajn</i> passive	<i>Wada</i> passive	<i>Blajn</i> passive
Future	simple	<i>wyt zajn gymoht</i>	<i>wyt wada gymoht wjyd gymoht</i>	<i>wyt blajn gymoht</i>
	progressive	<i>wyt zajn gymoht</i>	<i>wyt wada gymoht wjyd gymoht</i>	<i>wyt blajn gymoht</i>
	perfect	<i>wyt zajn gymoht</i>	<i>wyt wada gymoht wjyd gymoht</i>	<i>wyt blajn gymoht</i>
	stative	<i>wyt zajn gymoht</i>		<i>wyt blajn gymoht</i>
Present	simple	<i>ej gymoht</i>	<i>wjyd gymoht</i>	<i>blajt gymoht</i>
	progressive	<i>ej gymoht</i>	<i>wjyd gymoht</i>	<i>blajt gymoht</i>
	perfect	<i>ej gymoht wiöe gymoht ej gywost gymoht</i>	<i>wiöd gymoht ej gywoda gymoht</i>	<i>bla gymoht ej gyblyjn gymoht</i>
	stative	<i>ej gymoht</i>		<i>blajt gymoht</i>
Past	simple	<i>ej gymoht wiöe gymoht ej gywost gymoht</i>	<i>wiöd gymoht ej gywoda gymoht</i>	<i>bla gymoht ej gyblyjn gymoht</i>
	progressive	<i>wiöe gymoht</i>	<i>wiöd gymoht</i>	<i>bla gymoht</i>
	perfect	<i>ej gymoht wiöe gymoht ej gywost gymoht wiöe gywost gymoht</i>	<i>wiöd gymoht ej gywoda gymoht wiöe gywoda gymoht</i>	<i>bla gymoht ej gyblyjn gymoht wiöe gyblyjn gymoht</i>
	stative	<i>ej gymoht was gymoht ej gywost gymoht wiöe gywost gymoht</i>		<i>bla gymoht ej gyblyjn gymoht wiöe gyblyjn gymoht</i>

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

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 verbs¹⁵) 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’.

Bibliography

- ANDRASON A., 2008a, Vilamovicean and the language contact phenomenon – the influence of Polish on the smallest Germanic language, Talk presented at the Institute of Linguistics, University of Manchester. May 6, 2008.
- ANDRASON A., 2008b, Do the Preterit and the Perfect mean the same? Some remarks on the Vilamovicean verbal system from the grammaticalization perspective, Talk presented at the Indo-European Seminar Series at the Department of Classics, University of Cambridge. December 3, 2008
- ANDRASON A., 2009, Expressions of futurity in the Vilamovicean language, Talk presented at the School of Oriental and African Studies SOAS, University of London. October 21, 2009.
- ANDRASON A., 2010a, Vilamovicean verbal system – Do the Preterite and the Perfect mean the same?, *Linguistica Copernicana* 3, p. 371–285.
- ANDRASON A., 2010b, Expressions of futurity in the Vilamovicean language, *SPIL PLUS* 40, p. 1–11.
- BYBEE J., PERKINS R., PAGLIUCA W., 1994, *The Evolution of Grammar*, Chicago–London: The University of Chicago Press.
- DAHL Ö., 2000, The Tense and Aspect Systems of European Languages in a Typological Perspective, in: Östen Dahl (ed.), *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe*, Berlin–New York: Mouton de Gruyter, p. 3–25.
- DANEK J., 2007, *Wymysöjer śtytła*, Wilamowice: Miejsko-Gminny Ośrodek Kultury.
- DOBZYŃSKI W., 2002, *Śpiewnik Gminy Wilamowice*, Wilamowice: Gmina Wilamowice.
- GARA J., 2006, *Zbiór piosenek wilamowskich*, Wilamowice.
- KLECZKOWSKI A., 1920, *Dialekt Wilamowic w zachodniej Galicji. Fonetyka i fleksja*, Kraków: PAN.
- LASATOWICZ M., 1992, *Die deutsche Mundart von Wilamowice zwischen 1920 und 1987*, Opole: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna.
- MŁYNEK L., 1907, *Narzecze wilamowickie*, Tarnów: J. Pisz.
- WICHERKIEWICZ T., 2004, *The Making of a Language*, Trends in Linguistics. Documentation 19, Berlin–New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

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* wyróżnia 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.

