

# Rethinking the Second-Person Plural Pronoun “der” in Wymysorys

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### 1. Introduction

This study re-evaluates the morphological status of the second-person plural pronoun *der* in Wymysorys, a critically endangered Germanic language spoken in Southern Poland.

In previous research on Wymysorys, the second-person plural pronoun has classified into three variants, strong pronoun (1a), weak pronoun (1b) and clitic pronoun (1c).

- (1) a. *Jyr* hot dos gygasa. (lit. you.2PL have this eaten) ‘You have eaten this’<sup>1</sup>  
 b. *Wen der* wjet yhta maha... (lit. if you.2PL were something do) ‘If you were to / would do something...’<sup>2</sup>  
 c. *Kynter mer abysla Wymysiöeryś kuza?* (lit. Could=you.2PL me a little Wymysorys talk) ‘Could you talk to me a little Wymysorys?’

Weak forms are generally assumed to share morphological and syntactic features with their corresponding strong form.<sup>3</sup> However, *der* does not conform to this pattern. Specifically, the initial voiced stop /d/ in *der* is not derived from the expected strong form *jyr*. Moreover, my analysis indicates that *der* is syntactically restricted, whereas weak forms typically share distributional flexibility with their strong counterparts. These observations suggest that the current description of *der* in Wymysorys needs to be reconsidered.

Wymysorys is spoken by a small community in Wilamowice, a town in the Silesian Voivodeship. It is believed to have originated from the settlement of German-speaking populations during the Middle Ages.<sup>4</sup> In addition to this historical background, the phonological characteristics of Wymysorys<sup>5</sup> are shared with Thuringian, Upper Saxon and

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Andrason and Tymoteusz Król, Description of the pronominal system of Modern Vilamovicean. *Brünner Beiträge zur Germanistik und Nordistik* 28(1-2), 2014, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Andrason and Król, Description of the pronominal system of Modern Vilamovicean, p. 100.

<sup>3</sup> Damaris Nübling, *Klitika im Deutschen: Schriftsprache, Umgangssprache, alemannische Dialekte*, Tübingen: Narr, 1992, S. 19; Helmut Weiss, Pronominalsyntax deutscher Dialekte, in Alexander N. Lenz and Franz Patocka, eds., *Syntaktische Variation: Areallinguistische Perspektiven*, Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2015, S. 123-124.

<sup>4</sup> Tomasz Wicherkiewicz, *The Making of a Language: The Case of the Idiom of Wilamowice, Southern Poland*, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> As the classical criteria of sorting German dialects in dialectology, influence of second consonant shift (dt.

Silesian dialects, and it is therefore classified within the East Central German dialect group.<sup>6</sup>

The number of fluent speakers has decreased significantly in recent decades. According to my fieldwork, there were fewer than ten speakers in 2023, and by 2025, this number had dropped to fewer than five, thus, this language is critically endangered.<sup>7</sup> The reason for this is a historical factor. After World War II, communist authorities in Poland sought to eliminate perceived German elements from the country. Although the Wilamowicean community persisted from Flemish or Dutch settlers, they were nonetheless labelled as German.<sup>8</sup> As a result, many were sent to labor camps in the Ural region.<sup>9</sup> In 1946, local authorities officially prohibited the public use of Wymysorys, including cultural elements such as traditional clothing. Consequently, many families decided to prevent the transmission of Wymysorys to their children,<sup>10</sup> resulting in a lack of language transmission.

This paper begins by reviewing the literature on Wymysorys and weak pronouns in Germanic dialects. It then explores the phenomenon of Complementizer Agreement (CA), in which complementizers—normally not inflected—take inflectional endings. The following section outlines the methodology and presents a detailed analysis of the spoken and written data. The paper concludes by discussing the implications of these findings for understanding pronominal systems in endangered Germanic language.

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Zweite Lautverschiebung) has been used. The second consonant shift changed two series of consonants, voiceless and voiced plosive /p/, /t/, /k/ and /b/, /d/, /g/, to affricate or fricative depending on the position within a word. Voiceless plosive /p/, /t/, /k/ shifted /pf/, /ts/, /χ/ respectively, in contrast, voiced plosive /b/, /d/, /g/ switched to /p/, /t/, /k/. Especially, the shift from /p/, /t/, /k/ differs with region, namely, in southern Germany these shifts are observed fully, however, in central /t/ and /k/ changed and /p/ retained. In addition, in north these shifts were not seen (Werner König, *Dtv—Atlas Deutsche Sparche*, München: Deutscher Taschenbuch, 2015, S. 63).

<sup>6</sup> Alexander Andrason, *Polish Borrowings in Wymysorys. A Formal Linguistic Analysis of Germano-Slavonic Language Contact in Wilamowice*, PhD Thesis, Reykjavik: University of Iceland, 2021, pp. 3-4; Wolfgang Putschke, 50. Ostmitteldeutsch, in Hans Peter Althaus, Helmut Henne and Herbert Ernst Wiegand, eds., *Lexikon der Germanistischen Linguistik*, Berlin & New York: Max Niemeyer, 1980, S. 474-475; Wicherkiewicz, *The Making of a Language*, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Tymoteusz Król, Analyse der Spracheinstellungen (language attitudes) der BenutzerInnen der wilmesaurischen Sprache in der ersten Dekade des 21. Jh. *Germanistische Werkstatt* 13, 2025, S. 80.

<sup>8</sup> Alexander Andrason and Tymoteusz Król, *A Grammar of Wymysorys*, Durham: Duke University Slavic and East European Language Resource Center, 2016, p. 13; Rinaldo Neels, Language and Identity in Wilamowice: A Complex History of Language Choices and Language Attitudes, in Justyna Olko, Tomasz Wicherkiewicz and Robert Borges, eds., *Integral Strategies for Language Revitalization*, Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press, 2016, p. 116; Wicherkiewicz, *The Making of a Language*, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> Andrason and Król, *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> Neels, Language and Identity in Wilamowice, p. 116; Wicherkiewicz, *The Making of a Language*, pp. 9-11.

## 2. Previous Studies

### 2.1. Descriptions of Pronouns in Wymysorys

The first description was written by Kleczkowski,<sup>11</sup> whose work remains the most well-known among Wymysorys scholars. Although his grammar was written in the early twentieth century, its quality remains notable even today. In his work, the pronoun *der* is described in several variants.<sup>12</sup> However, no detailed explanation is given regarding its usage, including the contexts or conditions under which it is used.

A more recent grammar was written by Alexander Andrason, who has collaborated with Tymoteusz Król since 2010,<sup>13</sup> the only young native speaker of Wymysorys and himself a scholar. Together, they described pronouns as a weak form and presented them as an independent category within the pronominal paradigm. Their grammar is based on recordings and interviews with native speakers conducted during the 21st century. It is designed not only for researchers but also for language learners, making it a valuable contribution to the documentation and revitalization of this endangered language.

Nevertheless, the classification of *der* as an independent weak form has certain limitations. First, the origin of the initial consonant /d/ in *der* remains unclear. Weak forms are expected to be phonologically reduced versions of their corresponding strong forms. The strong second-person plural form in Wymysorys is *jyr*, which does not contain the phoneme /d/.

Moreover, based on my analysis, this form occurs primarily after a complementizer. Although the weak form in the sentence is mostly found in the same syntactic positions as the strong forms, *der* appears to be positionally restricted, whereas *jyr* can occur in a broader range of syntactic contexts. Therefore, the classification of *der* as a weak form remains controversial.

### 2.2. Definition of Weak Forms of Personal Pronouns

Weise (2015),<sup>14</sup> who aimed to clarify the syntactic definition of pronominal forms, defined weak forms as pronouns that appear in the same syntactic positions as their strong

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<sup>11</sup> Adam Kleczkowski, *Dialekt Wilamowic w Zachodniej Galicji: fonetyka i fleksja*, Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1920.

<sup>12</sup> Kleczkowski, *Ibid.*, s. 137.

<sup>13</sup> Andrason and Król, *A Grammar of Wymysorys*; Andrason and Król, *Description of the pronominal system of Modern Vilamovician*.

<sup>14</sup> Weiss, *Pronominalsyntax deutscher Dialekte*.

counterparts. In contrast, clitic and null pronouns are positionally restricted.<sup>15</sup>

Nübling (1992) further distinguished between two types of weak pronouns: simple clitics (*Einfache Klise*) and special clitics (*Spezielle Klise*).<sup>16</sup> Simple clitics are weak forms that closely resemble their corresponding strong forms, both syntactically and phonologically. She also noted that weak forms are generally expected to be phonologically reduced versions of the strong forms.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, a weak form can be defined as a phonologically reduced form that is syntactically interchangeable with its strong counterpart. These definitions are relevant to German dialectology.

### 2.3. Complementizer Agreement in German Dialects

The form *der* examined in this study is also related to the phenomenon of CA,<sup>18</sup> particularly in the second person, as observed in several German dialects.

- (2) a. (*I frog 'me,*) **ob=sd** ned du des mocha kansd.  
 (lit. '(I ask myself,) whether.2SG not you do can.2SG.')
- '(I ask myself,) whether you cannot do this.'
- b. (*I frog 'me,*) **warum=sd** des ned mochs d.  
 (lit. '(I ask myself,) why.2SG this not do.2SG.')
- '(I ask myself,) why you cannot do this.'
- c. *Mia hama, wos=ma hand.*  
 (lit. 'We have.1PL, what.1PL have.1PL.')
- 'We have, what we have.'<sup>19</sup>

In (2a, b), the inflected form *sd* is connected with the complementizers *ob* 'whether'

<sup>15</sup> Weiss, *Ibid.*, S. 123-124.

<sup>16</sup> Nübling, *Klitika im Deutschen: Schriftsprache, Umgangssprache, alemannische Dialekte*, S. 6-7.

<sup>17</sup> Nübling, *Ibid.*, S. 19.

<sup>18</sup> Matthias Fingerhuth and Alexander N. Lenz, Variation and dynamics of "complementizer agreement" in German: Analyses from the Austrian language area. *Linguistic Variation* 21(2), 2021, p. 1; Alexander N. Lenz, Timo Ahlers and Martina Werner, Zur Dynamik bairischer Dialektsyntax - eine Pilotstudie. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 81(1), 2014, S. 10; Oskar Weise, Die sogenannte Flexion der Konjunktionen. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 2, 1907, S. 199; Helmut Weiss, Inflected Complementizers in Continental West Germanic Dialects. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 72, 2005, p. 148.

<sup>19</sup> Weiss, *Ibid.*, p. 148.

and *warum* ‘why,’ respectively. In (2c), *ma* represents first-person plural agreement on the complementizer *wos* ‘what.’

In some dialects, /d/ appears between the complementizer and the clitic personal pronoun:

- (3) a. *ob d’r wollt* (lit. whether you.2PL want) ‘whether you want’  
 b. *weil d’r nischt habt* (lit. because you.2PL not have) ‘because you don’t have’<sup>20</sup>

In the Leipzig dialect, spoken in East Germany, *d’r* corresponds to the second-person plural. Albrecht notes that such forms tend to occur in clause-initial or post-complementizer positions and bear a resemblance to weak forms.<sup>21</sup>

Generally, CA occurs when an independent is used, resulting in double marking, as in (2a, c). However, in Wymysorys and other dialects, forms may appear without an independent pronoun, as illustrated in (3a, b). This makes it difficult to determine whether the element in question represents a true complementizer agreement or has been reanalyzed<sup>22</sup> as a personal pronoun.

### 3. Analysis

#### 3.1. Texts

In this study, both written and audio materials were analyzed. In the written texts, poetic and rhythmic texts (e.g., poems and songs), as well as texts produced by new speakers,<sup>23</sup> were

<sup>20</sup> Karl Albrecht, *Die leipziger Mundart: Grammatik und Wörterbuch der Leipziger Volkssprache zugleich ein Beitrag zur Schilderung der Volkssprache im allgemeinen*, Leipzig: Zentral-Antiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1881, S. 51.

<sup>21</sup> Albrecht, *Ibid.*, S. 51.

<sup>22</sup> *Reanalyze* is derived from the noun *reanalysis*, a term used to describe the process of grammaticalization. Hopper and Traugott define *reanalysis* as follows: *In reanalysis, the hearer understands a form to have a structure and a meaning that are different from those of the speaker, as when [Hamburg] + [er] ‘item (of food) from Hamburg’ is heard as [ham] + [burger]. Sooner or later someone substitutes the word cheese or beef for ham; but this substitution is merely the symptom of a change that has already occurred silently.* (Paul Hopper and Elisabeth Closs Traugott, *Grammaticalization*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 50). In other words, *reanalysis* refers to changes in morphology, meaning, or syntactic construction that arise from a mismatch in interpretation between the speaker and the hearer.

<sup>23</sup> According to Flores and Olko, the term New Speaker refers to “new speakers, who are already fluent in their the colonial/dominant/national language but attempt to recover their mother tongue and use it as a second or even third language. [...] New speakers are very important, often essential, for language revitalization projects.” (José Antonio Flores Farfán and Justyna Olko, 6. Type of Communities and

excluded to ensure consistency. The following texts were analyzed:

Table 1. Written Texts

| Autor                                                                                     | Year      | Content                                                                 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ludwik Młynek <sup>24</sup>                                                               | 1907      | Folk narratives and local stories from Wilamowice and surrounding areas |
| Herman Mojmir <sup>25</sup>                                                               | 1930-1936 | A dictionary of Wymysorys, including numerous example sentences         |
| Tymoteusz Król, Joanna Maryniak and Justyna Majerska-Sznajder (Król et al.) <sup>26</sup> | 2019      | Translation of <i>The Little Prince</i> into Wymysorys                  |

Młynek’s work presents Wilamowicean folklore, while Mojmir’s dictionary includes numerous example sentences, which were also analyzed because of the limited availability of data. Król’s translation provides modern, constructed textual data aimed at revitalization efforts.

In addition, the study includes Wenker Phrases, a set of questionnaires conducted from 1876 to 1887 to document local dialects in German-speaking regions. The second-person plural pronoun appears in various positions in the materials —after the verb, after the complementizer and in sentence-initial position. This allows for an examination of whether its usage varies according to syntactic position and is expected to yield a clearer understanding of the distribution patterns in which the pronoun occurs.

Two versions were examined: the original version (denoted as “O”) and a version transcribed by Kleczkowski (1920) (denoted as “K”), likely based on field interviews he conducted personally. The following sentences contain second-person plural pronouns.

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Speakers in Language Revitalization, in Justyna Olko and Julia Sallabank, eds., *Revitalizing Endangered Languages: A Practical Guide*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021, p. 98).

<sup>24</sup> Ludwik Młynek, *Narzecze wilamowickie*, Tarnów: Nakł. Autora, 1907.

<sup>25</sup> Hermann Mojmir, *Wörterbuch der deutschen Mundart von Wilamowice*, Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1930-1936.

<sup>26</sup> Tymoteusz Król, Joanna Maryniak and Justyna Majerska-Sznajder, *Der Kliny Fjyšt*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2019.

Table 2. Examples of Second-Person Plural Pronouns in the Wenker Phrases

| No. | Sentence                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 27  | <i>Könnt <b>ihr</b> nicht noch ein Augenblickchen auf uns warten, dann gehen wir mit euch.</i><br>(lit. Can you.2PL not still a little moment for us wait, then go we with you)<br>‘Can’t you wait just a little moment for us? Then we will go with you’ |
| 28  | <i><b>Ihr</b> dürft nicht solche Kindereien treiben!</i><br>(lit. You.2PL may not such childish act)<br>‘You must not do such childish things’                                                                                                            |
| 30  | <i>Wieviel Pfund Wurst und wieviel Brod wollt <b>ihr</b> haben?</i><br>(lit. How=many pound sausage and how=much bread want you.2PL have?)<br>‘How many pounds of sausage and how much bread do you want?’                                                |
| 31  | <i>Ich verstehe euch nicht, <b>ihr</b> müßt ein bißchen lauter sprechen.</i><br>(lit. I understand you.2PL.ACC not. you.2PL must a little louder speak.)<br>‘I don’t understand you, you must speak a little louder’                                      |
| 32  | <i>Habt <b>ihr</b> kein Stückchen weiße Seife für mich auf meinem Tische gefunden?</i><br>(lit. Have you.2PL no piece white soap for me on my table found?)<br>‘Haven’t you found a little piece of white soap for me on my table?’                       |

These five sentences illustrate the syntactic environments in which the second-person plural pronoun *ihr* appears in different positions. This variation provides a basis for analyzing which morphological form—strong, weak, or clitic—is selected in Wymysorys.

In sentences 27, 30, and 32, the pronoun follows the verb (i.e., occurs in postverbal position), which cross-linguistically tends to favor weak or clitic forms. Conversely, in sentences 28 and 31, the pronoun appears in preverbal position, where strong forms are typically preferred. This syntactic distribution enables a comparison of how Wymysorys treats subject pronouns with respect to both their positional patterns and the selection of morphological forms.

Regarding the audio materials, four recordings were examined:

Table 3. Audio Materials

| Title of project | Recording time |
|------------------|----------------|
|------------------|----------------|

|                                                                                 |         |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| The Center for Research and Practice in Cultural Continuity (CRP) <sup>27</sup> | 4:50:36 |
| Dziedzictwo językowe Rzeczypospolitej (DJR) <sup>28</sup>                       | 1:17:23 |
| Ynzer śpröh – Our language (YS) <sup>29</sup>                                   | 0:45:45 |
| Król (2023) <sup>30</sup>                                                       | 3:07:26 |

These recordings, mostly collected after 2000, feature native speakers (primarily Król) and include topics such as local history and personal experiences.

### 3.2. Results

The findings from the written materials are summarized as follows. In Table 4, the values under “Examples” indicate the number of occurrences of *der* (left of the slash) relative to the total instances of second-person plural pronouns containing *der* (right of the slash). Values in parentheses denote the number of occurrences in which the clitic form was attested within that total.

Table 4. Pronoun Distribution in Written Materials

| Autor            | Examples   | Position                            |            |         |
|------------------|------------|-------------------------------------|------------|---------|
|                  |            | After Conjunction, Relative pronoun | After Verb | Initial |
| Młynek (1907)    | 7/22 (7)   | 7/8                                 | 0/7 (7)    | 0       |
| Mojmir (1933-36) | 1/11 (3)   | 1/4                                 | 0/3 (3)    | 0/3     |
| Król (2021)      | 10/42 (10) | 8/13                                | 0/13 (10)  | 2/6     |

<sup>27</sup> Tymoteusz Król, Bartłomiej Chromik, Agnieszka Hamann, Michał Majerski, Justyna Majerska-Sznajder, Michał Smolana, John Sullivan, Rafał Sznajder, Paweł Szutow, Aleksandra Nowak, Małgorzata Zejma, *Ufnama fu Wymysoü / Recordings from Wilamowice / Nagrania z Wilamowic*, 2020 [www.culturalcontinuity.al.uw.edu.pl] (Retrieved May 31, 2025).

<sup>28</sup> Dziedzictwo językowe Rzeczypospolitej [https://innet.web.amu.edu.pl/language/wilamowski/] (Retrieved May 31, 2025).

<sup>29</sup> Bartłomiej Chromik, Tymoteusz Król, John Sullivan, Jacek Tomaszewski and Joanna Maryniak, *Ynzer śpröh – Our language* [http://ynzer-sproh.al.uw.edu.pl] (Retrieved May 31, 2025).

<sup>30</sup> Tymoteusz Król, *Wymysoü ej à śejny, kliny śtot: Gyśihta fu Wymysiöejyn yr wymysiöeryśa śpröh. Wilamowice to piękne, małe miasto: Wilamowskojęzyczne opowieści Wilamowian*, Wrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, 2023.

Most instances of *der* occur immediately after conjunctions such as *do* ‘that’ and *wen* ‘when.’ The exceptions are two sentence-initial position in Król (2021), which are relatively rare. Additionally, the clitic form *-er* appears in postverbal position (e.g., *hot=er* ‘have=you’)—10 times in Król, 3 times in Mojmir, and 7 times in Młynek.

(4) a. ***Der*** *hot à fājna hūt* . (lit. you.2PL have a cool hut.) ‘You have a cool hut.’<sup>31</sup>

b. – ***Jyr*** *zājt ny wi māj Ruz, der zājt ju nist* [...]

(lit. ‘You.2PL are not like my rose, you.2PL are yes nothing [...]’)

‘You are not like my rose, you are nothing [...]’.<sup>32</sup>

c. *Hyjtuch ana gat Obacht, do der ny kriegt mytum Bola!*“

(lit. ‘Listen=you.2PL.ACC and get attention, that you not get with=a board’)

‘Listen carefully that you will not get any board.’<sup>33</sup>

Overall, the *der* form appeared relatively often in the written data, with a strong tendency to occur immediately after conjunctions, as illustrated in (4c). In contrast, *-er* never competes with *der* or *jyr* and occurs exclusively in the postverbal position, indicating a strict syntactic constraint on its placement.

Furthermore, a comparison of forms reveals that *der* and the strong form *jyr* can occur after conjunctions. However, *der* is far more frequent in this position, suggesting that it may be favored in syntactically predictable contexts. In contrast, in sentence-initial position, only *jyr* is regularly found, while *der* appears only marginally. These patterns suggest that *der* and *jyr* are partially complementary.

Next, we will present the Wenker Phrases:

Table 5. Pronoun Distribution in Wenker Phrases

| Title | Examples | Position                                 |            |         |
|-------|----------|------------------------------------------|------------|---------|
|       |          | After Conjunction /<br>Relative pronouns | After Verb | Initial |

<sup>31</sup> Król et al., *Der Klíny Fjyšt*, s. 44.

<sup>32</sup> Król et al., *Ibid.*, s. 72.

<sup>33</sup> Młynek, *Narzecze wilamowickie*, s. 14.

|   |         |   |         |     |
|---|---------|---|---------|-----|
| O | 0/5     | - | 0/3     | 0/2 |
| K | 1/5 (3) | - | 0/3 (3) | 1/2 |

In the K-version, *der* appears once in sentence-initial position (No. 31 in Table 6), which contrasts with the overall trend observed in written texts, where such positioning is rare. In the O-version, by contrast, *jyr* is consistently used instead of *der*, suggesting a more conservative or standardized form.

Table 6. Wenker Phrases Containing Second-Person Plural Pronouns

| No. | Text   | Sentence <sup>34</sup>                                                                                                                                                                            |
|-----|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 27  | O      | <i>Kynt <b>jyr</b> ny nö än öügablyk ufyns hiöera, wjyr wada öü mytgejn.</i><br>(lit. can you.2PL not still a little moment for us wait, we will too go)                                          |
|     | K      | <i>Kynt<u>er</u> nö ny ä wäjlihlä ufyns hiöera, nöhta gejwer myt öüh.</i><br>(lit. can=you.2PL still not a little moment for us wait, then go=we with you)                                        |
|     | trans. | ‘Can you wait just a little moment for us? Then we will go with you’                                                                                                                              |
| 28  | O      | <i><b>Jyr</b> zult zyta duhyta ny triöen.</i><br>(lit. You.2PL should such stupid not act)                                                                                                        |
|     | K      | <i><b>Jyr</b> djyft ä zyty kynderäj ny triöen / <b>Jyr</b> djyft ny gejn yn kynderšüja rym.</i><br>(lit. you.2PL should a such childish not act / you.2PL should not go to=the kindergarden PTCL) |
|     | trans. | ‘You must not act so childish’                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 30  | O      | <i>Wiful funt wüšt än wiful brut wyt <b>jyr</b> hon?</i><br>(lit. how=much pound sausage and how=much bred will you.2PL have)                                                                     |
|     | K      | <i>Wiful funt brötwjyšt än wiful brut wyt<u>er</u> hon?</i><br>(lit. how-much pound of bratwurst and how-much bred will=you.2PL have)                                                             |
|     | trans. | ‘How much sausage and bread do you want?’                                                                                                                                                         |
| 31  | O      | <i>Yh ferštej öü ny, <b>jyr</b> must ä bysla lauter kuza.</i><br>(lit. I understand also not, you.2PL must a little louder speak)                                                                 |

<sup>34</sup> In this table, the original sentences have been transcribed by the author using the modern writing system.

|    |        |                                                                                                                                                                      |
|----|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|    | K      | <i>H'ferštej'üh ny, <b>der</b> must à mikjela gliöesnikjer</i> <sup>35</sup> <i>kuza.</i><br>(lit. I=understand=you.2PL.ACC not, you.2PL must a little louder speak) |
|    | trans. | ‘I don’t understand you. You must speak a little louder’                                                                                                             |
| 32 | O      | <i>Hot <b>jyr</b> kà štyk(ła) wàjsa zaf ffyr myjh uf mem tejs gyfunda?</i><br>(lit. have.PF you.2PL no piece white soap for me on my table found.)                   |
|    | K      | <i>Hot<b>er</b> kà štykla wàjsa zaf ym tejs ffyr myjh ny gyfunda?</i><br>(lit. have=you.2PL no piece white soap around table for me not found)                       |
|    | trans. | ‘Didn’t you find a little piece of white soap for me on the table?’                                                                                                  |

In the K-version of sentence 31, *der* appears sentence-initially, while all other examples employ either *jyr* or the clitic *-er* form. This single instance of *der* is notable because it occurs at the beginning of the sentence, but not necessarily at the beginning of the clause. Although it initially appears in a sentence, its position within the clause is medial—between other elements—thus offering a syntactic environment similar to the common post-conjunctive position observed in other sources.

This suggests that the use of *der* here may be motivated by syntactic structure rather than the absolute linear sentence position. In other words, *der* can appear not only after subordinating conjunctions, but also in other clause-medial positions that are not at the true beginning of the utterance. This finding further supports the idea that *der* tends to occur in structurally embedded or non-topicalized positions, whereas *jyr* appears in clause-initial positions.

Lastly, results from audio data are presented:

Table 7. Pronoun Distribution in Audio Materials

| Title | Examples  | Position                                                           |               |         |
|-------|-----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|---------|
|       |           | After Conjunction /<br>Relative pronoun /<br>Interrogative pronoun | After<br>Verb | Initial |
| CRP   | 7/78 (46) | 7/18                                                               | 0/46          | 0/7     |

<sup>35</sup> This word has not been observed in other texts; however, it means *louder* and is borrowed from the polish word *głośny* ‘loud.’

|                |           |      |              |     |
|----------------|-----------|------|--------------|-----|
|                |           |      | (46)         |     |
| Król<br>(2023) | 1/6 (2)   | 1/2  | 0/2 (2)      | 0/1 |
| DJR            | 4/27 (14) | 4/7  | 0/15<br>(14) | 0/1 |
| YS             | 6/27 (11) | 6/10 | 0/11<br>(11) | -   |

In the audio data, *der* appears after relative or interrogative pronouns, which function as complementizers by introducing subordinate clauses. This distribution pattern closely mirrors the tendencies observed in the written texts.

Crucially, *der* never occurs in sentence-initial position in the audio data; in such cases, only the strong form *jyr* is attested. Additionally, the clitic form *-er* was found exclusively in postverbal position (e.g. after verbs), without overlapping with either *der* or *jyr*. This supports the interpretation that *der* occupies clause medial positions, particularly following functional elements (5a-c), whereas *jyr* is restricted to clause-initial environments (5d).

- (5) a. *Āna jyr ziöet mer; do **der** wat fu ānder denkja, bo dos wiöe [...]*<sup>36</sup>

(lit. and you.2PL said me, that you.2PL will about the other think, because it was [...])

‘You told me you would be thinking about the other, because it was [...]

- b. *Yh zuld nō oloüta ān fren fyrym **der** ny gejt dos jür.*<sup>37</sup>

(lit. I would still call and ask, why you.2PL not go this year)

‘I was going to call and ask, why you are not coming this year.’

- c. *Ā wen **der** kuzt myter; do wi kuzter? Wymysiöerys?*<sup>38</sup>

(lit. And when you.2PL talk with her, then how talk you.2PL? Wymysorys?)

‘And when you talk to her, what language do you speak? Wymysorys?’

- d. ***Jyr** hot fylājht dos tidlabüh, ny?*<sup>39</sup>

(lit. You.2PL have probably this song-book, not?)

<sup>36</sup> CRP: HRBL\_IMDA\_2010.01.30

<sup>37</sup> CRP: HRBL\_IMDA\_2010.01.30

<sup>38</sup> According to (5c) and (5d), detailed information about the recording dates is not available. Therefore, only the project title and speaker abbreviation are provided. CRP: AJHFJ\_TK.

<sup>39</sup> DJR: JG\_2012

‘You probably have this song-book, don’t you?’

Taken together, the audio evidence reinforces the syntactic division of labor among the three forms: *der* is structurally integrated after complementizer elements such as *wen* ‘when,’ *do* ‘that,’ *-er* attaches post-verbally, and *jyr* serves as the marked clause-initial pronoun. These patterns are consistent across both written and spoken data.

#### 4. Rethinking the Pronoun *der*

To summarize, both the written and audio data reveal a consistent distributional pattern: the pronoun *der* frequently appears immediately after complementizers such as subordinating conjunctions, relative pronouns, and interrogative pronouns. Although sentence-initial occurrences do exist, they are relatively rare. This restricted distribution suggests that *der* does not behave as a clitic pronoun, which typically exhibit greater syntactic flexibility.

Although *der* occasionally appears at the beginning of sentences, its predominant position follows that of complementizers, especially conjunctions. Taking this tendency into account, *der* may have originated as an inflectional element on the complementizer in a process similar to CA in some German dialects.<sup>40</sup> Over time, such a construction could have been reanalyzed as a separate pronominal form. Although similar forms have been attested in other German dialects, a detailed account of their distribution and syntactic roles remains limited. The Wymysorys case offers a unique perspective on this phenomenon.

Moreover, the classification of *der* as a weak form is problematic. The weak form is generally understood to be phonologically predictable from the strong form (e.g., *isn’t* from *is not* in English). However, the strong second-person plural pronoun in Wymysorys is *jyr*, which does not explain the presence of the initial /d/ in *der*. The clitic form *-er*, in contrast, poses no such issues.

In this analysis, *der* occurs almost exclusively in the post-complementizer position and does not exhibit the syntactic flexibility typically expected of weak pronouns. Therefore, rather than being classified as a weak form, *der* is more accurately described as intermediate stage—an inflectional or unique grammatical form within the Wymysorys pronominal system.

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<sup>40</sup> Weiss, *Pronominalsyntax deutscher Dialekte*, S. 162.

## 5. Conclusion

This study re-evaluated the classification of the second-person plural pronoun *der* in Wymysorys. Based on this analysis, it is argued that *der* should be considered either as an intermediate stage—either as an inflectional form or as a unique element—for two main reasons: (1) its distribution is largely limited to post-complementizer positions, and (2) it cannot be phonologically derived from the strong form *jyr*.

Although sentence-initial position of *der* occur, they are relatively rare, making interpretations of *der* as a weak pronoun unlikely. Instead, *der* may be a reanalyzed complementizer inflection, consistent with CA patterns found in second-person forms in certain German dialects. However, this study does not explain why such reanalyzed forms are absent in the first or third person. Addressing this question could yield further insights into the typology and diachronic development of the complementizer agreement phenomenon in Germanic languages.

(しもむら きょうた)

## ヴィラモヴィアン語における 2 人称複数代名詞 *der* の再検討

下村 恭太

本稿では、ポーランドのヴィラモヴィッツェで話される危機言語のヴィラモヴィアン語における 2 人称複数代名詞の弱形 *der* の使用を検討する。音声資料および書記資料を分析した結果、*der* は主に接続詞・関係代名詞・疑問詞の直後に生起し、まれに文頭にも生起することが確認された。このような使用傾向は、*der* を弱形の代名詞として分類することに疑問を投げかける。というのも、この形態は強形 *jyr* から音韻的に想起できないことや、弱形に典型的な統語的柔軟性も示さないからである。その代わりに、本稿は *der* が補文標識の屈折形に由来し、後に独立した代名詞として再分析された可能性を提案する。この発達過程は、他のドイツ語諸方言において観察される補文標識の一致 (Complementizer Agreement, CA)、すなわち補文標識が人称・数に応じて動詞のように活用する現象に類似している。これに対し、2 人称複数代名詞の接語形 *-er* は動詞の直後においてのみ生起する一方、強形 *jyr* は節の先頭に出現する。これらの結果は、3 つの形態が統語的に異なる特徴を示唆するとともに、ドイツ語諸方言における CA および代名詞体系のより広い類型論的理

解に寄与するものである。さらに、本稿は CA における人称間の非対称性、特にヴィラモヴィアン語において 1、3 人称ではこのような類似した形態が存在しない理由について、今後の調査の必要性を指摘する。