Submitted on 2023, July 1st
Accepted on 2023, December 11th

"Studi Slavistici", XX, 2023, 2: 115-140
DOI: 10.36253/Studi_Slavis-14897
ISSN 1824-7601 (*online*)
Articles

Maciej Bandur
Robert Borges

Morphophonological Innovations in New Speakers' Kashubian*

1. *Introduction*

In multilingual contexts, it is possible to observe many instances of the way in which the features associated with one language influence those of another. Perhaps one of the most obvious and well-known types of influence, the 'foreign accent', is related to incongruent mapping of phonological space among the languages involved. In some ways, such a foreign accent may not affect grammar beyond the level of an idiosyncratic sound system, however, when a language relies on the full extent of its sound system in morphological paradigms, mismapped target sounds can have real consequences for grammar. Further, when the social context is unbalanced and there are many multilingual speakers, the situation is conducive to conventionalization of innovative idiolects at a wider speech-community level.

This paper presents one such context, namely Kashubian, which is a West-Slavic language, spoken by a(n ethnic) minority in a discontiguous area in north-central Poland. Due to differential developments in both Polish and Kashubian related to the loss of phonemic vowel length, the two languages divide vocalic space differently. While there has been long standing normative multilingualism in Kashubia, following the Second World War, Kashubian, as virtually all minority languages spoken in Poland, was subject to the communist government policies that were designed to homogenise the population, and led to a drastic reduction of intergenerational transmission (Majewicz, Wicherkiewicz 1998). Despite the fact that Kashubian became recognized as a regional language within the Republic of Poland in 2005 (Dembinska 2012), and since has received monetary support from Poland and the European Union to establish large-scale language education programs, speaker numbers have steadily decreased in the last decades[1] and the language can be considered vulnerable or threatened (Campbell *et al.* 2022; Hammarström *et al.* 2022).

* The research leading to these results has received funding from the Norwegian Financial Mechanism 2014-2021: 2020/37/K/HS2/02779.

[1] According to preliminary results of the 2021 National Census, around 87,600 declare to speak Kashubian at home (of whom only 1,700 as the only language) which is a serious decline in comparison to the previous census from 2011 when the total number of declarations was around 108,000. Wstępne wyniki NSP 2021 w zakresie struktury narodowo-etnicznej oraz języka kontaktów domowych (2023). Access: <https://stat.gov.pl/spisy-powszechne/nsp-2021/nsp-2021-wyniki-wstepne/wstepne-wyniki-narodowego-spisu-powszechnego-ludnosci-i-mieszkan-2021-w-zakresie-struktu-

Maciej Bandur (Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences) – bandur.maciej@gmail.com
Robert Borges (Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences) – robert.borges@ispan.waw.pl
The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest

Underlying this general trend, Kashubian activism, which predates The War and persisted to the extent that it was tolerated under communism, continues to attract young people with whom Kashubian regional identity resonates. One effect of this is that many, particularly young, people choose to learn Kashubian and incorporate it into parts of their daily life as an outward symbol of their identity, despite the fact that the language may not have been the primary language of socialization or present in any significant way. While these 'New Speakers' are essentially L2 learners of Kashubian[2], they are typically deeply engaged in speech-community life, as activists, journalists, authors, language teachers, etc (O'Rourke, Pujolar and Ramallo 2015). This, and the above-mentioned fact that the Kashubian language is already quite vulnerable due to the sociolinguistic setting, means that New Speakers' idiolects have a greater potential to exert influence at a speech-community level than, for example learners of English or French would have on those language. Most studies dealing with New Speakers tend to focus on sociological themes, e.g. identity, authenticity, power relations, but our focus is specifically on language use by New Speakers and insights New Speakers' use can provide in relation to Language evolution in general. Makurat (2014) is the only major source that accounts of Kashubian-Polish language contact, presenting bidirectional effects of Kashubian-Polish multilingualism at a synchronic level. It covers effects of multilingualism in Kashubian context, and addresses phonetics, phonology, and morphosyntax. However, we are not aware of any studies that present an analysis of language use among Kashubian New Speakers.

Our point of departure is that due to this scenario, we will be able to observe accelerated processes of language change by studying language use of Kashubian New Speakers, thus shedding light on relevant questions in the fields of contact linguistics and historical linguistics, namely: How does feature variation condition language change? How are the processes of language acquisition related to those of change? We begin the investigation, specifically with a discussion of differential development of Kashubian and Polish Vowel inventories. We then discuss the reliance of Kashubian morphology on its vowel inventory for paradigmatic integrity and compare those structures with corresponding Polish grammar. We then turn to language use of Kashubian New Speakers; we first present our methodological approach for data collection, analytical framework for interpreting data, and then a presentation of our findings.

Our analysis has shown that New Speakers' Kashubian is significantly different from other spoken Kashubian varieties described up-to-date. We have observed a strong

ry-narodowo-etnicznej-oraz-jezyka-kontaktow-domowych,10,1.html?fbclid=IwAR39URADr-Og-FyeVaM9H3lYCSl36rof112xywWWJlhCLRFU0T__QRJPgr98 Ludność. Stan i struktura społeczno-demograficzna. Narodowy Spis Powszechny Ludności i Mieszkań 2011, p. 94. Access: https://stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/LUD_ludnosc_stan_str_dem_spo_NSP2011.pdf>.

[2] Generally speaking all Kashubian speakers are multilingual today, usually with at least Polish. This is especially true of participants of the present study, most of whom reported that Polish is, in fact, their dominant language.

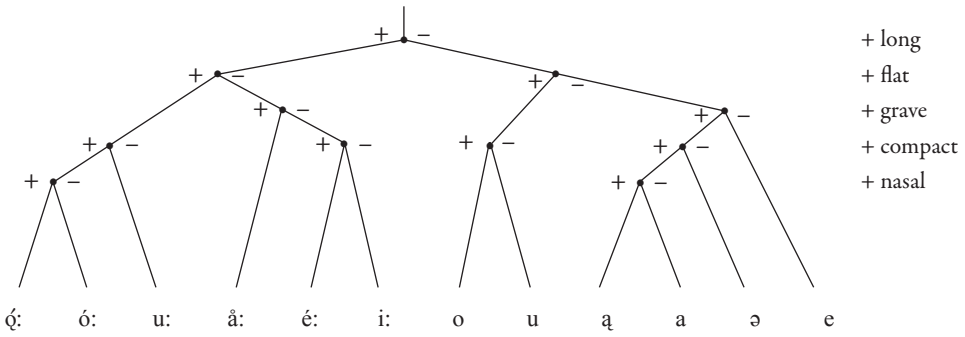


FIGURE 1. Kashubian vowel inventory in the 16th-18th Century (from Topolińska 1974: 78)

tendency to repattern verbal and nominal paradigms through paradigm levelling and vowel substitution. Moreover, there is a strong tendency to align the Kashubian vowel inventory with Polish, which has profound consequences for the Kashubian morphophonological system.

2. *Kashubian and Polish Vowel Systems and Former Phonemic Length Opposition*

Although the exact chronology is not completely clear, it is safe to say that the Kashubian vowel system preserved phonemic length at least till the 16th Century, as posited by Topolińska (1974: 72). In effect, Kashubian had two series of corresponding vowels, as in FIGURE 1.

The system produced vocalic length oppositions as in (1):

(1) Length oppositions in early Modern Kashubian:

a || å:
a || ó:
ą || ǫ́:
e || é:
i || i:
o || ó:
u || u:
ə || i:
ə || u:

The long vowels, in turn, gradually differentiated from the short ones not only by quantity, but also quality, have later lost their phonemic length, but distinct quality sufficed to make them thrive as independent phonemes. In case of /u/ || /u:/ and /i/ || /i:/ it is possible that the opposition of length was preserved till the beginning of the 20th Century (Stieber 1962: 84).

These two vowel series have led to an intricate system of short-long vowel alternations within paradigms from very early on, e.g. due to compensatory lengthening from the loss of weak jers in Proto-Slavic, there was a rise of vowel alternations within nominal paradigms, which to large extent survived in Modern Kashubian (see: § 5.2.). However, the original distribution of vowel alternations has been modified due to numerous levelings throughout the paradigm, some of them being dialect specific. Other vowel alternations, not discussed in this work, were inherited from Proto-Slavic or resulted from the Lechitic ablaut.

A similar process has occurred in Polish, which also had two series of vowels with phonemic length distinction. However, they differed both in distribution and the number of phonemes, and hence – in the number of possible short-long alternations in (2).

(2) Former vowel length distinctions in Polish

a || å:
ę || ǫ́:
e || é:
i || i:
o || ó:
u || u:

Most of such contrasts between former long and short vowels have disappeared in Polish due to loss of phonemic length around the 15th-16th c. (Stieber 1962: 26) followed by a merger of quality distinction in Standard Polish leading to levellings in the paradigms. Only two of those vowel alternations survived into Modern Standard Polish[3], as in (3).

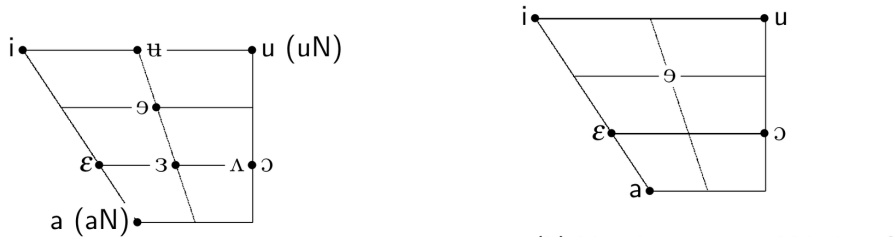
(3) Reflex of former length distinctions in Modern Standard Polish

ę || ǫ́: > Pl. ę /ɛN/ || ą /ɔN/
o || ó: > Pl. o /ɔ/ || ó /u/

In case of Modern Kashubian, although attempts have been made to systematise a cross-regional Standard Kashubian pronunciation (Makùrôt 2016), Kashubian speakers overwhelmingly employ a range of diversified phonemic inventories developed in 3 main dialect groups which are typically described as Northern Kashubian, Central Kashubian and Southern Kashubian/Zaborian (many contemporary dialect groups and local varieties have been recently described by Jocz (2013, 2016a, 2016b, 2017, 2018 etc.).

Broadly speaking, contemporary Kashubian in its many varieties has a vowel inventory that consists of 9 phonemes, as in Central Kashubian, as in FIGURE 2a (adapted from Jocz 2013: 161). Compare with Modern Standard Polish in FIGURE 2b (cfr. e.g. Dukiewicz, Sawicka: 118; in most descriptions of the Polish vowel inventory, including

[3] N.b. reflexes of [å:] and [é:] exist in most of Polish dialects.



(**a**) Vowel inventory of Central Kashubian

(**b**) Vowel inventory of modern Standard Polish

FIGURE 2. Polish and Kashubian vowel inventories

the one mentioned above, /ɨ/ is used to describe grapheme *y*. We use here /ɘ/, which is identical with Kashubian *é* /ɘ/, in order to not suggest a non-existent different between the two inventories).

From a diachronic perspective, they originate from the following vowels posited by Topolińska in (4).

(4) Evolution of Kashubian vowels

*i > i /i/
*é: > é /ɘ/
*e > e /ɛ/
*a > a /a/
*ə > ë /ʌ/
*å: > ô /ɜ/
*o > o /o/
*ó: > ó /u/
*u > u /ɯ/

Former nasal vowels (5) have split into sequences /VN/ or simply /V/, if denasalised, in contemporary Central Kashubian, so that they do not constitute separate phonemes (Jocz forthcoming: 7).

(5) Evolution of nasal vowels in Kashubian

*ą > ã /aN/
*ǫ́: > õ /uN/

At least in some Kashubian varieties, all of the old short-long vowel alternations in (1) have survived in Modern Kashubian. Taking Central Kashubian as an example, the following ablauts have been preserved, as in (6).

(6) Central Kashubian vowel alternations[4]

a /a/	||	ô /ɜ/
a /a/	||	ó /u/
ã /aN/	||	õ /uN/
e /ɛ/	||	é /ɘ/
o /ɔ/, ò /wɛ/	||	ó /u/
ë /ʌ/	||	i /i/
ë /ʌ/	||	u /ʉ/

Additionally, in some Northern Kashubian varieties also alternations in (7) have been preserved.

(7) Northern Kashubian-specific vowel alternations:

i /jɘ/	||	í /i/ < *i:
ù[5] /wu/	||	ú /ʉ/ < *u:

3. *Kashubian Morphophonology*

3.1. *Vowel alternations in verbal paradigms*

It has been already observed by Lorentz that in Kashubian class III verbs (according to Schleicher 1852 and Leskien 1905 classification of [Old Church] Slavic verb) with infinitive in *-ac* there is often an ablaut in the root, so that the infinitive and the imperative have a reflex of short vowels while the rest of the paradigm has a reflex of former long vowels, e.g. inf. *kaz-ac*, 2sg.imp. *każ-ë*, 1sg.pres. *kôż-ã,* 3sg.past.masc. *kôz-ôł* 'to bid'; inf. *łam-ac*, 2sg.imp. *łamj-i*, 1sg.pres. *łómj-ã,* 3sg.past.masc. *łóm-ôł* 'to break'; inf. *pët-ac*, 2sg.imp. *pët-ôj*, 1sg.pres. *pit-ajã,* 3sg.past.masc. *pit-ôł* 'to ask'; inf. *drzem-ac*, 2sg.imp. *drzemj-i*, 1sg.pres. *drzémj-ã,* 3sg. past.masc. *drzém-ôł* 'to nap' (Lorentz 1919: 48-9). The same goes for verbs with infinitives in *-ic/-ëc* of the same class, e.g. inf. *bacz-ëc*, 2sg.imp. *bacz-ë*, 1sg.pres. *bôcz-ã,* 3sg.past.masc. *bôcz-ił* 'to beware', inf. *kùpj-ic*, 2sg.imp. *kùpj-i*, 1sg.fut. *kúpj-ã,* 3sg.past.masc. *kúpj-ił*. However, it should be added, that also finite forms of iterative verbs in *-ovac*, *-ivac*, *-ùvac* have reflexes of short vowels, e.g. *pòd-gad-ovac* || 3sg. *pòd-gad-ëje* (Sychta 1967: 295), *ze-skak-ùvac* || 3sg.masc.past *ze-skak-ùvôł* 'to jump off' (Sychta 1972: 52).

This distribution, although to large extent preserved in Northern Kashubian and western Central Kashubian, differed in eastern Central Kashubian where the former long root vowel spread from finite forms also to the infinitive and to a lesser degree to the imperative, cfr. NKash. inf. *gadac* beside eastern CKash. inf. *gôdac*, but common Kash. 1sg. pres. *gôdóm*, 2sg.imp. *gadéj*, *gadôj*. However, such levellings often have lexicalised nature and there is considerable idiolectal variation in all dialects, so that such replacements are

[4] Graphemes not delimited by slashes represent orthographic representation of the phoneme, which is delimited by slashes.

[5] From short [*u] after labial and velar consonants.

possible even in the northernmost varieties. In Standard Kashubian, generally the more conservative NKash. type is favoured although with very little systematic approach (e.g. some general remarks in Makùrôt 2016: 24-28, 53-54).

In effect, paradigms of those verbs form an abundant source of vowel alternations (8).

(8) Typical vowel alternations:

a. *a* || *ô* alternation
kazac || *kôżã* 'to bid'

b. *a* || *ó* alternation
łamac || *łómjã* 'to break'

c. *ã* || *õ* alternation
krãcac || *krõcã* 'to twist, twirl'

d. *e* || *é* alternation
drzemac || *drzémjã* 'to nap'

e. *ë* || *i* alternation
pëtac || *pitóm* 'to ask'

f. *ë* || *ú* alternation
szëkac || *szúkóm* 'to search, look for'

g. *o* || *ó* alternation
mòvjic || *móvjã* 'to speak, pray'

h. *ù* || *ú* alternation
kùpjic || *kúpjã* 'to buy'

i. *i* || *í* alternation
pjisac || *pjísze* 'to write'

j. *ë* || *ã* || *i* alternation
trzisc || *trzãsã* || *trzësze* 'to shake'

The *ù* || *ú* (8h) and *i* || *í* (8i) alternations are absent in Standard Kashubian, as *ú* and *í* (former long *[u:], *[i:]) are not recognised as independent phonemes in the standard variety, although they persist in some Northern Kashubian varieties (Jocz 2018, 2021). The *ë* || *ã* || *i* alternation (8j) occurs mainly in Class 1 verbs and is best preserved in Northern Kashubian.

In Polish, only two such vowel alternations exist in verbal root vowels, i.e. *ę* || *ą* and *o* || *ó*, and, although somewhat parallel to Kash. *ã* || *õ*, *o* || *ó*, their distribution is different in the two languages:

(9) *ę* || *ą*
trząść || *trzęsę* 'to shake'

(10) *o* || *ó*
móc || *mogę* 'to be able to'

but cfr. Pl. *kręcić* || *kręcę* 'to twist, twirl' and Kash. *krãcëc* || *krõcã* 'to twist, twirl', Pl. *kąpać* || *kąpie* 'to bathe' and Kash. *kãpac* || *kõpje* 'to bathe'.

As demonstrated, this intricate system of ablauts is incomparably less elaborate in Polish and hence mastering it is usually a challenge for L1 Polish speakers. In New Speakers' Kashubian this usually leads to levelings on the one hand and unstable and interchangeable use of ablauts on the other hand (see § 5.2.1.).

3.2. *Vowel Alternations in Nominal Paradigms*

Vowel alternations in nouns throughout the paradigm usually reflect old compensatory lengthening which arose after the disappearance of weak yers (**ĭ, *ŭ*), short vowels inherited from Proto-Slavic. It is often the case that as a result of that old process, nominatives that end in voiced consonants have a reflex of former long vowel before the consonant and a reflex of short vowels in all cases with a case-marking ending that constitute another syllable(s), e.g. nom. *chléb*, acc. *chleb-a*, instr. du. *chleb-ama* 'bread' (11). In some instances, the continuant of a long vowel was generalised, e.g. nom. *bòcón*, acc. *bòcón-a* from earlier *bòcón* || **bòcan-a* < PSl. nom. **botĭjan-ŭ* || acc. **botĭjan-a*. Those are however exceptions from the rule, cfr.:

(11) nom.sg.
PSl. **chlěb-ŭ* > **chle:b* > Kash. *chléb* 'bread'

gen.sg.
PSl. **chlěb-a* > **chleb-a* > Kash. *chleb-a* 'bread'

As a result, similarly to verbal paradigms, Kashubian nouns are a source of the whole range of vowel alternations (12) which come from the old short-long vowel distinction.

(12) Typical vowel alternations:

a. *a* || *ô* alternation
grôd || *grad-ú* 'hail'

b. *a* || *ó* alternation
Adóm || *Adam-a* 'Adam'

c. *ã* || *õ* alternation
dõb || *dãb-a* 'oak'

d. *e* || *é* alternation
mjedvjédz || *mjedvjedz-a* 'bear'

e. *ë* || *i* alternation
dim || *dëm-ù* 'smoke'

f. *ë* || *ú* alternation
lúd || *lëd-ú* 'people'

g. *o* || *ó* alternation
mjód || *mjod-ú* 'honey'

h. *ù* || *ú* alternation
kúr || *kùr-a* 'rooster'

The *ù* || *ú* alternation (h.) is preserved only in Northern Kashubian, although it is a subject to levelling even there, with a strong tendency in nominal paradigms in the singular (e.g. *kúr* || *kùr-a* > *kúr* || *kúr-a*). The *i* || *í* alternation, present in verbs, has not been attested in contemporary Kashubian. In Polish, only two vowel alternations (13), which result from the former short-long vocalic opposition, are preserved in nominal paradigms.

(13) Nominal vowel alternations in Polish:

a. *ę* || *ą*
dąb || *dęb-u* 'oak'

b. *o* || *ó*
miód || *miod-u* 'honey'

As in verbs, the Kashubian system is far more elaborate than in Polish. It consists of 8 vowel alternations resulting from the old short-long opposition, while Polish has only 2 of them.

4. *Methodology*

4.1. *Data collection*

We rely on spoken and written data in the analyses presented here. Spoken data consist of responses to video stimuli; participants were shown videos depicting a range of actors and event types and instructed to narrate the films to the best of their ability, as if explaining the characters and events of each film to someone who could not see the screen. Data was collected in two phases, both of which made use of roughly the same procedures, though the implementation differed. In the pre-COVID era (summer 2019), pilot data collection activities were conducted in person; stimuli were displayed on a laptop screen and audio responses were collected by the author using a Zoom H4N recorder. Later (2021-2022), due to health and safety concerns posed by the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, data was collected using custom web-based data-collection software[6], whereby stimuli were displayed to participants in a web browser and audio responses were recorded with their own devices. Audio responses were transcribed in Elan (Sloetjes, Wittenburg 2008) using orthographic conventions[7].

Two main orthographies are currently in use for Kashubian. Most commonly used is the Polish-based 'compromise' orthography of 1996. To a lesser extent, the so-called Neo(classical) orthography, derived from the original Kashubian orthography established by Florësz

[6] A public Github repository (<https://github.com/bobBorges/moredat>) and archived version (<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.8049143>) of the software package is available.

[7] All transcriptions are openly available on Github and in a public archive (with DOI) to be cited after peer review.

Cenôva (1817-1881), is also in use (Bandur 2020; Mętrak *et al.* forthcoming). The latter is used in this work as it proves to be more flexible in showing relevant contrasts and therefore is more useful for linguistic description. In case of relevant phonemic merger of vowels in New Speaker material, forms are written down as they were heard, e.g. *krëszka* 'pear', if *ë* = [ʌ] or [ə], *kreszka*, if *ë* > *e* [ɛ]. Examples taken from sources other than spoken data collected and transcribed as part of the current research project are adjusted to spelling conventions of the Neoclassical orthography for optimal comparability.

The term Standard Kashubian in this work is defined as the normative variety of the written language, which is being established by the Kashubian Language Council (*Radzëzna Kaszëbszégò Jãzëka*), which is the basis of most handbooks, grammar descriptions and other educational materials that New Speakers are exposed to at school, university, language courses or as self-taught speakers. Standard Kashubian is contrasted with native-like dialectal varieties of spoken Kashubian, as Standard Kashubian has no native speakers or, if there are any, it is a very recent phenomenon.

Spoken data consists of 142 recordings, also ca 18,500 words, by 22 participants in similar demographic distribution as the Wymysorys speakers. The speakers are balanced for gender and range in age from mid-teens to early 30s at the time of recording, and vary in language abilities from intermediate to native-like proficiency. Written data were collected from the Kashubian Wikipedia page following procedures outlined in Borges (2022); Kashubian Wikipedia is known as a repository of writing from New Speakers of the language, and thus considered a suitable source of data[8]. The Wikipedia data under consideration consists of ca. 8,700 articles and 1,530,000 words.

During the transcription process, we kept track of qualitative observations; on the basis of these observations and standard exploratory techniques in corpus linguistics, we then conducted quantitative analyses of the variants of interest, presented below. We made use of Python scripting and standard libraries to structure, search, and count features in both the spoken and written data sets.

4.2. *Analytical Framework*

This study is framed in a usage-based understanding of variation and change. It assumes synchronic language use to be responsible for activation of mental representation of form-meaning units (lexical and schematic). The activation causes cognitive entrenchment of features, which may then become conventionalised (Langacker 1987, Schmid 2020). The relationship between acquisition and change is based on the assumption that linguistic

[8] At the time of this writing, users navigating to the landing page, <https://csb.wikipedia.com>, are greeted with the following message in large red font: PROSBA: *Szkólnégò, chtëren zadôwô pisanié artiklów dlô kaszëbszczi Wikipedie, sertno prosymë ò jednoczasné sprôwdzanié lëcznëch felów w tekstach ùczniów.* 'REQUEST: We kindly ask the teacher who uses writing articles on Kashubian Wikipedia as exercise to check simultaneously for multiple errors in pupils' texts'.

FIGURE 3. Birth places of Kashubian New Speakers in the current study

structure is emergent, i.e. continually reevaluated and reorganised at a cognitive level, depending on input and use throughout life of an individual, and, that linguistic knowledge within or across 'languages' has no strict division at a cognitive level.

5. *New Speakers' Morphophonology*

New Speakers, depending on their background, typically are exposed to various spoken phonemic systems. Learners who have no Kashubian-speaking background, have to deal with multiple competing spoken varieties, including the ones highly saturated with Polish phonemic system. In effect, New Speakers display a whole range of habits which are a diverse mixture of dialectal spoken Kashubian, Standard Kashubian, and Polish, in proportions that vary from speaker to speaker. Participants in this research come from across the Kashubian speaking area as well as the outside. It is therefore difficult to present here a detailed analysis of all varieties attested, as this would demand a stand-alone study, however some phenomena seem to stand out and be widespread in the majority of the research group.

In order to understand what kind of patterning is evident in the vowel space of Kashubian spoken by New Speakers, we divide the forms in two main groups. The first group consists of verbs and nouns which have vowel alternations caused by old short-long vocalic opposition within the paradigm, so that the motivation for a levelling can be found within the language and not externally, i.e. due to influence from Polish. However, this possibility cannot be excluded if there is some kind of similarity in Polish. The second group consists of nouns with no vowel alternations in the stem, where unexpected changes in vowels can be attributed either to Polish influence (if similarities can be found) or emergent grammatical patterns among New Speakers.

5.1. *New Speaker Phonology: general observations*

5.1.1. *Denasalisation of final -ã /aN/*

Loss of the nasal element in auslaut has been attested in various Kashubian varieties, especially South and some Central Kashubian, already in early 20th Century (Lorentz 1932: 348-52). However, it was generally preserved till the 2nd half of it. In New Speaker Kashubian it is almost completely lost *-ã* typically merges with *-a* /a/. In the whole data-set, final *-ã* is attested only in 31 lexemes, in 14 of which only once. It is best preserved in acc. pronouns: refl. *sã* (17) || *sa* (81), fem. *tã* (9) || *ta* (105, acc. + nom.) 'this', pers. *jã* (7) || *ja* (22) 'she'. Other than that, it is attested in acc.fem. nouns (22) and instr.masc.-neut. (13). In verbal endings, it is attested in 1sg.pres. *-ã* (9), chiefly in *vjidzã* (7) 'see'. Only 13 participants had at least one instance of final *-ã*. This merger has profound implications for the morphological system and leads to a number of losses in contrastive endings.

In nouns, acc.fem. *-ã* merges with nom.fem. *-a*, e.g. nom. *krëszka* 'pear' || acc. *krëszkã* > nom.-acc. *krëszka*. Instr.masc. in *-ã* merges with acc.masc. in *-a* and gen.masc. in *-a*, e.g. acc. *chłopa* 'man' || instr. *chłopã* > acc.-instr. *chłopa*. This merger is all the more important since North Kashubian instr. in *-ã* has been adopted as Standard Kashubian as opposed to more contrastive Central Kashubian *-em* and South Kashubian *-'ém*. The last two are almost completely absent in New Speakers Kashubian with *-em* attested only 13 times in the whole data-set.

In verbs, the merger leads to loss in contrast between 1sg.pres. *-ã* and short forms of 3sg.fem.past in *-a*, e.g. 1sg.pres. *vjidzã* || sg.fem.past *vjidza* 'to see' > *vjidza*. In effect, if the subject is fem., phrases like *jô vjidza* 'I see/saw' can be both present and past tense.

This merger was to some degree anticipated in many Central Kashubian varieties, where *ã* had yielded denasalised *o* [ɔ]~[ɑ] (Lorentz 1932, Jocz 2013). This feature is present, although inconsistently, in material from 3 speakers with previous knowledge of Kashubian and Central Kashubian background, e.g. acc. *to czervònо chùstko* < *tã czervònõ chùstkã*, *krëszko* < *krëszkã*, *so* < *sã*, instr. *krëszkoma* < *krëszkãma*, *rokoma* < *rãkãma*, *bodze* < *bãdze*, acc. *stréflo* < *stréflã*. Among New Speakers this new *o* phonetically merged with the old etymological *o* except after labials and velars, as it does not cause their labialisation as does the primary *o*. As a result, the contrast is kept between e.g. nom.sg.fem. *chùstk-a* voc. sg. *chùstk-ò* and acc.sg. *chùstk-o* < *chùstk-ã*.

5.1.2. *Merger of* ë /ʌ/ *with* e /ɛ/

It was already observed by Jocz, that, at least in Central Kashubian, the Kashubian schwa is usually preserved only in the accented syllable, less frequently in grammatical morphemes in unstressed positions (Jocz 2013: 66-7). Of only 74 attestations of /ə/ in the whole spoken-data set, 27 belonged to the non-ablauting stem of the lexeme *krëszka* 'pear', which is less than 15% of all 191 attestations of the lexeme in its various forms. The merger leads to a serious simplification of morphological system and loss of

contrast e.g. in nom.pl. *-ë* and *-e*, cfr. *szkòł-ë* 'schools', *feri-e* 'holidays, as well as between suffixes *przë-* and *prze-*, as in minimal pair 3pl.masc.past *przë-szlë* 'come' and 3pl.masc. past *prze-szlë* 'go through'. Only 11 participants (50%) have at least 1 attestation of *ë* in the dataset.

5.1.3. *Merger of* ú /ʉ/ *with* ó /u/

In spoken Kashubian, *ú* < *[u:] and *ó* < *[o:] constitute two separate phonemes with different articulation, /ʉ/ || /o/ in Northern Kashubian, /ʉ/ || /u/ in Central Kashubian, and /u/ || /o/ in Zaborian. This opposition is unknown to Polish, which has *u* /u/ and *ó* /u/ and seems to be absent also in New Speaker varieties, whose *ó* is overwhelmingly identical with Pl. *u*, *ó* /u/, which leads to erasure of minimal pairs like Kash. *lúd* 'people' /lʉt/ and *lód* 'ice' /lut/, cfr. Pl. *lud* 'people' /lut/ and *lód* 'ice' /lut/. In the whole data-set, close central pronunciation of *ú* is attested at least once only among 7 participants (31.82%) out of 22. There are 62 instances of such use, most frequently in *tú* 'here' (8 = 27.59%) as opposed to 21 attestations with /u/ in the whole data-set, *kapelúsz* 'hat' (6 = 30%) with 14 attestations with /u/, and sg.gen.masc. *teł-ú/tël-ú* 'back' (5 = 20.00%) with 20 attestations with /u/. Even in such a favourable position as after glide /j/, *jú* 'already' has only 1 attestation (3,03%) with expected vocalism and 32 instances of /u/.

5.2. *Inflectional Grammar*

5.2.1. *Ablaut in Verbal Paradigms*

In our dataset, the most pronounced repatterning of vowel alternations in verbal roots is attested in *a* || *ô* in *bacz-ëc* 'to beware' (14) and *pad-ac* 'to fall, rain' (15). The *e* || *é* alternation is attested in the material e.g. in *-bjer-ac* 'to take' (16) and *-zer-ac* 'to look at' (17). Alternations *ë* || *i* and *ë* || *ú* are illustrated by *trzëm-ac* 'to hold' (18) and *rzëc-ac* 'to throw' (19). For each verb, quantification of vowel variation is given for infinitive, imperative & finite iterative forms with expected reflex of short vowel in the root, and separately for other finite forms with expected reflex of long vowel in the root.

(14) Alternation *a* || *ô*: *bacz-ëc* 'to beware', *-bacz-ëc;*

Infinitive, imperative & iterative forms with expected *a*-forms:

prze-bôcz-ivajõ	1
TOTAL	1

Finite forms with an expected *ô*:

wo-bacz-ił	6
wo-bôcz-ił	4
wo-bôcz-ełа	2

z-o-bacz-ił	1
wo-bôcz-ime	1
wo-bôcz-ełe	1
wo-bacz-ełe	1
TOTAL	16

Only 1 attestation of iterative form is not conclusive. For finite forms of *bacz-ëc* 'to beware', exactly half of the 16 instances (50.00%) has expected vocalism while the other half has innovative forms with the 'former short' root vowel. Polish cognate *baczyć* 'to beware' with an *a* throughout the whole paradigm might have influenced the forms as it is certainly the case with 3sg.masc.past *z-o-bacził* 'to see', cfr. Pl. *z-o-baczyć* 'to see', Kash. *wo-baczëc* 'to see'.

(15) Alternation *a* || *ô* in irregular *pad-ac* || *pôd-ô* 'to fall'

Infinitive, imperative, and finite expected *a*-forms:

s-pad-ła	7
s-pad-łe	3
s-pad-nje	2
s-pad-nõc	1
pad-łe	1
pad-ła	1
ve-pad-łe	1
s-pad-ivô	1
v-pad-ło	1
s-pôd-łe	1
ve-pad-ła	1
s-pad-ło	1
s-pad-li	1
TOTAL	22

Finite forms with an expected *ô*:

s-pôd	5
pôd	2
s-pôd-ô	2
ve-pôd-ô	1
wu-pad-ô	1
od-pad-a	1
ve-pad-a	1
s-pôd-ajõ	1
v-pôd	1
s-pad-ł	1
s-pad	1
pad	1

s-pad-ajõ	1
ve-pad-ajõ	1
na-pad-ajõ	1
s-pùd-ujõ	1
s-pùd-ajõ	1
s-pùd-ô	1
TOTAL	24

For the infinitive and finite forms of *padac* 'to fall', 21 instances (95.45%) have the expected vocalism, while 1 of them (4.55%) has the ablauting *ô*. Out of 24 expected *ô*-forms, 12 (50%) preserve that vowel while 9 (37.50%) have an *a*. 3 instances, all coming from the same participant, have *ù* that arose from identifying *ô* with *u* and hypercorrect changing it into *ù* due to the preceding labial consonant. The Polish cognate *padać* 'to fall, rain' has no ablaut in the root. The spread of *a*-forms may be also internally induced by non-ablauting *padac* || *padô* 'to precipitate, to rain, snow, hail etc.' (Lorentz 1958: 601).

(16) Alternation *e* || *é*: *-bjer-ac* 'to take', *-zer-ac* 'to look at'

Infinitive and imperative with expected *e*-forms:

z-bjer-ac	2
pò-z-bjér-ac	1
z-bjir-ac	1
TOTAL	4

Finite forms with an expected *é*:

z-bjir-ô	19
z-bjer-ajõ	4
wo-bjér-ô	3
na-z-bjer-ôł	2
z-bjir-ôł	2
z-bjer-ô	2
wo-bjir-ô	2
wu-z-bjer-ale	1
na-z-bjir-ôł	1
z-bjer-anjigo	1
za-bjer-a	1
wo-bjer-ô	1
z-bjir-ajõ	1
z-bjér-ô	1
pò-z-bjer-ôł	1
za-bjir-ô	1
za-bjer-ô	1
TOTAL	44

In *e*-infinitive of *-bjerac* 'to take', although the sample is scarce, the correlation between expected and innovative forms is 50-50%. For finite forms, 30 instances (68.18%) have expected vocalism while 14 (31,82%) have innovative forms with the 'former short' root vowel.

(17) *-zer-ac* 'to look at'

Infinitive and imperative with expected *e*-forms:

prze-zir-ac	1
TOTAL	1

Finite forms with an expected *é*:

wob-zér-ô	6
v-zir-ô	5
v-zer-ô	4
za-zér-ô	3
v-zér-ô	3
wob-zir-ô	2
pòd-zér-ô	1
wob-zér-óm	1
wob-zér-ôł	1
ve-zér-ô	1
wob-zér-ajõ	1
wob-zer-ajõce	1
v-zir-ajõ	1
za-zir-ô	1
prze-zér-ô	1
TOTAL	32

Only 1 instance of the infinitive of *-zerac* 'to look at' is too small a sample to draw conclusions. Out of 32 finite forms, 27 (84.38%) have expected vocalism and only 5 (15.62%) have *e*. Polish cognate *-zierać* exists it Standard Polish mainly in low frequency verb *wyzierać* 'to peek out', other than that it is dialectal (*obzierać, spozierać*) or obsolete.

(18) Alternation *ë* || *i: trzëm-ac* 'to hold'

Infinitive and imperative with expected *ë*-forms:

trzëm-ac	1
TOTAL	1

Finite forms with an expected *i*:

trzim-ô	7
trzem-ô	5

trzim-a	4
trzimj-e	3
za-trzim-ôł	2
trzem-ôł	1
ve-trzim-ôł	1
trzem-ała	1
za-trzim-ele	1
za-trzim-a	1
za-trzim-óné	1
trzem-ajõ	1
za-trzem-ôł	1
TOTAL	29

Only 1 instance of the infinitive of *trzëmac* 'to hold' is not conclusive. 20 finite forms (68.97%) have the expected vocalism, while 9 (31.03%) have an *e*. The Polish cognate *trzymać* 'to hold' has *y* root vowel throughout the paradigm.

(19) Alternation *ë* || *ú: rzëc-ëc*, iter. *rzëc-ac*, *-rzëc-ivac* 'to throw'

Infinitive, imperative and finite forms with an expected *ë*:

v-rzuc-ivô	6
wod-rzuc-ivô	4
v-rzuc-ec	3
ve-rzuc-ec	3
vë-rzúc-ec	1
TOTAL	17

Finite forms with an expected *ú*:

v-rzuc-ô	6
v-rzuc-a	5
rzuc-ô	5
rzuc-a	4
v-rzúc-ô	3
ve-rzuc-ił	3
pòd-rzuc-ô	3
ve-rzuc-ała	3
v-rzuc-ała	3
v-rzuc-i	2
v-rzuc-ił	2
v-rzúc-ała	2
wod-rzúc-ił	2
pòd-rzuc-ała	1
pòd-rzúc-ô	1

rzuc-ełа	1
rzuc-ił	1
ve-rzuc-ô	1
ve-rzuc-i	1
ve-rzuc-a	1
ve-rzuc-ełо	1
z-rzuc-ô	1
v-rzuc-ajõ	1
pòd-rzuc-a	1
rzúc-ô	1
ve-rzúc-elo	1
TOTAL	56

For the expected *ë*-forms of *rzëcëc* 'to throw', all 17 instances (100%) have *ú* vocalism. For 56 expected *ú*-forms, all (100%) preserve that vowel, which means a total disappearance of vowel alternation in the paradigm. The Polish cognate *rzucać* 'to throw' has no ablaut in the root.

5.2.2. *Ablaut in Nominal Paradigms*

In our data-set, the most pronounced repatterning of vowel alternations in nominal stems is attested in the *e* || *é* alternation in the paradigm of *mjedvjédz* 'bear' (20) and the *a* || *ô* alternation in *brzôd* 'fruit(s)' (21). For each noun, quantification of vowel variation is given for nominative or nominative-accusative with no morphological ending and expected reflex of long vowel in the stem, and separately for oblique cases with morphological ending and expected reflex of short vowel in the stem.

(20) Alternation *e* || *é*: *mjedvjédz* 'bear'

nom. *mjedvjédz*

mjedzvjedz	44
mjedvjedz	14
njedzvjedz	7
mjedzvjidz	4
mjedvjidz	1
TOTAL	70

Oblique cases: *mjedvjedz-V*

mjedzvjedz-a	10
mjedvjedz-a	4
mjedzvjôdz-a	1
mjedzvjedz-u	1
TOTAL	16

For nominative with expected *é* in *mjedvjédz* 'bear' < PSl. **medvěd-ъ*, there are only 5 attestations with the expected vocalism (7.14%) compared to 65 attestations with the vowel that match the oblique cases (92.86%). In the oblique cases 15 attestations have the expected vocalism (93.75%) and one (6.25%) with vocalism that corresponds neither with the nominative form, nor with oblique cases (however, it does correspond with vocalism in dim. *mjedvjôdk* 'little bear').

Interestingly, most attestations with affricate *dz* (67 = 77,91%) point to potential interference with Polish *niedźwiedź* 'bear' since in most Kashubian dialects there was no affricatisation of *dvjV-*, e.g. *dvjérze* 'door', *dvjigac* 'to lift', cfr. Polish arch. *dźwierze* 'door', *dźwigać* 'to lift'. Only some southern-most Kashubian dialects have attestations of the form *mjedzvjédz* (Lorentz 1958: 520). However, it should be noted that *dz*-variants have made it to Standard Kashubian and occur in literary texts, e.g. *Miedzwiôdk Pùfôtk* (2015) '*Winnie-the-Pooh*'.

Another indication of Polish interference is initial *nj-* in 7 attestations (8.14%) combined with the affricate *dz*. Although the form *njedvjédz* is attested in some southern varieties and the extinct northern dialect of Jizbjica (Polish *Izbica*), it shows the regular development of *-dvjV-* and *é* || *e* vowel alternation in the paradigm (Lorentz 1958: 578).

Less paradigm levelling is observed in nom. *talérz* (5 attestations) || gen. *talerz-a* (1) || loc. *talerz-u* (1) 'plate', cfr. Pl. *talerz* 'plate', which shows perfectly regular vowel alternation, however in the humble data-set only 1 participant has attested contrastive *talérz* || *talerz-a* in their idiolect. On the other hand in expected *jéż* || *jeż-V* 'hedgehog' alternation only nom. *jeż* (1) and acc. *jeża* (3) beside *jiża* (1), instr. *jeża* (1). Only 1 participant has attested no alternation in contrastive *jeż* || *jeż-a*.

(21) Alternation *a* || *ô*: *brzôd* coll. 'fruit(s)'

nom.-acc. *brzôd*

brzôd	2
brzad	1
TOTAL	3

Oblique cases: *brzad-V*

brzad-a	3
brzad-ã	1
TOTAL	4

For nom.-acc., 2 attestations (66.67%) of *brzôd* 'fruit(s)' have the expected vocalism, 1 attestation (33.33%) has *a* taken over from other cases. One participant has attested lack of vowel alternation in contrastive acc. *brzad* || instr. *brzad-a*. There is no clear cognate of *brzôd* in Polish.

5.2.3. *Non-Ablauting Nominal Stems*

Plenty of variation is attested also in nouns which keep the same stem vowel throughout the paradigm. At least for some of them, internally driven change seems to be the only reasonable explanation. Such is the case of dim. *-ōtk-* forms with an unexpected *-ā-*: *zvjirzātk-ò* (2) 'little animal', *dzévczātk-ò* (2) 'little girl' beside regular *dzévczōtk-ò* (6) / *dzévczōtk-o* (5), *dzévczótk-ò* (1), *kùrczōtk-ò* (2), *kùrczōtk-ama* (2), *kùrczōtk-óv* (1) 'little chickling', *zvjirzōtk-ò* (1). This is a clear levelling to non-diminutive plural forms with *-āt-* throughout the paradigm: nom-acc.pl. *kùrcz-āta* (9) 'chick', *pjiskl-āta* (3) 'nestling', *zvjirz-āta* (2), *zvjerz-āta* (1) 'animal', *drzévj-āta* (1) 'tree'. The levelling probably is reinforced by noticeable lack of vowel alternation in gen.pl. *-āt/-ātóv*: *pjiskl-ātóv* (2), *kùrcz-ātóv* (1) while Polish has nom.-acc.pl. *-ęta* || gen.pl. *-ąt* vowel alternation in cognate forms, e.g. *piskl-ęta* || *piskl-ąt* 'nestling'.

A case can be made for internally driven vowel substitution in lexemes like adv. *coraz* (3) instead of expected *corôz* (1), *corôzka* (1) 'more and more', cfr. Polish *coraz* 'more and more', if we assume that the speakers analysed it as *co-rôz* and took over *-a-* from oblique cases of nom.sg. *rôz* 'one time' || oblique *raz-V*, as attested in the data-set: nom.sg *rôz* (18), *raz* (1), gen.sg. *raz-u* (1), instr.sg./adv. *raz-ā* (1), *raz-a* (16) 'together (in adverbial use)', nom. pl. *raz-e* (3), internally driven change can be posited, but this scenario seems less plausible than simple Polish interference.

Externally driven vowel substitution due to Polish influence is observed in lexemes which neither have ablauting stems, nor obvious derivates with different vocalism and a 'matching' vowel in Polish cognates, e.g. alongside Kash. nom.sg. *ptôch* (33), oblique *ptôch-a* (6), nom.-acc.pl. *ptôch-e* (18), oblique *ptôch-óv* (8), *ptôch-ach* (1), Southern Kash. nom.-acc.pl. *ptôkj-i* (2), *ptôk-e* (1), acc.sg. *ptôk-a* (2) 'bird', dim. nom.sg. *ptôszk* (6), nom.-acc.pl. *ptôszk-i* (4) 'little bird', oblique *ptôszk-ach* (1) competing forms with *-a-* are attested: nom.sg. *ptach* (1), *ptak* (1), oblique *ptach-a* (2), nom.-acc.pl *ptakj-i* (1), *ptaszk-óm* (1). These without a doubt have Polish-like vocalism from Pl. *ptak* 'bird', *ptasz-ek* 'little bird'. Likewise nom.sg. *pjón-k* (14) 'chequer', oblique *pjón-k-ā* (2), nom.-acc.pl. *pjón-kj-i* (3), oblique *pjón-k-ama* (1) have competing forms with *-o-*: *pjon-k* (6), oblique *pjon-k-a* (1), nom.-acc.pl. *pjon-kj-i* (4), *pjon-k-óv* (1) taken over from Polish *pion-ek* 'chequer'. In fact, it is plausible that *pjón-k* is an ad hoc adaptation of the Polish form (with a clear correspondence, e.g. Kash. *trzón-k*, Pl. *trzon-ek*, Kash. *pjestrzón-k*, Pl. *pierścion-ek* etc.), since genuinely Kash. *pjón-k* 'little trunk' is a rare dim. of *pjenj* 'trunk' (Lorentz 1968: 23). Other more sporadic Polish-induced vowel substitutions are attested e.g. in nom.sg. *bram-a* (1), oblique *bram-ā* (1) < Pl. *bram-a* 'gate' beside expected Kash. *bróm-a* 'gate' and dim. dat.-loc.sg. *bróm-ce* 'gate'; sg.instr. *mlek-ā* < Pol. *mlek-o* 'milk' beside expected Kash. nom.-acc.sg. *mlék-ò* (1), oblique *mlék-a* (1); same in non-ablauting adjectival stems, e.g. *bjał-i* (1), *bjał-é* (1), *bjał-ima* (1) < Pol. *biał-y* 'white' beside regular Kash. *bjôł-i* (13), *bjôł-é* (5), *bjôł-ima* (5) 'white' etc., acc.pl. *malenkj-i* (1) < Pol. *maleńk-i* 'little' beside regular Kash. *malinkj-i* (3), *malinkj-ima* (2), *malinkj-igò* (1), *malink-ô* (1).

6. *Significance of Findings and Conclusion*

The complex Kashubian system of vowel alternations which results from former short-long vocalic opposition is a serious challenge for New Speakers of Kashubian, whose dominant language is Polish. As demonstrated in verbal and nominal paradigms, there is a strong tendency to repattern the paradigm and generalise one vowel throughout it. This process can go both ways, either the reflex of former long vowel is generalised, e.g. *rzëc-ëc* || *rzúc-óm* > *rzúc-ëc* || *rzúcóm* (in 100% of attested instances) or the reflex of former short vowel, as in *mjedvjédz* || *mjedvjedz-V* > *mjedvjedz* || *mjedvjedz-V* (in 92.86% of attestations). In other analysed lexemes, the variation ranges from 22.86% to 50% which may result in more repatterning in the future.

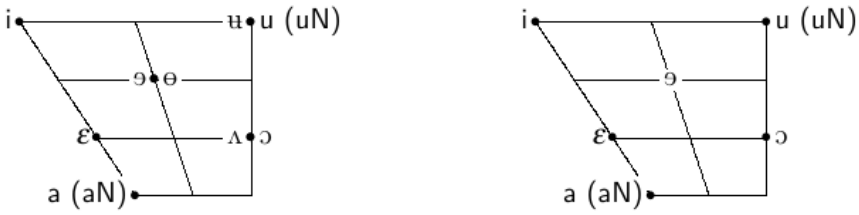
Apart from variation in ablauting verbal roots and nominal stems, there is a lot of vowel substitution in those nominal stems in which no vowel alternation in the paradigm is expected. These substitutions, observed chiefly in lexemes which have Polish cognates, as a rule, match with the closest Polish phoneme from the cognate, e.g. *ptôch* 'bird' > *ptach*, cfr. Pl. *ptak* 'bird', *mlékò* 'milk' > *mlekò*, cfr. Pl. *mleko* 'milk'.

The analysis shows that internally and externally motivated changes are carried out concurrently, leading to a complex interplay of transfer and internal language evolution.

New Speakers' vowel inventories tend to align with Polish. Only a few participants (< 5) seem to maintain a vowel inventory that consists of 9 phonemes (such range it is attested e.g. in contemporary Central and Southern Kashubian). The most striking development is the loss of *ë* /ʌ/~/ə/ due to merger with *e* /ɛ/. Only 11 participants (50.00%) in our data-set have attested at least 1 occurrence of that phoneme. Of only 74 attestations of /ʌ/~/ə/ in their idiolects, 27 belonged to the non-ablauting stem of the lexeme *krëszka* 'pear'. Given that the lexeme has 191 attestations in its various morphological forms, only 14.14% instances have the original vowel quality while 85.86% instances point to a merger with *e* /ɛ/. Such mergers lead to loss of morphological complexity regarding inflectional patterns that rely on the 9-vowel distinctions.

Also in case of *ú* || *ó* the opposition, which is typically preserved in spoken Kashubian as /ʉ/ || /o/~/u/ or /u/ || /o/ is vastly removed in favour of /u/ articulation in both cases. This leads to erasure of minimal pairs like Kash. *lúd* 'people' /lʉt/ and *lód* 'ice' /lut/, and closely resembles Polish, where *u* /u/ and *ó* /u/ have merged, cfr. Pl. *lud* 'people' /lut/ and *lód* 'ice' /lut/. In the whole data-set, close central pronunciation of *ú* is attested at least once only among 7 participants (31.82%). Of only 62 instances of /ʉ/, the most belonged to *tú* 'here' (8 = 27.59%) as opposed to 21 attestations with /u/ in the whole data-set, and *kapelúsz* 'hat' (6 = 30%) with 14 attestations with /u/.

Among most New Speakers, phonemes which are retained, but incongruent with Polish phonological system, tend to be audibly shifted towards places of articulation which match the closest Polish phonemes, so that *é* [ɘ]~[e]~[i] tends to be articulated either as Pl. *y* /ɘ/ after hard consonants and *i* /i/ after palatal consonants and the glide /j/ or generalised as /i/ in every position, cfr. 5 instances (15.63%) of [ɘ]~[e] in



(**a**) Conservative New Speaker vowel inventory

(**b**) Innovative New Speaker vowel inventory

FIGURE 4. Vowel space in New Speaker data

-bjér- 'to take' and 27 instances with /i/ as opposed to 18 instances of [ɘ]~[e] in *-zér-* 'to look at' and 10 with [i]~[ɪ]. Similar development has been observed also in the spoken dialects, especially Central Kashubian, therefore the interplay between Polish influence in New Speaker varieties and native-like spoken Kashubian needs further research and an acoustic analysis that is beyond the scope of this work. In similar way, *ô* [ɜ]~[æ]~[ɘ]~[ɵ]~[ɔ][9], although with articulation that differs from dialect to dialect, audibly tends to lose variants which are incongruent with Polish and/or shifts articulation towards /ɔ/, /u/ or /ɘ/. An exemplary reanalysis of *ô* as *ù* /wu/ is attested in forms like 3sg.pres. *pùdajõ* 'fall' < *pôdajõ*.

In consequence of all these developments, there is a loss of height distinction across the board, even among more conservative New Speakers while more innovative speakers lose mid-central vowels as well. All make use of high central vowel. These processes are in accord with usage-based understanding of variation and change, as dominant vowel space is both cognitively entrenched and becomes a part of physical muscle memory for those speakers with Polish as a dominant language. Among New Speakers, we thus see development of an emergent vowel system with reduced distinctions that can be mapped nearly one-to-one with Polish vowel space. As we discussed, the consequence of this "negative transfer" go beyond a mere New Speaker-accented Kashubian, but trigger realignment of morphological marking that relies on ablaut patterns involving the original vowel system. We therefore propose a vowel system of New Speakers in FIGURE 4.

New Speaker language use gives us a unique opportunity to watch language change at an accelerated pace. While our observations do not allow us to demonstrably show this ongoing change affects the wider Kashubian speech community, given what we know about New Speakers' positions, it is certainly worth continuing to observe general Kashubian with our observations in mind.

[9] To choose only the most wide-spread realisations.

Abbreviations

acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
CKash.	Central Kashubian
dat.	dative
fem.	feminine
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
inf.	infinitive
imp.	imperative
instr.	instrumental
iter.	iterative
Kash.	Kashubian
loc.	locative
masc.	masculine
neut.	neuter
NKash.	Northern Kashubian
nom.	nominative
pers.	personal
pl.	plural
Pl.	Polish
pres.	present
PSl.	Proto-Slavic
refl.	reflexive
SKash.	Southern Kashubian
sg.	singular
voc.	vocative

Literature

Bandur 2020: M. Bandur, *Pismo jako znak wspólnoty etnicznej. Głos w sprawie polityki języka kaszubskiego*, in: A. Kożyczkowska, M. Szczepska-Pustkowska (eds.), *Mniejszości etniczne i ich pogranicza. Szkice tożsamościowe*, Gdańsk 2020, pp. 326-337.

Borges 2022: R. Borges, *Sourcing Data from Wikipedia for the Study of Language Contact: The Csbwiki*, "Academic Journal of Modern Philology", XVIII, 2022, pp. 7-22, <https://doi.org/10.34616/AJMP.2022.18.1>.

Campbell *et al.* 2022: L. Campbell, N.H. Lee, E. Okura, S. Simpson, K. Ueki, *The Catalogue of Endangered Languages (ElCat)*, 2022, <https://www.endangeredlanguages.com>.

Dembińska 2012: M. Dembińska, *(Re)Framing Identity Claims: European and State Institutions as Opportunity Windows for Group Reinforcement*, "Nations and Nationalism", XVIII, 2012, 3, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00540.x>.

Dukiewicz, Sawicka 1995: L. Dukiewicz, I. Sawicka, *Fonetyka i fonologia*, Kraków 1995.

Hammarström *et al*. 2022: H. Hammarström, R. Forkel, M. Haspelmath, S. Bank, *Glottolog/Glottolog: Glottolog Database 4.7*, "Zenodo", Dec. 2022, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7398962>.

Jocz 2013: L. Jocz, *System samogłoskowy współczesnych gwar centralnokaszubskich*, Szczecin 2013.

Jocz 2015: L. Jocz, *System samogłoskowy współczesnych gwar zaborskich*, "Rocznik Slawistyczny", LXIV, 2015, pp. 27-48.

Jocz 2016a: L. Jocz, *System samogłoskowy współczesnej kaszubszczyzny północno-zachodniej*, "Slavia Occidentalis", LXXII, 2016, 1, pp. 39-63.

Jocz 2016b: L. Jocz, *System samogłoskowy współczesnej gwary luzińskiej*, "Polonica", XXXVI, 2016, pp. 191-227.

Jocz 2018a: L. Jocz, *Kilka uwag na temat wokalizmu centralnokaszubskiego*, in: E. Skorupska-Raczyńska (red.), *Ad notam – ad gloriam. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Profesorowi Kazi-mierzowi Długoszowi z okazji 60-lecia aktywności zawodowej i 40-lecia pracy naukowej*, Gorzów Wielkopolski 2018, pp. 43-61.

Jocz 2018b: L. Jocz, *Opozycja */u/ : */u:/ w gwarze Jastarni*, "Slavia Occidentalis", LXXV, 2018, 1, pp. 41-72.

Jocz 2021: L. Jocz, *The Opposition */i/ vs. */i:/ in the Kashubian Dialect of Kùsfelt and Chałëpë*, "Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie", LXXVII, 2021, 1, pp. 147-175.

Jocz forthcoming: L. Jocz, *Central and Western Lechitic: Kashubian, Slovincian and Polabian*, in: J. Fellerer, N. Bermel (eds.), *The Oxford Guide to the Slavonic Languages*, Oxford (forthcoming).

Langacker 1987: R.W. Langacker, *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar: Theoretical Prerequisites*, Stanford 1987.

Leskien 1905: A. Leskien, *Handbuch der altbulgarischen (altkirchenslavischen) Sprache*, Weimar 1905.

Lorentz 1919: F. Lorentz, *Kaschubische Grammatik*, Danzig 1919.

Lorentz 1932: F. Lorentz, *Gramatyka pomorska*, III, Poznań 1932.

Lorentz 1958: F. Lorentz, *Pomoranisches Wörterbuch,* I, Berlin 1958.

Lorentz 1968: F. Lorentz, *Pomoranisches Wörterbuch,* II, Berlin 1968.

Majewicz, Wicherkiewicz 1998: A.F. Majewicz, T. Wicherkiewicz, *Minority Rights Abuse in Communist Poland and Inherited Issues*, "Acta Slavica Iaponica", XVI, 1998, pp. 54-73.

Makurat 2014: H. Makurat, *Interferencjowé Przejinaczi w Gôdce Bilingwalny Spòlëznë Kaszub*. Gduńsk 2014.

Makùrôt 2016: H. Makùrôt, *Gramatika Kaszëbsczégò Jãzëka*, Gdańsk 2016.

Mętrak *et al.* forthcoming: M. Mętrak, P. Szatkowski, M. Bandur, *Translations of "The Little Prince" into chosen collateral languages of Poland* (provisional title), "Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development" (forthcoming).

O'Rourke *et al.* 2015: B. O'Rourke, J. Pujolar, F. Ramallo, *New Speakers of Minority Languages: The Challenging Opportunity – Foreword*, "International Journal of the Sociology of Language", 2015, 231, pp. 1-20, <https://doi.org/doi:10.1515/ijsl-2014-0029>.

Schleicher 1852: A. Schleicher, *Formenlehre der kirchenslawischen Sprache*, Bonn 1852.

Schmid 2020: H.-J. Schmid, *The Dynamics of the Linguistic System: Usage, Conventionalization, and Entrenchment*, Oxford 2020.

Stieber 1962: Z. Stieber, *Rozwój fonologiczny języka polskiego*, Warszawa 1962.

Sloetjes, Wittenburg 2008: H. Sloetjes, P. Wittenburg, *Annotation by Category: ELAN and ISO DCR*, in: *Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC'08)*, Marrakech 2008.

Topolińska 1974: Z. Topolińska, *A Historical Phonology of the Kashubian Dialects of Polish*, The Hague 1974.

Sychta 1967: B. Sychta, *Słownik gwar kaszubskich na tle kultury ludowej*, A-G, Wrocław 1967.

Sychta 1972: B. Sychta, *Słownik gwar kaszubskich na tle kultury ludowej*, S-T, Wrocław 1972.

Abstract

Maciej Bandur, Robert Borges
Morphophonological Innovations in New Speakers' Kashubian

New Speakers of minority languages are a special case which gives us a unique glimpse into variation and change. In such cases, language change at an accelerated pace tends to lead to profound changes in the structure of the language. Such developments are observable in Kashubian, a minority Slavic language spoken in East Pomerania. For the purpose of this study, spoken data consisting of responses to video stimuli was collected from a group of Kashubian speakers. Chosen morphophonological developments were analysed, especially repatterning and vowel substitution in nouns and verbs, as well as phonemic mergers and their consequences for the morphological structure.

Keywords

Language Change; Kashubian Language; Minority Languages; New Speakers; Morphophonology.