Gary H. Toops   Modern and Classical Languages and Literatures

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Wichita State University

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THE contemporary Upper Sorbian (hereafter, USo) language exhibits a number of morphosyntactic features which, with the possible exception of Lower Sorbian (LSo), it shares with no other Slavic language. In the available lexicographic materials and linguistic literature, several of these features either have not been described at all or have only been described in vague terms. They include: a) conflation in the derivation of possessive forms of feminine nouns (both proper and common) and that of married women's surnames, as evidenced by their occurrence in certain serial possessive constructions; b) the apparent conflation or syncretism of the dative and the accusative short forms of the USo reflexive pronoun (*sej*, *so*); c) the use of *žadyn* 'no, none' as an indefinite pronoun or adjective signifying 'someone/anyone, some'; d) variability in the simple negation of compound verb tenses; and e) the use of forms of the conditional/subjunctive mood to denote a future-in-the-past in the sentential complements of past-tense performatives (*verba dicendi* and *verba cogitandi*).

In a previous article I examined these features from the perspective of potential external influences resulting from USo's historical contact with German (Ger) and Czech (Cz).[1] While concluding that the

Gary H. Toops is Professor of Russian and Linguistics in the Department of Modern and Classical Languages and Literatures at Wichita State University, Wichita, Kansas.

[1] Gary H. Toops, 'A Contrastive Perspective on Several Morphosyntactic Features of Upper Sorbian', *Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue canadienne des slavistes*, 48, 2006, 1–2, pp. 137–55 (hereafter, 'Contrastive Perspective').

probability of contact-induced influence on the relevant morphosyn-
tactic features is low, I noted nonetheless the need for additional
research in the form of fieldwork with native speakers of USo in order
to determine the prevalence or communicative status of these features
in actual usage.[2] Accordingly, I later formulated a written question-
naire relating to language use and distributed copies of it among twelve
educated native speakers of USo, all of whom, despite modest
differences in their individual dialects, possessed knowledge of the USo
literary language.[3] All informants were, of course, bilingual, having
a native command of both USo and Ger. Below I summarize my
previous descriptions of the aforementioned morphosyntactic features
and present pertinent data generated by the completed questionnaire.

Possessive constructions and possessive adjectives formed from feminine substantives

Like other Slavic languages, USo forms possessive adjectives from both
common nouns and proper names, for example: *nanowy* (< *nan* 'father')
přećel 'father's friend', *wowcyne* (< *wowka*) *awto* 'grandmother's car',
Sonina (< *Sonja*) *stwa* 'Sonja's room'.[4] However, unlike some other
Slavic languages, literary USo also admits the formation of doubly
possessive constructions of the type 'our father's friend' or 'my grand-
mother's car': *našeho nanowy přećel*, *mojeje wowcyne awto*. The 'inner'
possessive relationship thus consists of a possessive pronoun in the
genitive case modifying the possessive adjective, which in turn exhibits
both gender and case agreement with the substantive in the 'outer'
possessive relation:

'our father's friend'   'my grandmother's car'
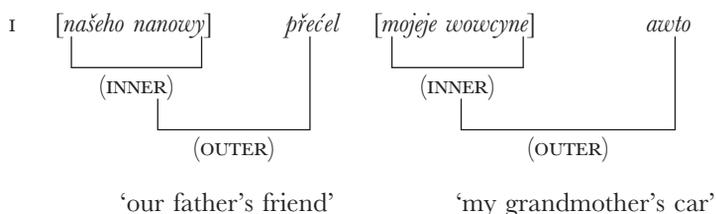
The colloquial language of some Upper Sorbs is known to go yet
one step further by allowing the inner possessive relation to consist
of two possessive adjectives, thereby creating what I term 'serial

[2] Ibid., p. 154.
[3] The average age of the respondents was approximately forty years, the oldest having
been born in 1933, the youngest in 1980. Their native villages/home towns included
Budestecy (Großpostwitz, Kreis Bautzen), Budyšin (Bautzen), Chelno (Cölln, Kreis
Bautzen), Kózło (Kosel, Kreis Niesky), Miłočicy (Miltitz, Kreis Kamenz), Pančicy-Kukow
(Panschwitz-Kuckau, Kreis Kamenz) and Róžant (Rosenthal, Kreis Kamenz); one Sorbian
respondent, with relatives in Upper Lusatia, was born and raised in Leipzig.
[4] These possessive constructions are analogous, respectively, to Cz *tatínkův přítel*, Russian
(Ru) *papin drug*; Cz *babiččino auto*, Ru *babuškina mašina*; and Cz *Sonin pokoj*, Ru *Sonina komnata*.

possessive constructions' of the type 'Sonja's father's friend' or 'John's grandmother's car', cf.:[5]

   2   [*Sonineho nanowy*] *přećel*   [*Janoweje wowcyne*] *awto*

An added complication may arise, moreover, when in colloquial USo the derivation of possessive adjectives from feminine substantives is conflated with the genitive forms of married women's surnames. The vast majority of married women's surnames are themselves feminine possessive adjectives derived from a husband's surname; given their (that is, the married women's surnames') formal status as possessive adjectives, no further possessive derivation is possible. Possession is therefore expressed by preposing their genitive-case forms to the possessed object; compare 'Mr Šewc's *x*' with 'Mrs Šewc's *x*' in the following table:

Table 1. '*Mr Šewc's* x' *vs.* '*Mrs Šewc's* x'

knjeza Šewcowy syn 'Mr Šewc's son'	*knjeza Šewcowa dźowka* 'Mr Šewc's daughter'	*knjeza Šewcowe dźěći* 'Mr Šewc's children'
knjenje Šewcoweje syn 'Mrs Šewc's son'	*knjenje Šewcoweje dźowka* 'Mrs Šewc's daughter'	*knjenje Šewcoweje dźěći* 'Mrs Šewc's children'

    As we see in the second row of Table 1, 'Mrs Šewc's' is expressed as a preposed invariable genitive-case form of the feminine possessive adjective *Šewcowa* that serves as the surname of Mr Šewc's wife.[6] This means of expressing possession is occasionally generalized in the

   [5] In the general linguistic literature, USo possessive constructions have been discussed in Greville G. Corbett, 'The Morphology/Syntax Interface: Evidence from Possessive Adjectives in Slavonic', *Language*, 63, 1987, 2, pp. 299–345, and Rudolf Růžička, 'Puzzling Nominal Phrases in Upper Sorbian and Slovak', *Lětopis*, 44, 1997, 1, pp. 223–31. The term 'serial possessive constructions' is not to be confused with the term 'multi-word possessors' used by Corbett, p. 333, who in any case does not discuss USo constructions in which the inner possessive relation is expressed by two possessive adjectives rather than by a single possessive adjective modified by a possessive pronoun (Corbett, p. 303, does note, however, that '[t]he attributive modifier may itself be a P[ossessive] A[djective]'). Růžička, p. 225, draws attention to the grammaticality of USo *mojeho bratrowe dźěći* 'my brother's children' in contrast to the uncertain (un)grammaticality of *Janowe* [*sic*] *bratrowe dźěći* 'Jan's brother's children'. (Compared to the more felicitous *Janoweho bratrowe dźěći* 'idem', Růžička's construction exhibits what Corbett, pp. 303–04, calls 'attraction' [that is, the possessor in the inner relation 'attracts' the grammatical ending proper to the possessor in the outer relation].) Possessive constructions of the type *mojeho bratrowe dźěći* are described in detail in Helmut Faska, *Pućnik po hornjoserbšćinje*, Bautzen, 2003, pp. 37–38 (hereafter, *Pućnik*).
   [6] The paradigm of 'Mrs Šewc' is as follows: *knjeni Šewcowa* (nominative case), *knjenje Šewcoweje* (genitive), *knjeni Šewcowej* (dative and prepositional), *knjeni Šewcowu* (accusative), and *z knjenju Šewcowu* (instrumental). Note that in the formation of multi-word masculine possessives, only the final noun becomes a possessive adjective, the preceding nouns (for example, title and given name) occurring as substantives in the genitive case: *knjez Šćěpan Šewc* 'Mr Šćěpan Šewc' → *knjeza Šćěpana Šewcowy* (*dom*) 'Mr Šćěpan Šewc's (house)'.

colloquial language and extended to *all* feminine substantives, so that, as Schuster-Šewc points out, 'incorrect [feminine possessive] forms are sometimes mistakenly derived'.[7] These forms are contrasted in Table 2:

Table 2. *Variable derivation of possessive forms of USo feminine nouns*

Literary USo	Non-literary USo	
wowcyna stwa	*wowcyneje stwa*	'grandmother's room'
holčcyny nan	*holčcyneje nan*	'the little girl's father'
Hancyna klanka	*Hancyneje klanka*	'little Anna's doll'

Fasske/Michalk cite the construction in example 3, which they paraphrase as 'prawo, kiž ma Hilžiny muž' 'the right that Hilža's husband has':[8]

3 *Hilžineje mužowe prawo*   (= *prawo, kiž ma Hilžiny muž*)
   'Hilža's husband's right'   (= the right that Hilža's husband has)[9]

Although Fasske/Michalk offer no analysis of this serial possessive construction, I have previously concluded that it is in keeping with the colloquial nature of the construction as a whole that the colloquially marked possessive adjective *Hilžineje* occurs here in place of *Hilžineho*, the form prescribed by the norms of the literary language.[10] When asked to judge the acceptability of this construction, however, seven out of ten native speakers of USo who completed the questionnaire rejected it outright; moreover, these same respondents also rejected the slightly less colloquial adpositional genitive construction as long as the form *Hilžineje* occurred in it.[11] These are shown in example 4:

4 ?*Hilžineje mužowe prawo*, *prawo Hilžineje muža*.

Both were judged to be 'absolut falsch' (absolutely wrong) as translations of Ger *das Recht von Elses Ehemann*[12] by all respondents with the sole exception of one who considered the formulation *Hilžineje mužowe prawo* to be 'imaginable', albeit 'doubtful'.[13] In order of preference,

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[7] H. Schuster-Šewc, *Grammar of the Upper Sorbian Language: Phonology and Morphology*, trans. Gary H. Toops, Munich and Newcastle, 1996 (hereafter, *Grammar*), p. 104.

[8] Helmut Fasske, *Grammatik der obersorbischen Schriftsprache der Gegenwart. Morphologie*, asst. Siegfried Michalk, Bautzen, 1981 (hereafter, *Grammatik*), p. 383.

[9] For example, the right to strike, the right to demonstrate, and the like.

[10] Toops, 'Contrastive Perspective', p. 142.

[11] Individual respondents did not necessarily provide feedback on every item of the questionnaire.

[12] The USo name *Hilža* (Ger *Else*) is a hypocoristic form of *Hilžbjeta* 'Elizabeth'.

[13] Questionnaire respondents were instructed in Ger to rate the following five syntagms as either 'absolutely correct', 'imaginable but doubtful or unclear/ambiguous', and 'absolutely wrong': *Hilžineje mužowe prawo*, *prawo Hilžineje muža*, *prawo muža Hilže*, *Hilžineho mužowe prawo*, and *prawo Hilžineho muža*.

the following synonymous formulations were found acceptable without reservation by one or more respondents:[14]

    5a   *Prawo Hilžineho*_{POSS} *muža*_{GEN}   (fully acceptable to nine out of nine respondents)

5a   *Prawo Hilžineho*$_{\text{POSS}}$ *muža*$_{\text{GEN}}$ (fully acceptable to nine out of nine respondents)

5b   *Prawo muža*$_{\text{GEN}}$ *Hilže*$_{\text{GEN}}$ (fully acceptable to three out of nine respondents)

5c   *Hilžineho*$_{\text{POSS}}$ *mužowe*$_{\text{POSS}}$ *prawo*   (fully acceptable to one out of nine respondents)

Although not fully acceptable to most respondents, the above-cited serial possessive 5c *Hilžineho mužowe prawo* was nevertheless considered by seven out of nine respondents to be 'imaginable', albeit of doubtful grammaticality. Overall, these facts suggest that a) possessive constructions are indeed productive in literary USo, but that b) *serial* possessive constructions (in which the first constituent of the inner possessive relation is itself a possessive adjective) are viewed by some native speakers of USo today as being substandard (that is, non-literary); and that c) conflating possessive adjectives derived from feminine substantives and the genitive case of married women's surnames is regarded by even more USo-speakers as a substandard phenomenon, irrespective of the occurrence of such possessive adjectives in any possessive construction, serial or non-serial.[15]

Apparent conflation of the dative and accusative reflexive pronouns

Unlike LSo and the so-called transitional dialects, USo proper exhibits distinct forms of the dative and the accusative reflexive pronoun. In this respect, USo is more like Cz than the rest of Sorbian (or even Ger)[16]: whereas Cz exhibits the dative reflexive *si* and the accusative reflexive *se*, USo exhibits dative *sej* and accusative *so*:

6   *Naš susod je sej*$_{\text{DAT}}$ *nowe awto kupił.*   *Nan so*$_{\text{ACC}}$ *truha.*
    'Our neighbour bought himself a new car.'   'Father is shaving (himself).'

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[14] Possessive adjective forms are marked with a subscript POSS; genitive-case forms are marked with a subscript GEN.

[15] With regard to masculine possessors, informants were also asked to express Ger *die Kinder von Johanns Bruder* 'John's brother's children' in USo. The construction formally analogous to *prawo Hilžineho muža*, viz. *Dźěći Janoweho bratra*, was rated best by only eight out of ten respondents. The two respondents who rated *Dźěći Janoweho bratra* 'imaginable but doubtful' both preferred the formulation *Dźěći bratra Jana* (literally 'the children of the brother of John'). The serial possessive construction *Janoweho bratrowe dźěći* was regarded as fully acceptable by only one informant (born in Budyšin in 1964). It is perhaps telling that Faska (*Pućnik*, pp. 37–38) includes no serial possessive constructions at all in his discussion of possessive constructions in general (see note 5, above).

[16] The Ger third-person reflexive pronoun *sich*, like *se* in LSo and the transitional Sorbian dialects (see Helmut Fasske [comp.], *Serbski rěčny atlas / Sorbischer Sprachatlas*, 15 vols, Bautzen, 1988, 12 [*Morphologie. Die Flexion der Adjektive, Pronomen und Verben*] [hereafter, *Rěčny atlas*], pp. 102–05), exhibits case syncretism, being both a dative- and an accusative-case form.

The usage of contemporary USo speakers reveals not so much an actual *conflation* of the dative and accusative forms of the reflexive pronoun — both forms in fact remain distinct — as a reanalysis of the syntactic relations that obtain in two types of constructions. The first type involves several commonly used verbs of dressing and undressing as well as one verb signifying 'to learn; to get used (to)':

Table 3. *Accusative reflexive ('so') verbs that govern accusative direct objects*[17]

(z)hotować so 'to dress oneself (in sthg.)'	*woblěkać/woblec so* 'to put (clothing) on'
nawučić so 'to learn, get used to'	*wobu(wa)ć so* 'to put (shoes/socks) on'
slěkać/slec so 'to take (clothing) off'	*zu(wa)ć so* 'to take (shoes/socks) off'

These verbs are atypical in that they occur with an accusative reflexive pronoun while governing an accusative direct object.[18] The accusative direct object is normally some article of clothing:[19]

7a *Njedźelu so*$_{\text{ACC}}$ *woblekaše kabat*$_{\text{ACC}}$ *z domjaceho sukna.*
    'On Sunday he would put on a jacket of homespun cloth.'
7b *Liza so*$_{\text{ACC}}$ *nowu drastu*$_{\text{ACC}}$ *zwobleka.*
    'Liza put on the new clothing.'
7c *Zhotuj so*$_{\text{ACC}}$ *čornu drastu*$_{\text{ACC}}$.
    'Put on black clothing.'
7d *Wodźej so*$_{\text{ACC}}$ *tu płachćičku*$_{\text{ACC}}$.
    'Cover yourself with this kerchief.'

I have hypothesized elsewhere that the accusative direct objects in these constructions were originally the objects of the preposition *w(e)*.[20] This preposition survives today with inessive meaning and governs the locative case; however, we know from a number of fixed expressions in USo that this preposition formerly also governed the accusative case

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[17] The verbs are cited in aspectual pairs, imperfective/perfective. Perfectivizing prefixes and imperfectivizing suffixes are provided in parentheses, thus: *(z)hotować = hotować/ zhotować, zu(wa)ć = zuwać/zuć.*

[18] Fasske/Michalk, *Grammatik*, p. 460, go so far as to state that, apart from this small set of verbs and a few synonyms, 'there is no reflexive [*so*] verb in USo that governs the accusative case' (translation mine — GHT). Although *so* is more accurately viewed as an unbound voice morpheme, in conjunction with the set of verbs under discussion here, *so* does in fact yield truly reflexive meaning (that is, 'dress oneself' as opposed to 'dress [someone]').

[19] Accusative-case forms are identified by the subscript ACC. Sentences 7a and 7b are drawn from an USo translation of Aleksandr Puškin's Belkin Tale 'Baryšnja-Krest´janka' ('The Lady Peasant') titled 'Zemjanka-burowka' in A. S. Puškin, *Nowele a powědančka*, ed. Jurij Brycka, Budyšin, 1958, pp. 61–82 (hereafter, *Nowele*). Sentences 7c and 7d are drawn from Georg Liebsch (Jurij Libš), *Syntax der wendischen Sprache in der Oberlausitz*, Bautzen, 1884, repr. as *Syntax der sorbischen Sprache in der Oberlausitz* with foreword by H. Schuster-Šewc, Bautzen, 1981 (hereafter, *Syntax*), p. 120.

[20] Toops, 'Contrastive Perspective', p. 145.

and thereby expressed allative meaning, just as its Russian (Ru) cognate
v(o) still does today. Since the USo preposition is a bilabial glide that
often remains phonetically unrealized in everyday speech, it has also
graphically disappeared from a variety of contexts.[21] A sentence like
7b, above, for example, would have accordingly been derived from
sentence 7b´:

    7b´ **Liza so$_{\text{ACC}}$ w nowu drastu$_{\text{ACC}}$ zwobleka. (> Liza so$_{\text{ACC}}$ nowu drastu$_{\text{ACC}}$*
        zwobleka.)

Indeed, if we compare what I assume to be the original USo construc-
tion with its direct translation in contemporary Ru and Cz, we find
precisely the same syntax:

    8 USo *woblec/woblěkać so něšto* < **woblec/woblěkać so w něšto*
      cf. Ru *ode(va)t´sja vo čto*, Cz *obléct/oblékat se do čeho* 'to dress oneself in
      something'[22]

Although the so-called 'double-accusative' constructions (that is,
prepositionless constructions with the accusative reflexive pronoun *so*
and an accusative direct object) have been described in USo grammars
since the nineteenth century,[23] exactly half of the USo respondents to
my questionnaire consistently diverged from them by selecting the
dative reflexive pronoun *sej* in lieu of accusative *so*, thus producing
sentences that are syntactically parallel to their direct Ger translations,
compare:[24]

    9 Ger: *Lisa zog sich$_{\text{DAT}}$ die neue Kleidung$_{\text{ACC}}$ an.*
      USo: *Liza sej$_{\text{DAT}}$ nowu drastu$_{\text{ACC}}$ zwobleka.*
            'Liza put on the new clothing.'

This phenomenon not only testifies to the modern-day influence of
Ger on USo syntax, but also dispels any notion of case syncretism or
conflation with respect to the USo reflexive pronoun. Although the Ger
third-person reflexive *sich* is itself a syncretic dative/accusative case
form, USo speakers continue to distinguish between dative *sej* and

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[21] Consider *inter alia* the USo expression *Słóńčko boži domčk dźe* (literally) 'The sun is going
(to) God's house' (that is, 'the sun is setting') derived from *Słóńčko w boži domčk dźe*. See
Schuster-Šewc, *Grammar*, pp. 67–68 and 223. Gerald Stone, 'Sorbian Interference in the
German of Lusatia: Evidence from the Archives of the *Deutscher Sprachatlas*', *Germano-Slavica*,
6, 1989, 3 (hereafter, 'Interference'), p. 144, states that '[t]hough written in the conven-
tional orthography, the preposition *w* "in" is never pronounced'. However, various
transcripts of Upper Sorbs engaged in free narration (together with phonetic transcriptions
thereof) reveal that this preposition is phonetically realized in a number of ways, including
[u̯] [u̯ɛ] and [u̯ɔ]: see *inter alia*, *Studien zur sprachlichen Interferenz. I. Deutsch-sorbische Dialekttexte
aus Nochten, Kreis Weißwasser*, ed. Siegfried Michalk and Helmut Protze, Bautzen, 1967,
pp. 139–45 (*we štwórtym kwartalu* 'im 4. Quartal', *wo korčmje* 'in der Schänke', *wo bróžni*
'in der Scheune' vs. *w starych časach* ['starix 'č'asax] 'in alter Zeit', all produced by the same
speaker).
[22] Toops, 'Contrastive Perspective', p. 145.
[23] See Liebsch, *Syntax*, pp. 119–20.
[24] Dative case forms are identified by the subscript DAT.

accusative *so*. Only one respondent (born in Róžant in 1978) consistently selected accusative *so* in sentences 7a through 7d, above; the remaining respondents either vacillated between *sej* and *so* from one sentence to another, or, in choosing accusative *so*, sought to modify the sentences syntactically by re-expressing the nominal direct object as the object of some preposition (other than *w*):

Table 4. *Current alternatives to USo double-accusative constructions*

Zhotuj so$_{ACC}$ *čornu drastu*$_{ACC}$.	> *Zhotuj so*$_{ACC}$ *do čorneje drasty.*[25]
'Put on black clothing.'	
Wodźej so$_{ACC}$ *tu płachćičku*$_{ACC}$.	> *Wodźej so*$_{ACC}$ *z tej płachćičku.*
'Cover yourself with this kerchief.'	

Schuster-Šewc speaks of another 'misuse' of the accusative form of the reflexive pronoun in what might be broadly construed as its ethical dative function; this is illustrated below by sentences 10a and 10b:[26]

10a   ?*Dźěći so hrajkaja* in lieu of *Dźěći sej hrajkaja.*
         'The children are playing.'
10b   ?*Holca je so koleno wobodrěła* in lieu of *Holca je sej koleno wobodrěła.*
         'The girl scraped her knee.'

In sentence 10a, above, the dative reflexive *sej* is, one could argue, syntactically unmotivated; indeed, some USo informants familiar with Cz have expressed the view that the verb *hrajkać sej* is a calque of Cz *hrát si*. It is, therefore, not surprising that no more than four out of ten questionnaire respondents considered only the occurrence of dative *sej* to be correct. Another four respondents considered both *sej hrajkaja* and *so hrajkaja* to be acceptable, while two respondents rated the 'accusative-reflexive' *so hrajkaja* as the only correct formulation. It is worth noting that even the USo newspaper *Serbske Nowiny*, which generally adheres to the norms of the literary language, carried the following caption with 'accusative' *so* [...] *hrajkachu* in August 2006:[27]

11   *Tam přihladowachu a připosłuchachu dźěćom, kotrež so we WITAJ-skupinje serbsce rozmołwjejo hrajkachu.*
         'There they observed and listened to children who played in the "WITAJ" group while conversing in Sorbian.'

With respect to sentence 10b (above), in contrast, the questionnaire yielded no evidence to corroborate Schuster-Šewc's observation: all

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[25] The sentence *Zhotuj so do čorneje drasty* is particularly instructive from an historical perspective. If we consider that the functional equivalent of Ru *v(o)* + accusative case in the West Slavic languages generally (as well as Ukrainian) is *do* + genitive case, then USo appears to have come 'full circle': *Zhotuj so w čornu drastu > Zhotuj so čornu drastu > Zhotuj so do čorneje drasty.*

[26] Schuster-Šewc, *Grammar*, p. 145.

[27] *Serbske Nowiny* (Budyšin), 16, 4 August 2006, 150, p. 3.

respondents selected the dative reflexive pronoun exclusively. This selection was no doubt reinforced not only by the presence of a direct object in the sentence (*koleno* 'knee'), but also by the parallel syntax that Ger exhibits in this case:

12   *Das Mädchen hat sich*$_{\text{DAT}}$ *das Knie geschürft.*

The data generated by the questionnaire thus suggest that Ger influence on USo is likely a factor *hindering* a conflation of the dative and the accusative forms of the USo reflexive pronoun[28] — at least insofar as such conflation has actually ever occurred. Indeed, what might seem at first to be a conflation of *sej* and *so* in conjunction with verbs of dressing and undressing (that is, 'inserting' oneself *into* articles of clothing and removing oneself from them) is no doubt a reflection of modern-day syntactic patterning on Ger models (recall example 9, above).[29] No such patterning exists, however, with respect to the USo vacillation between (normative) *hrajkać sej* and *hrajkać so* 'to play', inasmuch as the corresponding Ger verb (*spielen*) is both transitive and intransitive with no morphological voice-marking. Thus, in this particular instance, USo-speakers' vacillation between the two 'reflexive' forms can be best understood as a strictly language-specific lexical phenomenon.[30]

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[28] This is explained in part by the fact that while the Ger third-person (singular or plural) reflexive pronoun *sich* is a syncretic dative/accusative-case form, the first- and second-person singular pronouns occurring in Ger reflexive constructions have distinct dative and accusative forms. Thus, dative *mir* 'myself' and *dir* 'yourself' in reflexive sentences correspond to USo *sej* (for example, *Ich ziehe mir*$_{\text{DAT}}$ *die Jacke an* 'I am putting on my jacket'), while accusative *mich* and *dich* in such sentences correspond to USo *so* (for example, *Ich ziehe mich*$_{\text{ACC}}$ *an* 'I am getting dressed', 'I dress myself').

[29] A modern-day tendency among USo-speakers to imitate the syntax of the corresponding Ger constructions is indirectly confirmed by Faska, *Pućnik*, p. 208: there the author notes that such sentences as *Zuj so črije!* 'Take off your shoes!' and *Woblěkaj so čistu košlu!* 'Put on a clean shirt!' are 'more often' expressed nowadays as *Zuj sej črije!* and *Woblěkaj sej čistu košlu!*, respectively. (Compare Ger *Zieh dir*$_{\text{DAT}}$ *die Schuhe aus!, Zieh dir*$_{\text{DAT}}$ *ein sauberes Hemd an!*)

[30] The existence of 'double-accusative' constructions with verbs of undressing would seem to undermine my hypothesis of an original USo use of the preposition *w(e)* with the accusative-case form of articles of clothing that are *removed*. Nevertheless, as Liebsch, *Syntax*, p. 120, points out, analogy plays a role in this semantic class of verbs, such that even 'to put on one's hat' (Ger 'den Hut aufsetzen') was often expressed as *stajić so kłobuk* rather than *stajić sej kłobuk*. With respect to the USo verb *nawučić so (něšto)* 'to learn; to get used to (something)' included in Table 3, this verb can alternately occur in the literary language with a prepositional object: *nawučić so (do něčeho)* (compare *zhotować so* in Table 4 and n. 25); see Filip Jakubaš, *Hornjoserbsko-němski słownik / Obersorbisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, Budyšin, 1954 (hereafter, *Słownik*), p. 202. However, under the apparent influence of Ger *sich (an etwas) gewöhnen*, this verb in its meaning 'to get used to (something)' also occurs with the USo preposition *na* + accusative case: *nawučić so (na něšto)*; see Helmut Jentsch (Jenč), Siegfried Michalk (Michałk) and Irene Šěrakowa, *Němsko-hornjoserbski słownik / Deutsch-obersorbisches Wörterbuch, A–K*, Budyšin, 1989, p. 457 (hereafter, *Wörterbuch*). For correlations between Ger and USo prepositions in corresponding verbal syntagms, see Gary H. Toops, 'Syntactic Calquing: Reflections of German Verb Governance in Czech and Upper Sorbian', *Die Welt der Slaven*, 44, 1999, 2, pp. 271–84.

Use of USo 'žadyn' in the sense of 'someone/anyone, some'

It is generally assumed that, like Cz *žádný* and its cognates in other West Slavic languages (for example, Slovak *žiaden/žiadny* and Polish *žaden*), USo *žadyn* and LSo *žeden* derive from an original collocation *(n)i–že–jeden* meaning 'not even one'.[31] In all but Sorbian West Slavic the word is found consistently to be a negative adjective or pronoun signifying 'none, no'; to the extent that this negative pronoun/adjective occurs in complete sentences, the predicate of such sentences is consistently headed by a negated verb. In both Upper and Lower Sorbian, in contrast, *žadyn/žeden* may occur as well in conjunction with predicates headed by *non-negated* verbs and thereby function as a synonym of the USo indefinite adjective *někajki* (LSo *někaki*) 'some, some kind of' or, when used absolutely, of the USo indefinite pronoun *něchtó* (LSo *něchten*) 'someone/anyone'. This is shown by examples 13 and 14:

13   USo: *Tam su žane dźěći.*   (LSo: *Tam su žedne źiśi.*[32])
      'There are some children (there).'
14   USo: *Zwotkel maš pječeń? Je drje žadyn susod swinjo rězał.*[33]
      'Where did you get that roast from? No doubt some neighbour slaugh-
      tered a pig.'

Although the use of USo *žadyn* as an indefinite adjective is well attested and confirmed by various grammars and dictionaries (see below), three of the twelve respondents to my questionnaire incorrectly interpreted *žane* in example 13 as 'no (children)'. Rather than choosing the correct Ger translation for the second sentence of example 14, shown below as example 15, these same respondents either chose one of the two incorrect translations shown as examples 16a and 16b, below, or made no choice at all:

15   Ger: √'*Irgendein* Nachbar hat wohl ein Schwein geschlachtet.'
16a   Ger: *'Es hat doch *kein* Nachbar ein Schwein geschlachtet.'
      '(After all), no neighbour slaughtered a pig.'
16b   Ger: *'Bestimmt hat *kein* Nachbar ein Schwein geschlachtet.'
      'Certainly no neighbour slaughtered a pig.'

As their choice of Ger translations 16a and 16b, above, reveals, two of these respondents (both in their mid-20s) interpreted *žadyn* as 'no' even

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[31] See Václav Machek, *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého*, 1971, 3rd edn., repr. 1997, Prague.
[32] Manfred Starosta (comp.), *Dolnoserbsko-nimski słownik / Niedersorbisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, Budyšyn, 1999, p. 710, provides 'Dort sind einige Kinder' as the Ger translation of LSo *Tam su žedne źiśi.*
[33] Jentsch et al., *Wörterbuch*, p. 536. This example is an abridged excerpt from a collection of short stories and poems by Ota Wićaz, *Serb ze złotym rjapom*, Budyšin, 1955. The full passage can be found in Fasske/Michalk, *Grammatik*, p. 602: 'Zwotkel da maš tu swinjacu pječeń, je drje žadyn susod swinjo rězał a sy tam stonał?' ('So where did you get that pork roast from; no doubt, some neighbour was slaughtering a pig and you were there singing for your supper [literally "moaning"]?').

though the verb in the sentence is not negated. One respondent who selected the correct Ger translation (given above as example 15) nevertheless suggested that *žadyn* be changed to the indefinite adjective *někajki* 'some'. Apparently this respondent, too, hesitated to accept *žadyn* in a positive (that is, non-negative) sense.

The simpler sentence, shown above as example 13, appears to have presented a larger problem for those completing the questionnaire. Five respondents interpreted the sentence as 'There are *no* children there' (Ger: 'Dort sind *keine* Kinder'); of these, four negated the verb *su* 'are' by writing in the negative prefix *njej-* 'not' (as if to correct an apparent typographical error):

17 *Tam su žane dźěći.* → *Tam ^{njej}su žane dźěći.*

One of the five respondents who accepted the sentence with the positive reading 'There are some children (there)' apparently sought to justify his/her response by noting on the questionnaire that the sentence is colloquial for *Tam su někajke dźěći.* Such reactions from questionnaire respondents suggest that speakers of USo today, compared to previous generations of Sorbs, are either less aware or less indulgent of *žadyn* as a synonym of the indefinite adjective *někajki* 'some' (or, by extension, the indefinite pronoun *něchtó* 'someone/anyone') in positive sentences.

Indeed, grammatical descriptions and dictionary definitions of USo *žadyn* as a synonym of *něchtó* or *někajki* are commonly found in the second half of the twentieth century: although Pfuhl (Pful), in his USo-Ger dictionary of 1866, translates *žadyn* only as Ger *kein(er)*,[34] Jakubaš, almost ninety years later, translates *žadyn* as Ger 'irgendeiner' ('someone/anyone'), specifically when it is used in interrogative or conditional sentences.[35] Twenty years after Jakubaš, Trofimowič, in his 1974 USo-Ru dictionary, translates USo *žadyn* as Ru 'kakoj-nibud'' ('some, any [kind of]'), marking it colloquial.[36] And in their 1989 Ger-USo dictionary, Jentsch et al. translate, on the one hand, Ger *irgendein* (as well as *irgendwelch[e]* 'some, any [kind of]') into USo as both 'někajki' and 'žadyn' and, on the other hand, Ger *irgendwer* (as well as *irgendeiner* 'someone/anyone') as both 'něchtó' and 'žadyn'.[37]

[34] Chr. Tr. Pfuhl (Kř. B. Pful), *Łužiski serbski słownik*, Budyšin, 1866, repr. as *Obersorbisches Wörterbuch* with foreword by H. Schuster-Šewc, Bautzen, 1968, pp. 1039–40. In Ernst Mucke (Arnošt Muka). *Serbsko-němski a němsko-serbski přiručny słownik / Wendisch-deutsches und deutsch-wendisches Handwörterbuch*, Budyšin, 1920, p. 124, *žadyn* is also translated only as Ger *keiner* (conversely, Ger *irgend einer* 'some, any' and *irgendwer* 'someone/anyone' are translated solely as USo *někajki* and *něchtó*, respectively, p. 183), but this may be due to the small size of the dictionary (256 pages). It is worth noting that the Ger translation 'irgendeiner' for USo *žadyn* is attested as early as the second half of the eighteenth century.

[35] Jakubaš, *Słownik*, p. 536.

[36] Konstantin K. Trofimowič, *Hornjoserbsko-ruski słownik / Verchnelužicko-russkij slovar´*, Bautzen and Moscow, 1974, p. 457.

[37] Jentsch et al., *Wörterbuch*, p. 536.

The following sentences provided by Fasske (Faska) in his most recent (and compendious) grammar of USo would seem to clarify the contemporary status of *žadyn* as an indefinite adjective/pronoun:[38]

18   *Dajće nam měšk muki, jeli zo žanu maće.*
     'Give us a sack of flour, if you have any.'
19   *Žony, jeli bychu tam žane byli, bychu so lěpje wo zranjenych starali.*
     'Women, if any had been there, would have taken better care of the wounded.'

To these we might add:

20   *Njeje wěste, hač mamy žane rezerwy.*[39]
     'It is uncertain if (whether) we have any reserves.'

These sentences conform in part to Jakubaš's observation (above) that *žadyn* occurs as an indefinite adjective or pronoun specifically in interrogative and conditional sentences. More precisely, sentences 18–20 suggest that the normal syntactic environments for indefinite *žadyn* in contemporary USo usage are interrogative and conditional sentential *complements* (broadly speaking, subordinate clauses, including the protases of conditional sentences) introduced by *hač* 'if, whether' (and, presumably, by interrogative adverbs functioning as complementizers as well) and *jeli* (*zo*) 'if', respectively.[40]

Variability in the negation of compound verb tenses

Negating USo compound (that is, periphrastic) verb forms — specifically, forms of the perfect and pluperfect tenses and the conditional/subjunctive mood — generally entails prefixing the negative particle *nje-* to the auxiliary verb, as shown in Table 5:[41]

Table 5. *Negation of compound verb forms in USo*

wón je čitał 'he has read'	— NEG-> *wón njeje čitał* 'he has not read'
wón bě(še) čitał 'he had read'	— NEG-> *wón njebě(še) čitał* 'he had not read'
wón by čitał 'he would (have) read'	— NEG-> *wón njeby čitał* 'he would not (have) read'

There are, however, several contexts in which the auxiliary verb may be deleted; when it is, negation is achieved by prefixing the negative

[38] Faska, *Pućnik*, p. 184.
[39] Jentsch et al., *Wörterbuch*, p. 536.
[40] Cz *jaký* performs an analogous function to USo *žadyn* in such syntactic environments, cf.: *Vezmi si kabát, máš-li jaký* 'Take a jacket with you, if you have one', *Nevím, že by tudy vedla jaká cesta* 'I don't know that (=whether) any road would lead there'. See *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého*, 8 vols, Praha, 1989, vol. 2, p. 205, where this use of *jaký* is defined as '(vůbec) nějaký' ('some/any [at all]').
[41] The future-tense forms of imperfective verbs (for example, *wón [nje]budźe čitać* 'he will [not] read') are omitted from consideration here.

particle *nje-* 'directly' to the *ł*-participle. The auxiliary verb of the perfect tense is generally deleted in newspaper headlines and text headings, while the auxiliary verb of modal auxiliaries like *chcyć* 'want', *dyrbjeć* 'must', *móc* 'can' is often omitted in the conditional/subjunctive mood. These two contexts are illustrated below by sentences 21 and 22, respectively:

  21 Dešćik naladu *njeskazył*. (= Dešćik naladu *skazył njeje*.)
       'Rain did not dampen mood.' (newspaper headline)[42]
  22 *Štó chcył na tym dwělować?* (= *Štó by na tym dwělować chcył?*)
       'Who would want to doubt that?'[43]

The auxiliary verb of the perfect tense is also frequently omitted in concessive subordinate clauses introduced by *byrnjež* 'although' and its synonyms:

  23 *Nimo němčiny a jendželśćiny bě rozmołwna rěč ruska, byrnjež Baltojo nałožowanje rušćiny hustodosć wotpokazowali.* (= ... *byrnjež su Baltojo ... wotpokazowali*).
       'Besides German and English, the language of conversation was Russian, even though the Balts quite often resisted the use of Russian.'[44]

There thus appears to be sufficient precedent in the language for prefixing the negative particle to the *ł*-participle of verbs in other contexts, as a stylistic device, even when the auxiliary verb is not omitted:[45]

  24 *Ale kak bych knjeza wot słužobneho njerozeznała!*[46]
       'But how would I not have distinguished the master from a servant?!'
  25 *W spočatku lěta 1797 je wojerstwu božemje dał, so na swoje kubło sćahnył a z toho časa so wottam hižo njehibał.*[47]
       'In early 1797 he said good-bye to the military, retired to his estate and since that time no longer budged from there.'

On the questionnaire, USo respondents were presented with eight sentences (including sentences 24 and 25, above), most of which had been reproduced from a 1958 USo translation of Aleksandr Puškin's *Tales of the Late Ivan Petrovič Belkin*, sentences in which the negative particle *nje-* had been prefixed to the *ł*-participles rather than to the auxiliary verbs (none of which occurred in contexts where they could have been omitted). Each of these sentences was paired with a corresponding version that had been rephrased by prefixing *nje-* to the

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[42] *Serbske Nowiny* (Budyšin), 14, 14 June 2004, 113, p. 4.
[43] Fasske/Michalk, *Grammatik*, p. 275.
[44] *Serbske Nowiny* (Budyšin), 4, 3 August 1994, 149, p. 1.
[45] See H. Šewc-Schuster, *Gramatika hornjoserbskeje rěče. Syntaksa*, Budyšin, 1976, p. 15.
[46] Puškin, *Nowele*, 'Zemjanka-burowka', p. 68.
[47] Ibid., p. 61.

auxiliary verbs instead. The questionnaire respondents were asked to select the phrasing in each pair of sentences that corresponded most to their own usage. Six out of ten respondents consistently selected only those sentences in which the auxiliary verb was negated.[48] Another four repondents — who were on average almost fourteen years older than the first six — accepted several, but far from all, of the variants with negated *ł*-participles. Only one respondent to the questionnaire selected sentence 25, above, even though it exhibits syntactic parallelism and allows a single auxiliary verb to be used in connection with three different *ł*-participles, non-negated and negated alike (*dał, sćahnył*, and *njehibał*). The three most frequently selected sentences with negated *ł*-participles proved to be sentence 24, above, and sentences 26 and 27, below, each of which were selected by three informants:

26   *Zo by tež tón njewumrěł!*   (Ger: 'Dass doch auch der nicht stürbe!')[49]
     'May *he* not die as well!'

27   *Grigorij Iwanowič so swojeho slubjenja dopomni a dawaše sej prócu, zo by zadźiwanje njepokazał.*[50]
     'Grigorij Ivanovič remembered his promise and took pains not to show his astonishment.'

In his 1884 work on USo syntax, Liebsch (Libš) notes that 'after [the complementizer] *zo* in optative clauses [the negative particle] *nje-* is usually — and after *hdy* consistently — attached to the participle and not to the auxiliary verb, [and] very often in conditional sentences it is prefixed to the participle as well' (translation mine — GHT).[51] This may account for the greater acceptability of conditional sentence 24 and optative sentence 26 (above) among the respondents to the questionnaire. Nevertheless, the modern-day tendency appears to be away from variable positioning of the negative particle and towards the regular prefixation of *nje-* to the auxiliary verb in all contexts.[52] No

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[48] The birth years of these respondents ranged from 1954 through 1980, their average age being approximately 33½ years.
[49] Liebsch, *Syntax*, p. 230.
[50] Puškin, *Nowele*, 'Zemjanka-burowka', p. 76.
[51] Liebsch, *Syntax*, p. 230.
[52] This observation is reinforced, among other things, by the fact that a 1969 USo translation of a collection of LSo writings by Mina Witkojc (who lived from 1893 to 1975) consistently deviates from the original wherever the LSo *ł*-participle is prefixed with the negative particle *nje-*, cf.: LSo '[. . .] won cłowjeka k tomu nuźiś njamožo, *aby* złego *njecynił*' (Mina Witkojc, *Po drogach casnikarki*, Budyšyn, 1964, 2nd edn., 1988, p. 12, hereafter, *Po drogach*) versus USo 'Wón [. . .] čłowjeka nućić njemóže, zo *njeby* złe *činił*' (Mina Witkojc, *Po pućach Casnikarki*, trans. Marko Meškank, Budyšin, 1969, p. 8, hereafter, *Po pućach*; 'He cannot force Man not to do evil'); LSo 'Pjerwej nježli wumrějo, chyśijo staru kronu serbskich kralow do Sprjewje, *aby* tam pśecej dłymjej a dłymjej do pary zapadnuła a nicht jeje wěcej *njewoglědnuł*' (Witkojc, *Po drogach*, pp. 29–30) versus USo 'Prjedy hač zemrěje, ćisnje staru krónu serbskich kralow do Sprjewje, zo by tam přeco hłubšo a hłubšo do błóta zapadowała a nichtó ju wjace *wohladał njeby*' (Witkojc, *Po pućach*, p. 25; 'Before he dies, he throws the old crown of the Sorbian kings into the Spree so that it sinks deeper and

respondent, for example, selected the following conditional sentence (28) as representative of his/her personal usage:

28 *Bych-li to na swojej samsnej woči njewidźał, nihdy na swěće bych tomu njewěrił.*[53]
'If I hadn't seen that with my very own eyes, I would never in my life have believed it.'

In contrast, all respondents, without exception, selected the sentence reformulated as:

29 *Njebych-li to na swjojej samsnej woči widźał, nihdy na swěće njebych tomu wěrił.*

The conditional as a future-in-the-past

Like other North Slavic languages, USo does not exhibit a sequencing of tenses (*consecutio temporum*) in the sentential complements (that is, subordinate clauses) of past-tense performatives (*verba dicendi* and *cogitandi*). For this reason, the perfect and the pluperfect tenses in such complements are generally interchangeable:[54]

30 *Pohonč, kiž bě jeho wjezł, rjekny*$_{PRET}$*, zo bě*$_{PLUP}$ *(~je*$_{PERF}$*) Dunja po cyłym puću płakała, hačrunjež bě*$_{PLUP}$ *(~je*$_{PERF}$*) po zdaću z nim pućowała ze swobodnej wolu.*[55]
'The coachman who had driven him said that Dunja had cried the entire way, although she had apparently been travelling with him of her own accord.'

31 *Třećak bě wotročkej powědał*$_{PLUP}$*, zo staj*$_{PERF}$ *(~běštaj*$_{PLUP}$*) domoj jěłoj, kaž by djaboł za nimaj jěchał.*[56]
'The subtenant had told the tenant farmer that the two of them had driven home as if the devil had been galloping after them.'

In sentence 30, above, the sentential complement of the preterite-tense verb *rjekny* 'said' was originally formulated in the pluperfect tense (*bě ... płakała, bě ... pućowała*), but could just as well be expressed in the perfect tense (*je ... płakała, je ... pućowała*); while in sentence 31, the

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[52] *Continued*
deeper into the mud and no one ever sees it again'). Note, however, that in LSo, prefixing *nje-* to the *ł-*participle is not optional: *nje-* is obligatorily prefixed to the *ł-*participle of a negated verb whenever the conjunctions *až, gaž* or *gdyž* are (optionally) combined with the auxiliary verb *by* to form *aby* 'so that', *gaby* 'if' and *gdyby* 'if', respectively. Thus, LSo *Ja cynim wšo, až njeby pśepadnuli* may alternately be expressed as *Ja cynim wšo, aby njepśepadnuli* 'I am doing everything so that they do/will not fail' (Manfred Starosta, *Niedersorbisch schnell und intensiw*, 2 vols, Bautzen, 1991–92, vol. 1, p. 223).

[53] Liebsch, *Syntax*, p. 230. (The author cites here a sentence published in *Lipa Serbska*, 1878, 1.)

[54] See Fasske/Michalk, *Grammatik*, p. 268. The preterite-tense forms of performatives are indicated by the subscript PRET; verbs in the perfect and pluperfect tenses are indicated by the subscripts PERF and PLUP, respectively.

[55] Puškin, *Nowele*, 'Póstar', pp. 47–59 (p. 54).

[56] Fasske/Michalk, *Grammatik*, p. 246.

sentential complement of the pluperfect-tense performative *bě powědał* 'had told' was originally formulated in the perfect tense (*staj . . . jěłoj*), but could just as well be expressed in the pluperfect (*běštaj . . . jěłoj*). Owing to the interchangeability of the perfect and the pluperfect in the sentential complements of past-tense performatives,[57] the use of the pluperfect, contrary to appearances, does not actually reflect a sequencing of tenses as it is known in the Romance and Germanic languages (including English).

Unlike past time (anteriority), which is encoded by a total of at least three tenses (preterite, perfect and pluperfect),[58] future time (posteriority) is encoded by a single future tense. Sentences like 32, below, would therefore appear to represent the norm:

32   *Wón slubi*$_{\text{PRET}}$, *zo jej nihdy njeda*$_{\text{FUT}}$ *přičinu k wobžarowanju, zo budźe jej we wšěm posłuchać*$_{\text{FUT}}$.[59]
'He promised that he would never give ("will never give") her cause for regret [and] that he would obey ("will obey") her in every respect.'

Seven informants accepted this sentence as reflective of their own usage. There is some evidence from USo literature, however, that the conditional also occasionally occurs for the expression of future time in the sentential complements of past-tense performatives.[60] Consider, for example, the following sentence:

33   *Aleksej překładowaše*$_{\text{PRET}}$, *kajku rólu by hrał*$_{\text{COND}}$, *hdyž Liza zastupi*$_{\text{FUT}}$.[61]
'Aleksej considered what role he would play (= was going to play) when Liza came in.'

Just as the USo verb *zastupi* in this sentence is a perfective verb expressing a future tense, so one would consequently expect to find the perfective future *zahraje* 'will (begin to) play' (or possibly the imperfective future *budźe hrać* 'will be playing') instead of the conditional *by hrał*, which is more characteristic of German than of USo (compare, 'Aleksej überlegte, welche Rolle er *spielen würde*, . . .'). On the

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[57] I use the term 'past tense' as a cover term for any of the USo tenses that express anteriority: preterite (also known as imperfect and aorist), perfect, pluperfect and iterative preterite.

[58] If the iterative preterite is included, then there are four tenses expressing anteriority. The iterative preterite, however, has become obsolete in many parts of the USo speech community; see Fasske, *Rěčny atlas*, p. 149.

[59] Puškin, *Nowele*, 'Zemjanka-burowka', p. 71. The subscript FUT is used to indicate future-tense verb forms, be they synthetic (aspectually perfective) or analytic (aspectually imperfective).

[60] See Toops, 'Contrastive Perspective', pp. 151–52.

[61] Puškin, *Nowele*, 'Zemjanka-burowka', p. 75. Verbs in the conditional mood are indicated by the subscript COND.

questionnaire, sentence 32, above, was therefore reformulated as sentence 34, below:

33 *Wón slubi*$_{\mathrm{PRET}}$, *zo njeby jej nihdy přičinu k wobžarowanju dał*$_{\mathrm{COND}}$, *zo by jej we wšěm posłuchał*$_{\mathrm{COND}}$.

However, only two informants accepted this use of the conditional as a future-in-the-past, as did one informant who indicated that both the future tense and the conditional mood were acceptable. As suggested above, I have previously attributed this use of the conditional in USo to influence from Ger, in which forms homonymous with the conditional (that is, *würde* + infinitive) are used as a future-in-the-past, just as they are in English (that is, *would* + infinitive).[62] While I still believe this to be the case, speakers of USo also reveal an opposing tendency of *not* instantiating tense sequencing (*consecutio temporum*) when expressing themselves in Ger. When asked, for example, to translate USo sentence 34 (below) into Ger, half of them produced the translations numbered 35a through 35e:[63]

34 *Liza slubi*$_{\mathrm{PRET}}$, *zo sej jeho radu přemysli*$_{\mathrm{FUT}}$.
    'Liza promised that she would consider ("will consider") his advice.'
35a ʾ'Lisa versprach$_{\mathrm{PRET}}$, dass sie seinen Rat überdenken wird$_{\mathrm{FUT}}$.'
35b ʾ'Lisa versprach$_{\mathrm{PRET}}$, dass sie seinen Rat überdenkt$_{\mathrm{PRES}}$.'
35c ʾ'Lisa versprach$_{\mathrm{PRET}}$, dass sie sich seinen Ratschlag überlegen wird$_{\mathrm{FUT}}$.'
35d ʾ'Lisa versprach$_{\mathrm{PRET}}$, dass sie sich seinen Rat überlegt$_{\mathrm{PRES}}$.'
35e ʾ'Lisa versprach$_{\mathrm{PRET}}$, dass sie über seinen Rat nachdenkt$_{\mathrm{PRES}}$ ~ nachdenken wird$_{\mathrm{FUT}}$.'

From the standpoint of contemporary standard Ger (*Hochdeutsch*), a truly felicitous translation of USo sentence 34 is represented by sentence 36, below:

36 √'Lisa versprach$_{\mathrm{PRET}}$, dass sie sich seinen Rat überlegen würde.'

To the extent that the USo prefixal perfective (*sej*) *přemysli* was construed (or misconstrued) by questionnaire respondents as a present-, rather than a future-tense verb form (that is, when read as 'Liza promised that she *was considering* his advice'),[64] sentence 37, below, would also have constituted a felicitous standard Ger translation:

37 'Lisa versprach$_{\mathrm{PRET}}$, dass sie sich seinen Rat überlegte$_{\mathrm{PRET}}$.'

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[62] Toops, 'Contrastive Perspective', pp. 153–54.
[63] The remaining respondents avoided the matter of tense sequencing by substituting an infinitive complement: 'Lisa verspricht/versprach, sich seinen Ratschlag zu überlegen' ('Liza promises/promised to consider his advice.').
[64] Insofar as USo prefixal perfectives like (*sej*) *přemyslić* are semantically basic (that is, lexically distinct from the basic verb from which they are derived [here, *myslić* 'to think', for example]), younger speakers of USo are inclined to interpret non-past-tense forms of such verbs as expressing present rather than future tense. For details, see Gary H. Toops, 'Aspectual Competition and Iterative Contexts in Contemporary Upper Sorbian', *Journal of Slavic Linguistics*, 9, 2001, 1, pp. 127–54.

It is perhaps instructive that not one of the twelve USo respondents to the questionnaire offered either sentence 36 or sentence 37 as a Ger translation of USo sentence 34, above. Insofar as the respondents produced translations with sentential complements (see n. 62), all of them failed to instantiate a sequencing of tenses characteristic of standard Ger. Whether a lack of *consecutio temporum* is characteristic of the local Ger dialect known as *Neulausitzisch* ('New Lusatian'), remains, for the time being, unclear.[65] What is clear, however, is that the sequencing of tenses in sentential complements is one area in which Ger influence on USo (use of the conditonal as a future-in-the-past) is countered by USo influence on Ger (absence of *consecutio temporum*).

Concluding remarks

The data generated by the questionnaire that was completed in the summer of 2006, while not definitive, offer insights nevertheless into tendencies in language use among younger, educated native speakers of USo (see note 3). We have noted above a definite tendency to avoid serial possessive constructions as well as an even more pronounced tendency to avoid deriving possessive forms of feminine substantives by analogy to the genitive-case forms of married women's surnames. What appears at first to be conflation of the dative- and accusative-case short forms of the reflexive pronoun actually arises, as we have seen, from a varying adherence to USo vs. Ger syntactic patterns with respect to a small class of verbs. In the case of the intransitive verb signifying 'to play', the occurrence of one or the other form of the reflexive pronoun is syntactically unmotivated and therefore simply of no grammatical moment. The occurrence of USo *žadyn* as a synonym of *někajki* or *něchtó* in matrix clauses of non-negated declarative sentences tends to be misunderstood or disavowed today by USo-speakers; the normal syntactic environment for *žadyn* 'someone/anyone, some/any' in the contemporary language is the sentential complement represented by an interrogative or conditional subordinate clause. There is an overriding tendency to avoid negating the *l*-participles of compound verb forms for stylistic purposes (that is, to produce emphasis or contrast, to achieve syntactic parallelism, and so on) and to prefix the negative particle *nje-* strictly to (present, preterite and conditional) forms of the auxiliary verb (*byc* 'to be') instead. Finally, there is a striking tendency among

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[65] See Stone, 'Interference', pp. 131–53. There the author (p. 135) notes that according to Günter Bellmann (*Mundart und Umgangssprache in der Oberlausitz*, Marburg, 1961), New Lusatian is not simply 'standard German as learned by Sorbs at school' but rather 'the Upper Saxon colloquial language of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as spoken by Sorbs.' The author goes on to describe fifteen phonological, lexical and grammatical features of New Lusatian, none of which relate to the non-instantiation of *consecutio temporum*.

USo-speakers to vacillate between instantiating and not instantiating *consecutio temporum* in the sentential complements of past-tense performatives in which future time (posteriority) is expressed. Not only do we find evidence of Ger influencing USo in the use of the USo conditional as a future-in-the-past, but also of USo influencing the Ger of USo-speakers in the use of the Ger indicative future tense in the sentential complements of past-tense performatives.