On the function of *przez* and *per* in passive sentences from Polish-Latin mixed texts

Based on data from the *Korpus barokowy* and the *Korpus sejmikowy*, we explore the syntactic encoding of the demoted first semantic argument in passive sentences and the role of language contact therein.

The Polish language of the 17th and 18th century is well known for texts displaying code switching between Polish and Latin (henceforth mixed texts). Both Polish and Latin employ a prepositional phrase for encoding the demoted first semantic argument of the respective verb in eventive passive sentences: Polish uses the preposition *przez* governing the accusative, whereas on semantic grounds Latin distinguishes three different constructions: animate first semantic arguments are encoded by the preposition *a(b)* + ABLATIVE (agent proper), inanimate first semantic arguments are encoded by "plain" ablative; additionally the so-called modal *per* + ACC encodes "die Person oder die Sache […], die etwas erlaubt oder überhaupt erst ermöglicht" (Schauer: 2020: 261). Since Polish does not feature ablative case, the question arises whether and, if so, how these divergences between Polish and Latin are reflected in mixed texts.

In the mixed texts, *przez* + ACC is used predominantly for animate first semantic arguments (cf. ex. 1) and *per* + ACC is used for inanimate (quasi-instrumental) first semantic participants (cf. ex. 2). Quite interestingly, we found just one instance of Latin *a(b)* + ABLATIVE (cf. ex. 3). Just as well, we found no instances of "plain" ablative. In the "Polish only" texts, , *przez* + ACC is used more frequently for inanimate first semantic arguments (cf ex. 4).

Thus, the different syntactic encoding of animate and inanimate in the mixed texts constitutes a case of contact-induced change, which was triggered by Latin, which differentiates semantic types of first semantic arguments via syntactic encoding. However, the pattern in the mixed texts is not a replication *strictu sensu* of the Latin model, since the in Latin more frequent "plain" ablative is abandoned in favour of *per* + ACC, which is constructionally close to Polish *przez* + ACC.

(1) … *cursus ma być wybierany **przez IMciów pp. officyerów od IMciów pp. komendantów ordynowanych** ...* (Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z archiwum państwowego we Lwowie. Tom XXV: Lauda sejmikowe halickie 1696-1772)

(2) *... aby ten incendiarius altricis suae [...] rzetelnie **per diligentissimam inquisitionem** był deklarowany i na pamiętny wszystkiej potomności podany przykład*. (Akta grodzkie i

ziemskie z archiwum ziemskiego we Lwowie. Tom XXIV: Lauda sejmikowe halickie 1575-1695)

(3) *Ta protestacya na rocech uczyniona jest nie **a publicis personis**, któreby do tego aktu właśnie należały...* (Reprotestacya Szlachty sanockiej z powodu protestacyi 0 miejscu okazowania.)

(4) *... zawsze rozmawiamy o odprowadzeniu nas do Jeruzalem, a **przez to** jesteśmy zaślepieni* (Traktat Samuela rabina błąd żydowski pokazujący. 1705).

References

Schauer, Markus. 2020. *Lehrbuch der lateinischen Syntax und Semantik*. Darmstadt.