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ALEXANDER ANDRASON & TYMOTEUSZ KRÓL

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A note on the morphology of the Vilamovicean verb principal parts

Alexander Andrason & Tymoteusz Król

University of Stellenbosch & University of Warsaw

Abstract

This paper offers an exhaustive description of the principal parts (Infinitive, Preterite Present and Plural, and Past Participle) of all irregular verbs found in Vilamovicean, a severely endangered Germanic vernacular spoken in Poland. Based upon extensive original field research, the authors offer a complete list of the irregular verbs, dividing them into three main classes: strong verbs (that also include reduplicated and athematic verbs), preterite-present (where the forms of the Present singular and plural are presented) and weak verbs with *Rückumlaut*.

1. Introduction¹

1.1 Vilamovicean and its study

Vilamovicean is a Germanic language spoken in the town of Wilamowice in Galicia, in the southern region of Poland. The English designation of this language is derived from the name of the town as it is pronounced in Polish, viz. Wilamowice [vilamovitse]. Vilamovicean speakers, however, when referring to their own idiom, use the word Wymysiöeryś [vimisø:ric] or [vimisøœric]. Similarly to the English denomination, this term reflects the name of the town, this time as it is pronounced in the local vernacular, viz. Wymysoü [vimisœy] or [vimisoy].

There are two main views on the origin and classification of Vilamovicean. One argues for the German provenance of the language. To be exact, Vilamovicean, together with Standard High German, Upper Saxon,

¹ We would like to thank two anonymous reviewers whose valuable comments enabled us to improve a previous version of this paper.

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Yiddish and Upper Silesian, is considered to belong to the East Central group of the Irminonic branch of languages (cf. Besch et al. 1983; Howe 1993: 51; Harbert 2009: 8; Lewis 2009; and Ritchie 2012: 7).² Consequently, and in accordance with the origins of other Upper Silesian vernaculars that once existed in the neighboring area, Vilamovicean would have descended from an older German variety (see Kleczkowski 1920, 1921; Mojmir 1936; Lasatowicz 1992: Wicherkiewicz 2003: 5-14: and Ritchie 2012: 9, 86). The other view postulates that Vilamovicean has Flemish or Frisian roots (cf. Wicherkiewicz 2003: 15). Following this opinion, the language would have been brought to Poland by settlers who came from the Low Countries, i.e. from Flanders, Holland and Friesland. This, in turn, means that Vilamovicean would belong to the Istvaeonic branch (which consists of Dutch, Flemish and Afrikaans) or to the Ingvaeonic branch (which includes English, Scottish, Low German and Frisian) of Germanic languages (cf. Ryckeboer 1984; Morciniec 1984: Wicherkiewicz 2003: 17: and Ritchie 2012: 7-8).³ In light of the most recent study, the former view seems to be more plausible, although more research is needed in order to precisely determine the genetic and dialectal status of this idiom (Ritchie 2012: 87).

Nowadays, it is safe to state that Vilamovicean is the least-spoken Germanic language in the world. It is understood by some two hundred persons,⁴ but actively spoken by less than forty fairly competent native speakers. The fact that the language is used by a very limited number of individuals and that almost all of them (apart from two or three) are more than 80 years old, also indicates that its future is severely endangered.

This article aims at familiarizing readers with some results of the most recent and ambitious project on the documentation, description and analysis of the Vilamovicean language that has been carried in the last few years. This project consists in developing an extensive and fully representative database, as well as writing a compendious Vilamovicean grammar (cf. Andrason & Król 2014) and a Vilamovicean-Polish-English dictionary (cf. Andrason & Król 2013).

 $^{^2}$ In the discussion of the genetic status of the Vilamovicean language, we follow Ritchie (2012), which constitutes the most recent and the most extensive publication on this issue. Therefore, the nomenclature employed by Ritchie – especially the terms Irminonic, Ingvaeonic and Istvaeonic – will be used, although we recognize that these terms are quite problematic in Germanic linguistics.

³ This opinion is also quite popular among the local population of Wilamowice.

⁴ This number has been changing over last 8 years as our research activities have been expanding, reaching a constantly wider scope of interviewed persons.

The database, which has been compiled since 2004, presently constitutes a genuine resource for the Vilamovicean scholarship: it scrupulously documents the language as it is spoken at the beginning of the 21th century, and includes hundreds of hours of recordings of translations, story-telling, life histories, conversations, songs, and recitations of poems and prayers. Contexts were constructed so that the richness of the vernacular could emerge and, consequently, be preserved. As a result, all known speakers of Vilamovicean - from those who were the most competent to those whose knowledge of the language was rather poor - have been recorded. This database - which is still in the process of being compiled, since the documentation of a living tongue (in which new expressions and words emerge almost every day) is *de facto* a never-ending task - has been employed as a source of all the research on Vilamovicean grammar and lexicon. To date, various aspects of the grammatical system have been described in journal articles (Andrason 2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2013a and 2013b). Publication of a comprehensive grammar is planned for 2017. It will be in English and Polish, so that the local population can employ it in preservation of their language. A working version of the lexicon is available (Andrason & Król 2013).

An important part of the project dedicated to the documentation, description and explanation of Vilamovicean grammar is the verbal system. While the semantics of the Vilamovicean verb has been investigated in recent publications (Andrason 2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2013a), verbal morphology has only been treated quite superficially, in expectation that it will covered in the forthcoming grammar. However, our experience over the last two years suggests that scholars need access to details of the morphological system of the Vilamovicean verb. For example, we have been asked several times to share our data and analysis with linguists who have worked on Vilamovicean⁵ or Germanic languages in general. To this end we provide here a comprehensive list of the principal parts (i.e. the forms of the Infinitive, singular and plural of the Preterite, and Past Participle)⁶ of the irregular verbs (i.e. strong verbs, reduplicated verbs, athematic verbs, preterite-presents and weak verbs with a vowel change),⁷ since the principal parts constitute the

⁵ One should notice that the studies of the Vilamovicean language and culture have recently been undergoing a type of a renaissance (Morciniec 1984; Ryckeboer 1984; Lasatowicz 1992; Dobczyński 2002; Gara 2003; Danek & Gara 2007; Wicherkiewicz 2004; Król 2009, 2011; Ritchie 2012).

⁶ Henceforth, the term 'Participle' will imply the Past Participle.

⁷ We use the term 'irregular' to refer to the three categories of verbs that show vowel change in the forms of the Preterite and Participle although such verbs are not irregular *sensu stricto*.

morphological core of the verbal organization of every Germanic language⁸ and thus are an important contribution to the comparative study of the Germanic family.

A new, comprehensive review of the principal parts of the irregular verbs is also necessitated for two reasons. Firstly, the only reliable description of the Preterite and participial forms of the verbs and their systematic division into classes is provided by Kleczkowski (1920: 143-152). Although this publication is short and verbal morphology is discussed quite superficially. Kleczkowski (1920) is the only source treating the principal parts of the verbs in a fairly satisfactory manner. However, this study reflects the situation from almost a century ago, and is now obsolete. During our data collection, it became evident to us that the current situation - even with respect of the oldest and most competent speakers⁹ – does not perfectly match the morphological types proposed by Kleczkowski. Various discrepancies were noted, stemming from phonetic evolution of the language as well as from analogical leveling. In fact, as already demonstrated in Andrason 2010b, the morphology of the Vilamovicean language has undergone certain important changes over the last hundred years; for a review of changes in the nominal and adjectival systems, see Andrason (2013b) and Andrason (2014), respectively. As a result, scholars need a study that lists the principal parts of all the irregular verbs in Modern Vilamovicean.¹⁰

Secondly, although three highly valuable studies dedicated to Vilamovicean have recently been published (Lasatowicz 1992; Wicherkiewicz 2004; and Ritchie 2012), none of them focuses on the issue of the principal parts or the verbal system in general. Lasatowicz (1992), although providing some interesting grammatical information, cannot be regarded as an accurate description of Vilamovicean as the data are highly suspect; the author does not specify the source of her examples and the Vilamovicean variety she describes shows excessive German influence. It is important to note that in our database various forms that Lasatowicz proposes are lacking and/or are regarded by native speakers as Germanisms. Wicherkiewicz (2004) is

⁸ Of course, the importance of principal parts is not limited to Germanic languages but also applies to languages in other families.

⁹ These speakers would be expected to employ forms that are identical or most similar to those described by Kleczkowski (1920).

¹⁰ Other descriptions from before the Second World War are quite deficient as far as the systematic analysis of the principal parts is concerned. To be exact, certain information concerning the verbal morphology may be extracted from Mojmir's dictionary (1930-1936), however this does not provide a systematic overview of the verb morphological system. Młynek (1907) and Latosiński (1909) are even sketchier.

dedicated to the translation of Florian Biesik's epic, which was written in Vilamovicean at the beginning of the 20th century, and mainly discusses cultural and sociolinguistic questions, paying little attention to genuine grammatical problems. Ritchie (2012) deals with problems related to the classification of Vilamovicean within the Germanic family, and is laudable for various ideas, but does not offer a systematic description of the verbal morphology, being limited to one paragraph on the infinitive only. As a result, no study offers a systematic treatment of the principal parts in the contemporary Vilamovicean language, a gap which this paper seeks to fill.

1.2 Methodology

The analysis presented in this paper derives from a database which we have been compiling since 2006. The main part of the data concerning the verbal morphology (including the principal parts) was collected in 2009, 2010 and 2011, during fieldwork carried out in Wilamowice that involved some 60 consultants (see Appendix).

We observed that although the core of the language is shared by all the speakers, certain discrepancies can be observed, correlated with three main factors:

- 1. year of the speaker's birth speaker competence decreases with age, with some consultants, especially the two youngest who were born after 1950, being passive rather than active users. The oldest speakers show verbal morphology that is less regularized and analogically leveled, and hence morphological complexity is greater among those born in the 1920s;
- whether the speaker underwent education in German during the Second World War – speakers (mostly born before 1927) who did not attend school in German show a significantly less Germanized version of the language with grammatical features less like Standard German; and
- 3. place of residence in Wilamowice it is possible to distinguish two main geographical varieties that show phonetic and lexical differences, though they are grammatically similar.

In our publications to date we have included all the varieties (even idiolectal ones and *hapax legomena*), thus showing all possible forms of the language, however the number of possible by-forms will be reduced in this paper. Thus, we provide the evidence that was shared by the majority of our consultants and that was corroborated by the most proficient speakers, in particular by the thirty-one people who were born before 1927. We ignore marginal forms characterized by a great degree of analogical developments, typical to younger

speakers, which are invariably related to a lack of proficiency in the language. We also omit forms that are idiolectal (used uniquely by a single speaker), recorded only once (*hapax legomena*), or perceived by the most proficient speakers as ungrammatical. Nevertheless, we will provide certain by-forms if such variants are shared by a number of the consultants or are common to the oldest, most proficient speakers. Thus, even if our list is, to a degree, normative, it does present the synchronic variability of the language as long as such alternative forms do not arise due an imperfect language acquisition, grammatical errors or individual language-change and idiosyncrasies.

Given the growing interest of Germanists in Vilamovicean and the incorporation of data on it into comparative studies of Germanic languages and their classification, we have often been asked to provide a list of the principal parts of verbs as they should traditionally appear. In such cases, scholars were interested in uncorrupted or etymologically correct forms - in particular, in forms that did not arise due to imperfect language acquisition. Secondly, and even more importantly, this paper and the grammar that we intend to publish are also aimed at revitalizing the vernacular. The list of the principal parts presented in this paper reflects the way the Vilamovicean verbal morphology is currently taught by Tymoteusz Król, and will hopefully be taught more extensively in coming years, to young students, most of whom are inhabitants of Wilamowice. For this pedagogical reason, there is a need for a regularization of the paradigms and reduction of variation, especially forms that are idiolectal or that result from defective acquisition of the language.¹¹ Consequently, our approach is a type of consensus between descriptive (all the forms are recorded and presented) and normative (where the most common and least affected forms are offered).

This educative principle also means that the morphological classes of the strong verbs we present do not necessarily reflect the traditional classification in German or Proto-Germanic (cf. section 2.1; compared with the traditional classes in Streitberg 1900, 1920; Bammesberger 1986; Hogg 1992; von Coetsem 1993; Iversen 1994; Ebert *et al.* 1994; Binnig 1999; Braune & Heidermanns 2004; Braune & Reiffenstein 2004; Ringe 2006). Our classes have been arranged as heuristic tools with a pedagogical objective: they are primarily expected to be useful in teaching Vilamovicean to contemporary Poles. To be precise, the taxonomic classes of the strong verbs depend on the vowel in the Preterite singular. Next, the sub-classes within a given class are

¹¹ We hope that this regularized review will also contribute to standardization of the language so that new literary works can appear (Król 2011).

determined by the vowel of the Preterite plural, and then by the Participle and/or Infinitive (if the vowel of the Participle is identical to the vowel in the Infinitive). This classification also reflects how native speakers, at least the most proficient ones, perceive their linguistic system. Additionally, following grammatical tradition, we have kept the preterite-present verbs and the collection of weak verbs with a vowel change in the Preterite and Participle in separate classes.

2. Evidence

As in the majority of Germanic languages, there are three main types of irregular or 'fluctuating' verbal morphology in Vilamovicean: strong verbs¹² (section 2.1), preterite-presents (section 2.2), and weak verbs with a vowel change (*Rückumlaut* verbs; section 2.3). Here we present all the classes and subclasses of these verbs, illustrating them by all their members in an exhaustive list. The principal parts are presented in the order: Infinitive, Preterite Singular, Preterite Plural, and Participle.

2.1 Strong verbs

We distinguish eight classes of strong verbs:

- 1 verbs that display the vowel *o* in the Preterite Singular;
- 2 verbs with the vowel \ddot{u} ;
- 3 verbs with \ddot{u} and/or i;
- 4 verbs with u;
- 5 verbs with a;
- 6 verbs with *öe*;
- 7 verbs with *a*; and
- 8 verbs with \ddot{o} .¹³

¹² This class also includes verbs that were originally reduplicated as well as athematic verbs such as zåjn (cf. Streitberg 1900: 326-333; Kleczkowski 1920: 149-150).

¹³ We refer to these classes as 'o verbs' / 'verbs in o', 'ü verbs' / 'verbs in ü', etc. We follow the spelling conventions which were first proposed by Tymoteusz Król and then (in a slightly modified form) employed by Andrason (2010a, 2010b, 2011, 2013), Andrason & Król 2013, and Król (2011) in his poem *S'lawa fum Wilhelm*. In general

The first five classes are well represented in our materials while the last three are very poorly documented and include only a few verbs.

2.1.1 Class 1: Preterite in -o

There are two subtypes of the *o* verbs: those whose Preterite plural takes the vowel \ddot{o} as well as o,¹⁴ and those whose plural vowel is invariably *o*. The first group offers four different varieties of the Participles, i.e. in *o*, *u*, *a*/V₁ (some of the Participles in *a* display the same vowel as in the Infinitive, hence the notation V₁) and \mathring{a} . The second group displays two kinds of vowels in the Participle: *o* and \ddot{o} .

Class 1 Preterite in o

1.1 Pl ural in *ö* and *o*

1.	1	•	1
~			

bråh(j)a	broh	bröha	/ broha	gybroha ¹⁵	break
dråśa	droś	dröśa	/ drośa	gydrośa	thresh
flåhta	floht	flöhta	/ flohta	gyfłohta	braid
śpråh(j)a	śproh	śpröha	/ śproha	gyśproha	speak
śtåha	śtoh	śtöha	/ śtoha	gyśtoha	prick
1.1.2 kuma nama	kom nom	köma nöma	/ koma / noma	u (gy)kuma ¹⁶ gynuma	come take

terms, the spelling of the vowels reflects Germanic and Polish traditions: a^{i} [a], a^{i} [a] (also [ɔ] for some speakers), i^{i} [i] or [1], e^{i} [e] or [ɛ], o^{i} [o] or [ɔ], u^{i} [u], \ddot{u}^{i} [y] or [Y], \ddot{o}^{i} [ø] and y^{i} [i]. The following graphemes represent diphthongs: a^{i}_{j} [aj], e^{j} [ej], jy^{i} [ii] or [1ə] and $o\ddot{u}$ [œy] or [œy]. The combination $i\ddot{o}e$ is usually pronounced [Yøæ] or [Yøə]. Four consonant symbols have been adopted from Polish: c^{i} [ts], t^{i} [w], \dot{s}^{i} [ɛ] and \dot{c}^{i} [tɛ]. The letter h usually represents [x].

¹⁴ As interchangeable alternatives.

¹⁵ The form of the Participle with the consonant k is also common: *gybroka*.

¹⁶ Where the participial prefix gy appears in parenthesis, two forms are equally admissible: one with gy and another without it.

1.1.3 a a) V_1 asa os ösa / osa (gy)gasa	eat
(8/)8	
	forget
J J J J 675	gorge
gan go gön /gon (gy)gan	give
gasa gos gösa / gosa (gy)gasa	eat
rada rod röda / roda gyrada	sieve
trata trot tröta / trota gytrata	pace
zan zoh zöha / zoha gyzan	see
b)	
byta bot böta / bota gybata ¹⁷	please
zyca zos zösa / zosa gyzasa	sit
1.1.4 å lejgja log löga /loga gylån	lay
1.2 Pl ural only in <i>o</i>	
1.2.1 <i>o</i>	
loda lot lota gyloda	load
śråkja śrok śroka gyśroka	scare
trafa trof trofa gytrofa	meet
1.2.2 ö	
ferleśa ferloś ferlośa ferlöśt	put out
(gy)bita (gy)bot (gy)bota (gy)böta	order
gytün gytot gytota gytön tün tot tota gytön ¹⁸	do
	uo

2.1.2 Class 2: Preterite in ü

The second class includes verbs that show the vowel \ddot{u} in the Preterite singular and plural. The five subclasses depend on the vowel employed in the Participle: V₁ (i.e. the vowel that is identical to the vowel displayed in the Infinitive), *a*, \ddot{u} , *u*, \ddot{o} and *o*. Verbs whose Infinitive vowel is *a* and that display

¹⁷ The form *gybota* is also possible.

¹⁸ One may also use the form *gytan*.

this vowel in the Participle could, in fact, be classified as belonging to types 2.1 (V₁) or 2.2 (*a*). Here they are listed in the former group.

2.1			V_1	
baka	büh	büha ¹⁹	gybaka	bake
błöza	błüz	błüza	gybłöza	blow
fanga	füng	fünga	gyfanga	catch
fiöen	fü	fün	gyfiöen	go by car
growa	grüw	grüwa	gygrowa	burrow
łaza	łüz	łüza	gyłaza	read
masa	müs	müsa	gymasa	measure
śłön	śłüg ²⁰	śłüga	gyśłiöen ²¹	hit
śpałda	śpüłd	śpüłda	gyśpałda	burst
triöen	trüg	trüga	gytriöen	carry
wahsa	wüks	wüksa	gywahsa	grow
wośa	wüś	wüśa	gywośa	wash
załca	züłc	züłca	gyzałca	salt
2.2	1	1	a	1
2.2 hengja	hüng	hünga	a gyhanga	hang
	hüng	hünga		hang
hengja 2.2	hüng felü	hünga felün	gyhanga	hang lose
hengja	0	C	gyhanga ü felün	U
hengja 2.2 feljyn	felü	felün	gyhanga ü	lose
hengja 2.2 feljyn fjeta friza	felü füt	felün füta	gyhanga ü felün gyfüt	lose fear
hengja 2.2 feljyn fjeta friza	felü füt frü	felün füta frün	gyhanga ü felün gyfüt gyfrün	lose fear freeze
hengja 2.2 feljyn fjeta friza śmjyn	felü füt frü śmüt	felün füta frün śmüta	gyhanga ü felün gyfüt gyfrün gyśmüt	lose fear freeze itch
hengja 2.2 feljyn fjeta friza śmjyn śwjyn wafa	felü füt frü śmüt śwü	felün füta frün śmüta śwün	gyhanga ü felün gyfüt gyfrün gyśmüt gyśwün gywüfa	lose fear freeze itch swear
hengja 2.2 feljyn fjeta friza śmjyn śwjyn wafa 2.3	felü füt frü śmüt śwü wüf	felün füta frün śmüta śwün wüfa	gyhanga ü felün gyfüt gyfrün gyśmüt gyśwün gywüfa u	lose fear freeze itch swear throw
hengja 2.2 feljyn fjeta friza śmjyn śwjyn wafa	felü füt frü śmüt śwü wüf	felün füta frün śmüta śwün	gyhanga ü felün gyfüt gyfrün gyśmüt gyśwün gywüfa	lose fear freeze itch swear

²⁰ Sometime the form *śług* is used.

²¹ A common participial by-form is *gyślön*.

¹⁹ The verb *baka* also has a weak conjugation in the Preterite: *bakt* and *bakta*.

2.4 hywa śprosa śtała	hüw śprüs śtüł	hüwa śprüsa śtüła	ö gyhöwa gyśprösa gyśtöła	elevate sprout steal
2.5 flisa	flüs	flüsa	o gyflosa	flow

2.1.3 Class 3: Preterite in ü and/or i

The third class consists of two types of verbs. One subclass involves verbs that show two optional forms in the Preterite singular: one in \ddot{u} and another in i. The other subclass contains verbs that display only the vowel i. In both cases, the vowel employed in the Preterite Plural is identical to that used in the singular.

Class 3 Preterite in *ü* and/or *i*

3.1 *ü* and *i*

3.1.1 fola halda håsa loüfa rüfa ślöfa	fil / fül hiłd / hüłd his łüf / łif rüf / rif śłüf /śłif	fiła / füła hiłda / hüłda hisa łüfa / łifa rüfa / rifa śłüfa / śłifa	V ₁ gyfoła gyhałda gyhåsa gyłoüfa gyrüfa gyśłöfa	fall hold order run call sleep
3.1.2 hyłfa 3.2	hüłf / hiłf only i	hülfa / hilfa	u gyhulfa	help
3.2.1 hoün łön	hiw łis	hiwa Iisa	V ₁ gyhoün gyłön	harvest let
3.2.2 śtejn	śtind / śtond	śtinda	a gyśtanda	stand

2.1.4 Class 4: Preterite in u

The fourth class contains verbs that show the vowel u in the Preterite singular. The majority display the same vowel (i.e. u) in the plural. However, four verbs have a different vowel (\ddot{u} , o or \ddot{o}) in the plural. As far as the first subtype is concerned, most verbs also have the vowel u in the Participle and show the vowel y in the Infinitive, for example *śwyma*, *śwuma*, and *gyśwuma* 'swim'.

4.1 plural	in <i>u</i>
------------	-------------

4.1.1			и	
była	buł	buła	gybuła	bark
bynda	bund	bunda	gybunda	bound
cwyngja	cwung	cwunga	gycwunga	force
cynda	cund	cunda	gycunda	light
fynda	fund	funda	gyfunda	find
głe/głyngja	głung	głunga	gygunga	suffice
gryna	grun	gruna	gygruna	curd
gyna	gun	guna	gyguna	wish (good)
gywyna	gywun	gywuna	gywuna	be ahead
kłyngja	kłung	kłunga	gykłunga	sound
målkja	mulk	mulkja	gymulkja	milk
nyna	nun	nuna	gynuna	sleep
śålda	śułd	śułda	gyśułda	argue
śłyngja	śłung	śłung	gyśłunga	swallow
śpryngja	śprung	śpunga	gyśprunga	jump
śpyna	śpun	śpuna	gyśpuna	bound
śtynkja	śtunk	śtunka	gyśtunka	stink
śtusa	śtus	śtusa	gyśtusa	push
śwyma	śwum	śwuma	gyśwuma	swim
śwyngja	śwung	śwunga	gyśwunga	bob
trynkja	trunk	trunka	gytrunka	drink
zyngja	zung	zunga	gyzunga	sing
zynkja	zunk	zunka	gyzunka	sink

4.1.2 <i>zołca</i>	zułc	zułca	a gyzałca	salt ²²
4.1.3 o			V	
a)	lung	hunga	V_1	ton into
langa gyröta	lung gyrut	łunga gyruta	gyłonga gyröta	tap into succeed
gyroiu śosa	gyrui śus	gyruia śusa	gyrona gyśosa	sprout
0	343	susu	gysosu	sprout
gisa	gus	gusa	gygosa ²³	pour
sisa śisa	sus	susa śusa	gyśosa	shoot
5154	545	5454	<i>gy</i> 505 <i>u</i>	511001
4.1.4			ö	
bigja	bug	buga	gyböga	bend
fligja	flug	fluga	gyflöga ²⁴	fly
feliza	ferluz	ferluza	ferlöza	lose
gynisa	gynus	gynusa	gynösa	benefit
śtiwa	śtuw	śtuwa	gyśtöwa	sprinkle
			0,	1
4.1.5 <i>o</i>			/ ö	
(cü)śłisa	śłus	śłusa	gyśłosa / gyśł	<i>lösa</i> shut
4.2 plural	in <i>u</i> a	und <i>ü</i>		
-				
4.2.1			Ö	
zoüfa	zuf	zufa / züfa	gyzöfa	drink
4.2.2 ü				
 2.2 u cin	cua	cüga / cüga	gycün	pull
Cin	cug	cugu / cugu	gycun	pull
4.3 plural	in <i>o</i>			
krihja	kruh	kroha	gykroha	crawl
			6,	
4.4 plural	in ö			
rihja	ruh	röha	gyroha	smell
•				

 $^{^{22}}$ The verbs *zalca* (class 2.1) and *zolca* (class 4.1.2) have the same meaning 'to salt' and are interchangeable.

²³ There is also a fairly common form *gösa*.

²⁴ The form *gyflün* is also found.

2.1.5 Class 5: Preterite in å

The fifth class includes verbs that display the vowel a in the Preterite singular. Most show the vowel y in the plural forms (cf. type 5.1, below). The verbs of this subgroup show two kinds of vowels in the Participle: either y or ej: bajsa, bas, bysa, gybysa and wajza, waz, wyza, gywejza, respectively. Additionally, there are four verbs that offer slightly different patterns: the vowel of the plural is i (cajgja, slajhja and zajgja) or ej (fercejn).

Class 5 Preterite in å

5.1 plural in y

5.1.1			у	
båjsa	bås	bysa	gybysa	beat
flåjsa	flås	fłysa	gyflysa	take care of
głåjhja	głåh	głyhja	gygłyh(j)a ²⁵	equate
gråjfa	gråf	gryfa	gygryfa	catch
grenn	grån	gryn	gygryn	cry
łåjda	łåd	łyda	gyłejda	agonize
råjta	råt	ryta	gyryta	ride
śłåjfa	śłåf	śłyfa	gyśłyfa	polish
śłåjsa	śłås	śłysa	gyśłysa	deplume
śmåjsa	śmås	śmysa	gyśmysa	throw
śnåjda	śnåd	śnyta	gyśnyta	carve
śråjta	śråt	śryta	gyśryta	pace
śtråjhja	śtråh	śtryhja	gyśtryhja	stroke
śtråjta	śtråt	śtryta	gyśtryta	argue
śwåsa	śwys	śwysa	gyśwysa	sweat

²⁵ The form *gygloha* is also admissible.

5.1.2			ej	
Błåjn	błå	błyn ²⁶	gybłejn	stay
ferwåjwa	ferwåw	ferwywa	ferwejwa	marry
gyhåjn	gyhå	gyhyn	gyhejn	deride
łåjn	łå	łyn	gyłejn	borrow
råjwa	råw	rywa	gyrejwa	grate
śåjn	śån	śyn	gyśejn	shine
śnåjn	śnå		gyśnejn	snow
śpåjn	śpå	śpyn	gyśpejn	split
śråjn	śrå	śryn	gyśrejn	shout
tråjn	trå	tryn	gytrejn	chase
wåjza	wåz	wyza	gywejza	show
5.2	plural in	i		
5.2.1			i	
Śłåjhja	śłåh	śłihja	gyśłihja	slip
5.2.2			ej	
cåjgja	cåg	cigja	gycejgja	show
zåjgja	zåg	ziga ²⁷	gyzejgja	filtrate
5.3 plural	in	ej		
Fercåjn	fercå	fercejn	fercejn	forgive

2.1.6 Minor classes 6, 7 and 8: Preterite in iöliöe, a and ö

The last three classes are poorly represented and involve only eight verbs. Class 6 includes three verbs: *starwa* and *wada* show the vowel *iö* in the Preterite forms and *zåjn* displays a form with *iöe*. Class 7 consists of three predicates (*hoün*, *ståjgja* and *synda*) that display the vowel *a*. Lastly, class 8 possesses only two verbs that offer the vowel *ö* (*bytrigja* and *ferdrisa*) in the Preterite. All the verbs that belong to these three classes have the same vowel in the Preterite plural and singular.

²⁶ The form *blån* may also be commonly met.

²⁷ The weak conjugation is also possible: *zågt* and *zågta*.

Class 6	Preterite in <i>iö</i>				
6.1 śtarwa wada 6.2 zåjn	śtiörw wiöd wiöe	śtiörwa wiöda ²⁸ wün ²⁹	öe gyśtiörwa gywiöda a gywast	die become be ³⁰	
Class 7	Preterite in <i>a</i>				
7.1 hoün 7.2 śtåjgja śynda	jat / jot ståg śand	jata śtigja ³² śanda	V ₁ gyhoün ³¹ e gyśtejgja gyśenda ³³	hit get on flay	
Class 8	Preterite in <i>ö</i>				
8.1 ferdrisa 8.2 Bytrigja	ferdrös bytrög	ferdrösa bytröga	a / o ferdrasa / ferdrosa ö bytröga	be sad deceive	

2.2 Preterite-presents

The preterite-presents are a group of verbs that have the morphology of an original Germanic Preterite in their present tense. Thus, the present tense of these verbs exhibits vowel changes – and also personal endings – that are typical of the ablaut in the Preterite. In this manner, the forms of the Present singular correspond morphologically to the forms of the Preterite singular of 'normal' strong verbs, while the forms of the Present plural are equivalent to the Preterite plural of the rest of the strong verbs. Moreover, the genuine

²⁸ The forms *wüd* and *wüda* are also possible.

²⁹ We also find *wiöen*.

 $^{^{30}}$ Since the forms of the verb *zåjn* exhibit suppletion, it could alternatively be classified as a separate class.

³¹ The form *gyjat* is also possible.

³² The weak declension with a vowel change is also possible: *śtågt* and *śtågta*.

³³ We may also find the form *gyśunda*.

Preterite and participial forms of the preterite-presents are secondary and follow the weak conjugation; they can be compared to Germanic (Streitberg 1900: 324-326; Bammersberger 1986; von Coetsem 1993; Ringe 2006), Gothic (Streitberg 1920; Binnig 1999; Braune & Heidermanns 2004), Old High German (Braune & Reiffenstein 2004), Old Norse (Iversen 1994) and Icelandic (Kress 1963).

Vilamovicean offers various typical preterite-present predicates, in the majority of cases modal verbs, that are available in other Germanic languages:³⁴ wysa 'know', *djyfa* 'should, must, have to', *kyna* 'can', *tejgja* 'be suitable', *zula* 'shall', *mygja* 'may, want' and *müsa* 'must, have to'. Although the verb *wela* 'to want' does not historically belong to the class of preterite-presents, it is frequently treated together with this type. Note that in some cases two alternative forms of a given verb are possible.

Infinitive	Present	Present	Preterite	Participle	e
	Singular I	Plural			
djyfa	djef	djyfa	diöft(a)	gydiöft	should, must
kyna	kon	kyna	kund(a)	(gy)kund	can
müsa	$m\ddot{u}(s)^{35}$	müsa /misa	müst(a)	(gy)müst	must, have to
mygja	miöe	mygja	möht(a)	gymöht	may, want
tejgja	tejg / toüg	tejgja	töht(a) / toügt(a)	0.	be suitable
weła	wył	weła	wułd(a)	gywułd	want
wysa	wå(s)	wysa	wöst(a)	gywöst	know
zuła	zo / zuł	zuła	zułd(a)	gyzułd	shall

2.3 Weak verbs with a vowel change

In addition to the strong verbs and the preterite-presents, there is a quite numerous group of weak verbs that show a vowel change when the form of the Infinitive, on the one hand, is compared with the Preterite and Participle, on the other. This also means that such verbs employ the same vowel in all the forms of the Preterite and in the Participle (cf. so-called verbs with *Rückumlaut:* Kleczkowski 1920: 151-152; Ebert *et al.* 1994; Solms 2004: 1687-1688). Depending on the vowel in the Preterite and Participle, it is possible to distinguish nine subtypes. The most common ones show the vowels *a*, \ddot{u} , $\ddot{u}e$, \ddot{o} , $o\ddot{u}$ and $i\ddot{o}e$ in the Preterite and Participle. However, the last

³⁴ In total, 15 preterite-present verbs have been identified in Germanic; note that Vilamovicean exhibits the same preterite-present verbs as Middle High German.

³⁵ The consonant s is optional.

three (o, e and u) are poorly represented and have one example each. The complete list of this type of verbs is given below:

Infinitive Preterite	Singular Pl	Preterite ural	Participle	
	Preterite in <i>a</i>			
brin	brant	branta	gybrant	burn
kena	kant	kanta	gykant	know
nena	nant	nanta	gynant	call
śenkja	śankt	śankta	gyśankt ³⁶	give
śmekja	śmakt	śmakta	gyśmakt	taste
śtekja	śtakt	śtakta	gyśtakt	insert
trena	trant	tranta	gytrant	rip
	Preterite in	ü		
hita	hüt	hüta	gyhüt	browse
rjyn	rüt	rüta	gyrüt	move
zihja	züht	zühta	gyzüht	look for
	Preterite in <i>üe</i>			
fjyn	füet	füeta	gyfüet	drive
hjyn	hüet	hüeta	gyhüet	hear
kjen	küet	küeta	gyküet	brush
śpjyn	śpüet	śpüeta	gyśpüet	feel
wjygja	wüegt	wüegta	gywüegt	vomit
Preterite	in	ö		
brengja	bröht	bröhta	gybröht	bring
denkja	döht	döhta	gydöht	remember
śykja	śökt	śökta	gyśökt	send
śyta	śöt	śöta	gyśöt	spill
	Preterite in <i>oü</i>			
dynkja	doüht	doühta	gydoüht	seem
kiöefa	koüft	koüfta	gykoüft	buy
tiöefa	toüft	toüfta	gytoüft	baptize
triöema / troüma	troümt	troümta	gytroümt	dream
ziöema / zoüma	zoümt	zoümta	gyzoümt	hem

³⁶ The form *gyśenkt* is also common.

	Preterite in <i>iöe</i>						
boühja	biöeht	biöehta	gybiöeht	boil			
łjyn	liöet	łiöeta	gyłiöet ³⁷	teach			
łoühta	łiöeht	łiöehta	gyłiöeht	shine			
łoüta	liöet	łiöeta	gyłiöet	toll			
zida	ziöet	ziöeta	gyziöet	boil			
	Preterite in <i>o</i>						
zeca	zoct	zocta	gyzoct	plant			
	Preterite in <i>e</i>						
båjhja	beht	behta	gybeht	confess			
	Preterite	in <i>u</i>					
hyngjyn	hungyt	hungyta	gyhungyt ³⁸	starve			

3. Conclusion

This article documents the principal parts of the verbs in the Modern Vilamovicean language as it is spoken in the first decade of the 21^{st} century. In the lists provided above of all the irregular verbs (strong, reduplicated, athematic, preterite-present and weak verbs with *Rückumlaut*) we have included the forms that are the most common and that, moreover, are accepted by the most competent native speakers. Our evidence indicates that the strong verbs (to which we also include reduplicated and athematic verbs) may be divided into eight classes: five of them are central to the system, having numerous members (*o*, *ü*, *ü/i*, *u* and *å* verbs). Three classes, however, are very residual (*öe*, *a* and *ö* verbs). Next, we presented the principal parts of eight preterite-present predicates (*wysa*, *djyfa*, *kyna*, *tejgja*, *zula*, *mygja*, *müsa* and *wela*). Lastly, a list of weak verbs that display vowel modification in the Preterite and Participle was provided. Among these verbs, five classes are relatively common (*a*, *ü*, *üe*, *ö*, *oü* and *iöe* verbs), while three are poorly represented (*o*, *e* and *u* verbs).

Although we have offered a comprehensive record of the principal parts of all the irregular Vilamovicean verbs, the study of the language's verbal morphology cannot be considered finalized. Firstly, a methodical comparison

³⁷ A completely regular weak conjugation is also possible: łjyt, łjyta and gyłjyt

³⁸ A fully regular conjugation is also available: *hyngjyt*, *hyngjyta* and *gyhyngjyt*.

with the system in Kleczkowski (1920) should be developed to show how much Vilamovicean verbal morphology has changed over last hundred years. Secondly, less common or less 'standard' forms that were set aside in this study should also be taken into consideration. We believe that in this manner, it will be possible to detect various analogical tendencies that operate in the contemporary language.

Appendix

The consultants who participated (in order of birth year) are: Franciszka Bilczewska fum Frycki (1913-2012), Kazimierz Grygierczyk fum Bierünjok (1913-2010), Anna Danek fum Pejtela (born 1916), Zofia Danek fum Stańću (1917-2012), Franciszek Mosler fum Mözłer (1918-2011), Helena Danek fum Kwaka (1919-2012) Jan Biba fum Tüma-Jaśki (1920-2011), Anna Sznajder fum Peiter (1920-2012), Elżbieta Mynarska fum Siöeba (born 1921), Helena Biba fum Płaćnik (born 1922), Elżbieta Babiuch fum Poükner (1923-2010), Anna Foks fum Prorok (1923-2011), Elżbieta Kacorzyk fum Pütrok (born 1923), Elżbieta Sznajder fum Pejter (born 1923), Anna Zejma fum Lüft (1923-2010), Elżbieta Matysiak fum Håla-Mockia (born 1924), Anna Danek fum Küpsela (born 1924), Helena Gasidło fum Biöeźniok (born 1924), Waleria Brzezina fum Cepok (1925-2013), Rozalia Kowalik fum Poüermin (born 1925), Jan Formas (born 1925), Katarzyna Balcarczyk fum Karol (1925-2013), Stanisław Foks fum Lüft (born 1926), Elżbieta Formas fum Mözłer (born 1926), Katarzyna Nowak fum Tobyś (1926-2010), Rozalia Hanusz fum Linküś (1926-2009), Anna Korczyk fum Kołodźej (born 1927), Elżbieta Gasiorek fum Anta (born 1927). Elżbieta Figwer fum Böba (born 1927), Anna Foks fum Lüft (born 1927), Kazimierz Sznajder fum Pejter (1927-2011), Ingeborg Matzner-Danek (born 1928), Helena Nowak fum Holećkla (born 1928), Jan Balcarczyk fum Siöeba (1928-2013), Bronisława Pyka (born 1928), Helena Rozner fum Böba-Lojzkia (born 1928), Emilia Biesik fum Raczek (1929), Józef Gara fum Tołer (1929-2013), Elżbieta Merta fum Håla-Fråna-Jåśkja (born 1929), Katarzyna Nowak fum Pejtela (born 1929), Elżbieta Nycz fum Śleźok (1929-2007), Helena Dobroczyńska fum Osiećon (1929-2012), Elżbieta Gandor fum Baranła (born 1930), Zofia Kozieł fum Śübert (born 1930), Anna Biba-fum Küćłik (1930-2009), Hilda Kasperczyk fum Ćiöe (1930-2005), Eugenia Foks fum Bröda (born 1930), Rozalia Danek fum Mjyra-Winca (born 1931), Elżbieta Nikiel fum Linküś (born 1931), Rozalia Wegrodzka fum Gadła (born 1931), Stanisław Zejma (born 1931), Stefania Kuczmierczyk fum Jonkla (born 1932), Anna Nowak fum Håla-Mockja (1932-2011), Emilia Danek fum Biöeźniok (born 1933), Kazimierz Foks-fum Baranła (born 1934), Anna Kuczmierczyk fum Zelbst (born 1934), Anna Sznajder fum Pejter (born 1934), Barbara Tomanek (born 1935), Elżbieta Sznajder fum Freślik (born 1938), Stanisław Merta fum Hala-Frana-Jaśkia-Hala (1955-2011), Janusz Brzezina fum Urbon (born 1956).

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