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KASHUBIAN DIALECT CLASSIFICATIONS

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Abstract

This article presents a historical overview of Kashubian dialect classifications. Until now, five different approaches to classifying Kashubian dialects have been developed, which are only partially congruent with each other. Based on the traditional dialectology framework, Alexander Hilferding (1862) created a meridional classification, delineating vertical boundaries between the three main Kashubian dialects that he identified. Following the same theoretical framework, Stefan Ramuĭt (1893) developed a different tripartite classification system based on establishing borders between varieties horizontally. Ramuĭt's findings arguably contributed to Friedrich Lorentz's structural classification of 76 Kashubian dialects (made about 1910). Bernard Sychta (1960), on the other hand, in his ethnological classification distinguished Kashubian regional groups which use their local varieties. Based on the traditional dialectology framework, Kwiryna Handke's (1978-1979) division comprises six Kashubian dialect groups that do not exclude each other geographically.

Keywords: dialect classification, isoglottic dialectology, structural dialectology, regional language, Kashubian

Name: kaszëbsczi jãzëk [[/ka'ʃøbsko 'mwɛvɛ/](#)] **Language-code:** ISO 639-2 csb

CLASSIFICACIONS DIALECTALS DEL CAIXUBI

Resum

Aquest article presenta una visió històrica de les classificacions del dialecte caixubi. Fins ara, s'han fet cinc enfocaments diferents per classificar els dialectes caixubis, que només són parcialment

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congruents entre si. Basant-se en el marc de la dialectologia tradicional, Alexander Hilferding (1862) va fer una classificació meridional, tot delimitant els límits verticals que existien entre els tres principals dialectes caixubis que va identificar. Amb el mateix marc teòric, Stefan Ramułt (1893) va desenvolupar un sistema de classificació tripartit diferent basat en l'establiment de fronteres horitzontals entre varietats. Les troballes de Ramułt van contribuir, sens dubte, a la classificació estructural de 76 dialectes caixubis de Friedrich Lorentz (fet vers el 1910). Bernard Sychta (1960), en canvi, en la seva classificació etnològica va distingir grups regionals caixubis que utilitzen les seves varietats locals. Basada en el marc de la dialectologia tradicional, la divisió de Kwiryna Handke (1978-1979) comprèn sis grups de dialectes caixubis que no s'exclouen entre ells geogràficament.

Paraules clau: classificació dialectal, dialectologia isoglòtica, dialectologia estructural, llengua regional, caixubi

KLASYFIKACJE KASZĘBSCZICH GWARÓW

Abstrakt

Hewòtny rozdzél zamikò w se historyczny przezérk klasyfikacjów kaszëbszczich gwarów. Donëchczas pòjawiło sã piãc apartnëch pòdëńsców do klasyfikòwaniò dialektalny kaszëbiznë, chtërne leno dzélowò sã ze sobã zgòdné. Òpiérającë sã na fùndameńtach tradycjowi dialektologii, Aleksãder Hilferding (1862) ùsadył pòtnikòwã klasyfikacjã, wëznacziwającë wertikalné grańce midzë trzema spòdlowima kaszëbszczima dialektama, chtërne rozpòznòł. Wëzwëskùjącë jistné tradycjowé paradigmatë dialektologii, Sztefón Ramułt (1893) òbrobił jiny, trzëdzélowi system klasyfikacji òpiarti na hòrizontalnym ùstalenim grańców midzë dialektalnima òtmianama. Rozszãdzënczi Ramùłta przëczëniłë sã wierã do òbrobieniò przez Friedricha Lorentza strukturalny klasyfikacji 76 kaszëbszczich dialektów (dokònóny kòl 1910 r.). Bernat Zëchta (1960) zòs w swòji etnologiczny klasyfikacji wëapartnił kaszëbszczé regionalné karna, chtërne pòsługiwają sã swòjima lokalnyma narzeczama. Òpiarti na tradycjowi dialektologii pòdzél Kwirinë Handke (1978-1979) òbjimò szesc kaszëbszczich dialektalnëch grëpów, chtërne geògrafno sã wzòjno nie wëłącziwają.

Słowa klucze: Klasyfikacjò gwarów, izogloticznò dialektologiò, strukturalnò dialektologiò, regionalny jãzëk, kaszëbszczi jãzëk

1. Introduction

Until the present day, the Kashubian linguistic area is settled by a bilingual community that besides Polish uses Kashubian as its mother tongue. Kashubian is a regional language spoken natively only among the indigenous people inhabiting Kashubia, a region of about 7009km² (Mordawski 2008: 7) in north-western Poland. Linguistically, Kashubian is a West Slavic language that is assumed to have originated from the former Pomeranian language. The ancient Pomeranian dialects, alongside with the Polabian and Polish dialects, constituted the former Lechitic vernaculars

(Klemensiewicz, Lehr-Spławiński & Urbańczyk 1964: 34-37). Indeed, it is not only the joint Slavic/Slavonic linguistic heritage, but also the common history of the Kashubs and the Poles, as well as the geographical location of Kashubia within Poland, that contribute to the Kashubian language becoming increasingly resembling Polish.

Owing to numerous close similarities between Polish and Kashubian, some researchers have long considered the latter to be a dialect of the Polish language (Dejna 1973, Podlawska 1996). It was not until the Act of 6 January 2005 on national and ethnic minorities and on the regional language was passed that the linguistic status of Kashubian has been legally acknowledged. This document refers to Kashubian as a regional language and provides it with protection and support to raise its status level. Arguably, empowering an endangered regional vernacular not only can help it survive and thrive, but it can also be a way to maintain natural social bilingualism. By virtue of the provisions of the above-mentioned law, not only is Kashubian currently taught at all levels of education, from preschool to university, but it is also used as an auxiliary co-official language for local administration in some districts.

Taking diverse measures to protect the Kashubian language is currently a matter of great urgency, as this regional language is increasingly dominated by Polish, the sole national language of Poland. Not only is Polish superior to Kashubian in terms of its widespread use in social life, but it also has a significant impact on the linguistic system of the indigenous mother tongue spoken by inhabitants of Kashubia. The fact of the matter is that contemporary Kashubian is Polonised to a considerable extent. As a result of linguistic influences, a substantial percentage of Kashubian vocabulary has been borrowed or based on Polish words, while some expansive Polish grammatical structures have displaced indigenous regional forms.

Although heavily influenced by Polish over the centuries, Kashubian vernacular has not lost its specificity and is still difficult to understand by Poles. Some northern Kashubian subdialects, as the peripheral ones least influenced by Polish, have retained the greatest number of distinctive linguistic features. On the other hand, the southern subdialects of this local vernacular have been Polonised to the utmost extent.

As dialect differences in spoken Kashubian has always been large, already in the 19th century Kashubs started making efforts to create a standard language that could be used not only in spoken, but also in written form. Standardised form of Kashubian comprises a selection of grammatical rules taken from several local dialects, especially those spoken in northern and central Kashubia, as well as dialect vocabulary collected all over Kashubia, supplemented by neologisms and borrowed words.

The artificially created standard variety is taught in schools and widely spread in the mass media and publications. Moreover, there is a tendency among some Kashubian activists to use the unified language in both spoken and written forms in diverse contexts. Indigenous Kashubian dialects, on the other hand, are used primarily in oral everyday communication among the majority of native Kashubs, mainly inhabiting rural areas.

Nevertheless, since the Kashubian language dominated by Polish is currently of limited practical value in social life, not all inhabitants of Kashubia are bilingual. In accordance with data collected in the 2011 National Census of Population and Housing, 108.140 people speak Kashubian as their home language (Nowak (ed.) 2013: 94), while 232.547 respondents declare their Kashubian ethnic identity (Główny Urząd Statystyczny 2013: 90-91).

As for classifying Kashubian dialects, there have been made five different classifications throughout history: 1) Alexander Hilferding's classification (1862), 2) Stefan Ramułt's classification (1893), 3) Friedrich Lorentz's classification (approximately 1910¹), 4) Bernard Sychta's classification (1960), 5) Kwiryna Handke's classification (1978-1979).

¹ The exact year of publication is unknown, but Jerzy Treder's research has revealed that the Lorentz's map may have been published around 1910 (Jerzy Treder (ed.) 2002: 132).

2. Classifications

2.1 Alexander Hilferding (1862)

Although in the 19th century some native Kashubian researchers and writers (such as Florian Ceynowa and Hieronim Derdowski) became actively involved in developing and promoting Kashubian, it was a Russian-born scholar, Alexander Hilferding, who was the first to undertake the classification of Kashubian dialects. Fascinated by Kashubia, a member-correspondent of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, he remained in contact with Florian Ceynowa.

2.1.1 Framework: Isoglottic dialectology

Having been interested in the findings reported by Florian Ceynowa, The St. Petersburg Academy of Science assigned Alexander Hilferding to conduct field research in Kashubia with the purpose of thoroughly examining the differentiation of the Kashubian language (Treder 2002: 77-78). In the summer of 1856, Hilferding embarked on an expedition through Kashubian Pomerania, during which he was initially accompanied by Ceynowa, who provided him with assistance and guidance for further research (Hilferding 1862: 1-3).

Hilferding presented the linguistic and ethnographic results of the research conducted in Kashubia in his work *Остатки славян на южном берегу Балтийского моря* [*Slavs' remains on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea*], written in Russian (Hilferding 1862).

Overall, according to Hilferding, it is reasonable to regard the vernacular spoken in Kashubia as an essentially homogeneous Slavic variety. Furthermore, Hilferding has argued that the only difference between the dialects of Slovincians, Kabateks and Kashubs lies in the size of the distance from the Polish language. That is to say, the noticeable distinctions are more or less dependent on the geographical proximity of various parts of Kashubia to Polish-speaking areas (Hilferding 1862: 10). At the opposite end of the spectrum, Hilferding has also observed Germanisation processes

which, in addition to the Polonization effects, have been changing the Kashubian language (Hilferding 1862: 11-15). Hilferding's remarks concerning the linguistic similarities and differences between Polish and Kashubian became later the foundation of a theory about Lechic languages (Treder 2002: 74-75).

In classifying the Kashubian dialects, Hilferding followed the traditional dialectology framework. He specified certain linguistic markers to delimit dialect areas. Nevertheless, the full range of selected features has not been applied by him to each of the identified dialects, but only to some of them. In particular, the dialect of Slovincians and Kabateks has been described in quite a detailed way in comparison to other Kashubian varieties. Significantly, Hilferding has addressed some characteristics solely to this dialect, disregarding the other dialects.

Moreover, although Hilferding has distinguished a total of 15 linguistic features, including phonetic and morphological characteristics (see some of them in Table 1), he has not clearly explained the reason these rather than other features were so compelling in the proposed classification (Hilferding 1862: 1-191).

Hilferding's classification of Kashubian dialects has not been supplemented with a map. However, since the boundaries between the dialects have been demarcated vertically by Hilferding, the classification developed by him was referred to as meridional by Treder (2014: 161).

Grammar field	Features
Phonology	<p>$a > e$ (especially after <i>r</i>: <i>redosc</i>, but not only: <i>gade</i>, <i>gadel</i>)</p> <p>Different articulation of nasal vowels</p> <p>Various realisations of the Proto-Slavic 'tort'; Slovincians usually realise the group 'tort' as 'tart': <i>warna</i>, <i>parch</i></p> <p>Different realisations of the consonants <i>k</i>, <i>g</i> in position before front vowels: <i>Słowinstji</i> / <i>Słowinski</i></p> <p>Different realization of the consonant <i>t</i></p> <p>Stressing different syllables of words depending on the dialect</p>
Morphology	<p>Different endings of nouns in the masculine singular instrumental case</p> <p>Preservation of dual forms of nouns (sometimes in the plural sense)</p> <p>Different endings of the masculine singular genitiv (<i>dobrewo</i> / <i>duóbre'o</i> / <i>wielgeho</i> / <i>dobrego</i>)</p>

Shortening forms of pronouns (*onen / 'nen, onâ / 'na, óno / 'no,*
onî / 'nî)
Different conjugation patterns in the present tense

Table 1. Some of the linguistic features used by Alexander Hilferding for the classification of Kashubian dialects (Hilferding 1862: 80-89)

2.1.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Alexander Hilferding's system of classification consists of three main Kashubian dialects, of which only the dialect of the Slovincians and Kabateks has been provided with a detailed linguistic description. Instead of creating a dialect map, Hilferding has given verbal descriptions of the demarcated vertical boundaries between Kashubian dialects along with topographical clues (such as place or lake names).

According to his meridional classification, the following dialects can be distinguished:

- 1) dialect of the Pomeranian Slovincians and Kabateks,
- 2) dialect of the Pomeranian Kashubs,
- 3) Kashubian dialect in West Prussia.

Within the boundaries of the dialect of Pomeranian Slovincians and Kabateks, Hilferding has distinguished two subdialects:

I) Slovincians subdialect used: a) on the sea coast between lakes Łebsko and Gardno in such villages as: Kluki, Smółdzino, Czołpino, Łokciowe, Boleniec, Przybynin, Smółdziński Las; b) in villages situated on the eastern side of the Łupawa River such as: Wierzchucino, Żelazo, Witkowo, Siecie, Smółdzino; in villages on the western bank of the Łupawa River at its mouth on the Gardna Lake: Gardna Wielka, Gardna Mała, Człuchy, Stojcino, Wysoka, Retowo;

II) Kabateks subdialect spoken in villages located in the south of the Łebsko Lake on the western side of the Łeba River such as: Cecenowo, Wolinia, Pobłocie, Przebędowo Słupskie, Wykosowo, Rzuszcze, Ciemino, Główczyce, Klęcino, Warblino,

Szczyrkowice, Dochow, Wielka Wieś, Siodłonie, Będziechowo, Rumsko, Równ, Skórzyno.

According to Hilferding, the dialect of the Pomeranian Kashubs was used: a) between the border of West Prussia and the Łeba River and the Łeba Lake in the following villages, settlements and towns: Lubiatowo, Kopalino, Danowice, Biebrowo, Słajzewo, Jackowo, Choczewko, Kurowo, Ciekocino, Sasino, Ulinia, Bargędzino, Strzeszewo, Zdrzewno, Kopaniewo, Maszewko, Skarszewo, Wicko, Wrześcienko, Chabrowo, Nieznachowo, Szcznurze, Sarbsk, Łebieniec, Łeba, Żarnowska, Gać; b) in rural areas on the eastern side of the Łeba River close to Łebsko Lake, e.g. the village Izbica; c) in the Bytów County including such towns and villages as: Bytów, Rekowo, Studzienice, Grzmiąca, Niedarzyno, Tuchomie, Borzytuchom, Ugoszcz, Czarna Dąbrowa, Róg, Kołczygłowy, Wierszyno, Niezabyszewo, Tągowie, Miastko.

The Kashubian dialect in Western Pomerania, on the other hand, was widespread in the land counties surrounding such towns as: Wejherowo, Kartuzy, Kościerzyna, Puck, Chojnice, Człuchów, and partly in the Gdańsk County (Hilferding 1862: 3-11, 15-19).

From the contemporary point of view, Alexander Hilferding's research and his dialect classification are of great significance, as the Slovincians and the Kabateks dialect variety is already extinct, while the dialect of the Pomeranian Kashubians has been preserved only over a small area. What is also crucial, not only did Hilferding classify and describe the distinguished Kashubian dialects, but he also collected several dialect texts (including those in the currently extinct Slovincians and Kabateks dialect), which are of considerable historical value today.

2.2 Stefan Ramułt (1893)

The second classification of Kashubian dialects has been developed in the 19th century by a linguist and ethnographer, Stefan Ramułt (1859-1913), who was not a native Kashub (just like Hilferding), but a Lesser Poland inhabitant born in Cracow. Among Slavic languages, Kashubian was the one that fascinated Ramułt the most since his youth. During his Slavic/Slavonic studies at the University of Lviv, he was tutored by

Antoni Kalina. Later, after becoming acquainted with the writings of a Kashubian activist Florian Ceynowa, he also started corresponding with him.

2.2.1 Framework: Traditional Dialectology

One of Stefan Ramuł's greatest achievements was publishing the book entitled *Słownik języka pomorskiego, czyli kaszubskiego* [Dictionary of the Pomeranian, or Kashubian language] (Ramuł 1893) which was awarded in the lexicographical competition named after Samuel Bogumił Linde organised by the Academy of Learning. Not only is this publication a substantial collection of Kashubian words that are still used today, but it is also a vital scholarly source that contributes to the contemporary knowledge of the Kashubian language. Included in the comprehensive introduction to this dictionary, Ramuł's thesis that Kashubian is a separate Slavic language (Ramuł 1893: XXXIX) marked the beginning of an academic discussion on the linguistic status of Kashubian.

The dictionary with such supplements as an introduction and some Kashubian legends and stories has been published in 1893 (Ramuł 1893). However, Ramuł has also later been working on the second part of his dictionary, which was released upon his death in 1993, one hundred years after the publication of the first part, through the efforts of Halina Horodyska (Ramuł 1993).

The introduction to Ramuł's dictionary includes historico-ethnographic characteristics of Kashubia, statistics on Kashubian population, description of sound and accentuation, and some information about selected features of the Kashubian language in comparison to Polish and other Slavic languages, as well as a brief presentation of Kashubian dialects that he has identified (Ramuł 1893: XIII-XLVIII)

In his publication, Ramuł introduced the term of the Pomeranian language, from which the contemporary Kashubian language has evolved. The broadly defined Pomeranian group, for its part, included the vernaculars spoken by the Polabians, Slovincians, and Kashubs. In accordance with Ramuł's thesis, Kashubian dialects have been used by the people originating from the Pomeranian group, i.e.: the inhabitants

settled north of the Poles and Sorbs, living on the Baltic Sea from the lower Vistula to the Elbe, and beyond the Elbe (Ramułt 1893: XVI).

Ramułt, similarly to Hilferding, followed the traditional dialectology framework in demarcating the boundaries between the Kashubian dialects. Since the borders had been established horizontally by Ramułt, his classification was referred to as latitudinal by Jerzy Treder (Treder 2002: 250).

Ramułt selected many linguistic features to delimitate different dialect areas inside Kashubia, and indicated some points that distinguish Kashubian from Polish and other West Slavic languages. Treder has already calculated that Ramułt's classification was based on 78 distinct features (Treder 2002: 193), including phonetic and to a lesser extent morphological properties (see some of these in Table 2). The noticeable inclusion of phonological aspects has been clarified by Ramułt because Kashubian has more vowels than any other Slavic language (Ramułt 1893: XL). Importantly, not only did Ramułt identify some phonological and morphological differences between the Kashubian dialects, but he also noticed a stronger Germanic influence in the northern areas of Kashubia and the considerable Polish impact in the southern dialects (Ramułt 1893: XXXI).

Furthermore, according to Ramułt, even though Kashubian contains only a small number of distinct indigenous words, it is a separate language because the language status is determined by the linguistic structure rather than by the lexicon (Ramułt 1893: LXII). On the other hand, Ramułt has remarked on the significant similarity between Kashubian and Polabian, also in the phonological respect (Ramułt 1893: XXXIX-XL).

Grammar field	Features
Phonology	<p>ć > kj, tj; dź > gj, dj (different realisations of the consonants ć, dź)</p> <p>The vowel schwa found in some dialects</p> <p>a > ɛ before nasal consonants</p> <p>a > e (especially after r: <i>redosc</i>, but not only: <i>gade</i>, <i>gadel</i>)</p> <p>t > l (in certain subdialects)</p> <p>Consonant ń after consonant m and before a soft vowel</p> <p>Different articulation of nasal vowels.</p> <p>Stressing different syllables of words depending on the dialect</p>

Morphology	Different endings of nouns in the masculine singular instrumental case Preservation of dual forms of nouns (sometimes in the plural sense) Different present tense 1st person singular verb endings (- <i>ajã</i> > - <i>ôm</i> , - <i>om</i>) Imperative mode created with or without - <i>i</i> (<i>zrób-zrobi</i>) Different singular endings of adjectives and adjective pronouns of masculine and neutral gender and in singular endings of neutral nouns: <i>dobrèwæ</i> , <i>dobrèho</i> , <i>dobrègæ</i>
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Table 2. Some of the linguistic features used by Stefan Ramułt for the classification of Kashubian dialects (Ramułt 1893: XXX-XXXI)

2.2.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Stefan Ramułt's classification of Kashubian dialects can be described as rather uncomplicated. However, as relevant, and very accurate, it is still in use and has become the basis for establishing subsequent more complex classifications that include numerous specific Kashubian subdialects.

In accordance with Ramułt's latitudinal classification, the following Kashubian dialects can be recognised:

- 1) northern dialects,
- 2) central dialects,
- 3) southern dialects.

The northern dialects distinguished by Ramułt include: the dialect of the Slovincians and Kabateks, the dialect of the Kashubs living along the Łeba River in the north-eastern part of the Lębork County, the dialect of Żarnowiec, the dialect of Byłaks inhabiting the lands around Swarzewo, Puck and Oksywie, and the dialect of the fishermen living on the Hel Peninsula.

Central Kashubian dialects are spoken in the southern part of the Puck County and in almost every part of the Wejherowo and Kartuzy Counties, as well as in some parts of the Gdańsk County. Ramułt has claimed that the majority of Kashubs speak

central dialects, so he included numerous words from these dialects in his Polish-Kashubian dictionary.

Southern dialects, on the other hand, have been identified by Ramułt as those used in the Bytów County, as well as in the Kościerzyna, Człuchów and Chojnice Counties in West Prussia (Ramułt 1893: XXX-XXXI).

Ramułt's horizontal delimitation of the boundaries between Kashubian dialects is completely different from that made by Hilferding, which is vertical. However, as Hanna Popowska-Taborska pointed out, Ramułt presented the first successful results of delineating quite precise geographical ranges of certain Kashubian linguistic features (Popowska-Taborska 1980: 71).

2.3 Friedrich Lorentz (about 1910)

At the beginning of the 20th century a German Slavist, dialectologist, historian, and ethnographer, Friedrich Lorentz (1870-1937) has revisited and specified Stefan Ramułt's classification, identifying numerous Kashubian subdialects. It was due to his analytical thinking and linguistic inquisitiveness that Lorentz developed a classification of Kashubian dialects, which turned out to be the most detailed among those made by other researchers so far.

2.3.1 Framework: Structural Dialectology

Contrary to his predecessors who had followed the traditional dialectology framework, Lorentz has taken a structural approach. He has compared different linguistic features in the Kashubian area with respect to both synchronic and diachronic aspects. Indeed, even partial differences between varieties led him to divide Kashubian dialects according to the latitudinal arrangements.

The term *latitudinal classification* has been used by Jerzy Treder, who observed that Lorentz took the same approach as Ramułt, establishing boundaries between Kashubian dialects horizontally (Treder 2001: 69-70).

The map of Kashubian dialects prepared by Lorentz and published by The Institute of Western Slavic Studies (Instytut Zachodnio-Słowiański) around 1910 (the exact date is unknown) was the result of long-term field research conducted by Lorentz on the whole Kashubian dialect area (see Figure 1). The Kashubian dialects and their distinctive grammatical features have also been thoroughly discussed regarding diachronic changes in Lorentz's book *Gramatyka pomorska* [Pomeranian grammar] (Lorentz 1958-1962).

Following a similar path as Hilferding, Lorentz was highly involved in conducting research in the area of Slovincian dialects, where he collected materials during the first years of his field work (Rzetelska-Feleszko 2000: 25-26) before moving on to explore other areas of Kashubian dialects.

Early publications by Lorentz have revealed that both Kashubian and Slovincian were regarded by him as separate languages constituting the Lechic community (Lorentz 1903: 1; Lorentz 1902: 65-73). On the other hand, Lorentz's book *Gramatyka Pomorska* includes the thesis that the Pomeranian language consists of Slovincian and Kashubian dialects, which are not Polish in origin (Lorentz 1958-1962 I: 15-27).

Apart from conducting field research, Lorentz endeavoured to familiarise himself with the previous papers on Kashubian dialectology, such as those written by Hilferding and Ramult, and thoroughly studied Kashubian publications and historical sources to gain a comprehensive view of the Kashubian vernacular (Lorentz 1958-1962 I: 12-15; 22-35; 43-58).

When making a classification of Pomeranian dialects, Lorentz considered the studies of previous researchers, but mainly relied on detailed analyses of Kashubian language system features noticed during his field research (see some of these in Table 3). Following the structural dialectology framework, Lorentz considered the functioning of the existing language elements against the background of their historical development. Proto-Slavic forms were the starting point for the study of the gradually changing system of Kashubian dialects.

The result of Lorentz's field explorations, the book *Gramatyka pomorska*, published in three volumes, provides descriptions and examples of various phonetic

and inflectional processes observed in different localities in Kashubia. This study contains also an overview of Kashubian word-forming and syntactic features, which overall turned out to be remarkably similar all over the Kashubian region (Lorentz 1958-1962).

Grammar field	Features
Phonology	vowel length <i>ć > kj, tj; dź > gj, dj</i> -u > -ə (in north-eastern Kashubian subdialects) <i>t > l</i> (in certain subdialects) increased articulation of the vowels <i>e</i> and <i>o</i> before nasal consonants (in south-western Kashubian subdialects) <i>p', f' > px', fx'</i> (in the southern subdialects of Zabory) diphthongisation of the vowel <i>o</i> <i>i > ě</i> before the consonant <i>t</i> (in central dialects) Different articulation of nasal vowels Stressing different syllables of words depending on the dialect
Morphology	Various noun endings in certain subdialects. Various adjective endings in certain subdialects Different present tense verb endings in certain subdialects Different forms of noun and adjective pronouns in particular cases in different subdialects Imperative mode created with or without <i>-i / -ə</i>

Table 3. Some of the linguistic features used by Friedrich Lorentz for the classification of Kashubian dialects (Lorentz 1958-1962 I: 15-22)

2.3.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Lorentz's classification bears some resemblance to Ramułt's earlier presentation of Kashubian dialects as it is also based on a tripartite division into northern, central, and southern dialects. Lorentz distinguished 21 dialect groups, within which he specified 76 Pomeranian subdialects. This classification was based on comparing the diachronic development of features of the spoken language used in Kashubian parishes, villages, and hamlets.

According to the classification in question, the group of Pomeranian dialects can be divided in the most general way into southern and northern varieties. With

reference to Lorentz, preserving the discrimination between short and long vowel sounds is the major distinctive feature of the northern dialects.

1) The Northern Pomeranian dialects can in turn be divided into two main classes:

a. Slovincian dialects, among which two further groups can be identified:

1. Eastern Slovincian dialects (in Smołdzino parish and in Stojęcino),
2. Western Slovincian dialects (in Gardno parish except for Stojęcino),

b. Northern Kashubian dialects, which can be divided into the following groups:

1. North-western dialect group, which includes the following dialects: a) Głównicyce dialect, b) Cecenowo dialect, c) Charbrowo and Łeba dialect, d) Osieki dialect, e) Gniewino and Salino dialect, f) Tyłowo dialect, g) Gora dialect, h) Luzino and Wejherowo dialect, i) Szywnaład dialect;

2. North-eastern Kashubian dialects, which encompass the following groups:

- 2a. Bylak dialect group, which includes 7 dialects: a) Jastarnia dialect, b) Kuzwelt dialect, c) Chałupy dialect, d) Swarzewo and Strzelno dialect, e) Puck dialect, f) Starzyno and Mechowo dialect, g) Oksywie dialect,

- 2b. non-Bylak dialect group, which contains 4 dialects: a) Żarnowiec dialect, b) rural Puck dialect, c) Chylonia dialect, d) Wielki Kack dialect,

- 2c. Bylak and non-Bylak mixed dialect group, which encompasses 3 dialects: a) Rumia dialect, b) Grabówek dialect, c) Witomino dialect,

3. Eastern Kashubian dialects: a) Lesak dialect, b) Kielno dialect, c) Warzenko and Kłosowo dialect, d) Chwaszczyno dialect, e) Mały Kack dialect, f) Kolibki dialect, g) Sopot dialect,

4. North Pomeranian dialects in the Strzecz parish: a) Tępcz dialect, b) Głodowo dialect.

2) The southern Pomeranian dialects can be divided into two main classes:

2a. Southern Kashubian dialects

1. Western Kashubian dialects: a) Strzecz dialect, b) Sianowo, Sierakowice and Gowidlino dialect,

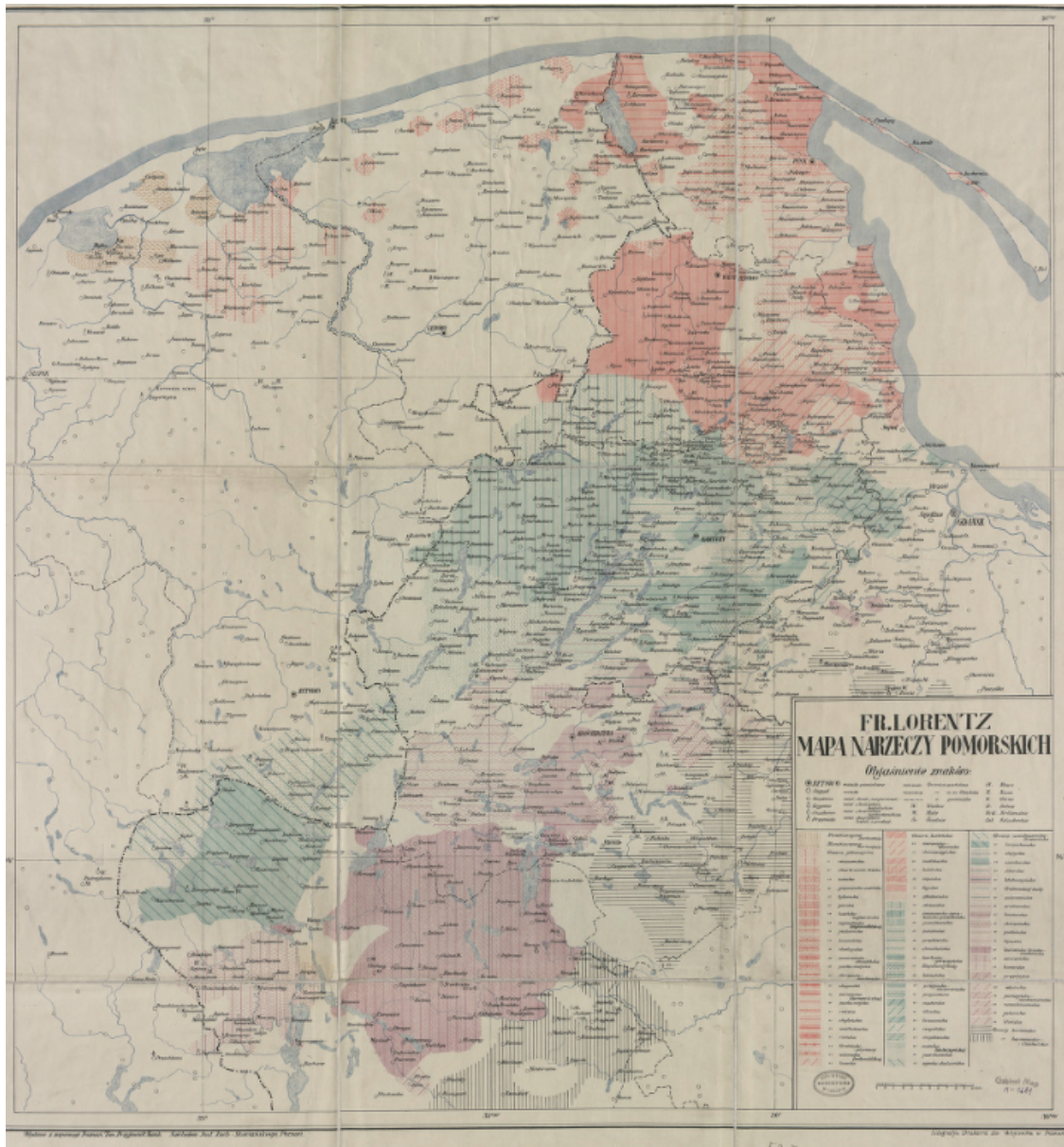
2. Przedkowo dialect-a transitional dialect between western and central Kashubian dialects,

3. Central Kashubian dialects: a) Żukowo dialect, b) Grzybno dialect, c) Chmielno dialect, d) Kartuzy and Goręczyno dialect, e) Kaplica² dialect, f) Kamela dialect, g) Przywidz dialect, h) Przyjaźń and Skarszewy dialect,
 4. South-eastern Kashubian dialects: a) Matarnia dialect in the Upper Gdańsk and Kartuzy Counties, b) Oliwa dialect in the Upper Gdańsk County, c) Brzeźno dialect in the Upper Gdańsk County, d) Czapielsk dialect, e) Majdany dialect in Kartuzy County,
 5. Sulęczyno dialect - a transitional dialect between western and central Kashubian dialects and Parchowo and Sulęczyno dialects,
 6. Parchowo dialect-a transitional dialect between south-western Kashubian dialects and Sulęczyno dialect,
 7. South-Western Kashubian dialects: a) Studzienice dialect, b) Niezabyszewo and Brzeźno dialect, c) Borzyszkowy dialect,
- 2b. transitional Kashubian dialects of Zabory:
- 1.a group of western dialects: a) Stężycza dialect, b) Szymbark³ dialect,
 - 2.a group of eastern dialects: a) Sikorzyno dialect, b) Kłobuczyno dialect, c) Grabowska Huta dialect, d) Połęczyno dialect,
- 2c. Kashubian dialects of Zabory:
1. northern Kashubian dialects of Zabory: a) Grabowo dialect, b) Kościerzyna dialect, c) Skorzewo dialect, d) Gostomie dialect, e) Lipusz dialect,
 2. southern Kashubian dialects of Zabory: a) Leśno, Brusy and Wiele dialect, b) Swornegacie dialect, c) Konarzyny dialect,
 3. transitional Polish and Zabory dialects, which include:
 - 3a. transitional dialects of Kociewie and Zabory: a) Pręgowo Górne dialect, b) Wysin dialect, c) Garczyn and Niedamowo dialect, d) Nowa Kiszewa dialect, e) Gołuń dialect,
 - 3b. transitional dialect of Tuchola Forest and Zabory (Lorentz 1958-1962 I: 15-22).

² The previous name of this village was Kapelowa Huta.

³ The previous name of this village was Szenbarch.

The boundaries of the dialects and subdialects distinguished by Lorentz are depicted on the map (see Map 1).



Map 1. Friedrich Lorentz. About 1910. *Mapa narzeczy pomorskich*. Poznań: Instytut Zachodnio-Słowiński, Litografia Drukarni Świętego Wojciecha, (Kujawsko-Pomorska Biblioteka Cyfrowa, Public domain: <https://kpbc.umk.pl/dlibra/text?id=polityka#pd>. Original source: <https://kpbc.umk.pl/dlibra/publication/81026/edition/87571/content>. Accessed: 10.03.2022)

Significantly, adhering to the structural dialectology framework, not only has Lorentz provided a cross-classification of Kashubian dialects, but he has also developed

the most detailed comprehensive dialect grammar that presents the condition of Kashubian varieties in the first half of the twentieth century. What is important, Lorentz's dialectological achievements immensely influenced subsequent initiatives and studies on Kashubian dialects undertaken by further researchers.

2.4 Bernard Sychta (1960)

It was not until the second half of the 20th century that ethnological classification was first applied to Kashubian dialectology. The link between the internal differentiation of Kashubian dialects and the existence of certain regional ethnographic groups was noticed in 1960 by Bernard Sychta, who was a priest, writer, ethnographer, and author of the Kashubian dialect dictionary.

2.4.1 Framework: Ethnological Classification

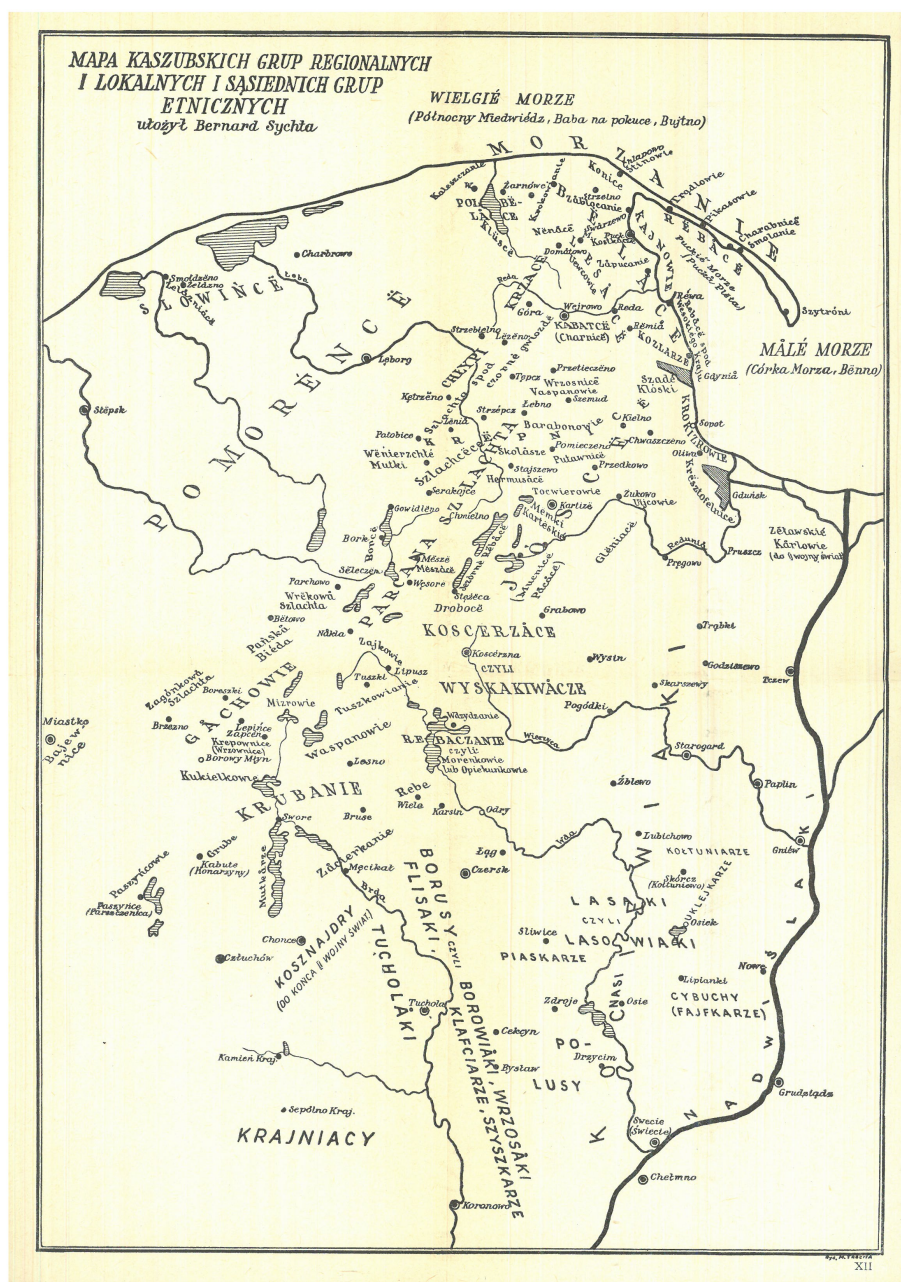
Bernard Sychta, who described various Kashubian regional and local groups in his paper *Kaszubskie grupy regionalne i lokalne, ich nazwy i wzajemny stosunek do siebie* [Kashubian regional and local groups, their names and mutual relation to each other] (Sychta 1960), probably did not intend to create a classification of Kashubian dialects. Using several different sets of criteria, Sychta has in fact developed a classification of Kashubian regional groups, within which he has separated various subgroups.

The criteria for distinguishing Kashubian local groups and assigning names to them include the following: the physical appearance or temperament of the inhabitants, their names or activities, and their bodily defects, favourite foods, and clothing, as well as the linguistic features of their dialects, but also the names of their animals, and the topography of the area, and toponymy.

2.4.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Sychta has remarked that regardless of the applied criteria, several larger groups can be identified in the Kashubian ethnographic area, such as: the Slovincians

(Słowińcë), the Bylaks (Bëlocë), the Kabateks (Kabatcë), the Lesaks (Lesôcë), the Josks (Jóskòwie), the Koscierzaks (Kòscérzôcë), the Gochs (Gòchòwie), and the Krubans (Krubanowie), Fishermen (Rëbôcë), as well as the group of Kashubian minor nobility (Sychta 1960: 3-31). The large ethnographic groups break down into medium-sized and smaller groups, as shown in Map 2.



Map 2. Bernard Sychta, 1960. *Kaszubskie grupy regionalne i lokalne, ich nazwy i wzajemny stosunek do siebie. Drobną twórczość ludową na Kociewiu (zagadki i tamigłótki).* Gdańsk: Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe.

According to Jerzy Treder, Sychta did not directly discuss the linguistic diversity of Kashubian dialects, but the ethnonyms he coined refer to regional groups that speak linguistic varieties which could be recognised as Kashubian dialects or subdialects. Furthermore, in his publication entitled *Słownik gwar kaszubskich na tle kultury ludowej* [Dictionary of Kashubian dialects against the background of folk culture] (Sychta 1965-1976), Sychta contributed to Kashubian dialectology by using geographical qualifiers to mark the range of usage of many lexemes, idioms, proverbs, fairy tales, stories, anecdotes, and word stresses (Treder 2001: 65-76).

2.5 Kwiryra Handke (1978-1979)

In the 1980s, an attempt to depict the dialect boundaries has been made by Kwiryra Handke (1932-2021), a Polish and Slavic linguist, and a member of the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Compared to the very extensive classification made by Lorentz, Handke's division of Kashubian dialects seems simple. Not only was this simplification due to applying a different research methodology by Handke, but it also resulted from considering developmental changes in Kashubian dialects over the course of the past several decades.

2.5.1 Framework: Traditional Dialectology

Kwiryra Handke's classification of Kashubian dialects is actually the result of the efforts undertaken by a research team of the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, whose members (Hanna Popowska-Taborska, Zdzisław Stieber, Kwiryra Handke, Jadwiga Majowa, Ewa Rzetelska-Feleszko, Zuzanna Topolińska, Jadwiga Zieniukowa) worked on collecting dialectological materials in order to prepare a fifteen-volume publication entitled *Atlas językowy kaszubszczyzny i dialektów sąsiednich* [The linguistic atlas of Kashubian and neighbouring dialects], whose subsequent volumes were published between 1964 and 1978 (Popowska-Taborska and Stieber 1964-1978).

Field research and linguistic analyses carried out by this team during the period 1955-1978 enabled Handke to examine the condition of Kashubian dialects and differences between them in the second half of the 20th century, and to develop an up-to-date dialect classification.

Kwiryna Handke's findings have been reported in her publication entitled *Podziały językowe obszaru AJK na tle podziałów pozajęzykowych* [Linguistic divisions of the area of *The linguistic atlas of Kashubian and neighbouring dialects* against the background of extra-linguistic divisions] (Handke 1978), which was included in a linguistic study attached to volume 15 of *The linguistic atlas of Kashubian and neighbouring dialects*.

Handke also presented her dialect classification in the article *Wewnętrzne podziały gwarowe Kaszub i sąsiednich terenów* [Internal dialect divisions of Kashubia and neighboring areas] (Handke 1979), supplemented by a supporting Kashubian dialect map drawn based on data included in *The linguistic atlas of Kashubian and neighbouring dialects*.

Taking into account the previous dialectological achievements of Friedrich Lorentz as well as those of Kazimierz Nitsch and Zdzisław Stieber, Handke, on the one hand, attempted to define the boundaries between the Kashubian vernacular and the Polish dialects in the Pomeranian area, while on the other hand, she endeavoured to determine the scope and current internal boundaries between contemporary Kashubian dialects (Handke 1978: 149-168; Handke 1979: 111-123).

As with the classifications of Hilferding and Ramułt, the one made by Handke followed the traditional dialectology framework. Nevertheless, both Hilferding's and Ramułt's dialect divisions were founded on independent explorations by researchers, while the most recent delineation of Kashubian dialect borders made by Handke was based on collaborative efforts. When determining the boundaries of dialect areas, Handke relied mainly on a comparative dialectological analysis of the complete linguistic material collected during field research undertaken by the team developing *The linguistic atlas of Kashubian and neighbouring dialects*.

Handke's delineation of the geographical range of the Kashubian vernacular was based on the recognition that a constitutive feature distinguishing the Kashubian dialects from other dialects is depalatalization of the consonants *s', *z', *c', *dz' (Handke 1978: 150). Adhering to the traditional dialectology framework, Handke also selected certain other linguistic features with the aim to distinguish some dialect groups within Kashubian vernacular. In both of her above-mentioned chapters, published in the 1980s, she referred to some phonetic phenomena (see some of them in Table 4) that make the Kashubian dialects different not only from the Polish varieties, but also from each other. In those papers, she also tackled the issue of lexical archaisms occurring in northern Kashubian (Handke 1978: 148-172, Handke 1979: 111-123). However, Handke's chapters do not discuss in detail all the criteria she has employed. On a practical level, Handke's classification of Kashubian dialects presents dialect divisions that resulted from the distribution of various linguistic features, including also morphological ones, across all maps of *The linguistic atlas of Kashubian and neighbouring dialects* (Handke 1978: 151).

Grammar field	Features
Phonology	* <i>ŭ</i> > <i>ə</i> , * <i>ŷ</i> , * <i>ĩ</i> > <i>ə</i> (in the whole area of Kashubia, without the south-eastern part) Different articulation of nasal vowels Different pronunciation of vowels derived from * <i>ā</i> <i>t</i> > <i>l</i> (in certain subdialects) Stressing different syllables of words depending on the dialect
Lexis	Preservation of lexical archaisms

Table 4. Some of the linguistic features used by Kwiryna Handke for the classification of Kashubian dialects (Handke 1978: 149-168; Handke 1979: 111-123)

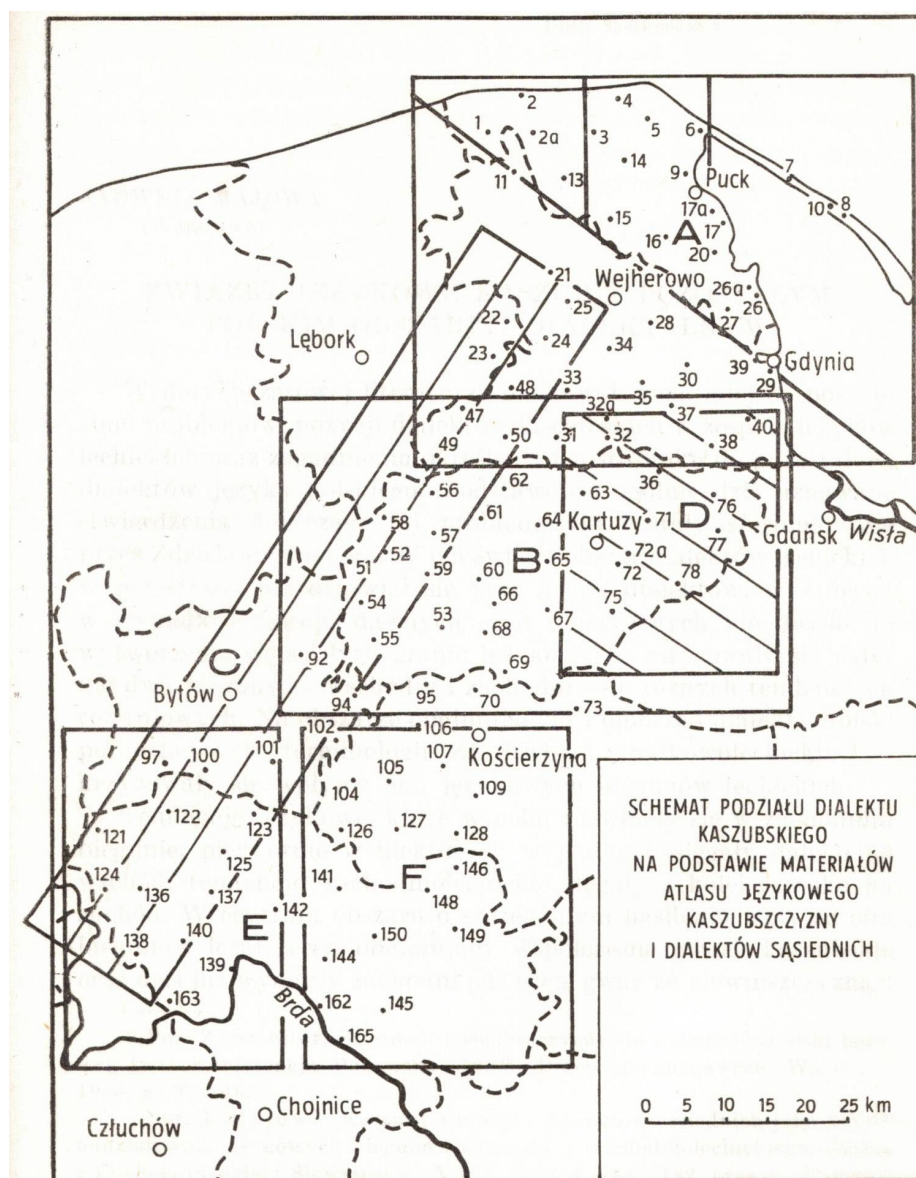
2.5.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

All maps of *The linguistic atlas of Kashubian and neighbouring dialects* (1964-1978) compared to Lorentz's research led Kwiryna Handke to conclude that the dialect division she has made is consistent with what Lorentz had previously found. Nevertheless, Lorentz considered that any single distinctive linguistic feature can be

sufficient to delineate a separate dialect, even within a small area. Handke, on the other hand, attempted to identify dialect groups, for which certain linguistic features or a higher frequency of their occurrence would be typical (Handke 1978: 166-167).

According to Handke, based on the geographical range of dialect characteristics in phonetics, inflection, word formation, lexis, and semantics, six dialect groups can be distinguished, which do not always exclude each other geographically, as shown in Map 3. Handke's classification encompasses the following dialect groups:

- 1) Northern Kashubian dialect group that comprises:
 - a. the group with a smaller territorial range (limited to Puck County), including a) villages on the Hel Peninsula, b) the eastern part of this area, c) the area of Żarnowieckie Lake (in the west of the area),
 - b. the group with a larger territorial range: within the boundaries of Puck and Wejherowo counties;
- 2) Central Kashubian dialect group (located within the boundaries of Kartuszy County and some parts of Wejherowo and Kościerzyna counties);
- 3) Western Kashubian dialect group (includes almost the entire western Kashubian area);
- 4) Eastern Kashubian dialect group (covers the eastern part of central Kashubia);
- 5) South-Western Kashubian dialect group;
- 6) South-Eastern Kashubian dialect group (Handke 1978: 167; Handke 1979: 118-119).



Map 3. Kwiryna Handke, 1979. *Wewnętrzne podziały gwarowe Kaszub i sąsiadujących terenów*. Janusz Siatkowski (ed.), *Konferencja pomorska (1978)*, 123. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk.

Although the classification of Kashubian dialects presented above had been primarily developed based on comparisons of synthetic dialect maps, Handke observed that the dialect areas she had delineated largely overlapped with administrative divisions. Comparative research led her also to the conclusion that topographic factors, especially forest configuration, could have influenced the maintenance of dialect distinctiveness (Handke 1978: 167-168, 172).

3. Discussion

It was not until the second half of the 19th century that studies on the internal differentiation of Kashubian began. This absence of earlier research on Kashubian dialects may have resulted from the fact that Kashubian has never been an officially acknowledged national language of any country. As a peripheral regional language, for many years regarded as a dialect of Polish, Kashubian has been of little interest to linguists for a long time.

What is more, initially, studies of the Kashubian language have been often undertaken by outside researchers rather than by native Kashubs. In fact, out of the authors of Kashubian dialect classifications discussed above, only Sychta came from Kashubia and was a native speaker of Kashubian.

Regrettably, since 1978, there has not been any updated classification of Kashubian dialects, despite significant developmental changes of these dialects and their progressive Polonization.

As far as the classifications of Kashubian dialects made so far are concerned, their creators used three different theoretical frameworks to develop them: Ethnological Classification, Traditional Dialectology and Structural Dialectology.

The position of each theoretical framework in Kashubian dialectology over the years has been shown in Table 5.

Year	Ethnological	Historical (Isoglottic) Dialectology	Perceptual Dialectology	Structural Dialectology	Generative Dialectology	Quantitative Dialectology
<1900		A. Hilferding (1862) S. Ramutt (1893)				
1900-1950				F. Lorentz (about 1910)		
1950>	B. Sychta (1960)	K. Handke (1978-1979)				

Table 5. Analysis of different theoretical frameworks in the Kashubian dialectology

Out of all five classifications of Kashubian dialects have been developed so far, the traditional dialectology framework was followed three times. Noteworthy, this theoretical framework has been implemented in both nineteenth-century classifications, as well as in the most recent classification made by Kwiryna Handke. Both Hilferding's and Ramutt's classifications distinguish three main Kashubian dialects, but not the same ones. In the case of the former division, the dialects have been demarcated vertically, while in the case of the second one, horizontally. However, out of all three classifications based on the traditional dialectology framework, the classification carried out by Kwiryna Handke has been based on the richest linguistic material (collected by a team of researchers). As the most recent, this classification remains the most up to date at present.

The ethnological classification of Kashubian dialects has only been developed by Bernard Sychta (1960), who, in fact, certainly had no aspirations to establish any division of dialects, but just endeavoured to graphically organize some of the ethnographic material he collected during field research. Sychta's ethnological classification supplemented with a corresponding map created manually by the author has been only selectively mentioned in later academic studies, e.g.: in Jerzy Treder's papers (Treder 2001: 65-76).

The framework of structural dialectology, on the other hand, has only been used in the highly detailed classification of Friedrich Lorentz, who attempted to show the functioning of various linguistic elements of individual Kashubian dialects and subdialects against the background of the historical process of the emergence of Pomeranian and Kashubian dialects from the Proto-Slavic language. Undoubtedly, however, Lorentz's contribution to Kashubian dialectology reaches beyond presenting a dialectological division. Not only did he identified 76 subdialects, but he also thoroughly investigated and provided a complete dialect grammar description, considering the differences between Kashubian subdialects at various linguistic levels in both synchronic and diachronic perspective.

4. Conclusions

To sum up, studies on Kashubian dialects aimed at classifying them have been undertaken since the middle of the 19th century. Overall, contributions to the development of Kashubian dialectology have been made especially by researchers of non-Kashubian origin, including linguists from abroad.

Noteworthy, the framework of traditional dialectology is most deeply rooted in the study of Kashubian varieties. By contrast, the role of other methodological frameworks is limited (both ethnological classification and structural dialectology have been used one time each) or entirely absent in classifying Kashubian dialects (the frameworks of perceptual dialectology, generative dialectology, and quantitative dialectology have not been applied).

Concerningly, neither a new classification of Kashubian dialects has been developed, nor has any systematic exploration of Kashubian dialects been undertaken for several decades. Shortage of such studies may result from constantly decreasing number of both native speakers and researchers of Kashubian vernacular.

However, as the world is presently witnessing the extinction of local varieties that are not transmitted to the youngest generation, an investigation of the current state of Kashubian dialects is urgently needed.

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