

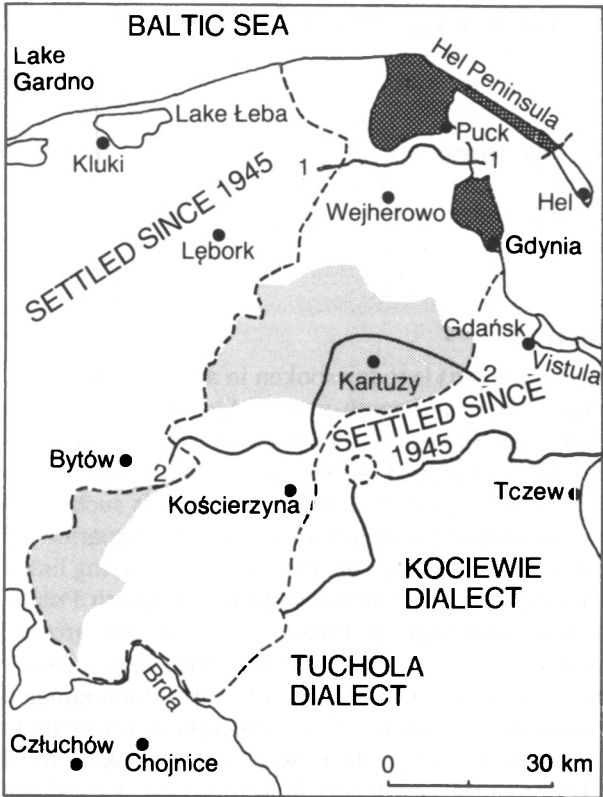
# 13 Cassubian

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## 1 Introduction

Cassubian (or Kashubian) is today spoken in an elongated band of territory to the west, north-west and south-west of Gdańsk (German Danzig) (see map 13.1). Since the Second World War the entire Cassubian speech area has been situated inside the Polish state. From the official point of view Cassubian is a Polish dialect; but its individuality is such that it is usually regarded by both laymen and linguists as an entity, separate from all other Polish dialects. Genetically, Cassubian is the last surviving link in a chain of dialects which once stretched across what is now north Poland and north Germany, linking Polabian to Polish. The Lechitic group consists of Polabian (west Lechitic), Polish (east Lechitic) and a chain of central Lechitic dialects (including Cassubian). The term Pomeranian is narrower: East Pomeranian is Cassubian; West Pomeranian refers to those extinct varieties of central Lechitic which were once spoken to the west of Cassubian. Toponymical evidence indicates that Cassubian was once spoken as far west as the River Parsęta (German Persante), which flows into the Baltic at Kołobrzeg (German Kolberg).

The question has been frequently asked whether Cassubian is not really a separate Slavonic language rather than just a dialect of Polish. If the answer to this is yes, it implies a further question as to the existence of a separate Cassubian nationality. There are no known linguistic criteria for the resolution of such questions, but it is, in any case, clear that the question is not purely linguistic. Poland's claim to access to the sea after the First World War was dependent on establishing that the coastal population was Polish. There is general agreement, however, that there is something special about Cassubian. Poles from other parts of Poland have difficulty in understanding it when they hear it spoken. The difficulties experienced by newly arrived teachers in understanding their Cassubian pupils even led in 1960 to the publication of a small Cassubian–Polish and Polish–Cassubian dictionary (Labuda 1960) intended to assist communication. Conditions were particularly favourable for the development of a separate linguistic identity in the period before 1918, when Cassubia (as the region is called) was part of the German Empire and standard Polish had no official status.



Key:

- /l/ and /w/ (t) have merged as /l/
- sw > sj (for example, *sjinia* 'pig'; compare Polish *świnia*)
- 1 — southern limit of uncontracted present-tense forms of the type *jó szukaję* 'I seek' (compare *jó szukóm* and so on south of this line)
- 2 — boundary between final (north) and initial (south) stress in the words *żołądk* 'stomach' and *kōrwińc/krowińc* 'cow dung'
- external limits of Cassubian, according to field-work for AJK in 1954-7

*Note:* 1 The tiny isolated Cassubian area 8 miles (12 km) to the north-east of Kościerzyna is the village of Grabówko, where even in the 1950s the number of Cassubian-speakers was small.

2 The tip of the Hel Peninsula was German-speaking before 1945.

**Map 13.1** The Cassubian speech area

The rebirth of the Polish state, however, does not appear to have diminished consciousness of the Cassubian identity, even to the present day. The number of speakers is put at around 150,000 (Topolińska 1980: 183).

Attempts to create a Cassubian literary language have been neither a total success nor a total failure. Cassubian literature exists, but the language in which it is written has achieved only a moderate degree of standardization (Stone 1972). Written sources dating from before the nineteenth century (beginning in 1402) are written in a language which is not really Cassubian, but rather a kind of Polish containing a greater or lesser proportion of Cassubianisms. The first to write in undiluted Cassubian was Florian Ceynowa (1817–81), who between 1866 and 1868 published the periodical *Skôrb kaszëbsko-słowjnskjè mòvé* ('A treasury of the Cassubo-Slovincian tongue'). He also published a grammar *Zarës do grammatikj kaszëbsko-słowjnskjè mòvé* ('An outline of the grammar of the Cassubo-Slovincian tongue') (Poznań 1879) and several literary works in Cassubian. The late nineteenth century also saw the appearance of a number of Cassubian literary compositions by Hieronim Derdowski (1852–1902). His masterpiece is a narrative poem entitled *O panu Czorlińskim co do Pucka po sece jachôł* ('About Mr Czarliński, who rode to Puck for nets'). The use of Cassubian in literature has tended to be restricted to short prose works and to verse. There is only one novel, *Żécé i przigodë Remusa* ('The life and adventures of Remus') (Toruń 1938) by Aleksander Majkowski (1876–1938). Periodicals printed entirely in Cassubian, such as *Przyjaciel Ludu Kaszubskiego* ('The friend of the Cassubian people') (1928–9), *Bënë ë Buten* ('At home and abroad') (1930), and *Zrzesz Kaszëbskô* ('The Cassubian union') (1933–9), have existed from time to time. The monthly *Pomerania*, published in Gdańsk, regularly carries items on cultural matters, printed in Cassubian.

Efforts have been made to bring about unification and to standardize the written form of Cassubian. A grammar intended to set up 'a norm freed of the accidental features and peculiarities of the dialects, and thus standing above the dialects' was published by Friedrich Lorentz in 1919 (Lorentz 1919), but its influence has been limited. Some progress has been made, however, in the sphere of orthography by the orthographical committee of the Zrzeszenie Kaszubsko-Pomorskie (Cassubo-Pomeranian Association) (Breza and Treder 1984). Something approaching a standard grammar, but with systematic incorporation of local variation, is provided by *Gramatyka kaszubska* (Breza and Treder 1981). In the description given below emphasis is laid on salient points of diversion from Polish; this accounts for the absence of sections 3.1.5, 3.2.1, 3.2.2, 4.10, 5.1 and 5.3 from this chapter.

Around 1900 the territorial limits of Cassubian extended as far west as the southern shore of Lake Gardno (nearly 37 miles (60 km) west of the nearest point where Cassubian is spoken today) (see map 13.1 on p. 760).

In the villages between Lakes Łeba and Gardno and to the south of the latter the inhabitants applied the term *słowiński* 'Slovincian' to their dialect. It appears that previously (sixteenth century) this term had also been used further south, in the vicinity of Bytów (German Bütow or Budow) (Lorentz, Fischer and Lehr-Splawiński 1935: 4–5). It has never been argued that Slovincian was anything more than a Cassubian dialect, but the Slovincians were distinguished from other Cassubians not only linguistically but also by the fact that they were Lutherans, not Catholics. By the 1920s the Slovincian villages and those immediately to the east of them were linguistically German, but the people remained conscious of their non-German origin and after 1945, when this part of Germany was annexed by Poland and the German population was expelled, some Slovincians were permitted to remain. Others were expelled (Rogaczewski 1975: 49–61), but even in the 1950s, mainly in the village of Kluki (German Klucken), there were still a few old people who could remember fragments of the language of their ancestors (Stieber *et al.* 1961 *passim*; Sobierajski 1964: 109–27).

## 2 Phonology

### 2.1 Segmental phoneme inventory

There is no orthoepic standard and the degree of local variation is high. Nevertheless, it is possible to encompass the segmental phonemes of almost all Cassubian varieties in the scheme given in table 13.1. In comparison with Polish the vowel system is remarkable for its large number of items. The consonant system, on the other hand, contains a smaller number of items than that of Polish, owing to the almost complete absence of the soft:hard distinction. The only remaining soft:hard pair is /n/:/ŋ/, but this too is in decline as a result of hardening in many areas.

Initially or after a labial or a velar the phonemes /o/ and /u/ acquire a prothetic labial glide: *polé* [pwɛlɛ] 'field', *koza* [kwɛzɔ] 'goat', *mucha* [mwuxɔ] 'fly'. In the case of /o/, in most areas, this is accompanied by fronting of the second element to /ɛ/ or /e/; but in the south-east the [wo] type prevails: [pwɔlɛ] 'field' (Breza and Treder 1981: 36–8; Breza and Treder 1984: 23; *AJK XIV*: 73, 76–7, 110–12, maps 7, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16). Some writers have, by various means, reflected this feature in their spelling, but since it is simply a matter of positional variants of /o/ and /u/ it is nowadays usual to retain the letters o and u (Breza and Treder 1984: 23).

The spelling system recommended by the *Zrzeszenie Kaszubsko-Pomorskie* is based on the Polish system with the following alterations and additions:

**Table 13.1 Segmental phonemes of Cassubian**

Vowels	Oral			Nasal		
i			u			
e		o		õ		
ɛ	ə	o				
	ɔ					
	a		ã			

Consonants	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
	Plain stop	p b		t d		
Affricate			ts dz	tʃ dʒ		
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ		x
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	
Lateral				l		
Trill				r		
Semi-vowel	w				ɟ j	

- To the Polish system of letters representing oral vowels the following changes have been made:
  - ô represents /ɔ/: *jô* 'I', *brzód* 'fruit', *dôka* 'fog';
  - ó represents /o/ (a vowel midway between /o/ and /u/): *zót* 'stomach', *zwónk* 'bell';
  - é represents /e/ (a vowel between /i/ and /ɛ/): *grzéch* [gʃex] 'sin', *chléb* [xlep] 'bread', *gazéta* [gazeta] 'newspaper';
  - ë represents /ɔ/: *bělny* [bəlɲi] 'fine, sturdy', *cěchi* [tɕəxi] 'quiet', *běně* [bənə] 'inside'.
- The Polish nasal letters ę and ą are used, but ę represents a nasalized /a/, that is, [ã] (not [ɛ̃]): *będze* [bãdze] 'will be (3 SG)'. The letter ą represents /õ/: *ksądz* [ksõts] 'priest'.
- The most distinctive feature of the consonant system is the appearance of *s*, *z*, *c* and *dz*, where Polish has *ś*, *ź*, *ć* and *dź* respectively (known as *kaszubienie*): *bęc* 'to be' (Polish *być*), *scana* 'wall' (Polish *ściana*), *zëma* 'winter' (Polish *zima*). Cassubian therefore does not make use of

the letters ś, ź, ć, dź. The opposition between the letters i and y, as found in Polish, occurs in Cassubian only after the letter n: *ni* represents /ɲi/, but *ny* represents /ni/ (as in *nisko* /ɲisko/ 'low', but *bělny* /bəlɲi/ 'fine, sturdy'). Otherwise, i is written everywhere (as in *bik* 'bull', *dim* 'smoke') except after s, z, c and dz, where it is always replaced by y (as in *syn* 'son', *zymk* 'spring', *dzys* 'today') (Breza and Treder 1981: 39–40; Breza and Treder 1984: 24). The graphemes sz, ź, cz and dź represent phonemes (/ʃ/, /ʒ/, /ʧ/ and /dʒ/) which are phonetically soft, whereas in Polish they are hard (Breza and Treder 1981: 66).

Further phonological features not revealed in the orthography favoured by the Zrzeszenie Kaszubsko-Pomorskie are:

- 1 In many areas /o/ after hard dentals and /u/ are prone to fronting, producing vowels of the [ø] and [ɥ] types. Loss of rounding may lead to articulations similar to /ɛ/ (or /e/) and /i/ respectively (Breza and Treder 1981: 36–8).
- 2 /a/ before a nasal consonant is everywhere prone to nasalization: *scana* [stsãna] 'wall', *tam* [tãm] 'there'.
- 3 The grapheme rz represents [ʀ], a post-alveolar fricative trill, only in the speech of the older generation and mainly in the north. It is being replaced by Polish [ʒ] and [ʃ] (Breza and Treder 1981: 67).
- 4 The voiceless:voiced contrast of consonants (/p/:/b/, /t/:/d/ and so on) is neutralized at the end of the word. The consonants in question are phonetically voiceless. Inter-word assimilation is of the north-Polish (Warsaw) type (see chapter 12, pp. 690–1). Progressive assimilation by devoicing of /v/ in such words as *twój* 'your' and of /ʃ/ or /ʒ/ (orthographically rz) in such words as *trzeba* 'is necessary' does not normally occur.

Cassubian participated with Polish in the depalatalization of PSI. \**ɟ* to *q* before hard dentals, but was unaffected by the coalescence of non-depalatalized *ɟ* and *q* in the early fourteenth century. On the contrary, the difference between the two nasal vowels increased in Cassubian as a result of a further fronting of the front nasal *ɟ* to *j*, which is first attested in 1198 (Stieber 1973: 137). It then underwent denasalization (*j* became *i*) and merged with original *i*: thus Cassubian *jastrzib* 'hawk' (Polish *jastrząb*). Denasalization of *j* is first attested in 1402. PSI. \**ɹ* remained, however, as short and long *ɹ*.

The system of nine oral vowels has developed from an earlier ten-vowel system (*y* and *i* having already coalesced), embodying phonemic length:

ǎ	ě	ī	ō	ü
ā	ē	ī	ō	ū

The characteristic Cassubian phoneme *ě* is first attested at the end of the seventeenth century. It results from the metaphony: short *i* (including *i* from *y*) (except after palatalized consonants) became *ě*. For example, Cassubian *lěpa* 'lime' (Polish *lipa*), *rěba* 'fish' (Polish *ryba*). It included *i* from *ĭ* (from *ę*): Cassubian *klěknąc* 'to kneel' (Polish *klęknąc*). A further metaphony, whereby short *u* (except after labials and velars) became *ě*, dates from the same period or, possibly, a little later (Stieber 1973: 138): Cassubian *lědze* 'people' (Polish *ludzie*), *Kaszëbë* 'Cassubia' (Polish *Kaszuby*). The German loan-word *lëter* 'Lutheran' shows that the metaphony affected words borrowed after the Reformation.

The loss of phonemic vowel quantity and its replacement by qualitative distinctions occurred after the appearance of *ě* (which itself was never anything but short). The origin of the remaining eight oral vowels and the two nasals is as follows:

<i>ǎ</i> > a /a/	<i>ā</i> > ô /ɔ/
<i>ě</i> > e /ɛ/	<i>ē</i> > é /e/
<i>ĩ</i> (except <i>ĩ</i> which > <i>ě</i> ) > i /i/	<i>ī</i> > i /i/
<i>ō</i> > o /o/	<i>ō</i> > ó /ɔ/
<i>ũ</i> (except <i>ũ</i> which > <i>ě</i> ) > u /u/	<i>ū</i> > u /u/
<i>ǣ</i> > ę /ã/	<i>ā</i> > ą /õ/

The *jers* are represented in Cassubian, as in Polish, by *e* in strong position and by *ø* in weak position: *sen* 'sleep, dream' from PSI. \**сѣнь*, *dzén* 'day' from PSI. \**дѣнь*. The distribution of the reflexes of strong and weak *jers* is not always the same in Cassubian and Polish: Cassubian *dómk* 'house (DIMIN)', from PSI. \**домъкъ*, *kónic* 'end' from PSI. \**коньсь* (Polish *domek*, *koniec*), but these nominatives are probably secondary formations which have arisen as a result of analogy with oblique cases (*w dómku* 'in the house (DIMIN)', *na kóncu* 'at the end'). The vowelless variants of these suffixes were, in any case, once common in Polish too.

Syllabic *r* and *r'* developed in Cassubian as in Polish with the exception that whereas *r'* before a hard dental in Polish produced *-ar-* with hardening of the preceding consonant, in Cassubian hardening did not occur: Cassubian *czwiórti* 'fourth' from PSI. \**čvŕtŕjь*, *umiar* 'died (3 SG)' from PSI. \**umŕl* (Polish *czwarty*, *umarł*). Syllabic *l* and *l'* usually developed as in Polish (Cassubian and Polish *šup* 'pillar' from PSI. \**stlŕpъ*), but there is vestigial evidence of the West Lechitic (and Upper Sorbian) type embodying *-ot-* both in toponyms (German *Stolp*, Polish *Stupsk*) and in appellatives (*dolžëna* 'tall person', *stolpa* 'post, prop', *tolsti* 'fat'; Polish *dlugi* 'long', *šup* 'pillar', *thusty* 'fat'). However, the attestation of these Cassubian words is sporadic and only residual (Popowska-Taborska 1987: 237).

The Proto-Slavonic sequence *CārC* (in which C stands for any consonant) is represented in Cassubian as both *CroC* and *CarC*: Cassubian

*droga* 'way' from PSI. \**dārga*, but *bórna* and *bróna* 'harrow' from PSI. \**bārna*, *bórzda* and *brózda* 'furrow' from PSI. \**barzda*. The *CarC* type is not unknown to Polish, but it is extremely rare. In Polabian, on the other hand, it is common. Its representation in Cassubian (particularly in view of the fact that *CarC* forms were most common in Slovincian, its westernmost attested variety) is consistent with a transitional position between Polish and West Lechitic. The Cassubian developments of Proto-Slavonic *CerC* and *CelC* are identical with those in Polish, except for the fact that *CelC* produced *CtoC* more commonly in Cassubian than in Polish. Cassubian has, for example, not only *źtób* 'crib' (Polish *źtób*), but also *ptóc* 'to weed' and *młóc* 'to grind' (Polish *pleć*, *mleć*). There were more of these forms in Slovincian (such as *młoko* 'milk'; Cassubian (non-Slovincian) *mléko*, Polish *mleko*) (Stieber 1973: 139–40).

Word stress in north Cassubian is free and mobile: *ro'lô* 'soil', '*niedzela* 'Sunday', *jô* '*buděj*' 'I build', *tě bu'dějiesz* 'you build (SG)'. In south Cassubian the stress is on the first syllable. Most of the word-stress isoglosses are in the central Cassubian region, but their location varies considerably both morphologically and lexically. The stress isogloss for *zótądk* 'stomach' and *kórwinc/krowinc* 'cow dung' is shown on map 13.1 on page 760. It was once widely believed that the north Cassubian vowel system included the possibility of quantitative opposition, but field-work carried out in 1950 on and near the Hel Peninsula (where the likelihood of finding this opposition was thought to be greatest) revealed the absence of any phonological distinction based on vowel length. Moreover, the re-examination of the material recorded in north Cassubia (including Slovincian) at the end of the nineteenth century led to the conclusion that even then only the vowels /i/ and /u/ were capable of true quantitative distinction. The reason for the misunderstanding may have been the fact that stressed vowels are longer than unstressed (Stieber 1974: 417–22). Cassubian stress is stronger than in Polish and may lead to the loss of unstressed vowels.

## 2.2 Morphophonemic alternations inherited from Proto-Slavonic

### First palatalization:

*k:č* *piekę* 'I bake' : *pieczesz* 'you bake (SG)'  
*g:ž* *mogę* 'I can' : *móziesz* 'you can (SG)'  
*ch:š* *miech* 'sack' : *miész* 'sack (DIMIN), purse'

### Second palatalization:

*k:c* *rěbók* 'fisherman (NOM SG)' : *rěbócě* 'fishermen (NOM PL)'  
*g:dz* *slęga* 'servant' (NOM SG) : *slędzě* 'servants (NOM PL)'  
*ch:š* *strěch* 'beggar (NOM SG)' : *strěszě* 'beggars (NOM PL)'



*Note:* In Slovincian *dz* (whether resulting from the second or third palatalization or from *d + j*) is replaced by *z*: *na noze* 'on the foot'.

Vowel:zero alternations:

*dzén* 'day (NOM SG)' : *dnia* 'day (GEN SG)'  
*pies* 'dog (NOM SG)' : *psa* 'dog (GEN SG)'

*Note:* The number of vowel:zero alternations is reduced by the fact that the Proto-Slavonic suffixes \*-ькь and \*-ьць are represented by *-k* and *-c* (Polish *-ek* and *-ec*): thus *dómk* 'house (DIMIN)'. (See also under 2.1 above.)

### 2.3 Morphophonemic alternations resulting from changes after Proto-Slavonic

Many consonant alternations coincide with those in Polish, but owing to *kaszubienie* (see above) the Polish alternations *s:s* and *z:ż* are not found: *jô niosę* 'I carry': *të niesiesz* 'you carry (SG)' (compare Polish *niosę.niesiesz*).

The Cassubian metaphony:

$\left. \begin{matrix} k \\ g \end{matrix} \right\} \text{ (before } i \text{ or } e) \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} cz \\ dż \end{matrix} \right.$

(as in *dzibczy* 'pliant'; compare Polish *gibki*) results in frequent consonant alternations in the declension of nouns and adjectives:

*rek* 'crab (NOM SG)' : *reczi* (NOM PL)  
*rzeka* 'river (NOM SG)' : *rzeczi* (GEN SG, NOM PL)  
*słëga* 'servant (NOM SG)' : *stëdżi* (GEN SG)  
*mitczy* 'soft (M NOM SG)' : *mitkô* (F NOM SG)  
*dtudzi* 'long (M NOM SG)' : *dtugó* (F NOM SG)

The results of this metaphony are shown in the orthography recommended by the Zrzeszenie Kaszubsko-Pomorskie, but the corresponding *ch* (before *i* or *e*) to *sz*, which has a smaller territorial base, is not shown (thus the nominative plural of *mucha* 'fly' is written *muchi*, not *muszi*, even though it is thus pronounced in some northern regions) (Breza and Treder 1984: 24–5).

Owing to *kaszubienie*, *t* alternates with *c* (not *ć*) and *d* with *dz* (not *dź*):

*post* 'fast (NOM SG)' : *po posce* 'after the fast (LOC SG)'  
*sôd* 'orchard (NOM SG)' : *w sadze* 'in the orchard (LOC SG)'

Vowel alternations are more numerous than in Polish owing to the fact that Polish (more precisely standard Polish) has eliminated some of the vocalic distinctions that remain in Cassubian:

*a:e miasto* 'town (NOM SG) : *w miesce* 'in town (LOC SG)'

*o:e jô niosę* 'I carry' : *të niesesz* 'you carry (SG)'

*Note:* The *o:e* alternation is often eliminated owing to the operation of analogy (as *jô bierzę* 'I take' : *të bierzesz* 'you take (SG)'; compare Polish *biorę:bierzesz*). The following result from alternations between long and short vowels:

	NOM SG	GEN SG
<i>ô:a</i>	<i>brzôd</i> 'fruit'	<i>brzadu</i>
<i>ó:a</i>	<i>pón</i> 'master'	<i>pana</i>
<i>é:e</i>	<i>chléb</i> 'bread'	<i>chleba</i>
<i>i(y):ë</i>	<i>syn</i> 'son'	<i>sëna</i>
<i>u:ë</i>	<i>lud</i> 'people'	<i>lëdu</i>
<i>ó:o</i>	<i>dóm</i> 'house, shade'	<i>domu</i>
<i>q:ę</i>	<i>ksądz</i> 'priest'	<i>ksędza</i>

### 3 Morphology

#### 3.1 Nominal morphology

##### 3.1.1 Nominal categories

Cassubian has two numbers, singular and plural, but vestiges of the dual are more prominent in Cassubian than in Polish. In the 1950s in some north Cassubian dialects certain forms of the first-person personal pronoun still retained a dual function (*AJK* XII: 164–5). At the beginning of the twentieth century the dual was a living category in Slovincian and the dialects immediately to its east (Główczyce and Cecenowo) (Lorentz 1958–62: 869).

The seven cases are the same as in Polish, but the tendency for the nominative to replace the vocative is greater than in Polish. The locative never occurs without a preposition, and there is a strong tendency for the instrumental to acquire the preposition *z(s)/ze(se)* 'with', when used with its basic function as an expression of instrument (but not in the complement of the copula).

The category of gender is very similar to that in Polish. In the singular the masculine, neuter and feminine genders are distinguished. Animacy is expressed in the accusative singular of masculine nouns (and adjectives agreeing with them) by the use of the same form as the genitive singular.

The use of a genitive–accusative in the singular may also extend to certain other semantic categories of masculine nouns, including coins, food and fruit, but in these cases the genitive–accusative is always a facultative alternative to the nominative–accusative (Lorentz 1958–62: 874). In the plural the only gender distinction is between masculine personal and non-masculine personal. In view of the relatively recent development of this distinction in both Cassubian and standard Polish (since the end of the seventeenth century) the degree of similarity between them is remarkable (Zieniukowa 1972: 96). There is a small discrepancy in that the otherwise characteristically masculine–personal nominative plural ending *-owie* is (or was until the 1950s) used in some north Cassubian villages not only with nouns denoting human beings, but also with some nouns denoting animals: thus *twórzowie* ‘polecats’, *zajcowie* ‘hares’ (AJK XII: 88–93, map 564). In M. Pontanus’s translation of Luther’s Little Catechism (1643) continuants of the Proto-Slavonic accusative plural are still in use (Lorentz 1958–62: 868).

### 3.1.2 Noun morphology

**Masculine** noun declension is demonstrated by *chłop* ‘man’ and *kón* ‘horse’ in table 13.2.

**Table 13.2 Declension of Cassubian *chłop* ‘man’ and *kón* ‘horse’**

	SG	PL
NOM	chłop	chłopi/chłopë
VOC	chłopie	chłopi/chłopë
ACC	chłopa	chłopów
GEN	chłopa	chłopów
DAT	chłopu/chłopowi	chłopom
INST	chłopem	chłopami/chłopama
LOC	o chłopie	o chłopach
NOM	kón	konie
VOC	koniu	konie
ACC	konia	konie
GEN	konia	koni/koniów
DAT	koniowi/koniewi/koniu	koniom
INST	koniem	koniami/koniama
LOC	o koniu	o koniach

#### Notes

- 1 Reflexes of PSl. \**gordь* have not been used as examples, owing to the fact that Cassubian *gard*, though given in some dictionaries, is of doubtful authenticity, and Cassubian *gród* is very rare.

- 2 In the genitive singular animates always take *-a*, but inanimates may take *-u* or *-a* and it is not possible to establish any pattern in which certain types of noun take one ending or the other. In fact, many masculine inanimates may take either *-u* or *-a*: *brzegu* or *brzega* (*brzég* 'bank, shore'), *lasu* or *lasa* (*las* 'forest'). In northern dialects the ending *-ě* (< *u*) occurs (*AJK XI*: 123–33, maps 525–7).
- 3 In the dative singular soft stems may have the ending *-ewi* (corresponding to *-owi* in hard stems). This is facultative. The distribution of *-owi* (*-ewi*) and *-u* does not correspond to that in standard Polish and is unpredictable. Many nouns may have *-owi* (*-ewi*) or *-u*. In northern dialects the dative singular ending *-ě* (< *u*) occurs (*AJK XI*: 125). In the north-east, nouns may acquire the adjectival endings *-omu* and *-emu*: *koniomu* or *koniemu* (*AJK XI*: 172–3, map 538). Various forms arising from the blending of *-owi* (*-ewi*) and *-u* are attested. The form *-ovu*, which Lorentz heard in the Kartuzy and Wejherowo regions early in the twentieth century (1958–62: 873), had almost disappeared by the 1950s (*AJK XI*: 171). In West Slovincian the forms *-owu* and *-ewu* were recorded; in East Slovincian their equivalents were *-uju* and *-eju* (*AJK XI*: 171). The latter are reminiscent of the dative endings *-uju* and *-eju* in Lower Sorbian (see chapter 11, section 3.1.2), which appear to have arisen from a similar blending of *-owi* (*-ewi*) and *-u*.
- 4 The instrumental singular is normally written *-em*, but *-ę* (reflecting northern pronunciation) also occurs (*AJK XI*: 179–86, maps 542–5). If the stem ends in *k* or *g* the alternations *k/cz* and *g/dź* may operate: thus *bocziem* (*bok* 'side'), *rodziem* (*róg* 'horn'), but this is optional; one may also find *bokem*, *bokę*, *rogem*, *roge*.
- 5 The locative singular, as in standard Polish, ends in *-e* (with possible consonant alternation) unless the stem is soft or a velar, when it ends in *-u*: *na brzegu* (*brzég* 'bank, shore'). There is a tendency for nouns ending in *-s* or *-z* to take *-u* too, but practice varies: thus *w lasu* (*las* 'forest'), *na wozu* (*wóz* 'cart') (Breza and Treder 1981: 114; *AJK XI*: 181–91, map 547).

Neuter noun declension is demonstrated by *miasto* 'town' and *sërce* 'heart' in table 13.3.

### Notes

- 1 Soft neuter stems often substitute *-o* for *-e* in the nominative singular: thus *polo* 'field' (otherwise *pole*) (Breza and Treder 1981: 118). This reduces the number of features distinguishing hard from soft stems, leaving only the locative singular. However, certain soft neuter stems in *-e* may, in the singular, take a different set of endings, acquired from the adjectival paradigm. The two variants are demonstrated by means of the example *pole/polé* 'field' in table 13.4.

**Table 13.3 Declension of Cassubian *miasto* 'town' and *sërce* 'heart' (the variants *serce* and *sérce* also exist)**

	SG	PL
NOM	miasto	miasta
VOC	miasto	miasta
ACC	miasto	miasta
GEN	miasta	miast/miastów
DAT	miastu/miastowi	miastom
INST	miastem/miastę	miastami/miastama
LOC	o miesce	o miastach
NOM	sërce	sërca
VOC	sërce	sërca
ACC	sërce	sërca
GEN	sërca	sërc/sërców
DAT	sërcu/sërcowi	sërcom
INST	sërcem/sërcę	sërcami/sërcama
LOC	o sërca	o sërcach

**Table 13.4 Alternative singular paradigms for Cassubian *pole/polé* 'field'**

NOM	pole	polé
VOC	pole	polé
ACC	pole	polé
GEN	pola/poló	polégo
DAT	polu/polowi	polému
INST	polem/polę	polim
LOC	o polu	o polim

- The neuters have acquired three endings which once belonged exclusively to the masculine *u*-stems: the dative singular in *-owi*; the locative singular in *-u*; and the genitive plural in *-ów*. In the genitive plural the zero ending is more common than *-ów* (Lorentz 1958–62: 905).
- Consonant stems survive and are capable of having an extended stem in the oblique cases: *remię* 'shoulder, arm', genitive singular *remienia* and so on; but they may also have a shortened type *remio*, genitive singular *remia*, and so on (Breza and Treder 1981: 118).

**Feminine** noun declension is demonstrated by *rzéka* 'river' in table 13.5.

**Table 13.5 Declension of Cassubian *rzéka* 'river'**

	SG	PL
NOM	rzéka	rzéczi
VOC	rzéko	rzéczi
ACC	rzékę	rzéczi
GEN	rzéczi	rzék/rzéków
DAT	rzéce	rzékom
INST	rzéką	rzékami/rzékama
LOC	o rzéce	o rzékach

*Notes*

- Żona* has not been used to illustrate the paradigm, owing to the fact that it is rare and believed to be a borrowing from literary Polish (*AJK* II: 88). The word for 'woman' and 'wife' is *białka* in north Cassubia and *kobiéta* in south Cassubia.
- The genitive singular and nominative/vocative/accusative plural ending *-i* occurs primarily after affricated *k* and *g*. Elsewhere it is replaced by *-ë*: thus *węda* 'fishing rod' has genitive singular and nominative/vocative/accusative plural *wędë*.
- Certain masculines denoting persons end in *-a* in the nominative singular (such as *stëga* 'servant') and have a paradigm similar to that shown in table 13.5. However, the vocative singular may be the same as the nominative (thus *stëga* as an alternative to *stëgo*), the dative singular may end in *-owi* (thus *stëgowi* as an alternative to *stëdze*), the nominative/vocative plural may end in *-owie* (thus *stëgowie* as an alternative to *stëdzë* or *stëdzi*), the accusative plural coincides with the genitive plural (as in *stëgów*), and the zero ending does not exist in the genitive plural (thus only *stëgów*).
- In feminines vacillation between the originally masculine ending *-ów* and the zero ending occurs in all areas, but the zero ending is relatively rare in the south, whereas *-ów* is relatively rare in the north (Lorentz 1958–62: 895).
- The soft stems vary in the nominative singular according to whether the ending was originally long or short: thus *swinia* 'pig', but *zeniô* 'shadow'. Otherwise, the soft stems differ from the hard only in the genitive singular (*swini* or *swinie*, *zeni* or *zenie*), the dative and locative singular (*o swini*, *o zeni*) and the nominative/vocative/accusative plural (*swinie*, *zenie*).
- Feminine former *i*-stems also belong to this declension (as *jabłôn* 'apple-tree') and differ from other soft stems only in the nominative singular.

## 3.1.3 Pronominal morphology

The declension of personal pronouns is shown in table 13.6.

**Table 13.6 Declension of Cassubian personal pronouns**

First person		DU (may also have plural meaning)		PL	
	SG				
NOM	jô	ma		mě	
ACC	mnie, mie, mię	naju		nas, nôs	
GEN	mnie, mie	naju		nas, nôs	
DAT	mnie, mie	nama		nóm	
INST	mną	nama		nami	
LOC	o mnie, mie	o naju		o nas, nôs	
Second person		PL	HON		
	SG				
NOM	tě	wa	wě		
ACC	cebie, ce, çę	waju	was, wôs		
GEN	cebie, ce	waju	was, wôs		
DAT	tobie, cě	wama	wóm		
INST	tobą	wama	wami		
LOC	o ciebie, tobie	o waju	o was, wôs		
Third person		SG		PL	
	M	N	F	Masculine personal	Non-masculine personal
NOM	on	ono, no	ona, na	oni, ni	oně, ně
ACC	jego, jen, go	je	ję	jich	je
GEN		jego	ji, jé	jich, jejich	
DAT		jemu, mu	ji	jim, jima	
INST		nim	nią	nimi, jima, nima	
LOC		o nim	o ni	o nich	

### Notes

- 1 Until the 1950s (and possibly later) the first person dual forms *ma*, *naju* and *nama* in some north Cassubian dialects still had a dual function distinct from the plural. Elsewhere, however, they have acquired plural meaning and are thus not grammatically distinct from the original plural (Breza and Treder 1981: 125; *AJK* XII: 164, map 588).
- 2 As in Polish, third-person pronouns following prepositions substitute *ni-* (that is, /ɲ/) for initial *j-*: thus masculine accusative singular *jego* becomes *niego* (*na niego* 'at him').
- 3 The ending *-go* in the genitive singular of pronouns and adjectives is pronounced *-ɥe* in north Cassubian and this feature is occasionally shown in writing by means of the letter *ł*: thus *jeło* for *jego* (Breza and

Treder 1984: 30). A further possible variant is *-ho* (as in *jeho*), which, though found in only two villages (Lorentz 1958–62: 924), has been used a good deal in Cassubian literature (Stone 1972: 527–8).

4 On the honorific second person, see section 3.2 below.

The reflexive pronoun is declined as follows:

NOM	–
ACC	sebie, sę, so
GEN	sebie, se
DAT	sobie, se, so
INST	sobą
LOC	o siebie, o sobie

### 3.1.4 Adjectival morphology

Short-form adjectives are better represented in Cassubian than in Polish, but, as in Polish, they are used only predicatively with the verb *běc* ‘to be’ and only in the nominative. They are formally distinct from the long forms, as demonstrated by the example *zdrowi/zdrów* ‘healthy’:

	<i>Long form</i>	<i>Short form</i>
M	zdrowi	zdrów
F	zdrówô (◁ *-ā ◁ *-aja)	zdrôwa (◁ *-ā)
N	zdrówé	zdrôwo
PL	zdrówé	zdrôwë

Among the adjectives which have short forms are *głodzén* ‘hungry’, *godzén* ‘worthy’, *gotów* ‘ready’, *nółożén* ‘accustomed’, *pewién* ‘certain’, *petén* ‘full’, *próžén* ‘empty’, *rôd* ‘glad’, *wórt* ‘worth’, *winién* ‘guilty’, *zdrów* ‘healthy’, *żiw* ‘alive’ (Breza and Treder 1981: 119–20). In some areas the masculine form is used for all genders, singular and plural: thus *ona je zdrów* ‘she is healthy’, *oni są zdrów* ‘they are healthy’ (Breza and Treder 1981: 151–2).

The short type survives also in the nominative and accusative of possessive adjectives, which, however, unlike other short forms, are used attributively: for example, *bratów* ‘brother’s’. In the nominative plural and all oblique cases possessive adjectives take the same endings as other adjectives (Breza and Treder 1981: 121).

The adjectival paradigm is demonstrated by *młodi* ‘young’ in table 13.7.

### Notes

- 1 The vocative always coincides with the nominative.
- 2 Soft-stem adjectives have the same endings as in the paradigm shown in table 13.7, except in the plural, where they lack the variants with *-ě-*.
- 3 In contrast to Polish, dentals are not palatalized before the masculine-



Table 13.7 Declension of *młodi* 'young'

	M	SG		F	PL	
		N			Masculine personal	Non-masculine personal
NOM	młodi	młodé	młodô	młodi	młodé	
ACC	młodi (or młodégo)	młodé	młodą	młodich/-ëch	młodé	
GEN		młodégo	młodi	młodich/-ëch		
DAT		młodému	młodi	młodim		
INST		młodim	młodą	młodimi/-ima/-ëmi/-ëma		
LOC		o młodim	o młodi	o młodich/-ëch		

personal nominative plural ending *-i* (compare Polish *młodzi*).

- 4 As in pronouns, the ending *-go* is pronounced in north Cassubian as *-ue*, which in stylized literature may be written as *-te*: thus *młodéte* for *młodégo*.

### 3.2 Verbal morphology

In addition to first, second and third persons, singular and plural, the Cassubian verb has acquired an honorific second person singular or plural category expressed by means of the originally plural ending *-ce*: *wě môte* 'you have'. This is distinct from the non-honorific second person plural, which is expressed by means of the originally second person dual ending *-ta*: *wa môtá* 'you have' (NON-HON PL).

On the basis of the present-tense endings (principally the vowel *-e-*, *-i-* or *-ô-* in the middle four members of the paradigm) the verbs fall into the four conjugations illustrated in table 13.8.

#### Notes

- 1 The uncontracted forms of the third conjugation are found in north Cassubia (see map 13.1 on p. 760). For most verbs of this conjugation the uncontracted form is attested only in the first person singular (thus, from *gadac* 'to speak': *jô gôdaję* 'I speak', but *tě gôdôsz* 'you speak (SG)', and so forth) (AJK X: map 451). The verbs *grac* 'to play' and *znac* 'to know', however, have a complete present-tense uncontracted paradigm, in addition to the contracted type found in the south (Breza and Treder 1981: 130–1).
- 2 The only other verb belonging to the fourth conjugation is *wiedzec* 'to know' (*jô wiém*, *tě wiész* (*wiész*) and so forth).

The present and future tenses of the verb *bëc* 'to be' are shown in table

**Table 13.8** Examples of the four Cassubian conjugations

	SG	PL	HON
<b>First conjugation: <i>niesc</i> 'to carry'</b>			
1	jô nioş	mě niesemě (-ma)	
2	tě niesesz	wa nieseta	wě niesece
3	on/ono/ona niese	oni/oně nioşą	
<b>Second conjugation: <i>robic</i> 'to do, make, work'</b>			
1	jô robię	mě robimě (-ma)	
2	tě robisz	wa robita	wě robice
3	on/ono/ona robi	oni/oně robią	
<b>Third conjugation (contracted): <i>grac</i> 'to play'</b>			
1	jô gróm	mě grômě (-ma)	
2	tě grôsz	wa grôta	wě grôce
3	on/ono/ona grô	oni/oně grają	
<b>Third conjugation (uncontracted): <i>grac</i> 'to play'</b>			
1	jô graję	mě grajemě (-ma)	
2	tě grajesz	wa grajeta	wě grajece
3	on/ono/ona graje	oni/oně grają	
<b>Fourth conjugation: <i>jesc</i> 'to eat'</b>			
1	jô jém	mě jémě (-ma)	
2	tě jész (jés)	wa jéta	wě jéce
3	on/ono/ona jé	oni/oně jédzą	

13.9. The future tense of other verbs is formed, as in Polish, with the non-past of perfective verbs or with the infinitive or *l*-participle of imperfective verbs in conjunction with the future of 'to be'. The past tense is capable of being formed in three different ways, none of which coincides with the Polish past tense:

- 1 The auxiliary *bęc* 'to be' is accompanied by the *l*-participle (for example, *robił* from *robic* 'to make, work'):

SG	PL	HON
1 jô jem robił(a)	mě jesmě robilě/-łě	
2 tě jes robił(a)	wa jesta robilě/-łě	wě jesce robilě
3 on/ono/ona jc robił(o/a)	oni/oně są robilě/-łě	

*Note:* This type is widely used in literature, but in the spoken language it is characteristic of the older generation.

- 2 The *l*-participle is used without the auxiliary (the personal pronoun thus acquiring an added significance, as in Russian):

Table 13.9 Present and future tenses of *bęc* 'to be'

SG	PL	HON
<b>Present</b>		
1 jô jem	më jesmë	
2 të jes	wa jesta	wë jesce
3 on/ono/ona je	oni/onë są	
<b>Future</b>		
1 jô będę/bądę/mdę/ bdę	më będemë/ bądemë/mdzemë/ bdzemë	
2 të będziesz/bądziesz/ mdziesz/bdziesz	wa będzeta/bądzeta/ mdzeta/bdzeta	we będzece/bądzece/ mdzece/bdzece
3 on/ono/ona będze/ bądze/mdze/bdze	oni/onë będą/bądą/ mdą/bdą	

SG	PL	HON
1 jô robił(a)	më robilë/-të	
2 të robił(a)	wa robilë/-të	wë robilë
3 on/ono/ona robił(o/a)	oni robilë/onë robilë	

*Note:* In north and central Cassubia the feminine ending *-ta*, if preceded by *-a-* or *-ę-*, is contracted: thus *pisata* 'wrote' → *pisa*, *wzięta* 'took' → *wzię* (Breza and Treder 1981: 133–4).

- 3 The auxiliary *miec* 'to have' is accompanied by the passive participle in its nominative singular neuter or masculine form, as in *on mô to wszystko zrobioné/zrobiony* 'he has done it all' (Lorentz 1919: 45, 74; Breza and Treder 1981: 133). Passive participles are formed not only with *-n-* and *-t-* (*zrobiony* 'done', *zabiti* 'killed'), as in Polish, but also with *-t-/-l-* (*zjadłi* 'eaten'):

Jô môm to widzałé.  
'I have seen that.'

In the case of intransitive verbs of motion, this tense is formed with the auxiliary *bęc* 'to be' (instead of *miec* 'to have'). The participle then agrees in gender and number with the subject:

Ta białka je precz jidzonô.  
'The (or that) woman has gone away.'

Pluperfect constructions are also possible (but rare):

Jô jem bét pisôł.  
'I had written.'

Jak jô przëszëd, on ju wszëtko miôt zjadłé.  
 'When I arrived, he had already eaten everything.'

(Lorentz 1919: 74)

The conditional is formed by combining the particle *bë* (which may or may not acquire a personal ending) with the *l*-participle:

Jô bë ucekł or Jô bëm ucekł.  
 'I would run away.'  
 Të bë ucekł. or Të bës ucekł.  
 'You would run away.'

(Breza and Treder 1981: 134)

### 3.3 Derivational morphology

#### 3.3.1 Major patterns of noun derivation

The following characteristically Cassubian suffixes are either not known in Polish or have a function which differs from that of their formal counterparts in Polish:

- 1 -*ëszcze/-iszcze* and derivatives -*czëszcze/-cziszcze*, -*owiszcze* and -*awiszcze*: *rzëszcze*, *rzanowiszcze*, *rzaniszcze* 'field of rye-stubble' (derived from *rez* 'rye') (compare Polish *rżysko* 'stubble'), *bulwiszcze* 'potato field' (derived from *bulwa* 'potato') (compare Polish *kartoflisko*), *mrowiszcze* 'ant-hill' (compare Polish *mrowisko*), *pastwiszcze* 'pasture' (compare Polish *pastwisko*). The equivalent of standard Polish -*isko*, this suffix often has the meaning 'place' (as in other Slavonic languages), but it is also capable of totally different functions, as in *grablëszcze/grabiszcze* 'handle of a rake', *kosëszcze* 'handle of a scythe', *szëplëszcze* 'handle of a spade'. It is found only in northern dialects and among speakers of the older generation. Among the young it is tending to be replaced by -*isko* (Breza and Treder 1981: 92-3).
- 2 -*ô* (< -*ā*) is used to form abstract nouns and often corresponds to Polish -*ość*: *grëbiô/grubiô* 'fatness', *wizô* 'height', *szërzô* 'width'.
- 3 -*ota* is used to form abstract nouns and usually corresponds to Polish -*ość* (though Polish also has -*ota* for certain purposes): *bladota* 'pallor', *cëchota* 'quietness', *bëlnota* 'courage, virtue'.
- 4 -*iczé* is specifically Cassubian and is used to derive from the names of plants words denoting foliage, stalks or the place where the plant grows: *bobowiczé* 'bean leaves and stalks' (derived from *bób* '(broad) beans'), *bulwowiczé* 'leaves of the potato' (derived from *bulwa* 'potato'), *grochowiczé* 'pea stalks' (derived from *groch* 'peas'), *wrzosowiczé* 'heath' (derived from *wrzos* 'heather').

- 5 *-ajk* (M), *-ajka* (F) are used to derive nouns from verbs. They are often pejorative, usually refer to human beings (but sometimes to animals and objects), and are particularly characteristic of central Cassubian dialects: *lizajk* 'lickspittle, flatterer' (from *lizac* 'to lick'), *nalinajk* 'importunate man' (from *nalënac* 'to insist'), *kopajka* 'cow that kicks during milking' (from *kopac* 'to kick') (Popowska-Taborska 1987: 212–18).

### 3.3.2 Major patterns of adjective derivation

The following suffixes have different functions from their formal counterparts in Polish (which are given for comparison where appropriate):

- 1 *-any*: *złocany* 'golden' (from *złoto* 'gold'; Polish *złoty* 'golden'), *ceniany* 'shady' (from *céń* 'shade'; Polish *cienisty*), *krëwiany* 'bloody' (from *krew* 'blood'; Polish *krwawy*), *deszczany* 'rainy' (from *deszcz* 'rain'; Polish *deszczowy*).
- 2 *-ny*: *bójny* 'fearful' (from *bojec sę* 'to fear'; Polish *bojaźliwy*), *dżibny* 'pliant' (from *dżibac* 'to bend'; Polish *gibki*).
- 3 *-i*: *chłopi* 'male' (from *chłop* 'man'), *knôpi* 'boyish' (from *knôp* 'boy'), *strëzi* 'beggarly' (from *strëch* 'beggar'), *buczi* 'beech' (from *buk* 'beech'; Polish *bukowy*).
- 4 *-ati* in adjectives derived from adjectives denotes a weakening of the attribute in question (English *-ish*): *długowati* 'longish' (from *długzi* 'long'), *sëwati* 'greyish' (from *sëwi* 'grey'; Polish *siwawy*), *glëchowati* 'hard of hearing' (from *glëchi* 'deaf'; Polish *gluchawy*) (Breza and Treder 1981: 104–7).

## 4 Syntax

### 4.1 Element order in declarative sentences

To a considerable extent the unmarked order of constituents in the Cassubian sentence coincides with that in Polish. The subject precedes the predicate:

Subject	Predicate
Ubogò czòpka okriwò nieròz mądrą głowę. 'A poor cap often covers a wise head.'	

Within the predicate the verb normally precedes the object:

Verb	Adverb	Object
... okriwò nieròz mądrą głowę		

There is a tendency, however, for the verb to follow the object and thus to stand at the end of the clause. This is said to be an archaic feature, once present in Polish too, which Cassubian has retained (Breza and Treder 1981: 176). The difference between Cassubian and Polish in this respect may be seen from the following examples from Aleksander Majkowski's *Žěcé i przigodě Remusa* (1988) contrasted with the corresponding sentences from Lech Bądkowski's Polish translation *Życie i przygody Remusa* (1966):

- |            |   |          |
|------------|---|----------|
| Cassubian: | A tak jò umrzec muszę.  | (p. 126) |
| Polish:    | A tak muszę umrzeć.<br>'Otherwise, I must die.'   | (p. 78)  |
| Cassubian  | Wkrąg zelenô dzarna jak diwan rozłożeta sę.<br>around green turf like carpet spread self.   | (p. 265) |
| Polish     | Naokoło rozłożyła się jak dywan zielona darni.<br>around spread self like carpet green turf.<br>'All around the green turf was spread out like a carpet.' | (p. 161) |

In analytic forms of the verb the auxiliary (or the particle *bě*) is often separated from the non-finite component, forming a 'bow', like that known from Sorbian (see chapter 11, section 4.1):

Nen parobk bėł czekawi, co ona mdze (AUX) tam robiła (PART).  
'That servant wondered what she would do there.'

(Sychta 1967-76, I: 157)

Cziej jem (AUX) tam pod trzema chojnami dôwôł (PART) bôczeniē na moje bėdło,  
nico mie wiedno kusiło.

(Majkowski, p. 26)

(Polish translation: Gdy pod tymi trzema chojnami pilnowałem bydła, zawsze coś  
mnie kusiło.) (p. 21)

'When I was keeping watch on my cattle there under the three pines, something  
was always tempting me.'

#### 4.2 Non-declarative sentence types

In a question seeking supplementary information the first position is taken by an interrogative pronoun or adverb (such as *chto(ź)* 'who', *co(ź)* 'what', *cziedy(ź)* 'when', *jak* 'how'):

Dzeż wa jidzeta?

'Where are you going?'

In these questions the order of elements following the interrogative word is the same as in the corresponding declarative sentence. Yes-no sentences, however, are derived from declarative sentences by moving the verb into first position:

Të możesz mie to powiedzec.  
‘You can tell me that.’

becomes a question as:

Możesz të mie to powiedzec?  
‘Can you tell me that?’

A negated verb is preceded by *nie*:

Nie zakôzôł jô tobie?  
‘Did I not forbid you?’

In a question presenting an alternative the second element is preceded by *czë* or *abo*:

Gôdôce wë po żartach, czë po prôwdze?  
‘Are you speaking in jest or in earnest?’  
Znajesz të to, abo môm jô tobie to pokazac?  
‘Do you know it or have I got to show you it?’

Questions are frequently introduced by particles (*ë*, *a*, *i* or *ale*), which precede all other elements:

Ë bël të w Gdańsku, abo dze të bël?  
‘Were you in Gdańsk or where were you?’

It is possible for a yes–no question to be introduced by the particle *czë*:

Czë to je twoje?  
‘Is that yours?’

in which case the verb retains the same position as in the declarative sentence. But this type is rarer in Cassubian than in Polish.

The usual responses to a yes–no question (whether negated or not) are *jo* ‘yes’ and *nié* ‘no’:

Jedzeta wa?  
‘Are you going?’  
Jo.  
‘Yes.’

These words are made more emphatic by the addition of the particle *le*: *jo le* ‘yes indeed’, *nié le* ‘certainly not’.

Indirect yes–no questions are introduced by *czë*:

Jô sę pitôł, czë on je doma.  
 'I asked if he was at home.'

The order in indirect questions is the same as in the declarative sentence.

### 4.3 Copular sentences

The main copulas are *bëc* 'to be', *ostac* 'to remain' and *stawac sę* (perfective *stac sę*). The zero copula 'to be' is extremely rare and stylistically marked:

To ostatnô noc.  
 'That is the last night.'  
 To më nié, to ti sztërzej kole ognia.  
 'It's not us, it's those four by the fire.'  
 Co nowégo na swiecë?  
 'What's new in the world?'

(Lorentz 1919: 82)

The complement of any of the verbs named above may be in either the nominative or the instrumental. This applies both to nouns and noun phrases:

#### Nominative:

Ten karczmôrz je mój brat.  
 'The (or that) inn-keeper is my brother.'  
 Të ostôniesz mój syn.  
 'You will remain my son.'  
 Tak ten parobk sę stôł pón.  
 'So the servant became master.'

#### Instrumental:

Jan bét dobrim rëbôczem.  
 'Jan was a good fisherman.'  
 On sę stôł królë.  
 'He became king.'

and to adjectives:

#### Nominative:

Wë jesce barzo łaskawi.  
 'You are very kind.'

#### Instrumental:

Jô nie jem taczim, jak të mëslisz.  
 'I am not such, as you think.'  
 On sę stôł barzo nieszczestlëwim.  
 'He became very unhappy.'

(Breza and Treder 1981: 151; Lorentz 1958-62: 1134)



The complement may also be formed with the preposition *za*, which may take the nominative, accusative or instrumental:

On bét w ti wsy za kowôl.  
 'He was the blacksmith in that village.'  
 Jô wice nie mdę za rëbôka.  
 'I shan't be a fisherman any more.'  
 On tam bét za królę.  
 'He was king there.'

(Lorentz 1925: 205, 214; 1958-62: 1134)

The use of the simple nominative is said to indicate a permanent characteristic (Lorentz 1919: 60; 1958-62: 1134), but with *stawac sę* (*stac sę*) the use of the nominative complement is rare (Lorentz 1925: 201-2).

#### 4.4 Coordination and comitativity

Coordination, both of individual words and phrases and of clauses, is most commonly effected by means of coordinating conjunctions, such as *i* (varying locally with *ji* and *ě*) 'and', *a* 'and', *ale* 'but', *abo* 'or', *czë* 'or', *ani* 'neither/nor':

Bëlä brat a sostra.  
 'They were brother and sister.'

In contradistinction to Modern Polish (but as in Old Polish) the function of *a* is often connective (as in the above example), but it may also have a disconnective function (as in Modern Polish):

Nie wié, a gôdô.  
 'He does not know and (yet) he speaks.'

The process whereby *i* is replacing *a* in the connective function is less advanced than in Polish (Breza and Treder 1981: 163). The Slovincian conjunction *ôs* 'and' (also connective) was recorded extensively by Lorentz (as in *tata ôs mëma ju nie żëją* 'father and mother are no longer living'; 1958-72, I: 600).

Zero coordination also occurs:

W chałëpie, na polu, w lese, na jezerze jô musził robic.  
 'In the house, in the field, in the forest (and) on the lake I had to work.'

Zero may also be disconnective:

Do ciebie on przëszed, mie on nie nawiedzyl.  
 'He came to you, (but) he did not visit me.'

In a series each item may be preceded by a conjunction:

Chłopi ji białczy ji dzecë sę zbiegalë.  
'Men and women and children gathered together.'

or the items may be in pairs:

Stoļë ë stółczy, ławë ë szpinie oni wënieslë.  
'Tables and chairs, benches and cupboards they carried out.'

or only the last item may be preceded by a conjunction:

Jô môm troje dzecy, Jana, Mòrcëna a Leoszë.  
'I have three children, Jan, Mòrcën and Leosza.'  
(Lorentz 1925: 223; 1958-62: 1174)

Conjoined noun phrases in the subject generally take a plural verb:

Brat a sostra szlë w las.  
'Brother and sister went into the wood.'

but occasionally singular verbs occur, in which case the verb agrees in gender with the noun standing closest to it:

Odraza (F) i strach (M) czierowôł (M SG) jego postëpkama.  
'Revulsion and fear directed his actions.'  
(Lorentz 1925: 225; 1958-62: 1174; Breza and Treder 1981: 152)

Comitative constructions can consist only of nouns, not pronouns. They normally take singular agreement (an archaic feature):

Lesny z psem po lese chodzi.  
'The forester and his dog are walking in the wood.'

But the innovatory use of the plural may also be observed:

Kawalër z brutką szlë szpacërë.  
'The bridegroom and the bride went for a walk.'

Comitative phrases hardly ever occur in any case other than the nominative. (Lorentz 1925: 223, 225; 1958-62: 1175; Breza and Treder 1981: 152).

#### 4.5 Subordination

The following are some of the main subordinating conjunctions: *bële* 'if', *bo* 'because', *choba* (*że*) 'unless', *choc* 'though', *chtëren* 'who, which', *chto* 'who', *cziedë* 'when', *cziej* 'when, if', *eż* 'that', (*g*)*dze* 'where', *jak* 'as', *jaż* 'until', *jeżle* 'whether, if', *ko* 'because, since', *że* 'that'. Quite distinct from standard Polish (though with parallels in Polish dialects) is the wide range

of functions performed by *co* 'who, what, that'. As a relative pronoun it is undeclined:

ti lédze, co na drodze bëlë  
'the people who were in the road'

but the oblique cases are expressed by the insertion of the appropriate form of the anaphoric pronoun:

ta białka, co to dziecko ji (DAT SG) słęchało  
the woman who the child to her belonged  
'the woman to whom the child belonged'

(Lorentz 1919: 60)

As alternatives to subordinate clauses of certain types Cassubian has, as a result of German interference, evolved several constructions involving the use of non-finite parts of the verb:

1 Verbal noun:

Nakaż jemu te stédnie do częszczeniô.  
'Order him to clean the well.' (only northern dialects)

2 Gerund/participle:

Ona obôczęła swojego chłopa na zemi leżącë.  
'She saw her husband lying on the ground.'

3 Infinitive:

On czuł tego ptôcha spiewac.  
'He heard the bird sing.'

(Lorentz 1958–62: 1064)

There are also many constructions in which (as in Polish and independently of German influence) infinitives are used, including those containing modal verbs and verbs of beginning, finishing, continuing, prohibiting, permitting, learning, teaching, fearing and so forth:

On sę zbojôt jic na wies.  
'He was afraid to go to the village.'

In northern dialects the infinitive is subject to replacement by the verbal noun:

Mielë strach w karczmie do tańcowaniô.  
'They were afraid to dance in the inn.'

Though amply attested by Lorentz (1958–62: 1098), this construction is now said to be rare (Breza and Treder 1981: 181), the influence of German having been replaced by the influence of Polish.

#### 4.6 Negation

Sentence negation is expressed by the adverb *nie* 'not', which stands immediately before the main verb:

Jô to nie zrobiç.  
'I shall not do that.'

In the case of intransitive verbs negation may be strengthened by the addition of *nic* before *nie*:

On sę nic nie smiôł.  
'He did not laugh at all.'

(Lorentz 1958-72, I: 595)

Before parts of *miec* 'to have', *moc* 'to be able' and *muszëc* 'must' *nie* is replaced by the allomorph *ni*: *jô ni môm* 'I have not', *ona ni może* 'she cannot'.

Constituent negation is expressed by the adverb *nié* 'not', which stands immediately after the constituent negated:

Jô przinđę gwësno, ale môj brat nié.  
'I shall come for certain, but not my brother.'

This is a homonym of the negative interjection *nié* 'no'. The form *nie* occurs only with verbs, the form *nié* only independently of verbs (Lorentz 1919: 72). Further negative adverbs are *nigdë* 'never', *nigdze* 'nowhere' and *nijak* 'in no way'. Negative pronouns are *nic* 'nothing' and *nicht* 'nobody'. There is no known limit to the number of negative elements that can be included in the clause:

Tu nicht nigdë nic nie przëniós.  
'No one ever brought anything here.'

The direct object in a negated sentence may be in the genitive or the accusative:

Jô nie widzôł ti białczy. 'I did not see the woman.'  
Jô nie widzôł tę białkę.

(Breza and Treder 1981: 153)

The question whether there are any lexical or other restraints on the choice of case has not been investigated, but according to Lorentz (1925: 202) any verb whose equivalent can be used with the accusative in German is also capable of taking the accusative in Cassubian.

The logical subject of certain negated sentences is also capable of appearing in the genitive:

Tam nie bëło nikogo.  
'There was no one there.'

(Lorentz 1958-62: 1092)

But here too the genitive is not mandatory:

Tam nie bëł nicht.

(Lorentz 1958-72, I: 594)

#### 4.7 Anaphora and pronouns

Anaphora is most commonly expressed by the personal pronouns *jô, tã, on, ona, ono, mã, va, oni, onã* and honorific *vã*:

Czim chudszô wesz, tim barzã ona grãze.

'The leaner the louse, the more it bites.'

Jedni rodzycy mieli jednãgo syna, ale oni bëłã barzo ubodzy i oni nie mogli jemu nic dac.

'Some parents had a son, but they were very poor and could give him nothing.'

Forms of the originally demonstrative pronouns *ten, ta, to* and *nen, na, no* (commonly used as definite articles) also have an anaphoric function:

Jeden chłop a jedna białka, ti mieszkalã w lese.

'A man and a woman, they lived in a forest.'

It is possible to omit the subject pronoun, but this is rare:

Ni môm nikogo, cobã mie pomôgł.

'(I) have no one to help me.'

(Breza and Treder 1981: 150; Lorentz 1958-62: 1164)

There are, however, cases in which the omission of the pronoun is a positive indication of the absence of anaphora (that is, with an indefinite subject interpretation, like English 'one'):

Cziej tak przez las jidze ...

'When one goes through the wood like that ...'

Jak organã nastroisz, tak grają.

'As the organ is tuned, so it will play.'

(Lorentz 1958-62: 1165)

The increasing omission of personal pronouns in certain types of modern Cassubian literature is a result of Polish influence. Their frequent and redundant use is a characteristic feature of the vernacular and of more traditional literature:

Jô sã ceszã, co jô to zrobił.

'I am glad that I did it.'

It is often the case that the pronoun is used *in addition* to a noun in the subject:

Jeden bogati a jeden biédny brat, oni sę ni mogli zgodzëc.  
'A rich brother and a poor brother, they could not agree.'

In relative clauses anaphora is expressed by the relative pronouns *chtëren*, *jaczi*, *chto* and *co*. The most common of these is uninflected *co*, which can relate to nouns and pronouns of any gender or number. It acquires the equivalents of inflections in the form of parts of the personal pronouns:

ten chłop, co jemu jô to dôł  
the man who to him I it gave  
'the man to whom I gave it'  
më wszëtcë, co më tam bëłë  
we all who we there were  
'all of us who were there'

(Lorentz 1919: 29; 1925: 200)

#### 4.8 Reflexives and reciprocals

Reflexivity is expressed by means of the reflexive pronoun (*sebie*, *sę*, *so* and so on) and of the reflexive possessive adjective *swój*:

On widzôł siebie w špëglu.  
'He saw himself in the looking-glass.'  
Jô weznę swoję palëcę.  
'I shall take my stick.'

In the first and second persons the reflexive possessive adjective may be replaced by the personal possessive adjective:

Jô weznę moję palëcę.  
'I shall take my stick.'

(Lorentz 1925: 199–200)

Reciprocity is expressed by means of the reflexive pronoun:

A wa sę znajeta?  
'And do you know each other?'

or of *ten (jeden) ... (tego) drëdžiëgo* '(the) one ... (the) other'

Ti bracë jeden tego drëdžiëgo sę bilë.  
'The brothers were fighting each other.'

(Lorentz 1958–62: 1076)

#### 4.9 Possession

Possession is commonly expressed by means of the verb *miec* 'to have':

Jô môm dwie krowë ji jedno celę.  
 'I have two cows and one calf.'

In contrast to Polish a distinction is made between the normal negative third person singular *ni mô* 'has not' (*on ni mô nic* 'he has nothing') and *ni ma* 'there is not' (*ni ma nic* 'there is nothing') (Breza and Treder 1984: 20, 22). The possessive dative is extremely rare:

Jemu bëto miono Karól.  
 to him was name Karól  
 'His name was Karól.'

(Lorentz 1958–62: 1114)

A possessive relationship may be expressed by means of an adnominal genitive, which normally follows its head noun, though it may also stand before it:

konie naszego pana 'our master's horses'  
 naszego pana konie

If the adnominal genitive is singular and consists only of a noun without a modifier it is normally replaced by a possessive adjective (Lorentz 1958–62: 1090–1): *panowé konie* '(the) master's horses' is normally preferred to *konie pana* '(the) horses of (the) master.' It is asserted by Breza and Treder (1981: 105) that the adjectival construction is obligatory; but in literature, at least, it is not difficult to find cases of singular unmodified adnominal genitives. In Cassubian (unlike Sorbian) possessive adjectives can control neither attributive modifiers nor relative pronouns, but, as in all other Slavonic languages (with the possible exception of Polish, in which the existence of the possessive adjective is marginal and its control ability doubtful – Corbett 1987: 314 and 319, table 1), control of the personal pronoun is normal:

Początek pisanjô Remusovégo. Jak on pôsôł dobëtk i jak sę dowiedzôł o Straszku ...  
 'The beginning of Remus's writing. How he tended cattle and learned about Straszku ...'

(Majkowski 1988: 18)

In the Polish translation of Majkowski's novel *Żęcë i przigodë Remusa* 'The life and adventures of Remus' (whose title, incidentally, demonstrates the adnominal genitive) the possessive adjectives are retained in most cases and impart a Cassubian ingredient to the Polish style (Majkowski 1966 *passim*).

## 5 Lexis

### 5.2 Patterns of borrowing

As a result of centuries of contact with German the Cassubian vocabulary has acquired a large number of German borrowings of various kinds. It has been estimated that about 5 per cent of the vocabulary is made up of German loan-words, as compared with 3 per cent in the case of the Polish vocabulary (Hinze 1965: 7–8). For example: Cassubian *brėkowac* ‘to need, use’ (Low German *brüken*), *brutka* ‘bride, fiancée, spinster’ (Low German *brüt*), *bôt* ‘boat’ (German *Boot*), *darvac* ‘may, must’ (Low German *darven*), *dėnėga* ‘wave’ (German *Dünung*), *dėrch* ‘through’ (German *durch*), *doch* ‘yet, but’ (German *doch*), *kanink(a)* ‘rabbit’ (Low German *kaninken*), *knôp* ‘boy’ (Low German *knāp*), *nara* ‘fool’ (Middle Low German *narre*), *twėła* ‘twig, branch’ (Low German *twelle*), *żoka* ‘sock’ (German *Socke*). The majority of the loan-words were borrowed from the Low German varieties spoken by the settlers with whom the Cassubians were in constant and prolonged contact. In many cases the form of the loan-word provides evidence that it is of Low German origin. The role of standard German was smaller, but not negligible. Central German is also represented (Hinze 1965: 12–15).

The likelihood of Latin, Prussian and Scandinavian influence on the vocabulary was mentioned in passing by Lorentz (Lorentz, Fischer and Lehr-Spławiński 1935: 12–13), but with few details (see also Lorentz 1925: 11–12). The question of Polish lexical influence is particularly difficult, for it depends on being able to say what is specifically Cassubian in the Cassubian vocabulary. Nevertheless, Cassubian words whose Polish equivalents are known to be Czech borrowings (such as *hardi* ‘haughty’, *wspaniałi* ‘splendid’) can scarcely be anything but Polish borrowings in Cassubian (Popowska-Taborska 1987: 18–26). The same is true of Cassubian words embodying the Polish dialectal (but not Cassubian) feature of *mazurzenie* (such as *cud* ‘miracle’) (Popowska-Taborska 1987: 43–8). In the twentieth century, of course, it is possible for linguists directly to observe the widespread replacement of traditional Cassubian words by Polonisms (such as substitution of Polish *narzeczona* ‘fiancée’ and *narzeczony* ‘fiancé’ for Cassubian *brutka* and *kawaler*; Popowska-Taborska 1980: 38).

### 5.4 Lexical fields

#### 5.4.1 Colour terms

white	<i>biôłi</i>
black	<i>czôrni</i>
red	<i>czerwoni</i> (south and central dialects), <i>czerwioni</i> (north)
green	<i>zeloni</i>



yellow	<i>żółti</i>
blue	<i>modri</i> (north, central, and part of south), <i>jasny</i> (south), <i>niebiesczy</i> (sporadically in north and central, but mainly south dialects) ( <i>AJK IV</i> : 161–4, map 184).
brown	<i>bruny</i> (including horses)
purple	<i>lilewi</i>
pink	<i>różowi, różewi</i>
orange	<i>pomeranćowci</i>
grey	<i>sëwi</i> (of hair), <i>szari, popielati</i> ‘light grey’

#### 5.4.2 Body parts

head	<i>głowa</i> (human beings and animals), <i>teb</i> (or <i>tep</i> ) (animals)
eye	<i>oko</i> (plural <i>oczë</i> ) (human beings and animals), <i>slëpie</i> (animals)
nose	<i>nos</i>
ear	<i>ucho</i> (plural <i>uszë</i> )
mouth	<i>gęba</i> (human being), <i>pësk</i> (animals) ( <i>usta</i> is not known – <i>AJK I</i> : 104), <i>flaba, munia, plapa</i>
hair	<i>włosë</i> (singular <i>włos</i> ), <i>klat</i> ( <i>ë</i> ), <i>klësz</i> ( <i>e</i> ), <i>knisze</i>
neck	<i>kark, szëja</i> (human beings and animals); the meaning of <i>kark</i> (unlike Polish <i>kark</i> ) is not restricted to ‘nape’ ( <i>AJK XV</i> : 48)
arm/hand	<i>remię</i> (upper arm), <i>ręka</i> (from elbow to finger-tips)
finger	<i>pôlc</i>
leg/foot	<i>noga</i> ‘leg and foot’, <i>stopa</i> ‘foot’, <i>gajda</i> ‘long leg’; <i>szpëra, szpëta</i> (animals)
toe	<i>pôlc kole nodzi</i>
chest	<i>piërs</i>
heart	<i>sërce</i>

#### 5.4.3 Kinship terms

mother	varies regionally: northernmost dialects have <i>nëna, nënka</i> , and derivatives; further south <i>mëma, mëmka</i> and others. ( <i>AJK II</i> : 115–17, map 80). Also <i>mata, matka, mac, nana</i> .
father	<i>ojc, tata, tatk, papa</i>
sister	<i>sostra, sostrzëca</i>
brother	<i>brat, bratin, bratk</i>
aunt	<i>cotka</i> (sister of mother or father), <i>wujna</i> (wife of mother’s brother), <i>strijna</i> (wife of father’s brother)
uncle	<i>wuja</i> (mainly north), <i>wuj</i> (mainly south) (both mean ‘brother of mother’), <i>strij</i> (brother of father) ( <i>AJK VII</i> : map 324)
niece	<i>bratinka</i> (brother’s daughter), <i>sostrzëna, sostrzinia, sestrzónka</i> (sister’s daughter)

nephew	<i>bratink, bratěwc, bratówc</i> (brother's son), <i>sostrzin, sestrzónk</i> (sister's son).
cousin (female)	<i>półsostra</i> (also means 'half-sister') (Sychta 1967-76 IV: 128), <i>cotczěna córka</i> (aunt's daughter) (Sychta 1967-76, I: 140)
cousin (male)	<i>półbrat</i> (also means 'half-brother') (Sychta 1967-76, IV: 125)
grandmother	varies regionally: <i>něnka, stara něnka, starka, staruszka, starucha, oma, omama</i> and others (AJK V: 182-7, map 235). Also <i>busz(k)a</i> .
grandfather	varies regionally: <i>stark, tatk, stary tatk, staruszk, opa, opapa</i> and others (AJK V: 175-82, map 234). Also <i>buszk, dada</i> .
wife	<i>białka</i> (north), <i>kobiéta</i> (south); both words mean both 'wife' and 'woman' (AJK II: 87-8, map 72). Also <i>czepnica, slěbnô, slěbnica</i> .
husband	<i>chłop</i> 'man, husband'; thus <i>woni żělě jak chłop ě białka</i> 'they lived as man and wife' (Lorentz 1958-72, I: 277). Also <i>slěbny, slěbnik</i> .
daughter	<i>córka</i> , rarely <i>córa</i> . Also (archaic) <i>otroczcěca</i> .
son	<i>syn</i> . Also (archaic) <i>otrok</i> .

## 6 Dialects

A comprehensive picture of territorial variation in Cassubian and the neighbouring Polish dialects is presented in AJK on the basis of field-work carried out in the period 1955-61. Material was collected from 186 villages, of which 104 are Cassubian. Particular weight was given to lexical isoglosses, as may be seen from the fact that of the 700 maps 300 deal with lexical questions, 150 with word-formation, 150 with inflection and 100 with phonetics and phonology. Before 1945 Cassubian came into contact with Polish dialects only in the south and south-east along a border about 16 miles (27 km) long. Here it met and still meets the Polish dialects of Kociewie and Tuchola. Otherwise it was surrounded by German and the sea. After 1945 the Germans were expelled and the areas they had left were filled with immigrants from other parts of Poland (see map 13.1 on p. 760).

The main isoglosses distinguishing Cassubian from its Polish neighbours are:

- 1 *Kaszubienie*: the substitution of *c* for *ć*, *s* for *ś*, *z* for *ź* and *dz* for *dź*;
- 2 South Cassubian initial stress accent (penultimate in the adjoining Polish dialect of Tuchola);
- 3 distinction between *ô* (< \**ā*) and *a* (< \**ǣ*) (in the neighbouring Polish

- dialect of Kociewie  $\bar{a}$  and  $\check{a}$  have merged as  $a$ );
- 4 loss of vowel in the suffixes  $-k$  ( $\langle *-\bar{b}k\bar{b} \rangle$ ) and  $-c$  ( $\langle *-\bar{b}c\bar{b} \rangle$ ).

Internal isoglosses attest clearly the individuality of north Cassubian, particularly the far north:

- 1 The north-east, including the Hel Peninsula, has one phoneme /l/, where other dialects have two, /l/ and /w/ ( $\check{t}$ ): thus *głowa* 'head' is pronounced /glova/ (see map 13.1 on p. 760). The question as to whether this results from German influence remains unsolved (see Breza and Treder 1981: 31–2). In neighbouring Cassubian dialects this feature has motivated the nick-name *Bělôk* 'one who substitutes /l/ for /w/' and the verb *bělaczęc* 'to pronounce /l/ instead of /w/'.
- 2 In most of the north (but excluding the far north-west) /x/ before a front vowel  $\succ$  /ʃ/: as in /muʃi/, nominative plural of *mucha* 'fly'. The corresponding  $k' \succ cz$  and  $g' \succ dź$  extend over the whole of, and even beyond, Cassubian territory.
- 3 Northern first person singular  $-aję$  in certain verbs corresponds to  $-am$  further south: northern *szukaję* 'I seek': south and central *szukóm* (see map 13.1 on p. 760).
- 4 Examples of northern lexical isoglosses: *jiglëna* 'juniper' (Polish *jałowiec*), *Jastrë* 'Easter' (Polish *Wielkanoc*), *naożeni* 'bridegroom' (Polish *pan młody*), *nogawica* 'stocking' (Polish *pończocha*), *okszó* 'axe' (Polish *siekiera*).

There are few specifically central or south Cassubian isoglosses. Features not shared with the north are often shared with adjacent Polish dialects. However, the following are at least typically, if not exclusively, south and central Cassubian:

- 1  $sj \langle sw' \rangle$ : *sjinia* 'pig'  $\langle$  *swinia* (see map 13.1 on p. 760).
- 2 Neuter genitive singular in  $-u$  (sporadically in south): thus *żëcu* (genitive singular of *żëcé* 'life'), *ostrzu* (genitive singular of *ostrzë* 'blade'). This is only attested for soft stems (AJK XI: maps 536–7).
- 3 Lexical: *chatupnik* 'lodger' (south) (Polish *lokator*), *opi* 'vampire' (south and central) (Polish and North Cassubian *upiór*), *pozymk* 'spring (season)' (south) (Polish *wiosna*), *stëpiën* 'stirrup' (central) (Polish *strzemię*), *skrómk* 'first slice cut from a loaf' (south).

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