Language Contact in Pomerania: The Case of German, Polish, and Kashubian

Nick Znajkowski, New York University

Purpose

The effects of language contact and language shift are well documented. Lexical items and phonological features are very easily transferred from one language to another and once transferred, rather easily documented. Syntactic features can be less so in both respects, but shifts obviously do occur. The various qualities of these shifts, such as whether they are calques, extensions of a structure present in the modifying language, or the collapsing of some structure in favor the apparent simplicity found in analogous foreign structures, all are indicative of the intensity and the duration of the contact. Additionally, and perhaps this is the most interesting aspect of language shift, they show what is possible in the evolution of language over time, but also what individual speakers in a single generation are capable of concocting. This paper seeks to explore an extremely fascinating and long-standing language contact situation that persists to this day in Northern Poland—that of the Kashubian language with its dominating neighbors: Polish and German.

The Kashubians are a Slavic minority group who have historically occupied the area in Northern Poland known today as Pomerania, bordering the Baltic Sea. Their language, Kashubian, is a member of the Slavic branch of Indo-European languages and further belongs to the Pomeranian branch of Lechitic languages, which includes Polish, Silesian, and the extinct Polabian and Slovincian. The situation to be found among the Kashubian people, a people at one point variably bi-, or as is sometimes the case among older folk, even trilingual in Kashubian,

Polish, and German is a particularly exciting one because of the current vitality of the Kashubian minority culture. In a 2002 survey conducted in Poland, 52,600 people named Kashubian as their native language[1]. The Kashubians are also not under any pressures to discard their language and take on Polish, as they go about unhindered by any prejudice. In fact, in 2005 Poland officially recognized Kashubian as a regional language, granting it government protection and funding for various programs. This is thus an ideal situation in which to explore the unfettered human mind as it consolidates very different grammars and plays with the possibilities presented by each. The human mind is capable of wonderful feats of linguistic acrobatics which can go completely unnoticed without careful research. My goal here is to carry out this research in an environment perfectly suited towards the most natural and colorful processes of language, ideally discovering greater, if not laws, then tendencies of language manipulation.

My research and indeed my greater interests in language are grounded in an interest in the most fundamental interactions of language and mind. The focus of this paper is one specific case of language contact found in northwestern Poland in close proximity to its German border. The main goal of this paper is to plunder the Kashubian language for evidence of German influence, specifically in syntax, and to seek out just how subtle that influence may be. Subtlety is an important aspect of the project because though there were several instances of very clear German borrowing, there were other instances where the influence crept through the language in surprising ways which could only have been the result of active mental manipulation on the part of the Kashubians themselves. The question of this mental manipulation will comprise the final part of the paper, where language shift as a greater phenomenon will be explored using the work

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[1] Główny Urząd Statystyczny, Opracowanie przygotowane na Kongres Demograficzny w dniach 22-23 marca 2012 r., p.18

of researchers in child language acquisition as a lens, while still relating back to Kashubian data for support.

As a theoretical preliminary, I will be echoing the following quote by Carol Myers-Scotton "While of course contact linguistics has affinities with both psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics, it is something else. It deals specifically with the grammatical structure of the languages of bilinguals (Myers-Scotton, 5)" This is the foundation from which I will be working. Language shifts occur in unmonitored environments when speakers receive varied signifiers for the same signified one signal somehow modifies the other. This is especially true of children, even more so for those who are in a multilingual environment where it is necessary to grasp sociolinguistic factors in addition to purely linguistic ones.

Following the discussion of the project's findings, I would like to present one particularly fruitful data set that I would argue shows just how complex the results of a language contact situation can be. Without revealing too much, the data set consists of six synonymous Kashubian sentences, all of which are structurally distinct. Each of these sentences reveals what I would argue is another step, or, to avoid any implication of telicity, a *phase* of the language's development.

Means and Acknowledgements

This project was in largely funded by a grant from the Dean's Undergraduate Research Fund at New York University. I give my most sincere thanks to those who deemed my work worthy of funding.

I would also like to thank Professor John Costello of the Linguistics Department for sharing his encyclopedic knowledge of the Indo-European family and the wealth of physical materials with which he has provided me. Most of all, I give him my greatest thanks for bringing the situation of the Kashubians to my attention, enabling this project, and hopefully many others, to begin. In addition, I would also like to thank him for his guidance, both at home and abroad.

Setting

Kaszuby, or as I will refer to it hereafter, "Kashubia" in English. Kashubia is a region of northern Poland, picturesque in its rolling hills, numerous rivers, lakes, and beautiful forests. Its borders are disputed, but it can be said to occupy approximately 7000 km^2, though this is a fraction of what is considered the historical domain of the Kashubians[2]. The latter point becomes especially relevant when one realizes that in fact, contrary to the foundation of this thesis, Kashubia does *not* currently border Germany, as the map below clearly shows.

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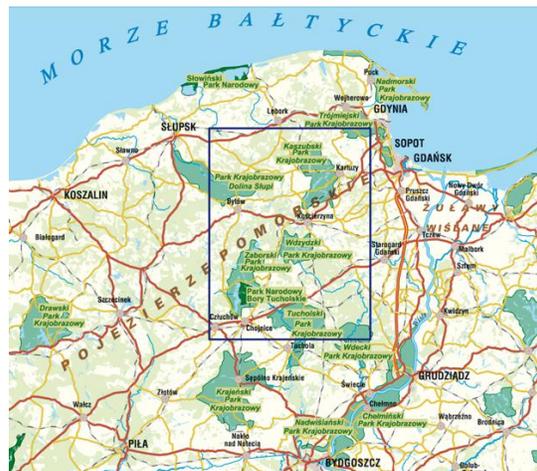
[2] J. Mordawski, *Statystyka ludności kaszubskiej. Kaszubi u progu XXI wieku*, Gdańsk 2005, s. 86.

In many of my interviews in Kashubia, people claim Gdańsk to be the cultural capital of the Kashubians. However, discussion of with local business owners and higher ups in Gdańsk itself reveal that this title is bestowed upon Gdańsk in name only. Frankly, there are very few actual Kashubians living in Gdańsk. It cannot be denied, however, that Gdańsk has had a reputation for housing the Kashubian people, immortalized in the most famous work of Gunter Grass, "The Tin Drum." The reality is that if you want to hear Kashubian spoken in the streets, you will have to make sure to not make my fundamental mistake and start in any neighborhood of Gdańsk. Instead, you will have to go west, most probably by way of a rickety, state-owned bus into the smaller towns of Kashubia. This is where the bulk of my work, and indeed, the bulk of Kashubian culture, resides.

Methods

My methodology was straightforward and easy to employ. Prior to departing for Poland, I sat down with German and Polish grammars, and simply began to compare each item, noting differences and marking them according to probability of being influenced. I did not have access to a good Kashubian grammar during the weeks prior to my departure, and was indeed pressed for time, due to the fact that I was notified of receiving my grant money a few short weeks before my tentative departure. My assumptions going into the grammar comparisons were that Kashubian will be fundamentally like Polish in the majority of cases, and indeed, this has come to be *mostly* true. A second assumption I based this work in was that any deviations from Polish, or more generally, Slavic languages will be due to contact with German. This assumption is based on historical and geographical grounds. Having forever been confined to Pomerania, and having only ever been in contact with Polish and German, it is unreasonable to attribute any non-

Slavic phenomena to any cause but influence from either of the aforementioned languages or internal innovation within the general tendencies of the Slavic branch.

In addition, regardless of how fundamental or significant the differences were that I found between the two languages, nothing was considered to be immune to change.

Once my comparison was complete, and I had a list of 27 grammatical points of differences, reproduced below, I began composing test sentences in Polish. These sentences were to be presented to interviewees for translation into Kashubian.

List of topics chosen for research, 27 in all:

- Merger of the Instrumental and Locative Cases
- Verb movement in subordinate clauses
- Word Order
- Choice of Modal Auxiliaries
- Preposition Choice
- Can Reflexives be Used to Form the Passive?
- Reflexives in General
- Passives
- The Genitive
- Gerund Usage
- Subordinating Conjunctions in Kashubian
- Formation of the (Im)perfect participle
- The Aorist
- The Periphrastic Future
- The Periphrastic Formal imperative
- Colloquialisms
- Aspective prefixes
- Separable prefixes
- Dative
- Statal Passive
- Comparatives
- Depersonalization/Impersonal Pronouns
- Before/Ago Merger
- Time Expressions
- Subjunctive
- Special Subjunctive
- Other smaller, miscellaneous points.

As described above, each of these points was conceived of as something to be tested from the comparison of a Polish and German grammar. In the section in which I actually discuss my findings I will not be providing each of my test sentences for each subtopic. It was at least somewhat unfortunate that, despite my hopes, each of these points did not pan out and in many of these cases Kashubian did indeed sync up with Polish or another Slavic language. Of course, this is not to say that the research trip was disappointing, for it was very fruitful, sometimes in areas it never would have occurred to me to investigate.

Upon arriving in Kashubia, I set out to acquire informants, as all my initial attempts to acquire contacts from the U.S. failed. I will not reproduce the entirety of my Kashubian narrative here, but suffice to say that through several strokes of good luck and a few cases of being in the right place at the right time I was able to hold close to twenty interviews. These interviews typically took place shortly after meeting the interviewee in question, as more often than not I was present at a cultural event, a lecture, or a festival, and was simply passed on from one person to another. Other contacts were longer-lasting, arranging meetings with many other people that were willing to help me, even continuing to advise long after my return to the U.S. Admittedly, my interviews were few in number, but this is due to how exacting I was in picking my informants. It quickly became clear that the difference between a true speaker of Kashubian and someone who speaks it only on special occasions was immense; the former being a different language, the latter amounting to little more than an accent, lacking even the most basic Kashubian constructions that typified Kashubian. The spectrum of the "genuineness" with which Kashubian was spoken in Pomerania was huge. This spectrum very clearly spreads from north to south, where the southern Kashubians have lost many of the language's distinctive features, though even in the conservative northern portion of Kashubia there is still considerable

variance. For better or for worse, I decided to stick with those that were more strict in their usage of the language.

During the actual interview, because I typically knew nothing of the person's background, I did not want to reveal anything about my project that would compromise the genuineness of the responses, so I made no mention of the German aspect of the research. I simply stated that my research had to do with the Kashubian language and I was there gathering data to add to some larger corpus. Stating outright that I was looking for German influence would, assuming they had some knowledge of German, either prompt the interviewee to "help" by being hyper-German in their responses, or, attempting to preserve the authenticity of Kashubian or something similar, avoid Germanisms. Obviously, either of these scenarios would be detrimental to the quality of the research, so I took the greatest pains to avoid discussion of this aspect of the project.

Once I returned to the US, I began the process of analyzing the recorded data and sifting through the mass of physical media I brought back with me. Analysis consisted of a transcribing the Kashubian, comparing it with the Polish, noting and marking any differences, then investigating the possible sources of the change. I of course first looked to German as the source of the change, but in the instances that the change did not correspond to any aspect of German, it was set aside for later investigation.

While presenting samples of these transcribed sentences, I will be making use of the following template:

Kashubian	Dwi by sie zastekały ale zamk je karzony
English Gloss	Door would self closed but lock is broken
Polish Trans.	Drzwi zamknieliby się ale zamek jest zepsuty
Polish Gloss	Doors [would close] self but lock is broken
English Trans.	The doors would close, but the lock is broken

Here, I have made an effort to provide all information that may be necessary for a proper understanding of any data I provide. Being that word counts obviously do not line up across the three languages, I have artificially made them do so by means of brackets, so that the glosses match up and each item corresponds to its sequential parallel in the other two languages. Then, below the chart, I will discuss its relevance to my research and provide the German translation.

The Kashubians, a Short (Linguistic) History:

The Kashubians, unlike some other ethnic groups, do not have clear origins. It is a constant issue tackled by each writer who attempts to expound on the topic because once you pass back far enough into history, you are inevitably left with the unsatisfying solution of "It could have been here, or there, or yet a third place." Even the very word "Kashubian" is shrouded in mystery. One popular etymology links it to a modified version of the Old Church Slavonic word *kasz-,* referring to water not particularly deep or areas bordering a larger body of water (Labuda 2006: 39-40).

The first written record of the Kashubians occurred in the 6th century AD and is recorded Byzantine historiographer by Theophylact Simocatta. In the words of Gerard Labuda, a

Kashubian scholar and activist of an importance that cannot be understated, "If the aforementioned Slavs who were sent by Slavic rulers to the Avar Khan were indeed from Pomerania, then it can be said that these are the first historically recognized ancestors of the Kashubians, who, on a diplomatic mission, ventured into the Byzantine Empire. " (2006: 45, translation my own). Of course, it must also be admitted that, though these claims are attractive, there is actually no archaeological evidence available tying any people who ever lived in the area below the Baltic to Kashubians.

However, if we take the above claim to be true, this then implies that the Kashubians are descendants of the Baltic Slavs and more specifically, are a branch of the Pomeranians. This too gives more questions than answers. During that time it is well documented that there were Goths, a Germanic people, living in that area. Why then, did they leave and go towards the Black Sea when they did? It is on this abandoned land that the Kashubians first definitively appeared. But, even with this next fact established, it is still unknown from what direction they originally came. Afterwards, the Kashubians occupied an area known today as Western Pomerania, but as the 13th century passed into the 16th, the Kashubians had moved east, settling the lands surrounding modern-day Gdańsk. However, their total area of occupation at any given time remained small and it is interesting to note that as they moved, the entirety of the people moved. Metaphorically speaking, Kashubia moved with the Kashubians.

Additionally, in the 12th century, schisms in the Polish Church and conquests by Bavarian Prince Henry the Lion who was later deposed by Frederick I Barbarossa sent a portion of Pomerania and Kashubians to their first formal contact with the Germans. The Wolin-Kamien bishopric controlled much of the areas in which Kashubians lived and around that time began to be influenced by neighboring Germans and was no longer controlled by the Roman Catholic

Polish clergy, but rather German ones. As highlighted by Szultka (2000:55), the work which the German bishops did was certainly not limited to the realm of the pastoral. Instead, it included huge efforts to modernize the countryside, the construction of cities and among other things, the colonization of the Duchy of Western Pomerania by German settlers. Bishop Hermann von Gleichen stands out in this respect. Later, in the 16th century, the German clergy continued to exercise its influence via the Lutheran Church, as Chwalba writes: The Kashubians faced Germanification efforts, including those by evangelical Lutheran clergy. These efforts were successful in Lauenburg (Lębork) and Leba (Łeba), where the local population used the Gothic alphabet" (Chwalba, 426). The absolutely crucial point to take away from this change is that from here on out, the terrain occupied by the Kashubian people is officially split between two cultures, while they themselves do not quite belong to either.

Despite not being a complete part of either culture, the Kashubians that felt the greatest impact of Germanization the most were those who occupied higher positions in society, who were ejected from their offices by incoming Germans, causing there to be no Kashubians occupying higher roles in society. The farther-reaching impact of this incoming wave of German influence however, is that Kashubian is now a tertiary language in the region. It undoubtedly falls behind German and Polish in importance and is now something that can actually hold someone back from advancing in society. This of course led to the halting of Kashubian socio-economic growth, their Christianization (they were rather resistant to converting to Christianity) and Germanization, as well as a great loss of their own cultural traditions. The Kashubians had been colonized.

The 13th through 15th centuries were a period of great unrest in Northern Poland, with many wars breaking out between competing duchies and power changing hands constantly. After

the first collapse of the Polish Republic the Kashubians found themselves living in a new country—Prussia, to which they were officially annexed in 1772 and where they remained until 1945. During this time, all Kashubians would have learned the local variety of German, which in that area would have been Low German. Of course, each language occupied a different place in day-to-day proceedings, with German being the official language, Polish as the language of the Church, and Kashubian being spoken at home and to other Kashubians. Additionally, because they were in Prussia, they were also recipients of the myriad reforms and modernizations bestowed upon the country by the Germans which, it must be said, did improve life for all who were living there at the time. Couple this with the fact that simultaneously, the Polish ruling classes had degenerated into a shadow of their former selves (in no small part due to German presence in the area), and it is not surprising that the Kashubians, with no real loyalties to anyone, began to associate increasingly with the Germans, to the point that the Germans ceased to consider them Kashubians and, by extension, ceased to associate all the evils they formerly did with them. This change of course had a linguistic impact on the Kashubian culture itself. With an increasing number of Kashubians utilizing German on a daily basis, seeing the obvious benefits it came from associating with the German culture, they began to forego their identities as Kashubians and not surprisingly, their numbers began to dwindle (Szultka 2000: 87).

In 1850 a figure arose whose actions still affect the average Pole's view of the Kashubians to this day—Florian Ceynowa. He is also largely held responsible for the most vigorous cultural awakening of the Kashubian people. Ceynowa was a Kashubian educated in Berlin who went on to publish an article titled, in Kashubian, *Kaszebji do Polochów* The crucial thing here is that he is addressing the Polish people, in other words, the aristocrats and the clergy, in Kashubian, a language existing on the fringes of the society. In the article he writes that

Kashubians find themselves on the fence between two dauntingly powerful cultures—Polish and German, and are neither here nor there. This piece caused quite a stir among the Polish and resulted in Ceynowa being accused of harboring separatist tendencies—a suspicion towards the Kashubians that some Poles harbor to this day (I can attest to this based on my own time spent in Pomerania).

In the mid-19th century a rivalry broke out between Poland and Germany over the Kashubians, or rather, Kashubia-Pomerania. The rivalry found itself in an area of a rather complicated political-ethnic character. The burning question of course, was whether the Kashubians would side with the Germans or the Poles. The complexity of the situation can be easily grasped when looked at from a linguistic perspective, to which end I cite Pomeranian historian Cezary Obracht-Prondziński:

> *The degree of complexity of the cultural and ethnic situation in the Pomerania of those days can be appreciated when one looks at the linguistic situation. Two languages were regarded as being "standard" in this region, both literary and holding high cultural prestige, but were different in terms of their positioning in the political sphere. The growing rivalry between these two linguistic systems was obvious once one took into account the aspirations of the Polish elite and the language politics of Prussia-Germany. Besides these two, there were also two nonstandard languages of wholly different ambitions and national alliances. The first was Plattdeutsch, and the other, Kashubian. Many residents of Kashubia and Pomerania were bi- or even quadrilingual, using a given language in a specific social situation or in a specific environment.* (2002: 140-141, translation NZ)

It should be made clear that the German culture was not something foreign in Pomerania. At this point, it had peacefully co-existed with the cultures of Kashubia and Pomerania for

hundreds of years. Further, not only was German not treated as a foreign culture in the area, it was regarded as a higher culture, associated with advancement and progress. The result of this German-Polish rivalry was not a push for the Kashubian identity, but rather a split between those who would go on to become more German and those who would go on to accept more Polish influence. In the beginning of the 20th century, there arose among the cultured Kashubian elite a movement known as the *The Society of Young Kashubians*, with a man named Dr. Aleksander Majkowski at the forefront.

The Society's goal was to awaken an ethnic self-awareness among Kashubians and was aimed towards young Kashubian writers and scientists, and was intended to give these people a place to congregate, discuss, and publish their findings and ultimately reintegrate with *Polish* society. The Society met with fierce opposition from the Germanized Kashubians in the area, seeing it as something potentially detrimental to their status with the Germans, while the Polish journals also did not approve of their activities. Disbanding of the institute?

The conclusion of World War I found the area typically occupied by Kashubians divided; split between two separate national entities. The question of whose side the Kashubians were on became problematic: "On the one hand, the Polish government had some doubt as to the Kashubians' national leanings and their faithfulness to the Polish government, and they made this clear. On the other hand, the Germans took up whatever efforts they could to gain influence on the Kashubian position" (Obracht-Prondzynski 2002 142-143, Translation: NZ).

The previous quote, coupled with Obracht-Prondzyński's writing on the Kashubians' situation in Poland pre-WWI paint a very accurate portrait of the position the Kashubians occupied throughout their history. These were a people forever on the fence between two

countries and indeed two cultures that dwarfed them in terms of power and size. Each offered its own benefits and drawbacks, and though there was often a split of opinion as to which choice would be the more beneficial, there was never a split of the people.

This fact holds great importance for the development of the Kashubian language as it places its users in the middle of a complex language triangle, and though not stated directly, use of Kashubian was never completely discouraged or suppressed by either side of the tug-o-war. The result then, was a language existing in constant contact with two other more influential languages, the users of which were ambivalent towards its use, but held enough affection towards it to not let it die. This situation, according to many authors on contact linguistics (Costello, Weinreich, Anttila), is perfect for language shift and mixing, and is bound to yield extensive and intricate borrowings. This brings the paper to the next section, my actual collected data and their linguistic analysis.

Collected Data and Discussion

Now I will go onto discussing my collected data and, as mentioned previously, I will be using the described table and will only be discussing points that yielded interesting conclusions. Additionally, there are more interesting things going on in Kashubian than what I am laying out below, but in this paper I am limiting myself to those changes which can be attributed to contact with German, with one exception.

Use of German Auxiliary *to have*

Kashubian	Jô mom powieszony twój malenk nad szafką w kuchni
English Gloss	I have hung your painting above shelf in kitchen
Polish Trans.	Powiesiłem twój obrazek nad szafką w kuchni
Polish Gloss	[I hung] your painting above shelf in kitchen
English Trans.	I hung your painting above the shelf in the kitchen

This is an example of grammaticalization. To be clear on what I mean by this, I will be using the theory-neutral definition provided by French Indo-Europeanist Antoine Meillet (1912:132) who first introduced the term: "the attribution of a grammatical character to a formerly independent word." The example provided above is a case of grammaticalization first taking place in German, then the whole bundle of the past auxiliary *have* is tossed into Kashubian, which calques it.

The fragment of interest here is the first half of the sentence up until "powieszony." It is obvious that where Polish has one word, *powiesiłem* (I hung), Kashubian has three: *Jô mom powieszony*. This phrasing is at complete odds with the Polish. Where Polish uses the simple past, Kashubian uses the pronoun, a past tense auxiliary *to have* inflected for person, and a past participle of the verb. The addition of the pronoun will be discussed at a later point, but for now I would like to focus on the verb form and auxiliary.

Compare to the German *Ich habe Ihr Bild aufgehängt* . Kashubian has clearly calqued the German past tense, which is really a present perfect that is used as a past tense. The Polish past tense is the verb root with the postposed auxiliary *to be* inflected for person. Returning to the

previous example, *powiesiłem* is the verb *powiesić*, which in turn is the verb *wiesić* with the addition of an aspective prefix, another point which will be returned to later.

Interestingly, this construction bleeds through into the Polish of Kashubians living in Poland today. More than once I heard and was told that the construction *ja mam+VP* (I have) from the Kashubian *jô mom* is used to indicate past actions. Keep in mind that for non-Kashubian speakers of Polish, such a construction is impossible, but is perhaps coming to be realized as a local feature due to its frequent use by Kashubians.

<u>Adjective-Noun Word Order</u>

In Polish there is a clear cut syntactic distinction between qualifying and classifying adjectives, a feature believed to be the result of Latin influence on Old Polish and is still found in the Romance languages of Western Europe. The qualifying adjectives precede the noun they modify while the classifying adjectives appear postnominally. In Kashubian, there is no such distinction and the order for NPs is always of the familiar *adjective-noun* format that is found in English and of course German. The difference can be seen in the most basic of greetings*: Dobri dzéń*, where the Polish is *dzień dobry*, a compound and perhaps a retention from older times. Additionally, Kashubian also does not indicate number when inflecting adjectives, it is typically the same form for all numbers: *dobri człowiek* (good person) - *dobri lëdze* (good people).

Admittedly, the N-A construction is uncommon in any Slavic language, so the fact that Kashubian lacks this feature that is so standard in Polish is not terribly unusual. What lends this point some credence however, is the reasonable expectation that the N-A word order could have

easily shown up in some isolated instances as a remnant, even if it were not a standard feature of Kashubian.

Lack of the Pro-Drop Feature

Polish is a heavily inflected language that uses personal pronouns in the subject position sparingly. They are typically reserved for the object position. Kashubian opts for a different route, placing the appropriate pronoun before the verb, even if the verb is conjugated for person and gender. This is a practice commonly found in German, which will keep pronouns before conjugated verbs. This is rampant in Kashubian, especially the past tense which has the formula *pronoun+(aux)+verb*. For example:

Kashubian	Ja czul ze ty gadas po kaszebsku
English Gloss	I heard that you speak in Kashubian
Polish Trans.	Słyszałem że mowisz po Kaszubsku
Polish Gloss	[I heard] that [you speak] in Kashubian
English Trans.	I heard that you speak Kashubian

Unless clarification as to who is being spoken of is necessary, Polish will not include the pronoun before the verb in any tense due to the resulting redundancy. Of course, like English, subject pronouns are never dropped from the sentence, with the exception of imperatives. Being that Polish is pro-drop, and that Kashubian is not in the past tense and quite often in the present (further evidence can be seen in upcoming example sentences), the case that this is German syntactic influence is strong.

The future tense is identical in most respects to the Polish, where the auxiliary *bëc* (to be) is inflected for person and number followed by the infinitive form of the verb in the case of imperfectives, while the perfective verbs are simply inflected for present tense[3].

Lack or Partial Lack of Aspective Prefixes

Without going into much detail, an extremely interesting aspect of Polish is the abundance of aspective prefixes, which, when applied to nearly any verb, lend a highly nuanced meaning to the construction which is not always completely transparent. Oftentimes the word is difficult to translate into English and requires some poetic license. Naturally, these prefixes are another point I explored and to my surprise, they were lacking. More specifically, the abundance in which these prefixes exist in Polish is not to be found in Kashubian. Their use is significantly more restricted and they only exist with certain verbs which are hardly used without the prefix to begin with. To illustrate the point:

Kashubian	Name se tak fajnie godolo ze me godole godzine
English Gloss	Us$_{ACC}$ self so well talked that we talked hour
Polish Trans.	Tak nam sie fajnie gadalo, ze przegadalismy godzine
Polish Gloss	So us$_{ACC}$ self well talked, that [talked through] hour
English Trans.	We had such a good time talking, that we somehow talked an entire hour

Right off the bat, the English is considerably longer than either the Polish or the Kashubian. There is reason for this, and that reason is the need to account for the aspective prefix *prze-*. When attached to the verb *gadać* (to chat), the compound *przegadać* takes on the meaning of "to chat absentmindedly, without paying attention to the time passing." There is often,

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[3] Breza, Edward, and Jerzy Treder. *Gramatyka Kaszubska: Zarys Popularny*. Gdańsk: ZKP, 1981. Print.

depending on context, also a hint of regret implied; that the time was either wasted or should have been directed towards something else. In addition to *prze-,* you can also attach *po-, na-, za-, ob-,* to the verb stem *gadać* for a variety of meanings. Naturally, this is an integral part of Polish and its absence in Kashubian was surprising. In fact, there are examples of where these prefixes are simply dropped from the Kashubian, where otherwise the words are identical between the two languages. Take for example, the Polish *zanurzyć* (to put under water) and the synonymous Kashubian *nurzyć*. One informant stated that they simply do not exist in the sense they do in Polish. They instead existed as being attached to various verbs as alternate forms, but where, as in the case of *gadać,* there are 5 alternate possibilities, there will only ever be 1 in Kashubian.

Kashubian does however share the Polish dichotomy of the perfective/imperfective verb via the prefix *z-*, which shows up as affecting the rules for conjugation.

What to attribute this lack to is not quite clear. It is also not clear, given my materials, whether these prefixes were in the language to begin with. However, the fact that they exist in certain limited forms is indicative of something that needs to be further pursued.

Passive Voice

Kashubian	Wiem ze to ciotka mila napisune
English Gloss	[I know] that this aunt had written
Polish Trans.	Wiem ze to bylo napisane przez ciocie
Polish Gloss	[I know] that this was written by aunt
English Trans.	I know that this was written by (by) my* aunt

NB: The reason that Kashubian does not include the word "my" *is the same that it is in Polish. When one says* "It was written by aunt," *the listener assumes you mean your own, unless somehow otherwise indicated.*

The Polish passive is accomplished with a past tense auxiliary *be*, the preposition through/by, and finally a past participle of the verb. The Kashubian passive, if it can even be called that, is structurally not very different from the past tense. There is now the past tense auxiliary *have* instead of the present tense *have* of the past tense, and now the verb is also in a past participle form, like the Polish.

Now, please compare the German: *Ich weiß, dass dies von meiner Tante geschrieben wurde* (I know, that this of my aunt written was). It seems that the three languages are rather different with regard to the passive, but I would like to posit some other explanation for the Kashubian passive which is still grounded in German influence, albeit indirectly.

Considering that *to have* is never used as an auxiliary in Polish, or under any other circumstances, its extensive use in Kashubian is worth noting. It is possible that, once auxiliary *have* entered into Kashubian via the past tense construction, instead of using the Polish form or another form, Kashubian extended the meaning of the *have* auxiliary and assigned it an additional use. This is a case of *category extension* on the part of the Kashubians. Heine and Kuteva discuss the issue thus:

> When category extension occurs this leaves the grammatical categorization of the replica language essentially unaffected; what changes is the internal structure of categories… Category extension… is a morphological process; but not infrequently it is the epiphenomenal product of other kinds of processes, such as contact-induced changes in lexicon… lexical replication may entail grammatical category extension.

It should be noted that category extension would apply the first time that Kashubian borrowed German *to have* as an auxiliary. Along with borrowing the word, they borrowed the word's grammatical functions as well. This is interesting enough on its own

as a function of language contact and shift, but the fact that Kashubian took this foreign

auxiliary, calqued its usage and made it a fundamental component of the language and

then proceeded to assign it uses that are unknown in the model language is remarkable.

This subsequent phenomenon, again borrowing from Heine and Kuteva, would be called

category replacement. What is being replaced is whatever passive construction existed in

Kashubian before they concocted this construction using past tense *to have* followed by

the past participle of the verb. I unfortunately do not have any data to investigate what

this construction could possibly have been. Regardless, though this is not directly

German influence, it is evidence of what a "replica" language is capable of given the

right sociolinguistic and historical contexts.

An alternative explanation may be that the passive voice has fallen in with the

past tense or, if one were to look back to a grammar published Edward Breza and Jerzy

Treder in ___, they give the formula for the Kashubian passive as being *pronoun+to

be+past participle*, which they claim is modeled on German sentences of the form *er is

ausgefahren* (Kashubian: on je wëjechóny) (Breza, Treder, 134).

Numerals

The formula for expressing numbers above 20 in Polish is identical to that which is used

in English. The number 35 would be expressed as *thirty-five*, and nothing else. Kashubian

utilizes this system as well. However, according to several of my informants and one modern

grammar book, there is an alternative. Kashubian was known at a point in its history to use a

formula almost identical to the one used in German. For instance, in German the number 35 would be read as *five and thirty*. This was also the case for Kashubian.

This is the only such case of one language's formula for expressing numerals being transferred to another that I had been able to find. A similar phenomenon may be observed in Wales, where the traditional vegisimal numeral system is being replaced among younger speakers by the more common (and English) base 10 system. It is obvious that for an aspect so fundamental to a language and so common in everyday use to change so dramatically, or even take on an alternative form, the influence of the origin language must have been great and long lasting. This change in Kashubian, albeit a thing of the past, is profound when one considers that the original was a very simple base 10 system, not incompatible with either Polish or German, and also that both exact and approximate mental arithmetic is considerably more difficult when one is forced to switch languages, let alone numeral formats[4]. Being that Kashubians were known to be traveling salesmen and craftsmen, inevitably interacting with desirable German customers, it makes a certain degree of sense that this would happen. After all, as of now, when Kashubians have all but no contact with Germany, the number format has fallen out of use and is now thought about as being rather literary and archaic.

The Dual

What came as a complete surprise was that Kashubian has retained, and makes consistent use of the dual. There is an extensive framework in place for the dual's use: including verb forms and pronouns, reinforcing the notion that this is a feature as alive and well as the plural is in

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[4] Effect of Language Switching on Arithmetic: A Bilingual fMRI Study, http://www.cogneuro-lab.org/UserFiles/Publication/Effectsoflanguageswitchingonarithmetic_abilingualfmristudy_JOCN06.pdf

English. Currently, the only places the dual is still in use in Europe is in a dialect of Croatian, Slovenian and Sorbian.

I will now present a section from a Kashubian grammar showing some of the rules that are in place for the use of the dual. This will be the present tense conjugation chart for the verb *czëtac*, or, to read.

	Singular	**Plural**
1st Person	jô czëtóm	më czëtómë, ma czetóma
2nd Person	të czëtôsz	wa czëtôta, Wë czëtôce
3rd Person	òn, òna, òno czëtô	òni, òne czëtają

Below is a sentence from my interviews in which the dual is used very naturally, with no prompting. It is clear from the Polish that I was looking for something else, certainly not the dual.

Kashubian	Ma baj jidzoni z mamą do krumu
English Gloss	We DUAL went with mother to store
Polish Trans.	Poszliśmy z mamą do sklepu
Polish Gloss	[We went] with mother to store
English Trans.	I went to the store with my mother

Originally, I was looking to see whether or not Kashubian matched Polish (and Russian) in saying something like "We went with mother to the store" when only the speaker and the speaker's mother are being discussed. Instead, Kashubian has the dual to tackle these situations. This is of course not a case of German influence, but rather a remarkable case of the language being resistant to change with regard to a feature that is all but extinct in the European languages.

Here is one more version of the same sentence that utilizes the dual, and what appears to be yet another German auxiliary, this time what in German would be *ist* (is).

Kashubian	Ja z mama wczora je ma szle razem do krumu
Kashubian Gloss	I with mother yesterday is we$_{DUAL}$ went together to store
Polish Trans.	Posliśmy z mamą wczoraj do sklepu
Polish Gloss	[We went] with mother yesterday to store
English Trans.	I went to the store yesterday with my mother

This is a wonderfully complex construction that highlights how rich of a language Kashubian really is. Firstly, there is the presence of the pronoun *ja*, indicative of the previously described German influence in keeping pronouns present in the subject. Then, there is *je*, the 3rd person singular present form of the verb *to be* acting as an auxiliary to the dual form of the past tense form of the verb *jic* (to go) with the dual pronoun *ma* in between.

Additional Non-Syntactic Changes

Lexicon

Besides exerting great influence on Kashubian syntactically, German has of course had great influence on Kashubian in other respects of language as well. Lexical influence is rampant, more so than it is in Polish. I will list a few examples below:

Kashubian	German	Polish	English
pùpa	Puppe	lalka	doll
plëta	Pfütze	kałuża	puddle
fajrować	feiern	świętować	to celebrate
platizer	Plätteisen	żelazko	iron
fachwerk	Fachwerk	kratownica	truss

Additional examples are numerous and easy to come by. When the larger corpus of German to Kashubian lexical borrowings is examined, there is a theme that can be gleaned, as there often is in cases such as this. Borrowings occur mostly in vocabularies of aspects of daily

life in which Kashubians and Germans were most likely to be interacting. These areas would also include those in which Kashubians would find it beneficial to seek the approval of the Germans, in addition to those in which lexical borrowing is common, such as names for occupations and wares sold in stores or out in markets, where Kashubians were known to be frequent vendors, often traveling. Categories include farming, the home, animals, hunting, plants, and many other words connected with daily activities[5]

The semantic spheres into which Glyszczyńska grouped her German borrowings into Kashubian is not an unusual pattern, and is in fact quite typical of a situation in which a people perceived as being as being culturally superior is in non-militaristic contact with another culture. Anttila writes of the case German contact with Baltic Finnic speakers and groups his borrowings into government and social order, religion, tools and skills, and housing and housekeeping[6]. Clearly, the Kashubians were not the only people to have such contact with the Germans.

Phonology

There is also evidence of phonological influence, if only in the vowel system. Kashubian is considerably richer in its vowel inventory than Polish, but is also poorer in terms of consonants. For example, it lacks the 3 way contrast of /z/ /ż/ /ź/ and their devoiced equivalents that is found in Polish, though this is not unusual, as Polish is close to unique in this respect. Kashubian has significantly more vowel contrasts, listed here (bolded sounds are present in Polish:

a		**e**		**o**			**u**
ã	**ą**	é	ë	**ó**	ô	ò	ù

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[5] Glyszczyńska , Anna: Germanizmy Leksykalne Południowej Kaszubszczyzny

[6] Anttila, Raimo. *Historical and Comparative Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Pub., 1989. Print.

In addition to looking like an odd collection of diacritical marks to be found in a Slavic language, the letters presented above also represent an equally odd collection of sounds. In terms of IPA:

Orthography	IPA Notation
a	ɑ
ã	ɑn
ą	ɔ̃
e	ɜ
é	ɪj
ë	ə
o	oʊ
ó	ʊ
ô	œ
ò	wɜ
u	u, often y
ù	wu

The above bolded sounds stand out in one major respect—they are not in present in any other Slavic language (with the exception of schwa in Russian in some limited contexts). In addition to this, all the bolded sounds, or sounds that are acoustically very similar, occur in German. Considering none of these sounds are found in the spoken Slavic languages of today, and that the only real neighbors Kashubian has had in its history are Polish and German in its numerous forms, it is reasonable to conclude that these sound innovations are due to contact with German, perhaps in an attempt to make the language superficially sound more like German.

*I Did Something***: a Diachronic Treasure Trove**

Below I present 6 distinct, viable ways of expressing the English sentence "I did something" in Kashubian. This data was collected during an interview with two young scholars of the Kashubian language and culture, with extensive literary background in the language. It was later confirmed by an older, more experienced teacher and lecturer of Kashubian language and history. I stress this because none of these sentences need to be forced to be understood, or will ever be assigned a "#," to borrow from standard notation, but instead are 100% interchangeable. In fact, they presented this data to me completely without prodding, as I had simply asked them if there are irregularities in Kashubian tenses that they can bring to mind. My great thanks to Adóm, Sławek, and Karol for this remarkable data set.

The data are as follows:

(N.B. I have not noted all grammatical features, for example case, in the Kashubian. I have instead opted for only noting the features relevant for discussion.)

1
Jo	Jem	Miôł	Cosk	Zrobione
I	Am	Had	Something	done

2
Jo	Miôł	Cosk	Zrobione
I	Had	something	Done$_{PAST\ PERFECT}$

3
Jo	Beł	Cosk	Zrobil
I	Was	Something	Did$_{PAST}$

4
Jo	Mom	Cosk	zrobione
I	Have	Something	Done$_{PAST\ PERFECT}$

5
Jo	Jem	Cosk	Zrobil
I	Am	Something	did$_{PAST}$

6
Jo	Cosk	Zrobil
I	Something	did$_{PAST}$

Discussion of Above Data:

The significance of this data set lies in two places. First, as already mentioned, all 6 variants can occur among Kashubians today and being completely, unequivocally accepted. Second is the fact that all of these can occur today among the same set of speakers! This phenomenon is interesting on its own terms, but takes on enormous significance when the data is looked at diachronically. As it turns out, each of these statements, in the order in which I have placed them and taken as a whole, are a timeline of Kashubian linguistic innovation! Each

sentence shows the entry of a different structure and, when compared with the available diachronic data, can be more or less dated.

In short, the sentences break down in the following manner:

Stage 1: Jô jem cosk zrobil.

This is an early Proto-Slavic innovation: a periphrastic past tense using the auxiliary verb "be," inflecting for person, plus the past participle ending in "l" which later becomes [w] or a velarized [l] in many Slavic languages. Kashubian copies the formula exactly.

Stage 2: Jô cosk zrobil.

Here, the structure simplifies and loses the auxiliary "be."

Stage 3: Jô mom cosk zrobione.

This is where things get interesting. This sentence is a perfect calque (loan translation) of the German past perfect construction. Please compare: *Ich habe etwas getan*.

What's crucial is that "have" is being used as an auxiliary, conjugated in the *present* tense (despite the definitively "past" nature of the sentence) followed by a different participle with the object in between. Additionally, note the German word order, where the conjugated form of the verb occurs in the position immediately following the subject, and the participle occupies the last position in the clause.

Important to note as well is the emergence of the Kashubian pronominal redundancy that was discussed earlier. It is certainly reasonable to say this "redundancy" seems to be German in origin, as Polish relies heavily on its system of inflection to get across the idea of person and number.

Stage 4A: Jô beł cosk zrobil

Kashubian has modified the auxiliary of stage 1 to show past time. In addition, it was worth adding that at some point in its history, Kashubian did make use of the *to be* auxiliary, but it has been dropped from the grammar, presumably at the time of the following stage. At this point in time, it is possible that the Kashubian passive discussed earlier did in fact sync up with the Polish construction, but of course, as *to be* was un-grammaticalized, *have* was integrated into the grammar and modified to fit the passive and past tense.

Stage 4B: Jô miôł cosk zrobione

Kashubian has modified the auxiliary of Stage 3 to reflect past time.

Stage 5: Jô jem miôł cosk zrobione

This is the most complex and historically significant variant. The auxiliary of Stages 3 and 4 makes a return into the past tense construction and the auxiliary of Stage 3 is even retained.

In a more general context, Stages 4 and 5 are more significant than Stage 3, despite the German influence, because these are internal innovations. As the general tendency in language is to simplify over time, Stage 4 has resolved the conflict between form and meaning seen in Stage 3. The present tense form of "have" is no longer used to express the past. Stage 5 partially resolves the conflict posed by the calqued auxiliary itself.

A further point is that ordinarily, languages that syntactically influence each other this way stop at Stage 3; there will be no Stage 4 or 5 to speak of. Kashubian instead continues to internally innovate upon the structure, producing a total of three additional variants. One possible reason for this is that, if one looks at the six sentences as being presented chronologically in order of appearance in Kashubian, then Stages 3 and 5 may correspond with heightened contact

with the German language. Perhaps during the times when Kashubians were living primarily in Prussia and the interwar period, respectively. It is of course difficult to tell and writings from these times do not shed a great amount of light on the matter as Kashubian, like many languages does have a formal version of itself employed by writers of important documents and does not match up with its more colloquial version in many respects. In general, the style can be said to simply be more archaic, similar to older forms of Polish.

As all the above data hopefully show, the enormous extent of German influence on all aspects of the Kashubian language cannot be overstated. In the end, this degree of influence can only result from a specific kind of language contact; one that is characterized by three distinct and essential properties. Firstly, the Kashubian language occupied an area of low prestige. There was never any immediate benefit to knowing the language and indeed, depending on where one found themselves and the attitude towards Kashubians of the area, could in fact be a hindrance. Secondly, the language needs to have no central standard to speak of. Kashubian, like many "unofficial" languages, varied greatly from region to region. This is especially interesting when one realizes just how small the area the Kashubians ever occupied was and that there were no real natural boundaries to separate one town or group from another, as standard sociolinguistic doctrine would dictate. The case remains the same to this day. There is great work being done in Poland by various government and private organizations to both map the various forms of Kashubian and hopefully establish a standard as part of a great (and so far successful) effort to revitalize the language. This however, is a topic for another paper.

The final, and perhaps most important element in this equation is simply time. Because there is no such thing as absolute immobility in language, given enough time, changes are bound to occur. The character of those changes is completely dependent on the situation of the speakers,

because, as de Saussure writes, "nothing enters language without having been tested in speaking, and every evolutionary phenomenon has its roots in the individual." (168). The Kashubians were not only all bilingual in Kashubian and Polish, the language of the land, but there was also the great chance that they were trilingual in German at least to some extent. These people lived in an environment where being neither here nor there was a basic part of their collective cultural conscience, in addition to being their day to day state of living. Given this state of uncertainty, rampant multilingualism, a low state of prestige and the understandable desire to *gain* prestige while having to use a language with no appreciable standard for everyday communication, it is no surprise that over the course of 700 years' time the Kashubian language would have engaged in some supremely interesting language mixing.

Admittedly, the one presented here is one of many possible orderings of the six sentences. For example, equally valid would be one where 3 and 4A are placed together for the claim that the auxiliary was corrected for tense before other constructions entered, but without a greater amount of historical material, the question is largely impossible to answer with total confidence. Even with a more complete historical corpus, there is still the question of how soon after its entry into the language the structure was noted down on paper, not even mentioning the complications that the extreme variation of Kashubian brings to the picture.

The Acquisition Angle

I would now like to discuss more explicitly the possible parallels between synchronic language acquisition and diachronic language change. As the above discussion shows, though all of the above utterances may occur synchronically, their points of entry into the Kashubian language can only be viewed diachronically, and over the entire history of the Slavic branch of the Indo-European family at that. However, if one were to take S5 as the final signifier for the Kashubian signified "I did something" and S1 as the start point, one would arrive at a pattern reminiscent of the findings of Carol Chomsky and indeed, all other researchers of the acquisition of syntax in children. In her own words, "Although there was only one way to be right, there were, we found, many different ways to be wrong. These different kinds of failure, or lack of accurate differentiation, seem to reflect varying degrees of knowledge. (Chomsky, 52)" Of course, this is not to somehow belittle Kashubian in any way by calling anything an error, but rather, *phases.* Even the language with which diachronic language shifts are described—"*to have* began to be used as a verbal auxiliary" is only superficially dissimilar to the ways in which researchers in language acquisition describe the errors which children make during the acquisition process—"child mistakenly used *to have* as a verbal auxiliary."

Framing the changes in Kashubian in this way is troublesome because it seems to give the process a teleological character. It is not that Kashubian was somehow "evolving" to become more German per se, but rather that Kashubian, and languages in general, will behave much like living organisms and evolve in similar ways. If one were to look at Anttila's answer to the question of what the purpose of language is, it would be "to keep functioning through time and in new cultural environments within the boundaries of human mental capacities" (194). Further: "Causes and results entwine to ensure both the survival of the system and the self-reproduction

of the system" (194). Kashubian evolved to a certain end—to be more pleasing to German ears and as such ensure a safer place for it in the future. Next, as the language began to become more German in various respects and presumably reap some sort of reward from it, even if the reward was not necessarily more recognition from the Germans but rather a greater feeling of self-worth among the Kashubians themselves, the process became self-perpetuating. Kashubian was becoming progressively less opposed to change and the fact that there was no central Kashubian language authority furthered this attitude. It is in this environment of linguistic openness that Kashubian children, who were guaranteed to be at least bilingual, begin their acquisition of language and the process of learning how the three languages they were bound to be exposed to stand in relation to each other in terms of prestige and the social spheres in which they are to be used.

Part of the work done by researchers in language acquisition has to do with the rates and timings and orders in which children acquire complex or irregular syntactic structures, and the errors they make in the process. For example, directly taken from Chomsky, the sentences "X told Y to do something" has very different implications from "X promised Y to do something." The former sentence is the more standard English structure, the one more often encountered by speakers and obviously the one learned first. The "promise" sentence is structurally the same, but means something quite different. In the former, Y is doing something. In the latter, X will be doing something. While acquiring the structure, children were unable to grasp that subtlety, and mistakenly thought that X was acting in the "promise" sentences. In addition, it was found that the children who understood the "promise structure" sometimes actually *misunderstood* the "tell" structure after having entered the beginning phases of acquiring the "promise" structure (C. Chomsky, 56)! What this shows that at any given point, when a speaker is acquiring language,

there are a number of conflicting structures fighting for their rightful places (determined by the rules of the language) and these structures occasionally bleed into each other. When and how this occurs is determined both by the nature of the structures themselves, but also how far along the speaker is in the acquisition process. In other words, what elements of the language(s) is present in the speaker's mind for them to work with when processing outside speech input. One method for dealing with the flurry of linguistic signals is analogy, a concept which I will discuss in relation to acquisition and diachronic change in the following section.

Analogy and Acquisition

In this section I will be relying primarily on the work of de Saussure which opens with the following definition: "Analogy supposes a model and its regular imitation. An analogical form is a form made on the model of one or more other forms in accordance with a definite rule." (161) An example of analogy would be a child learning English who has mastered the basic plural morpheme /s/ and correctly pluralizes *shoe* to *shoes* but, when confronted with an ox, is corrected from *oxes to oxen. The child cannot be blamed for the blunder, as this discrepancy is admittedly a quirk of the English language. However, if one were to look back several hundred years and sit down with Shakespeare as he was penning *Hamlet*, you would see him write "How would I your true love know from another one? By his cockle hat and staff, and by his sandal shoon.[7]" In this case, *shoes* would have been corrected to *shoon*, in keeping with the then-current conventions of pluralization in the grammar of an English in transition from Old English to its modern form. Of course, the exact same employment of analogy may be judged correct in one

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[7] Shakespeare, William. *Hamlet*, Act 4 Scene 5 23-26

century and incorrect in the next, but this illustrates an important characteristic of analogy—it is synchronic and "the chance product of an isolated speaker" (de Saussure, 165). Another way to read "chance product" would be simply "speech error." Regardless of whether or not the forms produced by analogy catch on or not, they are products of a speaker and of the linguistic situation in which the speaker finds him or herself. If you are an English speaking child of today and you are confronted with several irregular means of pluralizing nouns, you are bound to make errors in that area until you learn its exceptions. Similarly, a child learning Kashubian at home, Polish and/or German in school, depending on the time period, will have at minimum 3 different possible means of constructing any given sentence. Indeed, this variety, combined the extremely fertile ground for language mixing that Kashubian found itself in, does in fact lend itself to the coming and going of many forms, more so than a Polish child. In addition to the six sentences for "I did something" discussed above, more recent research yielded the discovery of yet another possibility for the past tense, still used today by some elderly speakers of Kashubian in the Wejherowo area of Poland (northwest of Gdańsk), in the northern Kashubian heartland, which looks like this:

Jo jem beł reszel

This would literally be glossed as "I am was moved." It comes as no surprise that this construction is on its way out, seeing as how this came to my attention through an informal grammar written by the previously mentioned Florian Ceynowa, published in 1912. Further inspection of this construction however, yields the observation that there may be more to this sentence than a simple past tense. The first six sentences were all active with transitive verbs complete with their direct objects. This one however, is an intransitive sentence with a verb of *motion* using the auxiliary *to be*. Speakers of German will have most likely noticed this already,

but the alternation of the verbal auxialiary in this sentence, when compared with the usage of *to have* in the previous set, syncs up perfectly with the German semantic distinction that is realized morphologically in the alternation of *habe/sein* as auxiliaries for general/transitive verbs and intransitive verbs indicating a change of position or state, respectively. I have not been able to find further evidence of this alternation in my material, but this may be forgiven as much of what is in my possession are modern texts which would not contain a construction which may well be on its way out. This is especially true in a time when the Kashubian community is pushing for a standard language and greater respect from their Polish neighbors, capitalizing on their relatively new status as an officially recognized government authority. The point to be taken away from the story of the *jem beł* construction is that in a situation as fluid and nuanced as the Kashubian, structures are bound to fall into and out of use, possibly in relatively short amounts of time. As can be seen in this example, one result of such a situation are actual generational syntactic gaps, something not often seen. This would be the result of a situation where speakers, perhaps most likely children, are constantly employing analogy to deal with their confusing linguistic situation.

De Saussure also discusses analogy in terms of its ability to counterbalance phonetic change and restore harmony to a language, but that particular capacity is not relevant to the topic at hand. What is relevant is that the process described above by Saussure is identical to the point made by Carol Chomsky in her work with young children acquiring complex syntactic structures. Children mastered the *tell* structure and understood the roles each part of the sentence played. This method of course works for hundreds of other verbs the child would have encountered by that point. The application of this method is the child working off of analogy on the level of syntax. Each correct sentence the child constructs is an analogical form based off of some

syntagmeme he or she has stored away. Sentences that incorrectly use *ask* also fall into this category as the same method was applied, albeit the result is judged as incorrect by adults.

Assuming some familiarity with the literature of child language acquisition, a read-through of work on historical linguistics will feel familiar in a few places. Both disciplines discuss periods of linguistic turbulence in individuals and groups whilst gathering data for the purposes of establishing what the tendencies of human language are given various circumstances. Both consider the implications of bilingualism on all aspects of language use and the effects that overt social pressures may have on the language choices that a person may make. It is off of these marked similarities that I base my argument that the language acquisition process and diachronic linguistic change are two sides of the same coin— not unlike how sociolinguistics can be considered the synchronic counterpart of historical linguistics.

In his *Historical and Comparative Linguistics* Raimo Anttila makes the point that "Change is the struggle of variants; without variants, one could not understand change, and without change, one would not understand synchronic variation. (Anttila, 190). One could write volumes on the implications of this statement but the major point to be taken away and applied to this project is that synchronic variation is essential for diachronic change. That is, when a speaker is confronted with various means of expressing the same idea, be it homophones in the same language or equivalents across two or more languages, a conscious choice must be made as to which variant to use in any given situation. Indeed, "every analogical fact is a play with a cast of three: the traditional, legitimate heir, the rival, and a collective character made up of the forms that created the rival." (de Saussure, 163). Shortly after that quote, Saussure provides an elegant example involving the Latin formation of *honor* in which the original form of the word actually

plays no part in the creation of the new, but rather it is created on the analogy of other, more regular forms (163):

Traditional Forms		New Form
honos	*honorem*	*honor*
	orator, oratorem, etc	

The factors informing such a choice are daunting in their variety but are easy to name: prestige, context, socioeconomic status, and all the other typical sociolinguistic variables. The answer to what can be considered a variant is also disputed, but the short answer is anything that is capable of varying: phonetic and phonological factors ([vɜjs] vs [vɑz]), lexicon (lift vs. elevator), morphology (won't vs. ain't), and even syntax (I haven't any money vs. I ain't got no money).

Viewed in this way, it would not be a great stretch of the imagination to say that the acquisition of one grammar and learning its variances on its own rules is not unlike the simultaneous acquisition of a second language; which, after all, is simply a different set of rules that utilize a different set of phonetic components. Phrased differently, a second language is a set of exceptions to that which the child or bilingual already knows. What I term here as exceptions, Saussure calls differences:

> In language there are only differences. Even more important: a difference generally implies positive terms between which the difference is set up; but in language there are only differences without positive terms. Whether the take the signified or the signifier, language has neither ideas nor sounds that existed before the linguistic system but only conceptual and phonic differences that have issued from the system (120).

Language is a differential system where signs are only defined by what they are not. Because there are only differences, not being sufficiently familiar with all the differences in one's own language is cause for committing errors in production, but perhaps not necessarily understanding, which is an exciting factor in the language change process, enabling a group of people who are familiar with the same languages to regularly calque and mix, be it out of a mistake or on purpose, and be understood perfectly well understood (see "Spanglish" as a somewhat good example). That point aside, these differences are what make up the "lack of differentiation," or lack of awareness of the difference between other extant forms and their metalinguistic significance, Carol Chomsky was quoted earlier as citing as the reason for children's confusing of the *ask* and *tell* structures. It follows then, that when there are several synonymous, but not equivalent variants of one idea vying for primacy in the mind of a speaker who has not yet adequately differentiated all of the elements of one language or three, especially in a child. "errors" will enter the linguistic output and if not checked, will remain in the language of at least that child. In some cases, it may spread to others of a similar linguistic persuasion if they find the innovator's variant suitable, identical to the case of the English speakers of Shakespeare's time who began the movement from *shoon* to *shoes*. It is fascinating to consider that the speakers, in applying analogy in the appropriate spots, will never create a form that would be not understandable to other members of their linguistic community (using the term in its sociolinguistic sense) because every speaker is drawing from the same pool of resources.

In the case of German and Kashubian, the lexicon of both languages contains a word meaning "to have." However, only German uses the word to a grammatical end—as a past tense auxiliary. By Stage 3, Kashubian had grammaticalized their version of "to have" to possess the

same grammatical end that it does in German, resulting in an identical verbal auxiliary. *Grammaticalization* is a term whose definition I borrow from Heine and Kuteva, who define it as "a process leading from lexical to grammatical and from grammatical to more grammatical forms." (Heine and Kuteva, 14). Later, they outline the process as such, the steps of which can clearly be seen in the Kashubian situation (Ibid, 80):

> Ordinary contact induced grammaticalization, where M is the model language and R is the replica language:
>
> a. Speakers notice that in language **M** there is a grammatical category **Mx**
>
> b. They create an equivalent category **Rx** in language **R** on the basis of the use patterns available in **R**.
>
> c. To this end, they draw in universal strategies of grammaticalization, using construction **Ry** in order to develop **Rx**.
>
> d. They grammaticalize **Ry** to **Rx**

I would like to argue that the beginning of the move to grammaticalize "to have" in Kashubian began when children exposed to German in their home first internalized this simple yet foreign structure and proceeded to transfer the structure into their Kashubian. A common approach to the analysis of diachronic change, especially in phonological shift, is to employ "the principle of maximal differentiation [as] there seems to be a universal tendency for phonological space, as defined by the articulatory possibilities, to be divided evenly among the units so that each has maximal elbow room (Anttila 186)." This differentiation occurs through the collapsing of similar units. Anttila discusses this idea in the context of phonological shifts, but a common process that takes place in language change is the merging of lexical items with similar meanings that belong to the same semantic sphere (consider the recent collapse of English *can* and *may* into simply *can*). This "hole theory" then claims that speakers of a language seek and employ

patterns (analogy) as they use language. Exceptions to the discovered patterns have to be noted and considered separately and might, given enough time, be eliminated altogether via mergers. The former idea, at its core, is of course is a basic tenet of any theory on language acquisition process. What the Kashubians consolidated was the space between the various versions of not the word "to have" in any one language, but the idea of "to have," with its literal meanings and its grammatical ones, taken from German in order to simplify their lives just that one bit, so that in two languages, the mental entries for *to have* are identical in function and meaning, differing only in the phonetic component.

It can be reasonably deduced that in an environment where the power language, one that many people, especially men, will have spoken well and around their children, the child will experience a certain amount of confusion after absorbing at least some basic German. After all, a sentence with a structure as basic as *Ich habe NP VP* is guaranteed to come up fairly often in conversation. Assuming this is the case, then the presence of two distinct structures, one of which the child either senses or is told is superior in some way, albeit not used within the family, will cause a certain amount of blending, or some utterance that is "right, but in the wrong way." This fact, combined with the lower status of Kashubian in an environment where there is yet another more prominent language (Polish), may lead parents to not emphasize correctness in the child's speech. This will, of course, lead to the retention of these structures and their establishment for the passing on to subsequent generations.

Conclusions

The divergent yet synonymous structures of the *I did something* set, along with all the other data, are the result of a very special set of circumstances. Of course these roles were not constant for any one lengthy period of time in history, but a prominent configuration of the language triangle to be found in Kashubia is German being the culturally superior, Polish the official language, and Kashubian being the language of the home—the lowest in status. Exposure to all three of these languages in their different capacities, combined with the aforementioned laxity of the parents' monitoring and reinforcing of Kashubian, result in the child's imagination and linguistic creativity running free. The child will combine, experiment, talk to other children with the same unique linguistic background who will inevitably make the same leap as the original child and admit that "Yes, that makes sense and I understand what you meant." This is linguistic creativity at work. "Errors" in speech are in my mind a major, if not the primary engine for language change. These errors are not due to lack of competence because indeed, as C. Chomsky noted in her work, the children who are apparently more advanced speakers make more mistakes with tricky constructions than those who are totally new to them. In the Kashubian case, these errors were not errors at all, but seeds being unwittingly planted by children for the future wealth of variance in Kashubian.

Analogy, the same mechanism by which children learn and blunder their way through language, is largely the same mechanism by which a language changes diachronically. With the benefit of hindsight, we can see what the original "correct form" that grammarians and strict parents would have been pushing on a child. Children receive constant input from their environment. They make choices as to which variants to utilize and gradually, the situations in which to utilize them. In the case of a bilingual child, the quantity of inputs effectively doubles,

and in the case of a Kashubian child growing up in those 500 years of persistent German influence, may as well have tripled. Add in the issues of prestige, lack of a standard and those five centuries of contact, and it is no surprise that the Kashubian language is as rich and varied as it is. In addition, once analogy has resulted in some new form, there is the possibility that two other forces in language change, category extension and replacement, may take place, further advancing the originally foreign structure in a direction it would quite possibly never have taken in the model language.

As has hopefully been shown in this paper, the Kashubians are a vibrant and interesting people with a fascinating and understudied history and language. However, among all the linguistic treasures hidden Pomerania lurks a foreshadowing of unfortunate things to come. It is understandable that with so many synonymous syntactic structures among other types of regional variation that the creation of a standard Kashubian would be rather difficult. With the establishment of a standard however, the obvious benefits aside, there also comes the unfortunate consequence of perhaps unintended purging of the language. Much of the current, especially syntactic variation will be done away with in favor of progress. The products of a rich and nuanced linguistic history will be bleached and reduced to mere memories in old books, much like the *jem beł* construction. Most important however, is that these products of linguistic creativity allowed to flourish over the centuries, including but not limited to those of German origin, can still be salvaged, documented, studied and added to the collective wisdom on language contact and diachronic shift.

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