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Historical Phonology of the Polabo-Kashubian Language Continuum within the Borders of the Former Province of Pomerania

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**Historical Phonology of the Polabo-Kashubian Language Continuum within the
Borders of the Former Province of Pomerania**

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Table of contents

List of abbreviations

1 Introduction

- 1.1 Aim and structure
- 1.2 Polabo-Kashubian dialectal continuum: Introduction
- 1.3 Terminology
- 1.4 Language contact between Low Saxon and Polabo-Kashubian in Pomerania

2 From Proto-Slavic to Old Kashubian

- 2.1 PSl. **CorC* (**TǎrT*)
- 2.2 PSl. **l* and **lʹ*
- 2.3 PSl. **r* and **rʹ*
- 2.4 PSl. **(j)a-*
- 2.5 PSl. **ra-*
- 2.6 PSl. **-bkb̆, *-bkb̆b, *-bc̆b̆*
- 2.7 PSl. **ěC, *eC*
- 2.8 PSl. **CʹĕC > OKash. $\bar{i}, i > \bar{i}, i$*
- 2.9 PSl. **q*

- 2.10 *CarC* || *CerC*
- 2.11 $d', t' > dz', c'$
- 2.12 $í > ř$
- 2.13 Plb. diphthongisation of PSl. **By* and the merger of **y* and **i*
- 2.14 Other Polabian changes
- 2.15 Palatalised consonants
- 2.16 PSl. **o-*, **u-*
- 2.17 OKash. $s'ř', z'ř', ž'ř' > stř, zdř$
- 2.18 OKash. $\bar{a}N > \bar{o}N$
- 2.19 OKash. $u, i > \emptyset$
- 2.20 Polabo-Kashubian lexical innovations

3 Conclusions

- 3.1 Common Polabo-Kashubian innovations
- 3.2 Position of Viadrinian and Polabian of Rügen within the Polabo-Kashubian dialectal continuum
- 3.3 Old Kashubian (including 'Viadrinian') phonemic inventories and innovations

4 The corpus of loanwords

5 Bibliography

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Cz.	Czech
DrPlb.	Drawänopolabian
FPom.	Farther Pomerania(n) (<i>Hinterpommern, Pomorze Tylne</i>)
HPlb.	Holstein Polabian
HPom.	Hither Pomerania(n) (<i>Vorpommern, Pomorze Przednie</i>)
Kash.	Kashubian
LS	Lower Sorbian
LSx.	Low Saxon
MeckPlb.	Polabian of Mecklenburg
MLSx.	Middle Low Saxon
OCz.	Old Czech
OEKash.	Old East Kashubian
OKash.	Old Kashubian
OWKash.	Old West Kashubian
OP	Old Polish
P	Polish
PKash.	Kashubian of Pomerelia
Plb.	Polabian

PLSx.	Low Saxon of <i>Provinz Pommern</i>
PoW	<i>Pommersches Wörterbuch</i>
PP	<i>Provinz Pommern</i>
Prl.	Pomerelia
PSl.	Proto-Slavic
R	Russian
RügPlb.	Polabian of Rügen
Slk.	Slovak
Slnc.	Slovincian Kashubian
Viadr.	Viadrinian (Oder Lechitic, transitional Polabo-Kashubian dialects)
US	Upper Sorbian
Zab.	Zaborian Kashubian
°Ank	<i>Kreis Anklam</i> (Tęglim)
°Arn	<i>Kreis Arnswalde</i> (Choszczno)
°Bel	<i>Kreis Belgard</i> (Białogard)
°Büt	<i>Kreis Bütow</i> (Bytów)
°Cam	<i>Kreis Cammin</i> (Kamień Pomorski)
°Dem	<i>Kreis Demmin</i> (Dymin)
°DKr	<i>Kreis Deutsch Krone</i> (Wałcz)

☿Dra	<i>Kreis Dramburg</i> (Drawsko Pomorskie)
☿Fla	<i>Kreis Flatow</i> (Złotów)
☿Fra	<i>Kreis Franzburg-Barth</i>
☿Gbg	<i>Kreis Greifenberg</i> (Gryfice)
☿Ghg	<i>Kreis Greifenhagen</i> (Gryfino)
☿Gri	<i>Kreis Grimmen</i> (Grzymie)
☿Gwd	<i>Kreis Greifswald</i> (Gryfia)
☿Kol	<i>Kreis Kolberg-Körlin</i> (Kołobrzeg-Karlino)
☿Kös	<i>Kreis Köslin</i> (Koszalin)
☿Lau	<i>Kreis Lauenburg</i> (Lębork)
☿Nau	<i>Kreis Naugard</i> (Nowogard)
☿Net	<i>Netzekreis (Schönlanke)</i> (Trzcianka)
☿Neu	<i>Kreis Neustettin</i> (Szczecinek)
☿Pyr	<i>Kreis Pyritz</i> (Pyrzyce)
☿Ran	<i>Kreis Randow</i> (Rędowa)
☿Reg	<i>Kreis Regenwalde</i> (Resko)
☿Rum	<i>Kreis Rummelsburg</i> (Miastko)
☿Rüg	<i>Kreis Rügen</i> (Rugia)
☿Saa	<i>Kreis Saatzig</i> (Szadzko)
☿Sch	<i>Kreis Schlawe</i> (Sławno)

- ☞ Slo *Kreis Schlochau* (Człuchów)
- ☞ Sto *Kreis Stolp* (Słupsk)
- ☞ Uec *Kreis Ueckermünde* (Wkryujście)
- ☞ Use *Kreis Usedom-Wollin* (Uznam-Wolin)

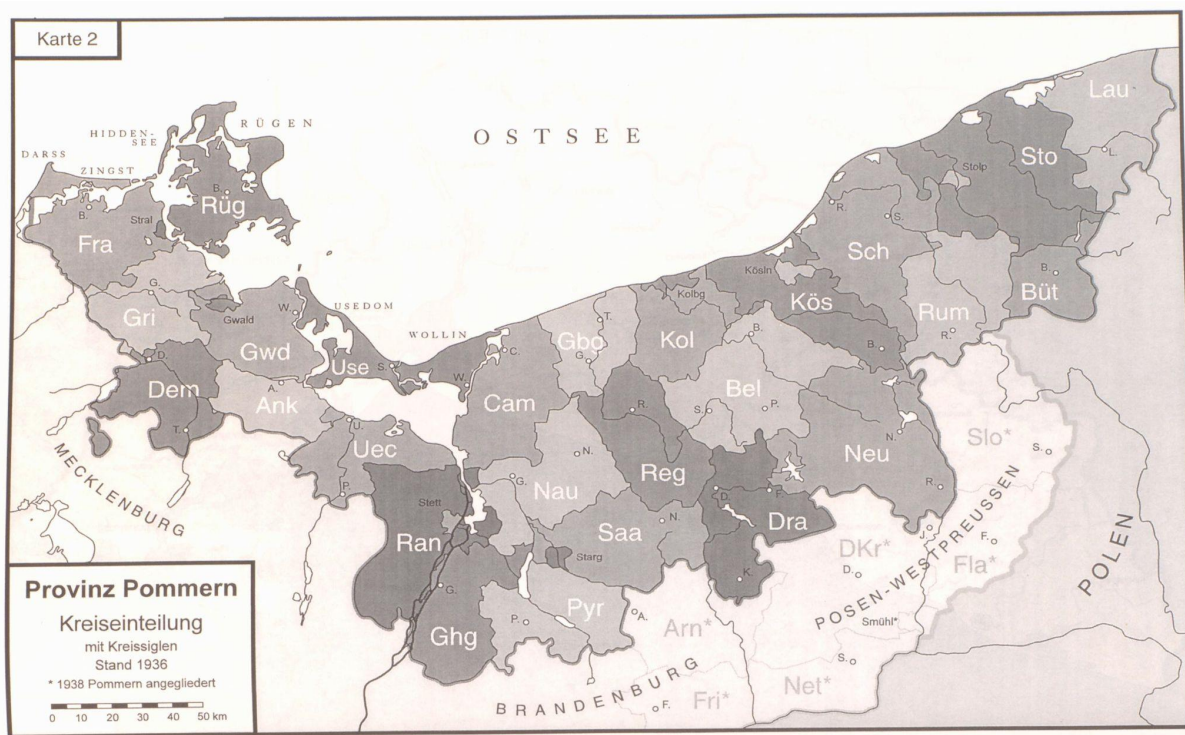


Fig. 1. *Provinz Pommern* in 1936, administrative division of the province (PoW I: LVI).

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim and structure

This work intends to revisit the list of post-Proto-Slavic sound changes in the Slavic of Polabia and Pomerania basing on evidence from Slavic loanwords in Pomeranian Low Saxon. The list was completed by Rzetelska-Feleszko (1973) and used later by Pustoła-Ryzko & Rzetelska Feleszko (1983), Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma (1991). Tremendous work has been already done to establish those sound changes, based chiefly on Slavic placenames and proper names in Latin, Low Saxon, German, and Polish sources, most notably by Lorentz (1906, 1923, 1925, 1927, 1964), Łęgowski & Lehr-Splawiński (1922), Ślaski (1926, 1987), Papierkowski (1930), Kozierowski (1935), Lehr-Splawiński (1938), Jeżowa (1961, 1962), Rzetelska-Feleszko (1973), Treder (1977, 1997), Pustoła-Ryzko & Rzetelska Feleszko (1983), Iwicki (1993), Rymar & Czopek (1993, 1996), Czopek-Kopciuch (1997), Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma (1985, 1991, 2008, 2013).

However, new evidence can be provided by examining Slavic loanwords in Pomeranian Low Saxon dialects which were spoken in Farther Pomerania and Pomerelia till 1945 and still are spoken in some parts of Hither Pomerania in Germany's Mecklemburg-Vorpommern as well as in Brazil by the Pomeranian diaspora. Slavicisms in PLSx. have been investigated most notably by Trautmann (1950, 1974) Bielfeldt (1958, 1960, 1963, 1964, 1970), Herrmann-Winter (1961, 1963, 1966, 1967 [as Winter], 1986), Hinze (1964, 1967), Teuchert (1972), Laabs (1974). However, Pomeranian Low Saxon lexicon has never been presented so fully as in *Pommersches Wörterbuch* (Herrmann-Winter & Vollmer 2007) which still is being written by a team from the University of Greifswald. The volumes published so far comprise material from the letters *A* to *S(o)* and reveal hundreds of Slavic loanwords, some already identified, some as yet not, in others proposed etymologies may need revision. That comprehensive publication is used in this work as the main data source for slavicisms in PLSx. For letters *S* to *Z* I use dictionaries by Dähnert

(1781), Herrmann-Winter (1986), Rosenfeld (1993), Laude (1995) as well as other minor sources.

I add to the aforementioned list some other sound changes discussed by Jeżowa (1961) as well as newer Kashubian sound changes attested in the presented material. Sound changes 3. and 18. from Rzetelska-Feleszko's list are not discussed in this work since discussed PLSx. loanwords do not offer any new information on them.

In chapter 1, general information about the Polabo-Kashubian dialectal continuum is given. I discuss the historical background of the region, the most important historical sources of Slavicisms and the earliest evidence for language contact between Kashubian and Low Saxon. Then the language boundaries of Polabian and Kashubian are discussed, as well as terminology used in this work.

In chapter 2, an updated list of sound changes in Polabian and Kashubian is presented. Each sound change is discussed and analysed in a separate section. Previously discussed material is confronted with the evidence from Slavic loanwords in PLSx.

In chapter 3, conclusions are presented. A brief summary of innovations as well as phonemic inventories for respective Polabo-Kashubian varieties and their stages are given.

In chapter 4, the corpus of identified Polabo-Kashubian loanwords in Pomeranian Low Saxon is presented in the form of a glossary. Each lexeme is treated separately. The corpus does not present all such loanwords. It consists of borrowings which demonstrate described sound changes as well as newly identified items or items for which new etymology is proposed. It must be noted that borrowings from other Slavic languages are not included, unless their origin is uncertain.

In chapter 5, the bibliography of sources used for the purpose of this work is presented.

1.2 The Polabo-Kashubian dialectal continuum: an introduction

Polabian and Kashubian, except for their most outlying dialects, belong to incredibly poorly attested languages, which is rather extraordinary in Central Europe, considering that all of their dialects were still spoken at least till late Middle Ages. Not a single text is attested from the dialects east of Hannoverian Wendland and west of the city of Słupsk/Stolp, creating a linguistic gap of almost 400 km.

The remnants of those varieties usually consist of single placenames, proper names and, rarely, appellatives in Arabic, Old Norse, Latin, Low Saxon and Polish texts.

For Arabic sources, the work by Ibrahim ibn Yaquub, a 10th century Sephardi Jewish traveller whose memoirs were partly preserved in al-Bakri's *Book of Highways and of Kingdoms*, must be mentioned. From the linguistic context that we discuss in this work, 5 glosses need to be noted: *W^elītāb(ā)/W^olīnjānā* 'tribal name of Veleti or Wolinians'; *Nāḳōn* 'name of an Obodrite leader' < PSl. **Nakonъ*; *Ġ^arād* 'big fortress; most likely it refers to Schwerin' < PSl. **gordъ*; *Nōb Ġ^arād* 'Nienburg south to Magdeburg' < PSl. **novъ(jb) gordъ*; and *Ṣ^olāwa* 'the river Saale' < PSl. **Solava*. (Kowalski 1946: 58-87)

Another useful source are documents produced by scribes working for Pomeranian princes of both dynasties, the House of Samborides ruling from Gdańsk/Danzig, and the House of Griffins ruling from Szczecin/Stettin. Especially texts from 11th-14th century oftentimes present perfectly transparent forms, e.g. *Mresino*, 1276 'village near Kołobrzeg/Kolberg', i.e. OKash. /*Mřezino*/; *Besdzadus* 1236 'proper name from Słupsk/Stolp', i.e. OKash. /*Bezdz'ād*/, *Bialeblutu* 1269 'place-name near Szczecin/Stettin', i.e. Viadr. /*B'ale bloto*/. The longest phrase preserved in OKash. west of Słupsk/Stolp must be ascribed to an anonymous scribe, most likely a monk from the monastery in Bukowo Morskie/See Buckow near Sławno/Schlawe in Farther Pomerania, who, in a Latin document from 1304, July 15., described a Pomeranian knight, whose father had violated the monastery's goods, as *Venzeke prawi curriwi sin de Solkowe*, which Stieber (1960: 27-9) convincingly interprets as *verus meretricis filius*. The whole phrase can be read as OKash. /*V'ęcko pravī kurvī sīn [de] Sulexovo*/. The Latin sources were comprehensively examined by Lorentz (1964).

Later on, in Thomas Kantzow's MLSx *Fragmenta der pamerischen geschichte* from 1538 we find an explanation of the cognomen *Bogdal*, belonging to a certain knight from the island of Wolin/Wollin, being two first words of the sentence said *up Wendisch* (in Slavic): *Bog dal yzem zya nye zabil!*, which the author translates to *Got gaff, dat ick di nicht dhot sloch* 'God caused it that I did not kill you'. However, this sentence is likely to be in Polish (*Bóg dał, iżem cię nie zabił*), with affricatisation of /t'/ (*zya* < **tę*) rather unexpected in the dialects so far to the west, especially if we consider that Kantzow himself was from Stralsund/Strzałowo and, on the other hand, that knowledge of Polish was not a rarity at the ducal court in Pomerania.

Now, does this all mean that not a single full sentence is attested for the area between Hannoverian Wendland in the west and the Wendish Duchy of Słupsk/Stolp in the east? The phrase *Stimmuje dobsche!* 'Stimmt genau!' used by calculating money and attested in Drawsko Pomorskie/Dramburg in Central Farther Pomerania (PoW I: 583) might be a strong contender. With the loanword *dobsche* 'good' attested broader, but restricted only to the area which underwent the affricatisation *ř* > *ṛ̌* (cf. also *dobri* 'good' attested in HPom), the phrase seem to have every right to be treated as OKash. /(*stimm*)uje *dobře*/ < PSI. *(*stimm*)ujetś *dobře*.

Residues of morphology and word-formation preserved in toponomastics and borrowings can give us limited insight into grammatical aspects of Polabo-Kashubian, however we can draw substantially more information on phonemics and general sound changes. Those topics will be covered in the next chapters.

1.3 Terminology

As soon as we compare German, Polish, and English works on Kashubian and Pomeranian Low Saxon, we run into trouble. The terminology in use is often contradictory or even mutually untranslatable.

In German writing, 'West Pomerania' (G *Westpommern*) usually refers to a part of *Vorpommern*, in Polish it is the western part of contemporary Polish Pomerania, usually only

within the borders of West Pomeranian Voivodeship. In German literature, *Pommern* ‘Pomerania’ oftentimes refers to *Vorpommern* and *Hinterpommern* together, but excluding *Pommerellen* (East Pomerania, Gdańsk Pomerania); in Polish writing however, *Pomorze* ‘Pomerania’ usually refers to the area known in English as West Pomerania and Pomerelia, excluding German part of *Vorpommern*. Also the terms *Pomorze szczecińskie* ‘Szczecin Pomerania’ and *Pomorze koszalińskie* ‘Koszalin Pomerania’ generally fell out of use as soon as Polish administrative units were reformed.

The terminology concerning languages is also problematic. In English works, Kashubian and Slovincian are often still presented as separate languages, reflecting Lorentz’s views presented in his earliest works, but revised later on. In most of his works he posited one Pomeranian language (*pomoranisch*):

This language is divided into Northern Pomeranian and Southern Pomeranian, the former being subdivided into Slovincian and Northern Cassubian, the latter into Southern Cassubian, the Cassubo-Saborian transitional dialects, and Saborian. (Lorentz & Fischer & Lehr Spławiński 1935: 5-6)

However, to reconstruct proto-forms of Slovincian he used the term *urkaschubisch* ‘Old Kashubian’ (Lorentz 1903: 355), which will be broader used also in this work.

It is thanks to him that in the most recent German works *pomoranisch* (Pomeranian) usually refers to Kashubian (sometimes including Slovincian, sometimes not) and *pomeranisch* (Pomeranian) refers to Pomeranian Low Saxon or to Pomerania as a land. This dichotomy is unknown to Polish, so that Lorentz’s Pomeranian grammar was published in Polish as *Gramatyka pomorska* (Lorentz 1927) and Pomeranian Low Saxon is also referred to as *pomorskie dialekty dolnoniemieckie* (Pomeranian Low German dialects).

Finally, the Slavic dialects west of the Odra/Oder river are usually referred to as Polabian and the dialects to the east usually bear a vague name like ‘Pomeranian Slavic’, ‘the language of Pomeranians’ etc. However, oftentimes Polabian means exclusively the language of Hannoverian Wendland near Lüneburg. These terms usually have little to do with linguistic characteristics of those dialects. Alternatively, as early as Lehr-Spławiński (1937),

then Topolińska (1974) and Ślaski (1987) bracketed together eastern ‘Pomeranian Slavic’ with Kashubian.

For the purpose of this work, I stick to the following definitions. It is a general rule that Pomeranian always refers to the land, Kashubian to the language:

Pomerania: this term describes the land within its natural borders: the river Vistula in the East, Noteć/Netze in the South, and its historical borders in the West, see: Hither Pomerania. The term includes the islands of Rügen/Rugia, Usedom/Uznam and Wolin/Wollin, as well as smaller islands in their vicinity.

Pomerelia: this term describes the area within Pomerania placed east of Farther Pomerania, comprising all the Kashubian dialects outside *Provinz Pommern*.

Provinz Pommern: a historical province of Prussia in its borders from 1936 as it is used in PoW. The lexical material collected for the purpose of this work comes from the area within these borders.

Hither & Farther Pomerania: Historically, the Duchy of Pomerania as well as later Swedish and Prussian provinces, consisted of 3 major regions: Hither Pomerania (HPom), the island of Rügen/Rugia (Rüg) and Farther Pomerania (FPom). Again, the frontier between Hither and Farther Pomerania has shifted over the centuries. For the sake of convenience, since natural borders have proven more stable than political ones, it would be preferable to establish the border on the river of Odra, with Usedom/Uznam belonging to HPom. and Wolin/Wollin to FPom. As far as dialectal boundaries are concerned, for the purpose of this work I will follow the dialectal boundary of HPom and FPom Low Saxon as presented in PoW (see: map 4, XV), since the distribution of forms is generally presented according to this boundary.

Polabo-Kashubian: this term describes the dialectal continuum sharing the earliest common Polabian and Kashubian innovations: **CorC* > *CarC*, **C̣C*, **C̣C* > *ColC*. Polabian and Kashubian were first bracketed together in 1603 by H. Megiser as *lingua Vandalica* (Bańdur 2021: 209-11).

Polabian: all dialects sharing Polabian innovations **By > Boi* and *oCpal- > vü-* as well as earlier Polabo-Kashubian innovations, are regarded as Polabian (Plb.). It includes several varieties: Drawänapolabian (DrPlb.), Holstein Polabian (HPlb.), Mecklenburgian Polabian (MeckPlb.) and Polabian of Rügen (RügPlb.).

Kashubian: all dialects sharing Kashubian innovations **-ькь, *-ькь, *-ьсь > -k, -k, -c; t', d' > c', dz'; r' > ř, q̄ > q* as well as Polabo-Kashubian innovations are regarded as Kashubian (Kash.). It comprises Pomerelian Kashubian (PKash.), Slovincian Kashubian (Slnc.) and the dialects reaching the line Kołobrzeg/Kolberg-Świdwin/Schivelbein-Drawsko Pomorskie/Dramburg in Farther Pomerania which are all referred to as Old Kashubian (OKash.), describing the period in the history of Kashubian from before Krofey's Hymnal (1586) when a unitary phonological system can be still reconstructed for the whole area. Also eastern dialects of New March (*Neumark/Nowa Marchia*) as described by Czopek-Kopciuch (1997) belong here.

Note: only 'genuine' Slovincian dialects described by Lorentz (1903) are referred to as Slovincian. The other attested Kashubian dialects of FPom. are counted as PKash., since it is here that they linguistically belong. For the dialectal boundaries, see the map by Lorentz (1937).

There is a Kashubian saying that has proven to be historically accurate: *Kaszëbë sō tam, chdze sō Kaszëbji* 'Kashubia is there, where Kashubs are'. When the princes of Szczecin/Stettin started to use the title *dux Slauorum et Cassubie* (for the first time in 1238, March 19 in the bull of pope Gregory IX), the ethnonym already seemed to be settled into Central Farther Pomerania around Białogard/Belgard and was to spread eastward over the next centuries that followed. At the time when, in the 15th century, Kashubs were singing *O felix Cassubia, salutis indubia...* in the cathedral of Koszalin/Köslin, this name was only starting to take root in Pomerelia where it is nowadays used. Therefore the term 'Kashubian' for the dialects of Central and Eastern Farther Pomerania as well as Pomerelia is suitable both for linguistic and historical reason, with the emphasis on the fact that contemporary Kashubian is the easternmost and peripheral part of a once much more widely spoken language.

Viadrinian (Odra Lechitic): the conservative intermediate dialects of Western Farther Pomerania, Eastern Hither Pomerania, Eastern Mecklenburg and Brandenburg (north to the Sorbian areas) which share Polabo-Kashubian innovations, but show no common innovations with Polabian and Kashubian dating later than 12th centuries, as well as hardly any own distinctive innovations (as established so far), are referred to as Viadrinian (Viadr.). The term is derived from the Latin name of Odra/Oder. Also western dialects of New March (*Neumark/Nowa Marchia*) as described by Czopek-Kopciuch (1997) belong here.

Low Saxon of Provinz Pommern: all Low Saxon dialects within the borders of *Provinz Pommern* from 1936 (as used in PoW), regardless of their linguistic boundaries, are referred to as Pomeranian Low Saxon or Low Saxon of *Provinz Pommern* (PLSx.). Note: also the dialects of western West Prussia are referred to as *ostpommersch* (East Pomeranian), for the distribution see Riemann (1974). In this work however the dialectal affinities of local LSx. are disregarded, except for the distinction between HPom and FPom dialects (see above), unless they are important for the reconstruction and interpretation of the material.

Other considerations:

Since most works dedicated to these topics are either in German or in Polish, for modern Pomeranian toponomastic names I always give two names, first in Polish, then in German, if the location in question is placed in Republic of Poland, e.g. Słupsk/Stolp, or in reversed order, if the location is placed in Fed. Republic of Germany, e.g. Demmin/Dymin, unless a widely used English form exists, e.g. Vistula instead of Wisła/Weichsel.

For smaller administrative units of *Provinz Pommern* (*Kreise*) I give abbreviations used in PoW, e.g. †Sto for *Kreis Stolp*, †Ank for *Kreis Anklam* etc. (for the full list see: Abbreviations)

For the distribution of slavicisms in PLSx., I give names of single localities only if their occurrence is restricted to *Kreis Lauenburg* (†Lau), *Kreis Bütow* (†Büt), and *Kreis Stolp* (†Sto), in order to determine, whether they belong to the area of attested spoken dialects of those subregions.

According to Ślaski's assumption (Ślaski 1987), Kashubian was still spoken in the 17th century even west of the Parsęta/Persante river. However, we should note that after Reformation was introduced in the Duchy of Pomerania, when the Christian faith was to be taught in the vernacular, Pomeranian princes ordered to translate the Bible into *Wendish* to be used around Słupsk/Stolp, Lębork/Lauenburg and Bytów/Bütow. There are no accounts that Krofey's or Pontanus's translations, made as early as late 16th and early 17th century, were used in churches west of that area. In my view, it suggests that already in the late 16th century the dialects west of Słupsk/Stolp were either extinct or severely dominated by Low Saxon.

1.4 Language contact between Low Saxon and West-Slavic of Pomerania and Polabia

We can assume that language contact between ancestors of Kashubians and Saxons is as old as Slavic settlement on the Baltic coast and establishing trade relations by sea and overland between these two closely situated groups separated only by Polabian Slavic tribes. This however changed over the centuries as the Saxon settlement in the Polabian area and Pomerania was becoming more dense and Low Saxon was becoming the prevalent language in the area, and by the first half of the 20th century it had superseded local Slavic languages in the Polabian area and a large part of Lusatia and Pomerania. Low Saxon gained its prestige in the region by becoming the lingua franca of the Hanseatic League in the 14th century as well as by becoming the language of the Pomeranian court and later in the era of the Reformation of the Pomeranian Church even though the country was ruled by the local Slavic House of Griffins. Similarly, Eastern Pomerania although ruled till the beginning of the 14th centuries in turns either independently by local dynasties (most famously by the House of Samborides) or external powers (the Piast dynasty of Poland, the Přemyslid dynasty of Bohemia), the capital in Gdansk became dominated by Low Saxon speakers long before it came under the rule of the Teutonic Order in 1308 (Labuda 2006).

The earliest language contact between Old Kashubian and Old Saxon can be traced back to ca. 9th century. From that period, we have loanwords like Slnc. *skuńa/škuńa* 'barn' <

MLSx. *Schune* (Schiller & Lübben 1878: 152) with *sk-* which later changed into *sch-* [š] in east FPom., see Hinze (1961: 80), also Topolińska (1994: 34).

2 FROM PROTO-SLAVIC TO OLD KASHUBIAN

2.1 PSI. *CorC (*TǎrT)*

PSI. *CorC > Polabo-Kashubian *CarC belongs to the oldest innovations characterising this dialectal continuum. This sound change gave quite regular outcomes in most of the dialects, yet everywhere with some irregular, metathesised forms with CroC, cf. 2 forms in DrPlb.: *brödä* ‘chin; throat’ < PSI. *borda; *brödävaičä* ‘wart; nipple’ < PSI. *bordavica, cf. Kash. *barda* ‘Clavaria flavia’ in the compound *k^wozw barda*, and *bardavjica* ‘wart’ (Sychta 1967: 19). Less regularly CarC occurs in the easternmost Kashubian and southernmost Viadrinian dialects. For the dialect of Old March and the surroundings of Magdeburg, Papierkowski (1930: 30-1) cites 26 place names with CarC and 14 with CroC. In Central and Eastern FPom. (within the borders of the Koszalin Voivodeship from 1950-1975) 150 forms with CarC and 50 with CroC are found, the latter mostly in the easternmost part of the area around Lębork/Lauenburg, Bytów/Bütow, Człuchów/Schlochau, Słupsk/Stolp and Szczecinek/Neustettin.

For Slnc., Lorentz (1903: 74-6) mentions 32 common words with CarC and 26 with CroC, 6 of the latter being doublets, e.g. *parx* || *prox* ‘dust (*Wurmmehl*)’ < PSI. *porxъ*, *mark* || *mrox* ‘dusk’ < PSI. *morkъ*, *mōrz* || *mrōz* ‘frost’ < PSI. *morzъ*.

In PLSx. material, forms both with CarC and CorC are found:

- (1) *Borna* f., ‘harrow’ (Sto, within the Kashubian-speaking area), cf. Slnc., PKash. *borna* < *borna; *dörchborme* ‘to determine quality of soil; to plough deeply’ (Rum, Sto, Lau);
- (2) *Gard* f. (Rüg, HPom.) ‘burgh with the land that belongs to it; an administrative unit; castellany’ < *gordъ or *gorda;
- (3) *Kroff*, *Kruff* f. ‘old cow’, *Kroffstall* m. ‘old cowshed’ (Sto); perhaps also *karwen*, *kawen*, *kaben* (Gwd, Gri, Ank) ‘to eat reluctantly, to chew’ (see: chapter 4) < *korv-.

- (4) *Parpatz* n. ‘fern’ (Łau), *Parpatsch* (Što) ‘*Equisetum*, *Equisetum arvense*, *Equisetum sylvaticum*’ < Plb.-Kash. **parpartь* < PSl. **paportь*.
- (5) *Punnåf* f. 1. ‘may beetle’s larva’ (Rum, CPom., NE FPom.), 2. ‘horsefly’s (*Stechfliege*) maggot’ (Šch), *Punow* (Neu), *Ponnaw* (Šch), *Punnåwel* (Kös, Büt) < **ponorv-*.
- (6) *Prossa*, *Pröser* n. ‘small pig, piglet’ (Neu, Büt) < **porse*.
- (7) *Wrobel* (Što), *Wrobbel* (Što), *Fribbel* (East FPom.) ‘sparrow’ < **vorbelь*.

Toponomastic material with *CroC* is attested mostly after 17th century and in easternmost regions of FPom. It can be partly explained by Polish influence. In PKash., the Polish type affected also some native forms, creating ‘hypercorrect’ *grōsc* beside earlier *gōřc* and *grōnk* beside earlier *gōrnk* from original **CrC*: PSl. **grstь*, **grnьkь*, cf. P *garśc*, *garnek*. PLSx. material seems to corroborate these observations. Forms with *CroC* are restricted to Eastern and Central-East FPom., suggesting that *CroC* was spreading also in the neighbouring unattested Kash. dialects of Neu, Rum, Što, Łau before their extinction.

OKash. *ponarva* is attested in most parts of FPom. in various local PLSx. forms, reaching Viadr. area east of Odra/Oder, where it also might be a native word. Unattested in toponomastic materials. Viadr. and RügPlb. forms with *CarC* are coherent with toponomastic data.

*Polabo-Kashubian *CarC* derives directly from early PSl. **CārC* with a vowel lengthening rather than later **CorC* in the interpretation of Stieber (1969: 18-40), hence **TārT* is used in many newer Polish works instead, including works by Rzetelska-Feleszko and Rzetelska Feleszko & Duma. For the same reason also **TālT* for **ColC*.

2.2 PSl. **j* and **jʹ*

The merger of sonants **j* and **jʹ*, together with **r* and **rʹ*, which is covered below, is considered to be one of the earliest common Polabo-Kashubian sound changes and is well attested in the entire Polabian and Kashubian speaking area (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 89). It first yielded *ColC* in both languages, as attested in early place names and personal names,

and subsequently led to further developments, cf. DrPlb. *Cău*C, e.g. *dăud'ü* < **dolgo* < **dľ'go* (Polański & Sehnert 1967: 50). In Kashubian the continuants are dialect-specific. In Slovincian it first must have yielded *Căw*lC in the second half of the 18th c. at the latest, as attested in *paulná* < **pľnaja* in Pontanus' 2nd Catechism, *zmáuczeniá* < *-*mľč-* in *Oaths of Vjeřhocěno* (Lorentz 1898: 566, 572), and then *Cw*^wC beside *Cw*^wC (with the *v* probably coming from a dark *l* in this position **l* > **l* > **w* > *v*), e.g. *żw*^w*tī* beside *żw*^w*tī* (Lorentz 1912: 1454). In PKash. *Col*C < **l*, **ľ* generally yielded *Cāl*C > *Cwl*C, e.g. *połnī*, *mołńo*, *żołtī*, *wołna*. However, there are some attested modern forms with *Tol*T or *Toł*T, marked in Sychta's dictionary as obsolete, which have not been explained:

1. Central Modern Kash. *Nadedoľźnica* beside *Nadedhźnica* 'place name of certain forest' (Sychta 1969: 179) < **dľž-*,
2. Central Modern Kash. *dolžana* 'tall person' (Sychta 1967: 17) < **dľž-*,
3. Northern Modern Kash. *stolpa* 'pole, pillar' (Sychta 1970: 165) < **stľp-*,
4. Northern Modern Kash. *tolstī* 'fat' (Sychta 1972: 355) < **tľst-*.

Slnc. has regular continuants in placenames *Dw*^w*g'ė* < **dľ'g-*, *Stw*^w*psk'i* < **stľp-* (Lorentz 1912: 1472, 1522), otherwise Slnc. and Modern Kash. only have Polish-like forms with *Th*^t*T* or *Tł*^t*T* in those 3 roots.

PSl. **mľ(d)ni-* has regular continuants in Slnc. *mo*^w*ńo*, Modern Kash. *mołńo* as well as numerous dialectal forms. Those can be divided into two groups. First one comprises forms with a continuant of short vowel + *l* (as well as *j* or *ø* due to assimilation to *ń*), the second comprises forms with a continuant of long vowel + *l*.

1. Continuant of short vowel + *l* (*j*, *ø*): *melńo*, *mejńo*, *mjeńo*, *mońa*, *mjelńo*, *m^wuńa*, *velmńo*.
2. Continuant of long vowel + *l*: *młojnė*, *mólno*, *mólna*, *mjołńe*, *mjołńė*, *mjołńo*.

Only Northern Modern Kash. *melńo*, attested in 3 locations, does not fall into those categories and seems to be a contaminated form. The same would be true for *Nadedoľźnica* with an *l* possibly taken from the newer Polish-influenced variant *Nadedhźnica*, cf. *dolžana* 'tall person' with the same environment.

In view of aforementioned forms with *ColC* or *CelC*, it seems that in PKash. the merger of **l̥* and **l'* was not complete, but rather there was a merger of short and long sonants: **l̥, *l̥:* and **l', *l':*. As a result, **l̥, *l̥:* > **CōlC* > *CōlC* and **l', *l':* > **Cōl'C* > *ColC*. New short palatal sonant and long non-palatal sonant were redistributed according to length, not etymological quality. Afterwards, *CōlC* was generalised and replaced *ColC* except for the few aforementioned archaisms. Modern Kash. *stolpa* (beside Slnc. *Stow^wpsk'i*) and *tolstī* with *ColC* from the originally non-palatal sonant were probably subjects to opposite tendencies for generalisation in respective dialects. Since OKash. preserved phonemic vowel length it is safe to assume that the same might have been true for sequences which arose from long and short sonants.

Whether a similar redistribution took place west of PKash. area is impossible to determine. The oldest placenames almost uniformly have *ColC*, *CōlC* or *CulC* pointing to *ColC* with no orthographic distinction between non-palatal **l* and palatal **l'* (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 89-100). Three attestations in east FPom. have spelling which resembles Slnc. *Cāw(l)C* development:

- (1) *Dawgen* 1286 (†Neu) < **d_l'g-*,
- (2) *Maukenitze* 18th-20th c. (†Kös), if from **m_l'k-*,
- (3) *Vowken* 1846 (†Sch) < **v_l'k-*.

The corpus of loanwords in PLSx. is limited to a single item with the expected PKash. development:

- (1) *Schöltschke* m. (†Lau: Łebień/Labehn; outside PKash. area) < **ž_l't-*, cf. Modern Kash. *žoltī* 'yellow'.

There are no traces of further developments west of that area.

2.3 PSI. *r̥ and *r̥

In Kashubian and Polabian, as well as in the entire Lechitic group, *r̥ > ar. The same outcome was yielded by *r̥ followed by a coronal consonant which depalatalised the sonant. However, in Kashubian the preceding consonant was palatalised, e.g. *d̥r̥na > *d'arna > dzarna, *četyr̥t̥j̥b > čvjort̥i.

In the corpus of loanwords, there are attested two roots with an original *r̥ and no attestations with an original *r̥:

- (1) *Kaschemm* (HPom., FPom.) ‘infamous tavern’, *Katchmer* (FPom.) ‘innkeeper’ < *k̥č̥m-, both with simplified consonant cluster,
- (2) *Karkullitz*, *Krakullitz(k)a* (NE FPom.) ‘thick staff’ < *k̥kul-, with an unexpected later metathesis in the latter form.

Collected attestations point to expected *r̥ > ar development. One unexpected form with ra most likely underwent a metathesis later, maybe even in PLSx. It is attested in the same area as *Karkullitz* with the expected regular development.

2.4 PSI. *(j)a-

The *(j)a- > je- sound change goes back to the 12th c. and is a well-attested development common for Plb. (excluding DrPlb.), Viadr., Kash. as well as for Masovian OP (Jeżowa 1961: 39-41, Rzeleńska-Feleszko 1973: 147-58), but it was not carried out consistently in the Polabo-Kashubian area, where forms with ja- beside je- are attested in all periods. There is a number of lexemes in Modern Kash. which have undergone this process, which include forms with *a- > *ja- > je-, e.g. *jeřm^{wo}* ‘yoke’ < *ar̥mo, *jesk^wul̥ca* ‘swallow’ < *askulica*, *jež* beside *jaž* ‘even’ < *až; others have always ja-, e.g. *jasōn* ‘ash tree’ < *asen̥b, even if there was an etymological *e-, e.g. *jasoter* ‘sturgeon’ < *esetr̥b.

Only one instance of *(j)a- was found in the corpus of loanwords:

Jastschipp (Što: Cecenowo/Zezenow; within PKash. area) < **astrębъ* (PoW I: 1275), cf. Modern Kash. *jastřib*.

It comes from an area where Kashubian was spoken at the time of collecting data and the form corresponds with its Modern Kash. form, so it does not broaden our knowledge on diachronic development or unattested dialects.

2.5 PSI. **ra-*

Similarly to *(*j*)*a-* > *je-*, the **ra-* > *re-* sound change started before 12th century and reached Polabian except for DrPlb., Kashubian, and northern OP (cf. *Bull of Gniezno* 1136), producing *re*₂- different to *re*₁-, as it did not cause the palatalisation of preceding *r*, as in PSI. **re-* > *ře* > *ře* (Jeżowa 1961: 39-41); the sound change affected also PSI. **orC-* > *raC-*, e.g. **ortajъ* > *ratāj* > *retoj*.

New material has been provided by Slavic loanwords in PLSx.

(1) *Rat'eij* f. (FPom.), *Rataje* (Dra), *Rataje(r)sch* (DKr), *Ratäk* (Nau, Šch), *rataije* (Stolp/Słupsk), *rateijere* (Neu), *ratajera* (DKr) (PoW II: 575) < **ortaj-*, **ortajъka*, cf. DrPlb. *rātoj* ‘plowman’, Kash. *retoj* ‘farm-hand looking after horses’, P *rataj* ‘farmer, earner working for a landowner’,

(2) *Reddel* (Saa, Kös, Fla), *Riddel* (Rum), *reddeln* (Rüg, FPom.) (PoW II: 585); < **ordlo*, cf. DrPlb. *rādlü* ‘hookplow’, Kash. *redlo* ‘ard plough’, *redlovac* ‘to plow’, P *radlo* ‘ard plough’,

(3) *Remm* f./n. (HPom. coast) < Viadr. **rem(a)* < MLS *rāme* cf. ‘lath’, cf. PLSx. *Rāhm* ‘lath’, Sinc. *rema* ‘lath’, PKash. *rama* ‘lath’.

As for (1), it is impossible to determine, whether the loanword originally comes from Polabo-Kashubian or Polish as all forms have word-initial *ra-*. Especially interesting is the widespread loanword (2) uniformly pointing to *re-* in RügPlb., Viadr., and OKash. areas. Also in Modern Kash. **ordlo* and its derivatives yield always *re-* in all dialects (except for the dialect of Jastarnia/Heisternest, where Lorentz reported *ra-*, (Lorentz 1968: 97). Also item

(3), with its semantics narrowed down to ‘a few centimetres thick lath’ existing beside more general *Råhm* ‘lath’, points to a Rücklehnwort which has undergone the *ra-* > *re-* sound change and lost its original vowel length and has an exact same counterpart in Slnc. *rema* ‘lath’.

2.6 PSI. *-ѣкѣ, *-ѣкѣ, *-ѣсѣ

One of the distinctive features of Kashubian is the lack of vocalisation of the strong yer in PSI. *-ѣкѣ, *-ѣкѣ, *-ѣсѣ suffixes as in US, LS, and north Masovian OP, giving rise to forms like *dòm-k* < **domъkъ*, *krów-c/krav-c* < **kravъсѣ*, cf. DrPlb. -*āk*, -*āc*, P has -*ek*, -*ec*.

Dejna (1993: 205-6) and Rzetelska-Feleszko (1973: 121-2) interpreted this development in Kashubian as influence from oblique cases where the initial yer of the suffix was weak, e.g. gen. *-ѣka, *-ѣka, *-ѣca (differently Andersen 1970). This hypothesis becomes problematic, if we take a look at accentuation patterns. Some of Kash. nouns with -*k*, -*c* preserved oxytonic accent in nom. and initial or preprooxytonic accent in other cases in singular, e.g. nom. *b^wo' rōvc*, gen.-acc. '*b^worōvca*, dat. *b^wo' rōvcovī*, instr. '*b^worōvca*, loc. '*b^worōvcū* or *b^wo' rōvcū*. The same pattern have forms with -*k*, e.g. *pa' stūr-k* (but '*pastiř*), *skro' bačk* etc. There is no analogy for oxytonic accent in nom. sg. except for original gen. pl. in *-ѣ, e.g. nom. sg. '*pjelgřim* ‘pilgrim’, gen. pl. *pjel' gřim* ‘pilgrims’, however it raises a question why it would affect only nouns in -*k*, -*c* and why it would occur at all since the accentual contrast between sg. and pl. is preserved.

When it comes to vowel length, Kash. has preserved for the most part (although with a considerable number of levelings) the original distribution of compensatory lengthening from weak yers after they dropped out throughout the paradigm (on the origin of long vowels in Kashubian, see: Topolińska 1973: 25-33), cf. nom. *sqsōd*, acc. *sqsada*; nom. *pōn*, gen. *pana*; nom. *xlēb*, gen. *xlēba*. This original distribution was usually not preserved in forms with aforementioned suffixes which often show levelling throughout the paradigm, predominantly with reflexes of long vowels from the nominative case, e.g. nom. *sqsōdk*, gen. *sqsōdka*; *xlēbk*, gen. *xlēbka*. In the southernmost Zaborian Kashubian, where *-ѣкѣ regularly vocalised in -*ek*, the paradigm is nom. *panek*, gen. *panka*.

However, in some of such words the length alternation does occur, e.g. nom. *pónk*, gen. *panka* (Sychta 1970: 20). Either the distribution is a novelty and entered to the paradigm by analogy to the non-suffixated form (nom. *pón* || gen. *pan-a*), or it is original.

If it is original, it means that for many words long vowel in the final syllable and oxytonic accent occurred exclusively in the nominative, which was then exceptionally distinctive in the whole paradigm. In which case the scenario that the nominative developed by analogy to the other cases and replaced its original form seems not very plausible.

How PSI. **-ǫkǫ*, **-bkǫ*, **-bcǫ* developed in the area west of Slnc./PKash. and east of DrPlb. is understood chiefly from toponomastic material.

There are some difficulties with establishing development of these suffixes in toponyms and loanwords. As pointed out by Trautmann, Jeżowa, and Rzetelska-Feleszko, there was a tendency to split consonant clusters via inserting *i* or *e*, which heavily obscures the underlying forms (see: e.g. Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 122). Secondly, only forms ending in *-C∅* can be taken into account, but it is often possible that the final vowel was lost through elision (which has taken place also in MLSx., e.g. *deme* > PLSx. *dem*). In other words, what seems to look like m. sg noun ending in **-ǫkǫ*, **-bkǫ*, **-bcǫ* might be in fact a m. pl. noun ending in **-ǫky*, **-bky*, **-bci* or even sg. *-bca*, *-bčb*, *-ica*, *-bko*, *-bko* (pointed out also by Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 136). Such development often can be observed by comparing attestations from different sources. In other cases, the suffix might have changed over time, e.g.

Kamenitze, *Kamenitza*, *Kamienitze* 1345, *Camentz* 1345, *Kamenz* (†Sto) < **kamen-*, *Camenyzno* 1313, *Cammenysno* 1313, *Kamenitzka* 1345, *Kamenz* (†Sto) < **kamen-*, *Gissolke* 1668, *Gessorke* 1685, *Gissolck* 1686, *Giesorke* 1719 (†Neu) < *jezerǫk-*. (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 125-30)¹.

Thirdly, in some cases the **-ǫkǫ*, **-bkǫ* suffixes, often with diminutive role, might have been reanalysed as LSx. diminutive suffix *-ke(n)*.

¹ Note that etymological reconstructions from works by Rzetelska-Feleszko and Rzetelsko-Feleszko & Duma are cited as they appear in the respective texts. The author does not always agree with the reconstructions, which is expressed in the parentheses or sentences that follow the problematic reconstructions.

Personal names of Slavic origin seem in this case more trustworthy, as their suffixation is narrowed down to fewer options, and usually they are expected in singular. However, some difficulties must be taken into consideration as well. Toponymic surnames must be treated with great caution, as they often are virtually identical with placenames. The same is true for personal names identical with appellatives. Names which end in *-k* (spelled *-k*, *-ck* etc.) and seem to be diminutive forms with **-ьkъ*, **-ьkь* suffixes might in fact be an elided form with masculine *-ьko*, *-ьko* suffix. Some of them end in *-o*, e.g. *Wiceco* (‘Use), *Vlisco* 1200 (‘Sch, Lorentz 1964: 137) some other have undergone vowel reduction or elision of the final vowel, e.g. *Venzecho* 1302, *Venzko* 1304 beside *Venzeke* 1304 (‘Sch) or *Wissech* 1228 beside *Wisco* 1229, *Wiseco* 1244 (Lorentz 1964: 134-5)

Taking into account all those irregularities, one might question every single attestation. However, from a broader perspective, it should be noted that attestations pointing to vocalisation of the strong yer in **-ьkъ*, **-ьkь*, **-ьcbъ* are sparse. Rzetelska-Feleszko presented 170 items with *-c* against 11 with *-ec* and 250 items with *-k* against 17 with *-ek* (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 136) for eastern FPom. (including areas of ‘Kol and ‘Dra).

Slavic loanwords in PLSx. provide rich and very relevant material for at least two reasons. Firstly, in case of **-ьkъ*, **-ьkь* suffixes it is much easier to determine whether or not they were reanalysed as LSx. diminutive neuter suffix *-ke(n)* depending on their grammatical gender, as they often seem to preserve their original masculine gender. Secondly, some items show later *āN > ōN* sound change in the final syllable which could have arisen only with non vocalised **-ьkъ*, **-ьkь > -k* (see: 2.18).

Reflexes of PS1. **-ьcbъ* may be obscured in several ways. Even if given word ends in *-c* (with *c* usually surfacing as *tz*, *s*, *z*), the underlying form may have had another suffix, especially **-ьca* or **-ica*, cf. *Roopz* m. ‘fisherman who cuts ice-holes during winter fishing’ < Kash. *rqbca* (PoW II, 5: 639) ‘1. woodcutter, 2. fisherman who cuts ice-holes during winter fishing’ (Sychta 1970: 300) < **rqbьca* m. However, masculine **-ьca* in PS1. and Kashubian is reserved for deverbal agent nouns, so the semantics and structure of loanwords is often telling. Moreover, *-ьca* can be also mistaken for feminine **-ica*, but again, semantics of the

loanword and its grammatical gender in PLSx. come in handy too, e.g. *Glops* m. (‘Sch) ‘boor, rough person; funny boy’ < **xolpъcb* m., cf. Kash. *xlopc* ‘boy, farmhand’ (PoW I: 277).

The following loanwords most likely include forms with reflexes of *-*ъкъ*, *-*ъкь*, *-*ъcb* suffixes:

(1) *Bratz* m./f. (‘Fra, ‘Ank, FPom. east of Ina/Ihna, ‘DKr, ‘Sto) ‘misbehaving child’ < PSl. **bratъcb*, cf. DrPlb. *brotăc* ‘brother, small brother’, Cz *bratec* ‘small brother’ (ESSJa III: 9),

(2) *Bubanz(er)* m. (FPom., ‘Sto, ‘Büt) ‘bogyman’, (‘Nau, ‘Saa, ‘Sto, ‘Lau) ‘street urchin’; *Bubalz* (‘Nau, ‘Net) ‘bogyman’ < **bubanъcb*, **bubalъcb*, cf. Kash. *b^wubanc*, *b^wubranc* ‘boy, youngster’, *b^wubač* ‘bogyman’ (Sychta 1967: 80-1),

(3) *Droonschk(e)* m. (NE FPom.), *Droonschkje* (‘Lau: Kierzkowo/Kerschcow; outside Kash. area), *Dresoonchsk* (‘Lau: Leśnice/Lischnitz; outside Kash. area) ‘thick stick’ (PoW I:664) < **drōžъkъ*, cf. Kash. *drōžk* ‘bar, stick’ (ESSJa 5: 129-30),

(4) *Glops* m. (‘Sch) ‘boor, rough person; funny boy’, *Globbitz*, *Globbietz*, *Glowitz* m. (CPom., FPom.) ‘cheeky young man; fat, strong boy; boor’ < **xolpъcb* m., cf. Kash. *xlopc* ‘boy; farmhand; apprentice; jack (playing card)’ (PoW I: 277), P *chłopiec* ‘boy’,

(5) *Junz* m. (‘Sto) ‘young bull’ < **junъcb* m., cf. Kash. *juńc* ‘young bull’, DrPlb. *jaunăc*, *joinăc* ‘young bull’, P *juniec* ‘young bull’ (ESSJa VIII: 197-8),

(6) *Kalo(o)nke* m. (north east FPom.) ‘mud’ < **kalanъkъ* m., cf. Kash. *kala*, *kol* ‘mud’, *kalińc* ‘small, thin eel dwelling in sea silt’ (Sychta 1968: 122)

(7) *Koschk* m./n. (‘Sch, ‘Neu, north east FPom.), *Koschke* (‘Sch, ‘Lau), *Goschk* (‘Neu, ‘Büt: Osieki/Wusseken; outside PKash. area), *Guschk*, *Chooschk* (‘Neu) ‘*Equisetum*, *Equisetum arvense*’ < **xvošъkъ* m., **xvošъka* f., cf. Kash. *k^woščka*, *x^woščka* f. beside *x^wošč* m. ‘*Equisetum arvense*’ (PoW 1493,1562), OP *chwoszczki* ‘*Equisetum*’, LS *chóść* ‘*Equisetum*’ (ESSJa VIII: 134-5);

(8) *Kööps* m. (north FPom.), *Käups* (‘Use, Central Pom.), *Koips* (west Central Pom.), *Koeps* (‘Bel), *Köups*, *Kuips* (‘Gbg), *Keeps* (north-east FPom.), *Kööpsel* (‘Cam), *Käupsel* (‘Kös), *Köppsel* (‘Pyr) ‘haystack, the quantity of hay one can carry on a stretcher’ < **korъcb* m., cf. Kash. *k^wopc* m. ‘haystack; manmade mound’,

(9) *Nork* m. (FPom., ‘Kös) ‘great crested grebe’ < **norъkъ* m., cf. Kash. *nōrk* m.

‘diving duck, wild duck’, P *nurek* m. ‘diver’.

(10) *Pānk(e)* m. (FPom.) *Ponk(e)* (west FPom., NE FPom.), Pönker (Stargard), *Peunk(e)* (Gbg, Reg), *Puttpānk(e)* (NE FPom.) ‘poor farmer with a small farm’ < **panьkь* m., **podьpanьkь*, cf. Kash. *pōnk* ‘landlord, often a nobleman, having a big farm and living in a small manor house’,

(11) *Rooschk* f. (NE FPom.) ‘dose of snuff from a cowhorn’ < **rožьkь* m., cf. Kash. *rōžk* (PoW II, 5: 639-40) ‘1. small horn, 2. traditional snuff-box made of cowhorn, 3. corner’;

The presented material unambiguously corroborates the Kashubian-like development of *-*ьkь*, *-*ьkь*, *-*ьcb* > -*k*, -*c*. Especially valuable are widespread reflexes of **bratьcbь*, **korьcbь*, and **panьkь* attested in many local dialectal forms. This sound change is thereby attested in the whole area within the scope of this study, except for Rügen/Rugia which lacks necessary attestations. The only forms which point to vocalisation of the strong yer are *Globbitz*, *Globbietz*, *Glowitz* m. (CPom., FPom.) ‘cheeky young man; fat, strong boy; boor’ < **xolpьcbь* m., which however may be of Polish origin, and exist beside native *Glops* m. (Sch) ‘boor, rough person; funny boy’ with the regular Kash. reflex of *-*ьcbь*.

2.7 PSI. **ěC*, **eC*

The lowering of PSI. **ě* before a hard coronal consonant is a common Lechitic development, including toponomastic attestations from Mecklenburg, Rügen/Rugia, and Pomerania. As for the last one, many are provided by Rzetelska-Feleszko (1973: 57-72).

Less widespread was the **eC* > **oC* development, where *C* is a hard coronal consonant. It is common for Polish and Kashubian, but not for Polabian. There is no good evidence in toponomastics for this development in Hither Pomerania, so there have been attempts at placing the isogloss in central Farther Pomerania (see: Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 75-7 for the discussion and 77-86 for attestations with and without the ablaut).

The evidence from Slavic borrowings in PLSx. is scarce and not very instructive. The former sound change is represented by *Pussatk* (Saa, south FPom.), *Pussaatk* (Dra), *Pussartsch* (Fla), *Posattk* (Net), *Pusseek* (Sto) ‘small farmer, *Kleinbauer*’ (PoW I: 524,

Winter 1963: 284) and interpreted by Winter as related to Kash. *p^wosadowř* ‘owner’ < **posędarb*. The attestations might point to an elsewhere unattested form **posęd**ь**kb* with Kashubian reflex of the **-bkb* suffix. The attested forms all point to **ę* > *a*, except for the form from ʼSto, where the depalatalisation is nonetheless broadly corroborated in Slnc.

The environment for the **eC* > **oC* ablaut, where *C* is a hard coronal consonant, exists in the following forms:

- (1) *Giessel* (ʼSto: Gardna Wielka/Gross Garde; within Slnc. area) ‘pole to push a small boat onwards’ < **veslo*
- (2) *Juosla* n. (NE FPom.), *Juoslä* (ʼSto: Gardna Wielka/Gross Garde; within Slnc. area) ‘pole to push a small boat onwards’ < **veslo* (see: 4)
- (3) *Schittschäning* m. (Rüg) ‘redpoll’, if from **čęčet-* (see: 4).

First two items are loanwords from Slnc. *v’oslo*, *v’eslo* ‘pole to push a small boat onwards’, the absence of ablaut in *v’eslo* can be attributed to a levelling in the paradigm in which *-e-* from forms followed by a palatal consonant was generalised, e.g. loc. *v’esle* < **v’es’le*.

Item (2) from Rügen/Rugia points to an expected in that area lack of the ablaut.

The material confirms conclusions drawn from toponomastic data, but does not provide new insight into the western range of the isogloss in question.

2.8 PSI. **C’ęC* > OKash. *ī, j* > *ī, i*

PSI. **ę* in OKash., much like in other Lechitic dialects, merged with PSI. **o* in position before hard dentals due to the Lechitic ablaut which came into effect in the 9th-10th century. In other positions, PSI. **ę* yielded OKash. *ę*, which further gave *i* in north-east OKash., including PKash., Slnc. (for distribution see: Stieber & Popowska-Taborska 1964, map 621), and the dialect of ʼSch (for the distribution, see the map in Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 252), cf. placenames from late 12th c., *Zmirdinza villa* 1180, *Vincedargo* 1179, *Climpowe* 1194 (Topolińska 1974: 50). For the reasons discussed below (see: 2.15), those

examples are not conclusive. I argue against Rzetelska-Feleszko (1973: 175-98), who claims that north-east Kashubian $*\epsilon > i$ is also attested further and reached dialects of Mecklenburg. In my view CiN , $CieN$, CeN are simply different representation of $C'\epsilon$ and occur primarily due to palatal articulation of the preceding consonant. Much more reliable data provided by forms in which the 13th. c. denasalisation of $i > i$ is attested, e.g. *Mislicyn* 1209, *Derisno* 1241, *Prusicino* 1279 in PKash. and Slnc. area, as well as *Cigenitz* 1628 (‘Sch) < if from $*t\epsilon g-$; *Giczow* 1404 beside *Enczowo* 1402, *Entczow* 1437 (‘Lau) < $*\epsilon\check{c}ev-$; *Mysenedamp* 1294 (‘Köl) < if from $*m\epsilon dji$, cf. Kash. *mjidzə*, *mjińdzə*, but also *mjedzə* < $*medji$ ‘between’, *Sincelitz* 1400 > *Zitzelitz*, Kash. *Dzəcelč* (‘Lau) < $*d\epsilon tel-$, *Przcyggowo* (‘Sto) < OKash. $*c'ig\check{n}\check{o}c'$ > Kash. *cignoc*, *Witzorke* 1826 (‘Büt) < Kash. *vjicork* ‘fish trap’, *Scoyicino* 1258, Slnc. *Stojcəno* (‘Sto). (for more examples see: Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 175-98).

The original distribution of $*i$, $*ī$ in closed syllables between palatal consonants or between a palatal consonant and a velar or a labial is preserved in Kash. without any levellings in the paradigm e.g. in the following examples:

PSl.	OKash.	Kash.
$*tr\epsilon s-$:		
$*tr\epsilon sti$	$*tr'is'c'$	<i>třisc</i>
$*tr\epsilon set\check{b}$	$*tr'is'e$	<i>třase</i>
$*tr\epsilon sl\check{b}$	$*tr'qsl$	<i>třqs</i>
$*tr\epsilon sla$	$*tr'qsla$	<i>třqsla</i>
$*sv\epsilon t-$:		
$*sv\epsilon titi$	$*s'v'ic'ic'$	<i>svjicəc</i>
$*sv\epsilon t\check{b}j\check{b}$	$*s'v'qtī$	<i>svjqtī</i>

*Svętopłkъ S'v'ątopolk Svjątopolk
 (= Suantopolc)

In PLSx. the following borrowings attest the $*\epsilon > i > i$ sound change:

- (1) *Jastschipp* m. ('Sto: Cecenowo/Zezenow; within PKash. area) 'goshawk', cf. PKash. *jastřib* 'goshawk' < PSI. **astrębъ*.
- (2) *Klitschk* f. (distribution unknown) 'bigger wooden hook', cf. Kash. *kláčka* 'hook' < OKash. **klijčka* < PSI. **klęčьka*.
- (3) *Saiz* m. ('Sto: Cecenowo/Zezenow; within PKash. area) 'hare' Kash. *zajc*, *zajic* 'hare' < OKash. **zajic* < PSI. **zajęcъ*.

Two examples come from Slnc. area, example (2) has unknown distribution, but the form points to north-east FPom.

Except for well-attested examples in PKash. and Slnc., the forms west of 'Sto are rare, often obscure, and dominated by forms with *eN*. In view of that, PSI. $*\epsilon >$ OKash. $\epsilon > i > i$ should be treated as a dialectal sound change restricted only to the easternmost dialect.

2.9 PSI. $*\varrho$

Around the 12th century PSI. $*\varrho$ regularly yielded *q* (attested as *aN* in sources, rarely as *eN*) in Lechitic (Jeżowa 1969: 52-63, Papierkowski 1930: 47-52, Rzetelska-Feleszko 1991: 208), differently only in DrPlb. (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1991: 212).

In 13th-15th century, there was a split in articulation in east OKash. $\mathfrak{a}, \bar{\mathfrak{a}} > \mathfrak{a}, \bar{\mathfrak{q}}$ (Topolińska 1974: 51-4). This sound change seems to have reached territories much further to the west and might be represented in late placenames, e.g. *Fundel* (ϕBel) < **Vodolъ* (< PSI. **odolъ*); *Damerow* beside *Dumerow* 1779-85 (ϕBel), *Domby* 20th c. (ϕRum) < **Doby* (or perhaps **Dobъje*), *Vontzig* 1770, *Vonzog* 1804 (ϕRum) < **Vozъk(oje)* (< PSI. **ozъk-*), *Contrine* 1248 (ϕKöl) < **Kotrin-* (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1985), *Gunbin*, *Gummin* 1176-80 (ϕGbg) < **Gobin-* (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1991: 208), *Podump* 1836 (ϕGbg) < **podъ-dob-*. *Gunbin*, *Gummin*, however, should be regarded as an archaism rather than innovation.

Rzetelska-Feleszko (1973: 133-4) estimates that dialects of east FPom. underwent this sound change in the 2nd half of the 15th c, when attestations with *oN*, *uN* in place names and personal names rapidly doubled and continued to increase in the centuries to come, chiefly in *Što*, *Łau*, and *Řum* and *Ĕüt*. At the turn of the 16th century, the innovation might have reached also *Ķös*, *Ĕel*, *Ķeu*, and *Šch*, but not further west as in that area, according to Rzetelska-Feleszko, the language was already extinct.

Interestingly, the material from PLSx. loanwords suggests otherwise. All of the loanwords found within OKash. and Viadr. areas point to $\bar{q} > \bar{\varrho}$, with vast majority of the attestations suggesting a raising of \bar{q} . It should be noted that all of the borrowings have a long vowel in their Kash. and P counterparts. Prosody and vowel length of Viadrinian dialects has not been established and this issue is beyond the scope of this work, but Viadr. forms in this respect seem consistent with OKash.

The reflexes of PSI. **gǫžb* in Viadr. (*Ķuc*) and west OKash. (*Řum*) represent an isolated instance of wide-spread denasalisation and can be interpreted as OKash./Viadr. *gōž* ‘grab strap in a flail’, cf. Kash. *gǫž* ‘grab strap in a flail’. That denasalisation hardly could be attributed to sound changes in PLSx. More examples are needed to establish, in which environment $\bar{\varrho}$ might have been denasalised. Denasalisation of OKash. $\bar{\varrho}$ has undergone e.g. in Slovincian (except for the dialect of Klücken, see: Lorentz 1903: 67-9) as well as in most positions in many Central PKash. varieties (Jocz 2013: 108-40), cf. also denasalisation of OP $\bar{\varrho}$ before fricatives in Warminian Polish, e.g. *vójsi* ‘moustache’, *zójzac* ‘to bind’, cf. P *wąsy*, *wiązac* (Basara 1987: 28-9).

Borrowings in PLSx. with a reflex of **ǫ*:

	Type 1.: <i>oN</i> , <i>ooN</i> , <i>uN</i> , <i>u</i> , <i>oo</i> , <i>ōō</i>	Type 2.: <i>aN</i> , <i>au</i> , <i>āN</i>
Lexemes	7	4
Forms	45	8

- (1) *Bunk, Bunkske, -bunk, -bonk* ‘various species of flying insects, see: chapter 4’ common in east Viadr. areas beside older *-bank* in ‘Cam < *bāk*, although also there exist forms with *uN*. In the OKash. territory always attested as *Bunk, Bunkske, -bunk* < Kash. *bōk* < PSl. **bōkъ*.
- (2) *Droonschk-, Dresoonschk-* (NE FPom.) ‘thick stick’ OKash. *drōžk* < PSl. **drōžъkъ*.
- (3) *Glum(m)buffke, Glambuwken* (‘Sto) ‘scrubby pine tree’ with **ǫ* reflected as *um* beside *am*, going back to early OKash. *glābōvk* beside later *glōbōvk* < PSl. **glōbovъkъ*.
- (4) *Goosch* (‘Rum), *Göösch* (‘Uec) m. ‘grab strap in a flail’ with **ǫ* reflected as *oo* in OKash. and *öö* in Viadr. areas, pointing to denasalisation, perhaps a later or independent dialectal process which however cannot be verified without more data. Cf. Kash *gōž* ‘grab strap in a flail’ < PSl. **gōžъ*.
- (5) *Krang* f. (‘Rüg) naut. ‘1. ring or hook eyelet with which the foresail is attached to the stay sail, 2. fixing ring made of juniper tree in eel trap’, *Krange* f. (‘Rüg, MPom.) hist. ‘curve, bend, arc’, if from PSl. **krōgъ* (see: chapter 4).
- (6) *Moonschk, Monschk* (NE Pom.), *Munschik* (‘Rum, Słupsk/Stolp, ‘Sto), *Moonschkje* (‘Lau), ‘1. thick, cooked flour mash eaten with sweet or sour milk, 2. mud’, *Molschk* n. (‘Kös) ‘fried dish made of flour groats and black pudding’, *Bottermunschik* (‘Sto) ‘1. potato mash, 2. mud’, *moonschkre* (NE Pom.) ‘to play in mud’; cf. Kash. *mōčka* ‘1. fine flour, 2. flour mash, groats’ < PSl. **mōčъka*.
- (7) *Panschik* f. (FPom.), *Panschka* (north ‘Sto), *Pānschke* (‘Lau), *Pauschka* (‘Lau) ‘flat, roasted on hot stones bread cake’; *Punzke* (‘Rum, ‘Sto), *Punztje* (‘Neu, ‘Fla) ‘deep-frying dough for Shrovetide, cf. Kash. *pōčk* m. ‘1. flat, roasted on hot stones bread cake, 2. bud’ < PSl. **pōčъkъ*.
- (8) *Roopz* m., *Ropz* m. (NE FPom., ‘Sto) ‘fisherman who cuts ice-holes during winter fishing’; cf. Kash. *rōbca* ‘1. lumberjack, 2. fisherman who cuts ice-holes during winter fishing’ < PSl. **rōbъca*.

Vast majority of attestations as well as their consistent distribution suggest that the raising of \bar{q} into \bar{o} took place in the entire OKash. territory and reached east Viadr. dialects. In view of the data, it is reasonable to assume that the innovation was reflected in toponomastic materials later than it actually took place and reached all aforementioned territories decades before the end of the 15th century. The possibility of suggested later denasalisation of \bar{o} into \bar{o} needs further research.

2.10 *CarC* || *CerC*

“Quite a strong tendency” for a change of *CarC* into *CerC* was proposed by Rzetelska-Feleszko for central Farther Pomerania (1973: 44) as well as for its western areas (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 212-13, 1996: 95-101), regardless of the origin of *CarC*, be it PSl. **CorC* or **CrC*.

For central FPom. Rzetelska-Feleszko gives 12 place names, 4 personal names, and 3 geographic names out of 120 in total. She notes however, that for most of them there are also attestations with *CarC*, e.g. *Vertzin* || *Vartzin* (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 43-4). For the whole FPom. Rzetelska-Feleszko and Duma cite 126 forms with *CarC* of which only 22 with *CarC* > *CerC*. Again, most of them have also attestations with *CarC* and are spread in the whole area. According to the authors, forms with *CerC* can hardly be explained by Pomeranian-German substitutions or German vowel harmony (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1996: 97-101).

However, all of Slavic borrowings attested in PLSx. (see: 2.1. and 2.3.) have *CarC*.

Some of the *CerC* forms can be in fact explained by Germanic influence, chiefly Low Saxon, as it was the most influential Germanic language in the area, as opposed to German, which dominated only some linguistic domains starting from 16th c.

PLSx. Pomeranian and some other dialects, e.g. Neumärkish, have undergone a raising of *e* in *er* + dental, labial, or guttural consonant > *arC*, e.g. *wark* ‘work’, *karn* ‘grain’ (Teuchert 1906: 38) According to Foerste, this sound change started around 1300 in Eastphalian and Northern Saxon. At some point it was adopted also by Mecklenburgian, West and East Prussian, and Pomeranian LSx., except for a small area on both banks of the

Odra/Oder river (Foerste 1957: 1947).

It should be kept in mind, that Low Saxon and/or Danish were brought to Pomerania by small groups of monks and clergymen only after the christianisation of Pomerania started in 1124-28. Increased usage of Low Saxon at the ducal court and among noblemen started a century later during the reign of Barnim I who also began to settle Germanic-speaking colonists in the country (see: e.g. Labuda 2006: 174-93).

Pomeranian Low Saxon evolved from the dialects brought from the original Low Saxon-speaking territories. Some literary texts produced in Pomerania in 15th-16th c. consistently have *erC*-forms, cf. a document from Chociwel/Freienwalde ('Saa) from 1494, e.g. *Merten* 'personal name', *ervez* 'inheritance', *erven* 'to inherit' (Teuchert 1906: 98), in Thomas Kantzow's *Pomerania* (1st half of the 16th c.), e.g. *steruen* 'to die', *werpen* 'to throw', *werde* 'will', *wercken* 'deeds' or *Kercken Ordeninge im Lande tho Pamern* (1591), e.g. *Kercken* 'church', *Herten* 'hearts' (Böhmer 1835: 11, 16). *CerC* is also attested in the aforementioned document from 1494 in personal name of Polabo-Kashubian origin *Woderch* < *Vodarg-* < **Odorg-*.

However, forms with *arC* are present already in that period, cf. a document from Kołobrzeg/Kolberg from 1469, e.g. *hillge Romsche Karke* 'Holy Roman Church', document issued by the ducal court in Szczecin/Stettin in 1529, e.g. *arve* 'inheritance', *hilgen christliken karcken* 'holy Christian church'; also in Hither Pomerania, e.g. *Jacobes karke* 'St. Jacob's church', 1456, a document from Greifswald (Schmidt 1967: 30).

Dähnert's *Platt-Deutsches Wörter-Buch* from 1781 has regular *arC* forms, e.g. *Arft* 'pea', *Hart* 'heart' or *arC* beside *erC*, e.g. *Arve* || *Erve* 'inheritance', *Karke* || *Kerke* 'church' (Dähnert 1781: 15-6, 177, 219), cf. Modern PLSx. *Arf* 'inheritance', *Hars* 'millet', *Hart* 'heart', *Kark* 'church' (PoW I: 170, 1074-5, 1336).

The following forms with *CerC* are cited by Rzetelska-Feleszko and Duma (1996: 97-101):

a. *CerC* exclusively:

- (1) *Bernsdorf* 1780, central FPom., if from **Born-*,
- (2) *Birkenow* 1411-4, *Berkenaw* 1411-4, central FPom., if from **Brkanov-*,

- (3) *Gerbeck* 1780, central FPom.
- (4) *Pribbernow* 1305, western FPom.,
- (5) *Pribbernow* 1311, western FPom.,

b. *CarC* > *CerC*:

- (1) *Barnizlaf* 1243, *Berenslauu* 1255, *Bernezlov* 1268, western FPom.,
- (2) *Brandargowe* 1220, *Bandergowe* 1233, western FPom.,
- (3) *Dargozlaw* 1269, *Dergschlaff* 1628, western FPom.,
- (4) *Garbin* 1628, *Gerbin* 1756, central FPom.,
- (5) *Karstino* 1276, *Kerstin* 1780, central FPom.,
- (6) *Carmin* 1260, *Kervin* 1496
- (7) *Charnetiz* 1186-7, *Karzig* 1579, *Herske* 1618, western FPom.,
- (8) *Scarchowe* 1321, *Scherckow* 1628, western FPom.,
- (9) *Simmartzigk* 1322, *Symertzigk* 1540, central FPom.,
- (10) *Starnitz* 1568, *Sternitz* 1628, western FPom.,
- (11) *Starnin* 1269, *Sternyn* 1310, central FPom.,
- (12) *Warnyn* 1486, *Wernin* 1501, central FPom.,
- (13) *Warpna* 1252, *Nienwerpe* 1523, western FPom.,
- (14) *Warczemyn* 1379, *Versemyn* 1523, central FPom.,

c. *CerC* > *CarC*:

- (1) *Kercznisse* 1485, *Kartzenitze* 1493, central FPom.,
- (2) *Kerstin* 1430, *Karstine* 1618, western FPom.,
- (3) *Kerkow* 1338, *Karkow* 1506, western FPom.,
- (4) *Werbelino* 1306, *Varbelyn* 1461, central FPom.,

Many of the forms are somewhat problematic. Firstly, there is no time frame in which the sound change would seem to have operated, the cited attestations of *CerC* place names range from 1233 till 1780, they are scattered all around the territory and usually have earlier and/or later attestations with *CarC*. Secondly, 4 of the cited place names actually show an opposite development, from *CerC* to *CarC*. Thirdly, all of the forms have the right environment to be subjected to the local Low Saxon *erC* > *arC* sound change. Considering

that *arC*-forms are well attested in PLSx. at least from 15th c. and that there may have been an intermediate *CärC* stage, it would have easily explain the alternation in both directions, e.g. *Warnyn* 1486, *Wernin* 1501, *Wernynn* 1502, *Warnin* 1534 < **Varnin*- (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1985: 142-3). Very late cases of *CarC* > *CerC* like *Dargozlaw* 1269 > *Dergschlaff* 1628, *Garbin* 1628 > *Gerbin* 1756, *Karstino* 1276 > *Kerstin* 1780, and *Scarchowe* 1321 > *Scherckow* 1628 are very unlikely to reflect a process undergoing in the living Slavonic language and should be regarded as ongoing erosion of original forms (cf. *Charnetiz* 1186-7 > *Karzig* 1579 > *Herske* 1618) or perhaps even orthographic hypercorrectness aimed at making the toponyms sound more Upper German. That leaves out only 5 forms with *CerC* attested before 15th c.

Rzetelska-Feleszko and Duma themselves mention the *a~e* substitution as one of primary substitutions seen in attested Pomeranian place names, also in other environments, e.g. **zal*- > *Schallin* 1248 > *Schellin* 1325, **sedlin*- > *Sadlen* 1194 > *Sedlin* 1224 (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 199-200).

Finally, one of the cited place names actually has an attested Slavic form. The toponym known in sources as *Werbolino* 1306, *Varbelyn* 1461, *Verbelin* 1507, 1564, 1618; *Varbelin* 1615, 1699; *Warblin* 1706, *Werbelin* 1719, *Warbelin* 1719, 1771, 1779-85 (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1985: 142) is attested as *Varblāno* in Slnc. Kash. (Lorentz 1912: 1528). Similar case is known from PKash. territory where *Varblāńō* was known as *Werblin* in German (Lorentz 1923: 107).

Taking into account all that, it does not seem likely that a *CarC* > *CerC* sound change has taken place in Slavic dialects of Pomerania. Instead, a proven sound change in PLSx. yielding the opposite result ([*C*]erC > [*C*]arC) seems to have influenced a number of toponyms of Slavonic origin.

2.11 *t', d' > c', dz'*

Affricatisation of *t' d' > c', dz'* took place in eastern Kashubian in the 13th century, but when and how far to the west this change operated is a matter of debate. Lehr-Splawiński (1938: 139-50) placed that isogloss quite far to the west, Rzetelska-Feleszko (1973: 199-200)

pushed in even further and proposed a list of 15 placenames (ibidem: 220-3) west of ‘Sch, Rum (where the sound change is well documented) which she described as “quite certain”. However, a closer look at this list raises some questions.

(1) *Boytzinschen* 1524 (ϕBel, later also *Beussin, Boysin, Boissin*) < PSl. **bytin-*. First of all, the Polabian sound change **By > Boj* is not attested and very unlikely this far to the east. A more probable etymology would be PSl. **bojь* with the suffix **-bč̣in-(o)*, cf. *Бойчиновци* in North Bulgaria and Modern Kash. placenames like *Sələčəno, Gʷorqəčəno, Pʷomječəno* etc.

(2) *Zierssnickowie* 1635, *Zernickow* 1636 (ϕBel) < **tʃ̣nik-* ‘thorn’. This placename might as well come from PSl. **č̣ŋn-* ‘black’.

(3) *Keselcin* 1255 (ϕBel), Rzetelska-Feleszko sees here affricated suffix *-ćin-*, however once again it can be also explained by PSl. **-bč̣in-(o)*.

(4) *Palycino* 1276 (ϕBel) with PSl. **-ę̣tino*. This interpretation suggests that the East Old Kashubian sound change PSl. **ę̣ > j > i* operated here, but it is not attested in this region, hence highly unlikely. This placename can be easily derived from PSl. **palikъ* ‘stake, pale’ and interpreted as *Palič-in-o*.

(5) *Pobloce* 1310 (ϕKol) < **po-bālṭje* (or rather **po-bolṭje*). All other attestations in documents from the 13th and 14th centuries, both earlier and later, point to lack of affricatisation: *Poblote* 1216, *Poplote* 1241, *Poblote* 1260, *Poplot* 1276, *Poblut* 1318.

(6) *Schetterowe* 1299 (ϕBel), if from **teterov-*. This interpretation raises a question why only the initial *t-* would be affricated and not the medial one, since the environment seems to be the same in both cases. Maybe connected to PSl. **ščetъ* ‘bristle’.

(7) *Schmentzin* 1479, *Smenczin* 1486 (ϕBel) < **smọtin-*.

(8) *Glötzin* 1614 (ϕBel) < **gāldin-* (or rather **goldin-*). Different interpretations, e.g. **golḍbč̣in-* are equally justified, cf. parallel structure in P *Gładczyn* in Central Poland.

(9) *Oldenbantzyn, Nygenbantzyn* 1313, *Bandessyn* 1315 (ϕKös) < **bōdin-*. In my view, both *-bantzyn* and *Bandessyn* point to a form with an unaffricated dental (with *-tz-* which should be read as two separate sounds) while *-bantzyn*, from the same year as *-bantzyn*, is simply a less accurate attestation which reduced the consonant cluster. If so, the attestations point to *Bq̣dč̣in-* < **bōḍbč̣in-* or even *Bq̣ḍešin-* < **bōḍešin-*.

(10) *Clutzin* 1411-14, *Clozin* 1564 (ϕBel) < **kāldin-/koldin-*. As in (8) and (9), this

placename can be interpreted as *Klōdčín-* < **koldьčín-*. The attestation with the cluster *-tcz-* supports this interpretation.

(11) *Gutzmissen* 1843 (⚡Kös) < **gosti-* or **xoti-*.

(12) *Schirlitz* 18th-20th c. (⚡Neu, ⚡Schl, ⚡Kös); *Schirlitzende* 18th-20th c. (⚡Kös) < **tʃlitj-*. However, it might be connected to **ščirь* ‘Amaranthus’, cf. P *szczyr* ‘Mercurialis’, LS *ščěr* ‘Senecio vulgaris’, U *щириня* ‘Amaranthus’. In this case it would point to an elsewhere unattested OKash. form *ščirlic(a)*.

(13) *Matsken* 1814 (⚡Bel) and *Matzke* (⚡Kol); *Matzen* 18th-20th c. (⚡Bel), cf. P personal name *Maciej*, *Maciek*. This interpretation is uncertain. The former placename can be connected to **makь*, **mačьkь* ‘Papaver somniferum’, the latter to PLSx. *matsch* ‘marsh, swamp’ or *Matz* ‘dim. *Matthies*’ (PoW II: 149, 152).

(14) *Klietzin* 18th-20th c. (⚡Kol) < **klětín-*. Alternatively, can be connected to **klěščьb* or **klik-/klič-*, cf. P placename *Kliczyn* in Masovia.

(15) *Metzkenberg* 18th-20th c. (⚡Kol), cf. P personal name *Mieci-sław*. This could be perhaps paralleled with PSl. *mečьka* ‘bear’.

(16) *Ziezograben* 18th-20th c. (⚡Kol) < if from **teč-*. However, one might argue here for a number of other possible roots, e.g., **cět-*, **sěč-* or **čiž-*. In Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma (2013: 74), the authors proposed **sěčev-* as a possible etymology.

As demonstrated, only 2 items from the list (7, 11) can serve as good examples of the sound change. The following place names can be added here:

(17) *Ritzerowe* 1369, *Rycerouwe* 1446 (⚡Bel) < **ryterev-* (thus Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma). However, the well preserved suffix *-owe/-ouwe* and *-r-* suggest that the consonant was not palatal and point to **ryterov-*, with the HG *Ritter* being borrowed as **ri'er* > **ric'er*, unlike P *rycerz*, LS *ryšer/ryšar* with a palatal auslaut consonant.

(18) *Redzowsche B.* 1780 (⚡Bel) < **Rad'ev-* (Rzetelska-Feleszko, Duma 2013: 56).

(19) *Ressims Soll* 1836 (⚡Bel) < **Rad'im-* (idem: 57)

(20) *Ressins Packwerk* (⚡Cam) < **Red'in-* (idem: 57) < **Radin-*

(21) *Ratzochen Moor* 1838, *Ratzochenmoor* (⚡Kös) < **Rad'ox-* (idem: 57) < PSl. **Radex-*?, although it can also go back to **orzьsox-*, cf. Kash. *rosoxa* ‘fork, ramification’.

(22) *Ziesemars Anfang und Ende* (⚡Neu) < **Těšiměr-*

(23) *Ziesemars Berg* (Neu) < **Těšiměr-*

(24) *Ziesmers Garten* 1839 (Neu) < **Těšiměr-*

Among Slavic loanwords in PLSx. there is a number of forms relevant to this discussion. Forms which point to the affricatisation of *t'*, *d'* can be found not further to the west than Sch, maybe except for one borrowing *Kimmritz* f. 'gluteal cleft'; compound noun (cf. PLSx. *Kimm* f. 'gluteal cleft') of which the second part is related to Kash. *řac* 'buttocks', P *rzyć* 'buttocks', LS *rys* 'buttocks' < **ritь*, of which the exact distribution is unknown, but limited to FPom. Other than that, we find *Brazich* (Sto: Domaradz/Dumröse; outside Kash. area), *Bratzik* (Sto: Główezyce/Glowitz; within PKash. area) < OKash. *brac'ik* 'small brother' and *Brazek* m. (Sch: Sławno/Schlawe) < Kash. *bracək* 'small brother'; *Brudsik* n. (NE FPom.) 'type of fishing net (Watnetz)' OKash. *brodz'ik*, cf. Kash. *brodzək*; *Broseschka* (Sto: Cecenowo/Zezenow; within PKash. area) < *brodzəšk(a)* 'type of fishing net (Watnetz) < **brodišьk(ь/a)*; *Parpatz* n. (Lau: Unieszyno/Groß Wunneschin, Kierzkowo/Kerschkw; all outside PKash. area) 'fern' *Parpatsch* (Sto: Budowo/Budow; outside Slnc. area) 'Equisetum, *Equisetum arvense*, *Equisetum sylvaticum*', cf. Slnc. *parpωč*, *parpωč* 'fern', PKash. *parparc*, *parpac*, *parpoc* 'fern' < OKash. **parpart'*.

Other loanwords point to lack of affricatisation: *Mäter* f. (HPom. coast), *Mater* (Rügen/Rugia, HPom.) < Plb./Viadr. *mat'er* < PSI. **materь*, *Mätritz* f. (Sch) 'fish. sack in a fishing net to which fish are caught' < OKash. **mat'érica*; *Katinka* (Ran) humour. 'female person, wife'; derived from the PLSx. name *Katrien*, *Trien*, cf. G *Katharina*, *Kati*, with the Slavic suffix *-*inьka*.

Due to reduction of consonant cluster it is impossible to determine, whether *Bratz* m./f. (Fra, Ank, FPom. east of Ihna, DKr, Sto) 'misbehaving child' goes back to **brat'c* or **brac'c* < **bratьcь*. It is even harder to argue for the latter since in Slovincian we find depalatalised formations with -*ьcь*, -*ьca*, cf. *votc* < **otьcь* 'father', *zdrōdca* 'traitor'.

While the affricatisation of *t'*, *d'* is well attested as far to the west as Sch by numerous placenames, early proper names and appellatives, cf. *Busezech* 1296 < *Božec'ex*, *Cesigor* 1243-50 < *C'ešigor*, *czesle* 1265 < *c'es'l'a* (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 209), as well as late borrowing into PLSx.: *Brazek* < Kash. *bracək*, it is difficult to be so sure about Kol, Bel, Kös,

Neu and Dra. We are left with a group of placenames with uncertain etymology and borrowings into PLSx. only seem to corroborate that this isogloss was limited to Sch. However, if the sound change reached further to the west, the most reliable attestations, *Ritzerowe* 1369 (Bel), *Schmentzin* 1479 (Bel), *Gutzmissen* 1843 (Kös) suggest that it started to operate there later, not earlier than in the 14th c.

Evidence from borrowings supports the toponomastic evidence for affricatisation of $t' > c'$, dz' also west of Parsęta/Persante river, thereby pushing the isogloss further west of the area of Drawsko Pomorskie/Dramburg, however more evidence would be in order to corroborate this hypothesis.

2.12 $ř > ř$

The affricatisation of palatal $*ř$ is well documented in the entire Pomerelian Kashubian area as well as in Lau, Büt and Sto, including Slovincian. For respective data, see Rzetelska-Feleszko (1973: 225-36). This chapter is focusing exclusively on attestations found further to the west.

This sound change, just as the affricatisation of t', d' , started to operate in eastern OKash. in the 13th c. However, these two are separate processes and it cannot be assumed that the distribution of both isoglosses was the same. The affricatisations operated in the majority of West Slavic area of that period, resulting in various outcomes, cf. Czech which underwent the affricatisation of $ř > ř$, but did not affricatise t', d' .

The following examples from FPom. toponyms are cited by Rzetelska-Feleszko (1973: 225-36):

(1) *Commersin* 1505, *Kummerzin* (Sch), cf. P *komora* 'chamber'. The reconstructed form would be *Komořin(o)*, cf. Kash. *k^wom^wora* 'larder'.

(2) *Jesurze* 1672 (Rum) < **jezerě*. Rzetelska-Feleszko sees here a loc. sg. form of **jezero*, but probably it should be reconstructed as **jezer^oje*.

(3) *Kursewanz* (Kös) < **kuri-*. However, cf. P placename *Kuroz^węki* which might be parallel to this formation.

(4) *Marsin* 1590 (☉Bel), also *Marsin* 1564 (☉Sto) and *Marsissken* 1683 (☉Sto) might all come from OKash. *mārz* < **morzъ* ‘frost’.

(5) *Mersin* 1534 (☉Kös) < **měrim-*. This placename is also likely to be identical to *Marsin* and go back to **morzъ*. See 2.10. on the alleged *CarC* || *CerC* alternations.

(6) *Peterscow*, *Petriskowe* 1313 (☉Rum). According to Rzetelska-Feleszko, the first attestation with *-rs-* might point to ř, but this interpretation is uncertain. The second one does not support this view. The underlying form is likely to be some form of the name *Petrus* (Kash. *Pjoter*) with the *-išk* suffix and should be read as *P’etriškovo*/*P’otriškovo*, cf. P forms of the name *Pietrzych*, *Piotraszek*, *Pietrzesz* (Malec 1995: 108-9).

(7) *Pustar* 1281, *Pustarze* 1308, *Pustars* 1313, *Pustarse* 1419 (☉Kol), if from **pustare*. This placename might as well go back to *Postarže* < **po-storže*/*po-storžъje* and be formally identical to P placename *Postróże* in Masovia.

(8) *Sparsce* 1321, *Sparse* 1632 (☉Neu), if connected to Kash. *spařaskʷo* ‘marsh, swamp’.

(9) *Trzenic* 1598 (☉Rum), maybe from **stǰžen-*, cf. Kash. *držeń* ‘stem’. If so, this placename can hardly be a good example of the *ǰ* > ř sound change. More likely, it could be connected to Kash. *střana*/*třana* ‘reed’ < **trъstina*.

(10) *Zamborst* 1613, *Zamborsski* 1618 (☉Neu) < **sǰborъjъ*. The suffix is unclear.

(11) *Zwyrсно* 1374, *Swirszen* 1477, *Swirssen* 1477, *Swirszen* 1523, *Swyrssen* 1536, *Schwirszen* 1620 (☉Rum) < **svirъn-* or **zvěryn-*.

(12) *Borze Plon*, *Barzenplan* 18th-20th c. (☉Kol) < **borъje*. The second form allows to connect it also with **bъrz-*.

(13) *Jirsack-Moor* 18th-20th c. (☉Sch), cf. P *jerz*, *jerzyk* ‘*Apus apus*’.

(14) *Marsem berg* 1820 (☉Sch), if from **měrim-*, cf. OP proper names *Borzym*, *Radzim*. In this case, an *-e-*, rather than *-a-*, would be expected. Again, it might be alternatively connected to OKash. *mārz* < **morzъ* ‘frost’.

(15) *Mustersitz* 18th-20th c. (☉Neu), if from **mostaritj-*.

(16) *Odborsrie* 18th-20th c. (☉Sch), if from **odborъje* (or rather **odъborъje*). The unexpected lack of prothetic *v-* allows for another interpretation connecting the first element with PLSx. *Ādebor* ‘stork’ (PoW I: 19).

(17) *Orskarw* 18th-20th c. (☉Sch), if from **āri-* (**ori-*). As in (16), the lack of prothesis and the age of the attestation do not point to Slavic origin of this toponym. Instead,

it seems to be a rather humorous name taken from PLSx. *Oors(ch)karf* ‘gluteal fold’ (PoW II: 348).

(18) *Persnick* 1855 (Neu), if from **perɛn-*. Also a connection with **ɸɛrsɔ* is possible, cf. Kash. *pjersnik* ‘1. clavicle found in birds, 2. a piece of horse harness, 3. upper part of men’s shirt, 4. goose breast, 5. armour’ (Sychta 1970: 255-6).

(19) *Verschnautz* 1811-22 (Sch) < **vʲx-*.

(20) *Vierzenitzerberg* 18th-20th c. (Rum) < **věren-*. However, given the age of the attestation, one must assume that modern HG rules of orthography apply here and the -z- denotes /ts/, in which case **vʲtěnic-* seems to be a more plausible interpretation, cf. Kash. *vjercac* < **vʲtěti*.

(21) *Wocsripp See* 1841 (Dra), if from **ogrěb-*. The attestation is late and unclear, hence not very reliable. Maybe also **okrěp-* or **oskrip-* would be possible here.

Also a number of proper names is cited here:

(22) *Borsowe* 1434, *Bursowe Clawes* 1439 (Sch) < **borev-* (or rather **bořev-/borov-*).

(23) *Kerszkorff Wolter* 1445 (Bel) < **ɸɛɾɪkɔv-*. This interpretation is problematic. The explanation is more likely to be a MLSx. compound word consisting of *kerse* ‘cherry’ and *korf* ‘basket’ (Schiller & Lübben 1875: 454, 544).

(24) *Mersan Johannis* 1456 (Sch) < **měřen-*. Other possible connection, which does not employ /r/, would be to **mɛrɛti*, cf. Kash. *mjerzac*.

(25) *Parzeke* 1519 (Sch), cf. P *parzyć*. Etymology uncertain. Another possible connection would be to OKash. **pārg* < **ɸorgɔ* ‘threshold’ and its diminutive **pāržk*.

As demonstrated, most items from the list are of uncertain etymology and can be connected to more than one root, and of those, some do not have any etymological /r/, therefore cannot serve as a compelling argument in favour of the affricatisation. Some other items are unclear or point to Low Saxon origin.

The sound change seems to be well attested in Sch: (1) *Commersin* 1505, (19) *Verschnautz* 1811-22, (22) *Borsowe* 1434, as well as in Rum: (2) *Jesurze* 1672, (9) *Trzenic* 1598, (11) *Zwyrсно* 1374, the area where this change would be most expected. A reserved

case could be made also for †Neu with instances like (8) *Sparsce* 1321 and (15) *Mustersitz* 18th-20th c.

Most borrowings into PLSx., which must be taken into consideration, do not point to ř. The ones that do are restricted to †Sto, with one attestation from †Bel and †Dra. Here belong:

- (1) *Jastschipp* (†Sto; within PKash. area) < Kash. *jastřib* < **astrębъ*;
- (2) *Schennje*, *Chenje* (†Sto) < Kash. *křǎna*, *skřǎna* < **skrinъja*;
- (3) *Jeerschik* m./f. (†Sto: within Slnc. area) < Kash. *vjěrk* < **vјъxъ*;
- (4) *dobsche* (†Bel, †Dra) ‘good, well’ and *Stimmuje dobsche!* (†Dra) < OKash. *štimmuje dobr’e* < **-ujetъ dobrě*, the stem of the verb being borrowed from MLSx. *stimmen* ‘to be correct’. However, it is not out of the question that the last one could be a borrowing from P (*sztymuje*) *dobrze*. On the other hand, the narrow distribution of this Slavicism, restricted to an area neighbouring with †Neu, could make it a good candidate for the only attested sentence in OKash. from that area. Cf. also the related Pomeranian Slavicism with narrow distribution *dobri* (†Gwd) ‘good’ < **dobrъjъ*, cf. DrPlb. *dübrě* ‘good’, *dübre* ‘good, well’, Kash. *dobri* ‘good’, *dobře* ‘good, well’.

Other than that, the rest of the borrowings point to the lack of affricatisation of *ř. Whether the underlying forms preserved palatality or had depalatalised *r*, as in DrPlb., is not possible to determine. Here belong:

- (1) *Bridjack* m. (†Lau), *Bridje* (†Fra), *Briwjack* (†Lau: Unieszyno/Groß Wunneschin; outside Kash. area) ‘uncouth, boorish person’, if it is a compound composed of Kash. *břǎdkī* ‘ugly; nasty; naughty’ < PSl. *brid-* with the LSx suffix *-jack*, as suggested by Winter (PoW I: 112). Also *Britzack*, *Britzock*, *Bridezack* m. (north east Pom.) ‘Kashub (pejoratively)’ belong here; incorrectly interpreted by Knoop (1890b: 6) as related to P *brat* ‘brother’.
- (2) *Krien* f. (HPom. north to Peene/Piana river), *Krein* (†Gbg, †Sch), *Kar’ien* (HPom., FPom), *Ker’ien* (†Rüg), *Kar’een* (†Use, †Cam, †Nau), *Kor’een* (Wolin/Wollin, Szczecin/Stettin Bay) ‘1. basket carried on the back, 2. basket

for various usage' go back to Plb., Viadr. *kařina* f., OKash. *kařina/kařina* f., Kash. *kařəna* f.

- (3) *Mäter* f. (HPom. coast), *Mater* (Rügen/Rugia, HPom.), *Mätritz* f. (Sch), 'fish. sack in a fishing net to which fish are caught'; derivatives of PSl. *mati -ere*. *Mäter/Mater* must go back to Plb./Viadr. *ma'ər* < PSl. **materь*, *Mätritz* to early OKash. **ma'ėrica*.
- (4) *Prelick* n. (Uec) fish. 'barrier made of fishing net which leads fish into a fish trap' < **per-lykь* m., cf. Kash *přelək* 'throat, gulp', P *przelyk* 'throat';
- (5) *Kimmritz* f. (FPom.) 'gluteal cleft', if the second part is from PSl. **ritь* f. and is related to Kash. *řəc* 'buttocks.
- (6) *abtrimo* (HPom., Central Pom.), *aftrimo* (Use, Pyr), *abtrümo* (Rüg), with accent on the first or the last syllable, *abtriminski* (Sto: Domaradz/Dumröse; outside Kash. area) interj. 'get out! stand aside!' (PoW I: 8); if from PSl. **trimati*, cf. Kash *třəmac* 'to hold'
- (7) *Fibritzkatt* f. (Reg, Kol, Dra, Neu, DKr), *Wibritzenkatt* (Neu) 'squirrel', also in a figurative sense: *Fibritz* m./f. (Ank, Nau, Neu, Saa, Central Pom.), *Fibritt* (Dra), *Fibritzk* (Ran, Dkr, west FPom.) 'skinny, slender person' (PoW I:783); from PSl. **věverica* f., **věveričьka*.

Slavic loanwords in PLSx. do not present a convincing case for expanding the boundary of the *ř > ř* isogloss further than it was established on the basis of toponomastic material. The affricatisation of *ř* seems to be restricted to Lau, Sto, Büt, Rum, and Sch. Isolated forms are found also in Neu (2 items), Bel (1 item), and Dra (1 item), but they are too scarce to serve as convincing evidence.

2.13 Plb. diphthongisation of PSl. **By* and the merger of **y* and **i*

The PSl. **y > oi* diphthongisation after labial consonants is well attested in DrPlb. Onomastic material seems to corroborate this sound change in Polabian already in the 12th c. This isogloss reaches beyond DrPlb. area and stretches over vast areas of Mecklenburg and Wagria in East Holstein (for distribution see: Jeżowa 1961, map 6) as well as in Rügen. It is a

matter of debate, whether attested forms with *oy*, *oi*, *ey* really represent diphthongs or rather some difficulties with writing down a monophthongic reflex of PSl. *y vowel encountered by Germanic-speaking scribes (for the discussion see: Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 241-2).

Based on onomastic material, there is no good evidence to postulate that this sound change reached Hither and Further Pomerania (idem: 244). In the corpus of Slavic loanwords there is only 1 item (or 2, if they are not to be connected) with a reflex of PSl. *By.

The PLSx. word *Mimm* f., dim. *Mimmken* n. ‘mother, mum’ found in north-east FPom. has been connected to Kash. *məma*, *məmka* ‘mother, mum’ (PoW II: 182) and must be reconstructed as PSl. **myma* f. It shows the expected lack of diphthongisation.

Perhaps the same etymology should be suggested for PLSx. *Mäuhm* f. ‘1. old woman, 2. (old) aunt, 3. bogeyman’ with its various dialectal forms both with a monophthong and a diphthong in the root, cf. *Möhm(e)* HPom., *Mäuhn* FPom., *Möhn* south FPom., *Mäuhmeken* n. (Cam), *Mäuhmk* (Nau), *Möhmke* (Kol). There are however two difficulties, the first being long vowel in the root, which corresponds neither with the short vowel in *Mimm* nor in Kash. *məma*; the second being the diphthong that seems to be restricted to west FPom. and absent in HPom. The latter can be explained by the dialectal diphthongisation of long *ö* (spelled as *æ* in PoW) in PLSx. of FPom., cf. common PLSx. *kænen* and dialectal *kêine* (Büt), *koine* (central FPom.), *kåine* (Gbg, Reg, Rum).

If this etymology is correct, the item suggests that although in HPom. and west FPom. *By did not become a diphthong, it did not merge with *i and remained a more open vowel in that position. However, more instances are necessary to verify this possibility.

PSl. *y merged with *i quite early in eastern Kash. and yielded *i* (Topolińska 1974: 25-33). Also in the earliest texts, e.g. gen.sg.fem. *Jewi* < PSl. *[Jev]-y, *mislifz* < PSl. **mysliši* in *Pontanus’ 2nd Catechism*.

The toponomastic material from PLSx. for the most part shows an *i* or *ie* (= *ī*), where PSl. *y would have been expected, cf. *Bichow* 1377 (Lau) < **byxov-* or **bykov-*, *Mizlebur* 1276 (Kös) < **mysl-* (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 242-3), *Wischou*, *Wischowe*, *Wiscowe*

1176-80 < *vyškov- (ČGbg, Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 58), *Dimin* 1292 (Dem) (Łęgowski & Lehr-Spławiński 1922: 117) < *dymin-.

However, sometimes we find other letters in those positions: *e, o, ö, u, ü, y*, or digraphs: *ei, ey, oi, oy*. While *y* seems to be used interchangeably with *i* even in positions where **i* > *i* is expected, and *e* illustrates later LSx. vowel reduction, primarily of *i* and *o* in unstressed position, other representations of reflexes of **y* may point to some kind of preserved phonetic difference to reflexes of **i* provided that their distribution does coincide with positions where PSl. **y* would be reconstructed.

In the discussion about Polabian diphthongisation of **By*, the following attestations from PLSx., that fall into that category, are mentioned:

- (1) *Szobemuzl* PN 1214 (Kol) < *-mysl̥,
- (2) *Zimmizlowe* 1276, *Cemoyzle* 1297, *Cemoicel(l)* 1294, *Ceymoycel* 1297, *Simötzel* (Kol) < *-mysl-,
- (3) *Meslino* 1237, 1238; *Mizli* 1260, *Moycellin* 1309, *Moytzelyn* 1312, *Moyselein* 1315, *Moitzlin* (Kol) < *-myslin-,
- (4) *Boystyn* 1442 (Bel), if from **byš-* or **byč-*,
- (5) *Boytzinschen* 1524, *Beussin* 1575, *Boysin* 1601 (Bel, later attestations also have *oy* or *oi*) < **byš-* or **byč-*,
- (6) *Beustrin* (Bel) < **bystr-*,
- (7) *Moyselgust* 1408-9, *Moitzelfitz* (Kol) < **mysl-*,
- (8) *Meidlitzen Kaweln* 1826-7, (Kös), if from **mydlic-*,
- (9) *Pomisko* 1310, *Pomisco*, *Pomischow* 1342, *Pommeysse* 1525, *Pomeiske* 1738, Kash. *P^womisk*, maybe from **pomysl-̥k-* (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 244). More likely connected to **myti*, Kash. *măc* with frequent *-ij* > *-i* assimilation, e.g. **myji*, *myjita* > **mij*, *mijta* > Kash. *mī*, *mīta*. In this case *Pomisko* would go back to **po-myj-sko*.

Other than that, we should mention:

- (10) *Doytyn* 1392, *Doytin* 1583, *Doitin* 1618 (Cam), if from < PN **Dyt(o)* (for the discussion, see: Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 72)
- (11) PN *Loysin* 1303, *Rudolphus Loysin* 1313, ON *Loysin* 1343, *Loitzin* 1618, *Lossin*

1628, *Lössin* 1780, *Leussin* 1779 (ʿCam), if from **Lysin-*. However, assuming the Polabian-like diphthongisation of **y* in this case (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 79) is pointless since the preceding *l* is not a labial consonant. One might see here a derivative of **lojb*, cf. *Lojow* (ʿSto) or P placenames like *Łoje*, *Łojki*, *Łojewo* etc.

(12) *Mizlibori* 1235, 1238; *Mizlibore* 1238, *Mezlibori* 1238, *Misselburg* 1337, *Muzelborch* 1564, *Mytzeborch* 1618, *Mitzelburg* 1780, *Mützelburg* 1833 (ʿPyr) < **Myslibory*,

(13) *Mūzili* 1191, *Mezlitiz* 1243 (ʿRan) < **Mysly* or **Myslęticě*,

(14) *Mutzelborh* 1618, *Muzelbac* 1654, *Münzelburg* 1773, *Mützelburg* 1780 (ʿUec) < **Mysliborjb*,

(15) *Moysouwe* 1364, *Moizow* 1618, *Meitzow* 1628, *Moitzow* 1780 (ʿCam) < **Myšev-* or **Mojšev-*,

And from Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma (2008, 2013):

(16) *Wigonmogulo* 1294 (ʿKol) < **Vygono(va)Mogyla*

(17) *Büstermühle* (ʿSto) < **bystr-*,

(18) *Bustransch-Soll* (ʿBel) < **bystron-*,

(19) *Beuthin-Gestell* (ʿCam) < **bytin-*,

(20) *Breustrin B.* 1836, *Beustrin* 1840, *Bustrinbard* (ʿNau) < **Brestin-* or **Bystrin-*,

(21) *Dupna muggula* 1254 (ʿDra) < **Dupъnaja Mogyla*,

(22) *Mogula* 1317 (ʿSch) < **Mogyla*,

(23) *Suineromogula* 1233, *Suineromoguliz*, *monticulos Sinneroaglati* 1259,

Smyneromogola 1295, *Smineronogola*, *Smineronogola* 1313 (ʿPyr) < **Svin'ar'a Mogyla* or **Svin'ar'a Mogylica*,

(24) *Meunitz* (ʿNau) < **Myjъnica*.

(25) *Butow* 1321, *Butowe* 1329, *Bythow* 1474, *Butouwe* 1492, *Beuthow* 1504, *Bütow* 1598, *Bitow* 1638, *Bytowo* 1686-7, *Bütow* 1789, *Beutow* 1880, Kash. *Bətovʷo* (ʿBüt). (Rymut 1996: 482)

Rzetelska-Feleszko (1973: 244) rightly pointed out that oftentimes diphthongic attestations come from a much later period than monophthongic ones, hence Germanic influence is to be assumed and some of the above mentioned items should be disregarded.

Nalepa (1968: 149) emphasises that diphthongic spelling does not necessarily point to diphthongic pronunciation, but rather may reflect difficulties which Germanic-speaking scribes had with writing down Slavic *y*. In fact, a similar phenomenon is attested e.g. for the Upper Silesian city of *Bytōm/Bytōń* (P *Bytom*, G *Beuthen*): *Bitom* 1125-6, *Bitom* 1136, *Bithom* 1223, *Biton* 1253, *Bitom* 1277, *Beuthom*, *Bythom* 1529, *Beuthen*, *Bytoń* 1783 (Rymut 1996: 481), of which *Beuthom* and *Beuthen* are High German forms. Thus, monophthongic reflexes of **y* can induce digraphic spelling or produce diphthongs when borrowed into German or Low Saxon.

Numerous examples lead to the conclusion that PSl. **y* did not merge with **i* after labials and velars (at least *g*) in the earliest attestations (12th-13th c.), although the distribution of these two was probably complementary. While the reflex of **i* seems to be uniformly spelled as *i*, *ie*, *y*, it is never spelled as *o*, *ö*, *u*, *ü*, *oy* or *oi* as it happens in the case of the reflex of **y*.

Loanwords in PLSx. that would involve **y* are not numerous, but they should be examined here:

- (1) *Brischoffke* (ᵘGhg, ᵘLau: Salinko/Saulinke; outside Kash. area) < **bryždževьka*,
- (2) *Kiez* (ᵠNau, ᵠRüg, Stralsund/Strzałów, ᵠUec) < **χysь* / **xyša* / *xyzь* / **xyza* / **xyža*,
- (3) *Mimm* (NE FPom.) < **myma*,
- (4) *Päschnitz* (NE Pom.), *Pischnitz* m. (ᵠSto) < **pyšьnica*
- (5) *Pischk* (ᵠBüt) < **pyšьka*,
- (6) *Prelick* (ᵠUec) < **perlykь*.

Slavicisms in PLSx. uniformly point to an *i*-like pronunciation, the reflex of **y* is spelled as *i* or *ie*, except for *Päschnitz*, where a later development of *ĩ* > *ə* is attested (see 3.2.). Topolińska (1974: 33) posits a merger of **y*, **i* > *i* already in the vowel system of 12th century Kashubian. In fact, we can assume that at that time the vowel quality of the reflex of **y* after *B*, *g* was different to the quality of the reflex of **i*, but the difference was only phonetic, both were allophones of one phoneme.

2.14 Other Polabian changes

Apart from PSI. **By* > *Boi* there are other sound changes thought to be typically Polabian. For Farther Pomerania, traces of Polabian-like changes are described in Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma (1996: 126-8). Here belongs the merger of sequences **CelC* and **ColC* > *ClâC*, e.g. DrPlb. *mlât* ‘to grind’ < **melti*, DrPol. *glâvâ* ‘head’ < **golva* (Polański & Sehnert 1967: 26).

In Polish, **CelC* usually yielded *CleC*, except when the first consonant was *č, š, ž*, e.g. **želbъ* > *žlób* ‘1. manger, crib, 2. furrow’. The merger of sequences **CelC* and **ColC* > *CloC* is more frequent in Kashubian: *mloc* ‘to grind’ < **melti*, *ploc* ‘to weed’ < **pelti*, *słodzana* ‘spleen (anatomy)’ < **selzen-*, with most instances attested in Slovincian: *mlôko* ‘milk’ < **melko* beside PKash. *mlék^{wo}*; *mlôč* ‘milt’ < **melčъ* beside PKash. *mlěč*, and *plovâ* ‘chaff’ < **pelvy*, beside PKash. *plevâ* (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 245). Absence of metathesis, likely secondary, is noted in dial. PKash. *mêlk^{wo}* (Sychta 1969: 87).

As Rzetelska-Feleszko noted, the evidence from placenames for the development of **CelC* in the Hither and east part of Farther Pomerania is scarce and uncertain, although a similar development might be assumed for east Farther Pomerania (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 245).

Only one root with this sequence, **melč-*, was found in the presented corpus of Slavic loanwords in PLSx. The root is attested as *Mal'etsch* m. (NE FPom.) ‘common sowthistle, perennial sowthistle, dandelion, butterbur’ and *Metsch* m. (‘Sto: Domaradz/Dumröse; outside Kash. area, ‘Sto: Cecenowo/Zezenow; within PKash. area, ‘Lau: Unieszyno/Groß outside Kash. area) ‘thistle (Gänsedistel)’ (PoW II:170), cf. Kash. *mlěč*, *mlôč* ‘milky sap from plants like dandelion, spurge etc.’, P *mlec* ‘dandelion’. The epenthetic vowel in *Mal'etsch* is in all probability secondary, cf. various forms of the name of coat of arms of Kashubian nobility from (‘Büt): *Mlotk* (1515), *Melottke* (1559), *Molotke* (1603), *Molotken* (1607), *Mlotken* (1658) < **moltъk-*, cf. Kash. *mlotk* ‘small hammer’, but also dial. PKash. *mə'lěčk^{wo}* with an epenthetic unaccented *ə* beside regular *mlěčk^{wo}* (Sychta 1969: 86-7) < **melčъko*. The deletion of *-l-* in *Metsch* also might be secondary, especially that it is noted also within PKash. speaking area where **melčъ* > *mlěč* is well attested.

All those forms point to expected **CelC > CleC*. However, they are attested in NE FPom. which comprises Łau, ʘüt, and eastern parts of ʘto, what leaves us without new knowledge on the development of that sequence in areas further to the west.

The sequence **ColC* which yielded *ClâC* in DrPlb., e.g. **golva > glâvâ* ‘head’, **volsъ > vlâs* ‘hair’, gave *CloC* in Kashubian (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 45), e.g. *głova* ‘head’, *chłop* ‘man’ < **xolpъ*. The same outcome is attested in Pomeranian placenames (see: Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 45-53). In PLSx. borrowings, there are two widely attested roots continuing PSl. **ColC* east of the Odra/Oder river:

- (1) **golv-* in *Glowwatsch* m. (CPom., FPom.), *Globbatsch* (ʘDra), *Globbatz* (ʘRum, ʘSch) ‘1. violent person, 2. cheeky boy, 3. *Knautia arvensis*’ (PoW I: 966) < **golvačъ*, cf. Kash. *głowôč* ‘1. person with a big head; 2. apple variety, 3. *Arctium tomentosum*’;
- (2) **xolp-* in *Glops* m. (ʘSch) ‘boor, rough person; funny boy’ (PoW I: 964) < **xolpъcbъ*, cf. Kash. *xłopc* ‘boy; farmhand; apprentice; jack (playing card)’; also *Globbitz*, *Globbietz*, *Glowitz* m. (CPom., FPom.) which, however might be a borrowing from P with vocalisation of the strong yer in **-bcъ*

All the presented forms corroborate the regular development of **ColC > CloC*. There are no examples of forms which could potentially attest other Polabian-like sound changes like **o- > vü-* followed by a palatal consonant. DrPlb. vocalisation of weak yer in the initial syllable might be assumed in 1 root in RügPlb. area:

- (1) *kadaken*, *kedâkeln* (ʘRüg) ‘to cackle, cluck’; cf. Kash. *gdakac*, *dgakac*, *daxtac* ‘to cackle, cluck’ < PSl. **kъdakati*.

These sole attestations can be however easily explained by epenthetic vowel added already in PLSx as vast majority of attestations does not point to this development in Polabian of Rügen.

2.15 Palatalised consonants

In Kashubian, PSl. consonants followed by front **e*, **ě*, **ę*, **i* or **b* as well as sonantic **j* were palatalised, e.g. **metla* > **m'etla* > *mjetla*, **rěka* > **r'ěka* > *řeka*, **viditb* > **v'id'i* > *vjidzi*, **v'jxb* > **v'erx* > *vjěrk*. The palatalisation was kept also after the Lechitic ablaut, e.g. **věra* > **v'era* > *vjara*. This does not include later secondary *e* from **ra-* > *re-*, e.g. **rakb* > *rek*, nor from vocalised back **b*, e.g. **bčbka* > *bečka*, **dščb* > *dešč*, except for velars, e.g. **k'rb* > **k'er* > *k'eř*.

Due to the imperfect and inconsistent orthography used in documents, it is not obvious, whether dialects west of the Slovincian speaking area underwent the same palatalisation in the same environment. It should also be noted that some Northern Kashubian varieties, as well as Drawāno-Polabian underwent various kinds of depalatalisations in some environments, cf. DrPlb. *mex*, *pesnai* and Kash. *mjex*, *pjesni* ‘sack, songs’.

However, it is the orthographic inconsistencies that give us some insight into the problems which the scribes had with Slavic placenames with expected palatal consonants. While placenames of Germanic origin like *Haghenow* 1307, *Hagenow* 1329, *Hagenau* 1780 or *Haselowe* 1284, *de Haselowe* 1327, *Haselow* 1321, 1618, *Hasslejä* 1780, *Haseleu* 1834 (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 36) have consistent spelling of *e*, Slavic ones display a lot of variation exactly where we would expect an underlying *C'e*, *C'a* or *C'ę* (> *C'q*, *C'i*) with orthographic realisation ranging from *Ce* to *Ci*, *Cie*, *Cy* etc. The same variability we find where *e* is preceded by an etymological *j*, e.g. *Gissolke* 1668, *Gessorke* 1685, *Gissolck* 1686, *Giesorke* 1719 (☉Neu) < *jezerbka-* (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 125-30), cf. Kash. *jezórkw*o ‘small lake’. Similarly, the same variants are common in the whole area in question where the preceding consonant is expected to be palatalised, e.g. *Kamenitze*, *Kamenitza*, *Kamienitze* 1345, *Camentz* 1345, *Kamenz* (☉Sto) (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 125-30); *Gamin*, *Gamen*, *Chamin*, *Caminam* 1124, *Gaminam* 1127, *Chamim*, *Cammyn* 1140 (☉Cam, Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 13) < *kam'en'*- cf. Kash. *kamjén* ‘stone’; *Popyelowo* 1420, *Poppelow* 1511, *przy Popielowye* 1564-5, *in Poplaw* 1564-5, *Poppelow* 1779-85 (☉Bel, Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1985: 72) < *pop'el-*, cf. Kash. *p'opjól* ‘ash’.

Without any doubt the palatal consonants are visible in forms which underwent the Lechitic ablaut and kept the palatal element before new front *a*, e.g. *bialeblutu* 1268 (☉Nau,

Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 2008: 49) < *b'ale bloto* < **bělo(je) bloto*; *Dyadinkir*, *Dyadukre* 1233, *Diadinkir* 1259, *Dyaduvykir* 1295, *Dyadunker* 1295, *Diadunker* 1313 (Pyr, Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 2008: 92) < *d'ad'in k'er*, *d'adovi k'er* < **dědinъ kьrъ*, **dědovъjъ kьrъ*; *Pyask* 1232, 1249, *Peatsk* 1297, *Peask* 1300, *Pyaske*, *Pyazcke*, *Payzeke* 1314, *Pazeke* 1319 (Rüg, Łęgowski & Lehr-Splawiński 1922: 120) < *p'ask-* < **pěsъk-*. Still, a lot of placenames consistently have *Ce*. This can however be attributed to inaccurate spelling or influence from Germanic-speaking scribes.

Also borrowings into PLSx. are very instructive in this regard. Somewhat ‘extreme’ instances are found in the Slovincian-speaking area where *vj-* was borrowed as *vj-* or even *j-*:

- (1) *Jeerschk* m./f. (Sto: Gardna Wielka/Gross Garde; within Slnc. area) ‘upper line in a fishing net’ (Rosenfeld 1993: 48), from Kash. *vjěrk* ‘1. top, peak, 2. upper line in a fishing net’ < PSl. **vjъxъ*,
- (2) *Juosla* n. (NE FPom.), *Juoslä* (Sto: Gardna Wielka/Gross Garde; within Slnc. area), *Giessel* (Sto: Gardna Wielka/Gross Garde; within Slnc. area) ‘pole to push a small boat onwards’ from Slnc. *vjoslo*, *vjeslo* ‘pole to push a small boat onwards’, with typical Slnc. diphthongic reflex of *ǫ* > *u̯* in the accented syllable, *vj̥u̯sl̥* in Lorentz’s (Lorentz 1912: 1314) transcription < PSl. **veslo*;
- (3) *Wjitnik* (Sto: Gardna Wielka/Gross Garde; within Slnc. area) ‘dragnet’ (Rosenfeld 1993: 125) < Slnc. Kash. *vjitník* ‘dragnet’.

Further to the west we find a widely attested *Fibritz* m./f. (Ank, Nau, Neu, Saa, Central Pom.), *Fibritt* (Dra), *Fibritz* (Ran, Dkr, west FPom.) ‘skinny, slender person’ (PoW I:783), a compound *Fibritz*katt f. (Reg, Kol, Dra, Neu, DKr), *Wibritz*enkatt (Neu) ‘squirrel’ and adjectival derivatives *fibritz*ig (HPom., FPom.), and *fibritz* (Kol) ‘agile, canny’. All can be borrowed from *v'ev'etic-* ‘squirrel’, cf. OP *wiewierzyc*a ‘squirrel’, LS *njewjerica*, *njewjericka* ‘squirrel’, Cz *veveřice* ‘squirrel’, PKash. *vjevjörka* ‘squirrel’ with *C'e* consistently borrowed as *Ci*.

More variability is found in the borrowing for ‘money’ or ‘lumber’, which ultimately goes back to PSl. **pěnědzь*: *Penunse* f. ‘1. money, 2. lumber’; *Pernunschen* (HPom., CPom), *Panuschen*, *Penunjen* (HPom., Szczecin/Stettin, Pyr, Net) *Pernünsen* (Gwd, Ank, Pyr, Sto),

Pernünschen (ʀüġ, ʁDem, ʁGri, Greifswald/Gryfia), *Penonze* (ʁGri, ʁGhg, ʁKol), *Pinonsche* (ʁGri, ʁRan, ʁGbg, ʁReg); *Pienundsche* (ʁKol), *Pinonje* (ʁGhg, ʁCam); *Pinonse* (ʁNau, ʁSch); *Pinunse* (ʁUec, ʁSaa, ʁNeu, ʁRum) ‘1. money, 2. lumber’. It is believed that it is a borrowing from P *pieniądze* ‘money’, perhaps through through G slang *Penunse*, *Penunze*, but the number of various local forms suggests it can be as well a borrowing from the vernacular, cf. DrPlb. *pqz* ‘pfennig’, Kash. *pjeńqz*, *pjejqz*, *pjeoqz* ‘coin’, pl. *pjeńqze*, *pjeńqze*, *pjeńunze*, *pjejqze*, *pjqze* ‘money’ (Lorentz 1968: 5, 7, 26). The *C’e* is realised here as *Ca~Ce~Cie~Ci*. Interestingly, there is no clear territorial tendency between *Ca~Ce* and *Cie~Ci* forms. Both types are attested in Hither as well as Further Pomerania.

PSl. palatal phoneme **lʲ*, contrasting with non palatal **l* when followed by a back vowel, often seems to affect the vowel *u* in attested placenames, yielding an *ü*, *u̇* or *i* beside plain *u*, cf. *Klucze* 1381, *Klütz* 1779, *Klütz* 1780 (ʁUse) < **klʲuč-* (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 14); *Clutz*, *Clutiz* 1226, *Cluts* 1255, *Clutz* 1295, 1305, 1313, *Cluz* 1305, *Klutz* 1307, *Clütz* 1345, *Clutze* 1618 (ʁRan) < **klʲuč-* (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 14); *de Clutsow* 1277, *de Kluzow* 1278, *Clutzowe* 1305, *Clutsowe* 1327, *Clutz* 1618, *Klutzow* 1628, *Klützow* 1780, *Klützow* 1784 (ʁPyr) < **klʲučev-* (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 37); *Clukem* 1333, 1334, *Klukim* 1336, *Clucken*, *Cluken* 1337, *Clukyn* 1337, *Clucken*, *Clukcin* 1442, *Glutzkow* 1515, *Klucken* 1523, *Clückow* 1618, *Kluken* 1626, *Klücken* 1784, 1780 (ʁPyr) < **klʲuky* (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 119) or *Lubesave* 1280, *Lubbesow* 1309, *Lubzow* 1618, *Lützow* 1780, *Lübsow* 1784, *Lübzow* 1834 (ʁGbg) < **lʲubešev-* (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 42).

Also after the Lechitic ablaut the palatal element seems to be preserved in attestations like *Liastkae* 1209 (ʁRüg) < **lʲestʲ(vʲ)ka* and *Liazcha* 1249 (ʁRüg) < **lʲeska* (Łęgowski & Lehr-Splawiński 1922: 119, 127)

However, it should be noted that plain *u* often prevails, diacritics are usually noted in late attestations only, and *ü* and *ö* are also often found in placenames with no clear motivation from the point of view of PSl. or OKash. phonology.

Among borrowings in PLSx. there are only two roots attested with original **-lʲu-*, **klʲuk-* and **plʲut-*:

- (1) *Kluck* m./f. (ᚱüḡ, ᚱdra), *Klûk* (ᚱüḡ) ‘bigger, often forked, staff, stick used for fishing’, *Kluck* (east FPom.) ‘1. staff used by the the leader of a village to pass a message, 2. yoke for draught animals’; related to Kash. *klaka* ‘1. curved staff used by the leader of a village to pass a message, 2. yoke for one ox or one cow’. (ESSJa X: 55-6)
- (2) *Plett* f. (ᚱlau: Kierzkowo/Kerschkow; outside Kash. area) ‘puddle’, identified in PoW (II:451) as Kash. *plata* ‘puddle’; here belong also *Plütt* f. (FPom.), *Plitt* (NE FPom.) ‘puddle, small pond’, perhaps also *plütten*, *plüttern* (ᚱüḡ) ‘to splash, dabble’ (PoW II: 462).

All forms with **kluk-* have a plain *u*, while all forms with **plut-* have either an *ü* that may be attributed to influence of the palatal element (that includes NE FPom. *Plitt* with dialectal *ü > i*) or an *e* from a later stage after depalatalisation which allowed for *ǔ > ə* (see: 2.8.b. and 2.19.): **pluta > *pluta > plata*.

Taking into account attestations like *Liastkae* 1209 (ᚱüḡ), *Liazcha* 1249 (ᚱüḡ) or *Clütz* 1345 (ᚱran) it seems safe to assume that at least in some areas the palatal *l* was still preserved until 13th-14th c. However, the presented corpus seems too scarce to draw definitive conclusions about further development of **l* west of ᚱsto.

For more on palatal *d*, *t*, and *r*, see: 2.11 and 2.12.

2.16 PSI. **o-*, **u-*

The merger of **o-* and **vo-* dates back to 12th c. in Polabian of Meklemburg (Jeżowa 1961: 41-5) and as early as the second half of the 13th c. in Kashubian toponyms although only from the beginning of the 18th c. in literary texts, e.g. *wobjachacz* (= *vob-jaxac*) ‘go around’, *wod* (= *vot*) ‘from’, *wiogna* (= *vogña*) ‘fire’, *womowyonim* (= *vo-mövjonim*) ‘talked over’ in *Oaths of Vjeřchucěno* (Lorentz 1898: 65-72). In PKash., **o-* and **vo-* merged into *wo-*, however, the prothesis is rarely attested in PKash. toponyms (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 172).

The prothetic *vo-/wo-* in Polabian and Kashubian (PKash. and Slnc.) affected also initial **u-*, but somewhat later. It seems that it replaced an earlier *h*-like prothesis, which surfaces in some early toponyms:

- (1) *Hukeruitz* 1329, *Ukerhoff* 1618, *Ueckerhoff* 1756 (ϕyr) < **Ukъrevica* (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 182),
- (2) *Huznoim* 1140, *Uznam* 1249 (ϕUse, Łęgowski & Lehr-Splawiński 1922: 123) < **Uznamъ* or **Uznojim-* (cf. Cz. *Znojmo*, see: Hosák & Šrámek 1980: 798-9).
- (3) *Zwantuutz* 1186, *Swantust* 1274, *Zwantehucde* 1277, *Schwantustt* 1628, *Swantust* 1779, *Schwantuss* 1829 (ϕUse) < **Svęto-ustjъ* (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 115).
- (4) *Ubescō* 1284, *Vbescō*, *Obeske* 1287, *Obeszeko* 1295, *Vbesseco*, *Hubesseco* 1299, *Ubessiko* 1305 PN (ϕUse) < PSl. **Ubišъkъ* (Lorentz 1964: 127) or rather **Ubišъko*.
- (5) *Vnima* 1176, *Hunime* 1176, *Ounimen* 1212 PN (ϕCam) < PSl. **Unima* (Lorentz 1964: 128).

Subsequently, initial **u-* got prothetic *v-/w-* in PKash. and Slnc. ca. 1400 at the latest, as in *Ungebansin*, *Unibansin* 1375 = OKash. *Uńebqdz'ino* > *Wubamsino* ca. 1400, *Vuybamsius* 1437 = OKash. *Vu[ńe]bqdz'ino* (ϕLau, Rzetelska-Feleszko 1974: 218) < **Unjebqđino*.

Two slavisms in PLSx. have initial *hu-*:

- (1) *Hupatsch* (ϕCam) ‘hoopoe, *Upupa epops*’ < onomatopoeic *hup-* imitating hoopoe’s cry + suffix **-ačъ* (see: chapter 4).
- (2) *Huschnick* m. (ϕBüt: Trzebiatkowa/Tschebiatkow; outside PKash. area) < **ušъnikъ*, cf. PKash. *wuśńik* ‘earwig’.

As an onomatopoeia, (1) cannot serve as evidence for early prothetic *h-*. In (2), the initial *h-* may be an evidence for such prothesis in the unattested dialect of Trzebiatkowa/Tschebiatkow, but more likely it reflects original *w-* [w] unknown to PLSx. in

anlaut (but cf. also *w->h-* before *o* in NE PKash., e.g. *wóvs > hóvs*, *wóz > hóz* (Lorentz 1934: 533-5))

Unexpected *h-* occurs in PLSx. also before *o-* in originally Germanic *Homa* (‘Gbg) ‘grandmother’ and *Hopa* (‘Gbg, ‘Bel, ‘Rum) *Hopapa* (‘Kös) ‘grandfather’, which is attributed to possible Slavic influence (PoW I: 1172, 1175).

There is no good evidence for a common prothesis before **u-*. An *h*-like prothesis might have developed independently in Viadr. (‘Use, ‘Cam, ‘Pyr) during 12th-14th c. and prothetic *v-/w-* arose in eastern OKash. around 1400, probably by analogy to *vo-/wo-*, as it also happened in DrPlb., but there is no good evidence that it was not an independent development.

2.17 OKash. *čr’, sr’, zr’, žr’ > stř, zdř*

Epenthetic dental stops were inserted between *čr’, sr’, zr’, žr’* and yielded *stř* (if the first consonant was voiceless) and *zdř* (if voiced), e.g.:

PSl. **čerda > *čr’ēda > *sr’ōda > střōda* ‘flock’

PSl. **s̥rebro > *s’r’ēbro > *s’ř’ēbro > střebro* ‘silver’

PSl. **zbrěti > *z’r’et’ > *z’ř’ec’ > zdřec* ‘to look at’

PSl. **žerbę > *žr’ēbjq > *žř’ēbjq > zdřēbjq* ‘foal’

The sound change followed the affricatisation of *r’ > ř* and could have occurred only in the dialects which carried out the affricatisation (see: Topolińska 1974: 58) in the 13th century at the earliest. However, it sporadically occurs with hard *r*, e.g. **zorkъ > *zrok > zdrok* ‘sight’ (most likely by analogy to **zbrěti > zdřec* ‘to look’ from the same root).

Plenty of examples are attested in the earliest literature: *po-strzednikem*, *u-drzq*, *we-zdrzyce*, *we-strzod*, *roz-drzefzyl* in *Pericopes of Smôldzěno* (Hinze 1967), *drzec* (< *zdřec*) in *Oaths of Vjeřchucěno* (Lorentz 1898: 566), *strodo(n)* (= *střôdŏ*) in *Piesnia na adewendt* 1703 (Lorentz 1898: 576). Unfortunately, no loanwords in PLSx. provide any useful forms which might prove or disprove that sound change west of the Slnc. area. The following toponyms potentially meet requirements for this sound change:

(1) *Cerebremost* 1263 (Фур) < **Ṣbrebṛṇj̣b Mosṭ* (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 2013: 101),

(2) *Stramel* 1388, *Stramyl* 1409, *Strammyle* 1441, *Strammel* 1618, *Strammell* 1623, *Stramme* 1654, *Stramehl* 1780 (Reg) interpreted by Trautmann as connected to **Stramyšb*, to **stṛṃb/stroṃb* by Lorentz, to **Stro(go)milj̣b* (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 114). In 1947, the Commission for the Determination of Place Names, consisting of several Polish linguists, interpreted this toponym as connected to **č̣meḷb* and Polonised as *Strzmiel* with epenthetic *ř* as in P *trzmiel* ‘bumblebee’, Kash. *břńěl, přmjěl, břmjol, gřmjol* ‘bumblebee’ (Sychta 1967: 79, Sychta 1970: 207) and Kashubian-like development of **čr* > *stṛ*,

(3) *Stremlow-Berg* 1846 (Rum) < **Č̣melev-* (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 2013: 148) or rather **Č̣meḷev-/Č̣meḷov-*; however note the fact that in all Kash. dialects initial *č̣-* in **č̣meḷb* has irregular development into *p-/b-/g-* (see above).

(4) *Strinkeberg* (Sch) < *tṛstiṇk-*, cf. Kash. *stṛinka* (idem: 113).

The first attestation comes from an area unaffected by the affricatisation of *r* > *ř* (see 2.12), (3) and (4) are ambiguous, the last one suggests that the sound change has reached ‘Sch, provided that the etymology is correct, but more evidence would be of use.

2.18 OKash. $\bar{a}N > \bar{o}N$

The change of $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ (see: 2.9) affected also $\bar{a}N$ in Kashubian, which through assimilation was realised as $\bar{q}N$ and yielded $\bar{o}N$ (which on phonemic level can be interpreted as $\bar{o}N > \bar{o}N$), cf. Kash. 1sg.pres. *móm* < **j̣ṃaṃb* ‘to have’, *b^wocón* < **boṭyj̣aṇb/boṭẹ̌ṇb* ‘stork’. This sound change occurred in the 13th-15th century (Topolińska 1974: 53). It is irregularly attested in early literary texts, e.g. nom.sg. *barqk* (= *barōn-k*) ‘lamb’ in Krofey’s Hymnal, *Jádomá* (= acc.sg. *Jadōm-a* by analogy to nom.sg. *Jadōm*) ‘Adam’ in *Pontanus’ 2nd Catechism*, past.pass.part. *zebroni* (= *zebr-ōn-ī*, with long \bar{o} by analogy to shorter **zebr-ōn*) ‘gathered’, *nq ten* (= *nō/nō ten*) ‘on that’ in *Oaths of Vjeřchucěno*; pres.pass.part. *βácowqñ* (= *šacov-ōn*) ‘measured’ beside *βácowánie* (= *šacovañē*), *Szcepq* (= *Šcepōn*) beside *Szczepanem* (= *Ščepanem/Ščepanq*) ‘Stephen’ in *Pericopes of Smôldzěno*; nom.sg. *pon* (= *pōn*) ‘lord’ beside instr.sg. *pannem* (= *panem/panq*) in handwritten songs from

Smoldzino/Schmolsin (‘Sto), past.pass.part. *popisony* (= *popjis-ōn-ī*) ‘described, recorded’ in *Piesnia na adewendt* 1703 (Hinze 1967b).

Given the broad distribution of $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$, as established in 2.11., $\bar{a}N$ toponyms and loanwords should also be investigated, although with the reservation that the presence of \bar{o} does not in itself imply that $\bar{a}N$ must have been affected likewise further west, especially given that very little is known about vowel length in that area and reconstructions based on the comparative method aligned with vowel length in PLSx. Most of the toponyms, even from areas where Kashubian is well-attested, do not in fact show any change in this respect, e.g.:

Kukan 1618, *Kuckkahn* 1628, *Kuckan* 1780, *Kukah* 1784, *Kuckhahn* 1834 (‘Gbg) < **Kukanjъ* or **Kukanъ*, cf. P dial. *kukać* ‘to look, gaze’ (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 112), although the proposed etymology is dubious as *kukać* is a HG borrowing from *kucken/gucken* ‘to look, gaze’ while its more expected PLSx. cognate is *kiecke(n)*, cf. Kash. *kiker* ‘binoculars’. If the toponym is indeed of Slavic origin, then it should rather be connected to PSl. *kukanъ*, cf. R *кукан* ‘twine used by fisherman’, dial. R *кукán* ‘1. loop, 2. acclivity, 3. mythical being living in pools and swamps’ and PSl. *kuka*, cf. Bg. *кука* ‘hook’, Mac. *кука* ‘1. hook, 2. road bend’, Kash. (Slnc.) *k^wuka* ‘evil spirit’ (ESSJa XIII: 86-8) or PSl. **kukati* ‘to cuckoo’.

Zukan 1269, *Zukam* 1270, *Zuchan* 1280, 1295; *Suchan* 1312, *Szuchan* 1319, *Tzuchan* 1320, *Tzochan* 1326, 1444; *Sochan* 1417, *Czochan* 1467, *Zachan* 1569, *Sochan* 1618, *Zachan* 1654, 1784, 1833 (‘Saa) < **Suxanjъ* (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 114).

That sound change seems to have been carried out in the following toponyms:

(1) *Jumkeberg*, *Jumkebach* (‘Rum) < **Jamъk-* (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 2008: 150), cf. Kash. (Slnc.) toponym *Jómka* (Lorentz 1912: 1485),

(2) *Maschlunk Busch* 1837, *Maschlunk* 1846, *Maschlunkenstücke* (‘Sch) < **Mas’lanъk-*, cf. Kash. *maslónka* ‘buttermilk’ and *maslónk* ‘*Sonchus asper*’ (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 2008: 259),

(3) *Poncowiese* 1825 (‘Sch) < **ranъkъ* (rather than **ranъсь* as suggested in:

Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 2013: 12)

(4) *Pumpbosen Soll* 1834 (᠑Nau) < **Pan-Bož(en Soll)* (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 2013: 9), cf. Kash. compound *Pónbóg* (acc. *Pónb^woga*) ‘God’,

(5) *Schabionk* (᠑Rum) < **Žabjanьkь* (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 2013: 142), cf. Kash. *žobjónk* ‘pond, small lake’ and numerous toponyms: *Žabjónk*, *Žabjónka*, *Žabjónk^wo* (Sychta 1973: 265),

(6) *Schmalunka Berge* (᠑Rum) < **Smolanьka/Smolenьka* (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 2013: 80), or rather: **Smolenьka*, cf. Kash. *sm^wolónka* ‘dowdy girl’,

(7) *Smoloneck* 1780 (᠑Rum) < **Smolenьkь* (or rather: **Smolenьkь*), cf. Kash. *sm^wolónka* ‘dowdy girl’, *sm^wolón* ‘evil spirit, devil’, P *smolony* ‘sooty’ (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 2013: 80); Rzetelska-Feleszko and Duma interpret the suffix as *-ьkь with unexpected vocalisation of the strong yer, but **smolanь/smolenь* + PLSx. *Eck* ‘area’ (PoW I: 717) scenario should also be considered.

All the presented attestations are late and date back to 18th/19th c. All but one are concentrated in East FPom. and corroborate that the sound change reached ᠑Rum and ᠑Sch. One isolated attestation comes from quite distant ᠑Nau.

Loanwords which might have been prone to this sound change are also to be found in PLSx.

(1) *Baran* m., *Baranke* ‘ram’ (᠑Rüg, ᠑Kös) < **baranь* (Knoop 1890a: 4) and perhaps **baranьkь*, although *-ke* might be as well PLSx., cf. Slnc. *barón* ‘ram’, PKash. *baran* ‘ram’, P *baran* ‘ram’ (ESSJa I: 155-8). In PKash. the unexpected *-a-* entered the nom. case from the rest of the paradigm, gen.-acc. *barana*, loc. *baranie* and so forth. Such levelling occasionally occurs in Kash. both ways, cf. **botьjanь/botěňь* > *b^wocón*, gen.-acc. *b^wocóna*,

(2) *Kalo(o)nke* m. ‘mud’ (north east FPom.), from Kash. *kala* ‘mud’ (Bielfeldt 1963: 160); the underlying form can be interpreted as elsewhere unattested **kalanьkь* > OKash. **kalānk* > *kalōnk*, cf. PKash. *kalińc* ‘small, thin eel dwelling in sea silt’ (Sychta 1968: 122);

(3) *Pānk(e)* m. (FPom.) *Ponk(e)* (west FPom., NE FPom.), *Pönker* (Stargard), *Peunk(e)* (᠑Gbg, ᠑Reg), *Puttpānk(e)* (NE FPom.) ‘poor farmer with a small farm’, *Pānkerie* (west FPom., NE FPom.) ‘miserable farm’ (PoW II:385) < **panьkь m.*, **podьpanьkь*, cf. Kash. *pónk* ‘landlord, often a nobleman, having a big farm and living in a small manor

house’; while forms with *-ǎ-* may reflect older *-ā-* in Kash./Viadr., forms with *-o-*, *-ö-* and *-eu-* (< *ō*, see: map 15 in PoW I: LXVIII) point to later *pōnk*.

Slavicisms in PLSx. corroborate the occurrence of *āN > ōN*, although not unambiguously. Especially valuable are numerous attestations of *pōnk < *panъkъ* in areas as far to the west as ‘Gbg, ‘Reg and Stargard, making the lone toponymic attestation (3) from ‘Nau somewhat more convincing.

Taking into account both toponomastic material and loanwords, there is reasonably good evidence that the *āN > ōN* sound change reached ‘Rum and ‘Sch. A case can be made for its progression even further west into Viadr. areas of ‘Gbg, ‘Reg, Stargard and ‘Nau.

2.19 OKash. *ǔ, ǐ > ə*

In the 16th c., shortly after the depalatalisation of alveopalatal *c’ s’ z’ dz’*, as well as *l’*, OKash. *ǔ, ǐ > ə* after non-palatal consonants (Topolińska 1974: 72-7). The first literary examples of this sound change are attested in *Pontanus’ 1st Catechism* (1643) only in one root: *kleczac, kleczac, pokleknąwszy < *klik- < *klik- < PSl. *klękati* ‘to kneel’; *Pontanus’ 2nd Catechism: urechlenia < OKash. *wu-rixl’-, trzemac < *tř’imac’*, *decht < *dixt, prze < *př’i*; *Pericopes of Smółdzěno: kedesme < *k’edi-smi, uczynile, czule < *-li, bele < *bili, me < *mi, ledze < *ludz’e* (Hinze 1967: 31-2).

It is possible, that the sound change is attested even earlier in some place names like *Sitzena* 1629 (‘Sto) < PSl. **sitina*, Kash. *sicāna* ‘bulrush’ (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1973: 206), but Pomeranian toponyms are not very reliable a source in this regard, as various vowel substitutions (see: Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 1991: 198-201) often blur the original vowel quality and the *i~e* substitution is quite common.

Borrowings into PLSx. are a little more reliable, however many sound changes and dialectal differences must be taken into consideration while dealing with the evidence.

As in the literary texts of the 16th-17th c., the Kashubian *ə* seems to be chiefly rendered as an orthographic *e* or *ā* in written sources on PLSx or at least only in those cases where it is attested instead of expected *i, u* it allows for such an interpretation. The following loanwords seem to have been borrowed after *ǔ, ǐ > ə* in Kash.:

- (1) *Brazek* m. (‘Sch: Sławno/Schlawe) < PSl. **bratikъ*, Kash. *bracək* ‘little brother’ beside forms with *-i-*: *Brazich* (‘Sto: Domaradz/Dumröse; outside Kash. area), *Bratzik* (‘Sto: Główczyce/Glowitz; within PKash. area);
- (2) *Broseschka* (‘Sto: Cecenowo/Zezenow; within PKash. area) < PSl. **brodišьk-*, Kash. *brozəšk* ‘type of fishing net (Watnetz)’ beside *Brudsik* n. (NE FPom.) ‘type of fishing net (Watnetz)’ < PSl. **brodikъ*, Kash. *brozək* ‘type of fishing net (Watnetz)’;
- (3) *Kletschke-* (‘Lau), *Kletschkje-* (‘Lau) ‘tick’ < PSl. **kličьkъ*, Kash. *kləčk* ‘tick’ beside *-i-*-forms: *Klitschkebuck* m. (west FPom., NE FPom.), *Klitschge-* (‘Sto), *Klitsch-* (‘Kös, ‘Sch), *Klietschke-* (‘Rum, ‘Sto) and others (see: 4.);
- (4) *Kreschk* (NE FPom.) ‘1. small, wild pear; 2. less worth, unripe fruit, especially apple’ beside *-u-*-forms *Kruschk* f. (CPom., FPom.), *Krusch*, *Krusche* (FPom.), *Kruscher* (‘Neu), *Kruusch* (‘Gbg), *Kruuschke* (‘Sto), *Krüschk* (‘Ghg, ‘Sto, ‘Lau), *Krüschka*, *Kroschk* (‘Büt), *Kruschtje* (‘Slo), *Kruuschj* (‘Slo) and compound nouns (see: 4) < PSl. **krušьka*, Kash. *krəška* ‘pear, pear tree’;
- (5) *Päschnitz* m. (NE Pom.) ‘thick mash made of barley or peas’ < PSl. **pyšьnica*, Kash. *pəšńica* ‘dish made of mashed barley’ beside *-i-*-forms: *Pischnitz* m. (‘Sto) and related *Pischk* m. (‘Büt) ‘thick mash made of barley’ < PSl. **pyšьka*, Kash. *pəška* ‘groats, especially barley groats’;
- (6) *Plett* f. (‘Lau: Kierzkowo/Kerschkow; outside Kash. area) ‘puddle’ < PSl. **pluta*, Kash. *pləta* ‘puddle’ beside *-u-*-forms: *Plütt* f. (FPom.), *Plitt* with dialectal Northern-Farther Pomeranian *ö, ü > e, i* in PLSx. (NE FPom.) ‘puddle, small pond’, *plütten, plüttern* (‘Rüg) ‘to splash, dabble’;
- (7) *Schennje, Chenje* f. (‘Sto) ‘reservoir for fish on a boat’ < PSl. **skrinьja*, Kash. *křəńa, skřəńa* ‘1. chest, case, 2. reservoir for fish on a boat’. (see: 4.)

Potential forms are restricted only to the north-easternmost areas of ‘Lau, ‘Sto, and ‘Sch, which is consistent with attested Kash. forms and corroborates that the PLSx. forms are not products of unetymological vowel substitutions and such. All items except for (6) have also variants that point to the etymological vowel from before the *ĩ, ũ > ə* sound change,

sometimes in the same areas. That suggests that, in case of NE FPom., some of the loanwords may have been borrowed prior to the 16th c., even if Kash. was spoken there much longer, or, in case of areas further to the west, the sound change in question never reached them. That could have been caused by the fact, that the language may have been already extinct by then.

Interestingly, while all other forms borrowed descendants of **bratikъ* point to the OKash. period, the westernmost form from ‘Sch, *Brazek*, shows later *ĩ, ũ > ə* development. That may suggest the sound change reached that area, but more data are needed to corroborate this hypothesis.

2.20 Polabo-Kashubian lexical innovations

Loanwords in PLSx. point to a number of common lexical developments in Polabo-Kashubian continuum. They can be of a phonological, semantic or morphological nature. Also onomatopoeias and formations based on them should be included here.

Phonological innovations:

- (1) **kruša f.*, **krušъka f.*: *Kruschk f.* (CPom., FPom.), *Krusch*, *Krusche* (FPom.), *Kruscher* (‘Neu), *Kruusch* (‘Gbg), *Kruuschke* (‘Sto), *Krüschk* (‘Ghg, ‘Sto, ‘Lau), *Krüschka*, *Kroschk* (‘Büt), *Kruschtje* (‘Slo), *Kruuschj* (‘Slo), *Kreschk* (NE FPom.) ‘1. small, wild pear; 2. less worth, unripe fruit, especially apple’; *Austkr(u)usch(ke)* f. (south FPom., ‘Büt) ‘type of pear (Augustbirne)’, *Drögkruschke* f. (‘Sto, ‘Lau) ‘dried pear’, *Kruschkenbom* m. (‘Ghg, ‘Dra, ‘Neu) ‘wild pear tree’, *Kruscheboom*, *Kruschkeboom* m. (‘Sto: Gardna Wielka/Gross Garde; within Slnc. area) ‘pear tree’ (Rosenfeld 1993: 58); *Kruschkenbur* m. (‘Sch, ‘Rum) ‘pejor. small farmer’. The pair of variants with voiced or voiceless initial velar most likely dates back to Proto-Slavic (cf. Pl. *gruszka*, Cz. *hruška*, Sk *hruška*, Bel. *зрýша*, Ukr. *зрýша* beside dial. Pl. *kruška* [northern dialects], LSor. *kšuška*, dial. Ru. *кpyша*, Mac. *кpyша*, SCr. *кpyшка*) or maybe even Proto-Balto-Slavic (cf. Lith. *kriáušė* ‘pear’, Lat. *krause* ‘pear tree’, see: ESSJA VII: 156-7, XIII: 47). Modern Kashubian and Slovincian consistently have forms with *k-*: *krəš(k)a* and derivatives, and so do all PLSx. loanwords

attested in Pomerania east of the Odra/Oder river. On the other hand, DrPlb. has only *g-*: *grausâi/graisâi* ‘pear’, *grauk/groik* ‘pear tree’ (Polański & Sehnert 1967: 67).

- (2) **paportb* f. >> Polabo-Kashubian **parpartb* ‘fern’, as in *Parpatz* n. (Łau: Unieszyno/Groß Wunneschin, Kierzkowo/Kerschkow; all outside PKash. area) ‘fern’, *Purpatsch* m. (Što: Karzcino/Karzin; outside Slnc. area), *Parpatsch* (Što: Budowo/Budow; outside Slnc. area) ‘*Equisetum*, *Equisetum arvense*, *Equisetum sylvaticum*’, Slnc. *parpōrč*, *parpōč*, Mod. Kash. *parparc*, *parpac* ‘fern’. The anticipation in **paportb* > **parpart* is an early common Polabo-Kashubian innovation that could have taken place only after PSI. **CorC* > *CarC*, i.e. **paportb* > **papartb* > **parpartb* and is attested in the whole Polabo-Kashubian dialectal continuum including areas outside Pomerania, cf. place names DrPlb. *Parpart* 1360, *Parparde* 1368 (Rost 1907: 269), MeckPlb. *Parpart* 1299 (Jeżowa 77), RügPlb. *Parpart* 1277 (Łęgowski & Lehr-Spławiński 1922: 120), Viadr. *Parpartne* 1256 (Use; Lorentz 1964: 83), *Parpart* 1468 (Gbg; Rzetelska-Feleszko 1991: 17), Kash. *Parparde* 1422 (Kös; idem), *Parport* 1262, *Parpartno* 1271 (Sch; idem), and above mentioned appellatives in Slnc. and Mod. Kash.

Semantic innovations:

- (1) **gōžb* m., *Goosch* n. (Rum), *Göösch* (Uec) ‘grab strap in a flail’; recognised in PoW (I:986) as Kash. *gōž* ‘grab strap in a flail’, cf. OCz *húže* ‘cord’ (SEK II:197-8). The distribution points to a widespread, yet scattered occurrence of the word in OKash. and Viadr. with the same specific semantics.

Morphological innovations:

- (1) **bryždževka* f., *Brischoffke(s)* f. (Ghg, Łau: Salinko/Saulinke; outside Kash. area) ‘(half)dried fruit’; identified in PoW (I:445) as Kash. *brížžōvki* ‘dried fruits’, cf. Kash. *brážžac*, *brūžžac* ‘to fry, to cook sloppily; to dry meat, fish’, Sln. *bríždžati* ‘to splatter’ (ESSJa III: 67). The interesting distribution of this

loanword suggests that Viadr. **briždžovka*, OKash. **briždžōvka* was common at least east of Odra/Oder.

- (2) **drъvъlo* n., *Dräblo* (CPom.), *Dräplo* (HPom., †Dra), *Dräwlo* (CPom., †Nau) ‘fictional field name; stupid person’ (PoW I:630); perhaps from elsewhere unattested OKash./ Viadr. *drevlo* ‘timber, wood’, cf. Kash. *drevlășće* ‘flagstaff’, *drevńola* ‘blunt, untalented person’ (Sychta I: 241), P surnames *Drewło, Drewlo* (Rymut 2003).

Onomatopoeic lexical developments:

There is also a group of onomatopoeias and derivatives based on them that seem to be common lexical developments of Polabo-Kashubian varieties spoken in Pomerania:

- (1) *bub-*, as in *Bubanz(er)* m. (FPom., †Sto, †Büt) ‘bogeyman’, (†Nau, †Saa, †Sto, †Lau) ‘street urchin’; *Bubas* (†Pyr) ‘bogeyman’, *Bubatsch* (†Ghg) ‘bogeyman’, *Bubalz* (†Nau, †Net) ‘bogeyman’, *Bubautz* (†Rum) ‘bogeyman’; from onomatopoeic *bubu* with a number of Slavic suffixes, cf. also PLSx. *Bubu, Baubau* ‘bogeyman’, Kash. interj. *b^wu^wb^wu* ‘warning of a bogeyman or an interjection imitating thunder’, *b^wubač* ‘bogeyman’. These can be interpreted as OKash., Viadr. *bubańc* m., Viadr. *bubas* m., *bubalc* m., *bubač* m., cf. frequent and productive Kash. suffixes *-wlc*, e.g. *zańedb'wlc* ‘neglectful person’, *-as*, e.g. *bekas* (Sychta I: 29), *b^wogas* ‘rich person’ (Sychta 1968: 53), and extremely productive *-wč* and *-ańc*.
- (2) *buč-*, as in *butsch* (east FPom.), *buutsch* (†Rüg, †Ghg, east FPom.), *puutsch* (CPom., west FPom., †Sch), *putsch* (†Dra, NE FPom.) ‘interj. used to summon pigs’, *Butschke* n. (east CPom., NE Pom., †Sto), *Butscheschwien* (†Sch), *Butschefarken* (†Sch), *Butsche* (†Bel, †Rum), *Butschje* (†Neu), *Butsch* (†Rum, †Sto, †Lau), *Buutsch* (east FPom.), *Putsch* (†Nau, †Rum), *Puutsch* (†Nau); related to Kash. *b^wuč* ‘interj. used to summon pigs’, *b^wuča*, *b^wučka* ‘pig’; according to SEK (I:159-60), related to PSl. **bučati*, cf. DrPlb. 3sg.pr. *b^waucě* ‘to bark’, Kash. *b^wučec* ‘to roar, bowl, hum’, P *buczeć* ‘to hum’ (ESSJa III: 74). These

should be interpreted as OKash., Viadr., Plb. *buč* ‘interj. used to summon pigs’, OKash., Viadr. *buča* f., *bučka* f. ‘pig, piglet’.

- (3) *bux-/buš-*, as in *Buchel* n. (east FPom.) ‘piglet’, *Buchelke* (ϕBüt), *Buschelke* (ϕBüt) ‘piglet, pig’ (ϕReg; from Kash. interj. *b^wux b^wux*, *b^wuša b^wuš b^wuš* used to summon pigs, cf. derivatives *b^wuxla* ‘pig’, *b^wuxlōč* ‘piglet’, *b^wuxlotac* ‘to eat voraciously’, *b^wuša*, *b^wuška* ‘pig’ (SEK I: 163, 173). These loanwords can be interpreted as OKash. *buxel* m., OKash., Viadr. *bušel-* ‘piglet’.
- (4) **buj-*, **buž-*, as in *Bujeba(ba)* f. (Stralsund/Strzałów, ϕPyr, ϕSaa, ϕDra) ‘crib, children’s bed’, *Buschebaba* f. (HPom., FPom.), *Buschebá* (ϕDra), *Busebaba* (FPom.) ‘crib, children’s bed, cradle’, *busche busche baba* (ϕDem), *busch(e)* (CPom., ϕLau) ‘words of a lullaby’, *Buschebedd* n. (Stralsund/Strzałów, ϕSto), *Buschebum* (ϕRüg), *Buscheheia* (ϕFra, ϕKös, ϕNeu); probably of onomatopoeic origins with counterparts in Slnc. with different vocalism: interj. *bjīja*, *bjīžū* used to lull sb to sleep, PKash. *bjižac*, *bjižkac* ‘to cradle’, *bjižónka* f. ‘cradle’, *b’ižóvka* f. ‘swing’; according to SEK (I: 117-8), contamination of Kash. interj. *bjībjī* and *žūžū*, cf. *bjībac*, *žūžkac* ‘to cradle’; alternatively, PLSx. forms might be related to PSl. **bujati* (also Knoop [1890a: 6] compares it with P *bujac* ‘to swing’), Kash. *b^wujac* ‘to swing’ and PSl. **bužati*, Ru dial. *бужатъ* ‘to pass away, die, let out a breath’ (ESSJa III: 83, 104).
- (5) *čabr-/čavr-*, as in *Gezabber*, *Jezawwe* n. (FPom., CPom.) ‘chatter, loud ranting’, from OKash., Viadr. *čabr-/čavr-*, cf. Kash. *čabrovac*, *čabrotac*, *čab^wotac*, *čavrotac* ‘to blab, blather, chat’.
- (6) **pil-*, as in, *pila pila!* ‘interj. used to summon geese’ (ϕKös), from Kash. *pjila* f., *pjilq* n. ‘gosling’, *pjila pjil!*, *pjil!* ‘interj. used to summon geese’ (Sychta 1970: 271-2).

The rich and wide-spread collection of loanwords in PLSx. is additional proof of close ties within the Polabo-Kashubian continuum. It shows a deep uniformity of roots which were used as onomatopoeias. On the other hand the collection shows an abundance of local derivatives which are still clear Slavic formations with well-attested suffixes.

3 CONCLUSIONS

Slavicisms borrowed into Low Saxon of Pomerania have proven to offer additional insight into the phonology, lexis, and even some morphological features of the Polabo-Kashubian varieties once spoken in the area.

Unlike placenames of Slavic origin, whose development can be often traced throughout the centuries, the loanwords cannot always be precisely dated. Only their phonological features may point to a terminus ante/post quem. The same goes for the area they were originally borrowed in and functioned in the Slavic.

The hypothesis in this work assumes that at least some of the loanwords present a stage in the development of Polabo-Kashubian varieties later than those attested in the place names, especially when it comes to place names attested from 12th-13th c. with a firmly established form in the written language from early on. The spoken language, on the other hand, may have still been a source of borrowings into Low Saxon, even centuries later, including Hither Pomerania and western Farther Pomerania, especially in rural areas.

Presented data corroborates most of results offered by toponomastic material. However, some of the data indeed point to developments unattested in place names.

Analysed together with earlier studies based on toponomastics, the study delivers the following insights into phonological development.

Proto-Slavic	Polabo-Kash.	Draväno-Polabian	Plb. of Rügen	Viadrian	Old Kash.	Old West Kash.	Old East Kash.	Slovincian Kash.	Modern Kash.
<i>*CorC</i>	<i>*CarC</i>	<i>CorC</i> (<i>< CarC</i>)	<i>CarC</i>	<i>CarC</i>	<i>CarC</i>	<i>CarC</i>	<i>CarC</i>	<i>CarC/ CørC</i>	<i>CarC/ CørC</i>
<i>*CřC, *Cṛ̌C</i>	<i>*ColC</i>	<i>CâuC</i> <i>CuC</i>	<i>ColC</i>	<i>ColC</i>	<i>ColC</i>	<i>ColC</i>	<i>CōlC, CoḷC</i>	<i>CowC</i>	<i>ColC, ColC</i>

		(< <i>ColC</i>)							
*C _l C	*'ar?	'or/ar	'ar?	'ar	'ar	'ar ar (rare)	'ar ar (rare)	'ar	'ar ar
*(j)a-	*ja-	ja-	ja- je-	ja- je-	ja- je-	ja- je-	ja- je-	ja- je-	ja- je-
*ra-	*ra-	rå-	re- ra-	re- ra-	re- ra-	re- ra-	re- ra-	re- ra-	re- ra-
*-ɔkɔ, *-ɔkɔ, *-ɔCɔ	*-ɔkɔ, *-ɔkɔ, *-ɔCɔ	-ǎk, -ǎc	-k, -c	-k, -c	-k, -c	-k, -c	-k, -c	-k, -c	-k, -c
*ěC _{hard} , eC _{hard}	*'aC, eC	'oC, ?	'aC, eC	'aC eC	'aC, oC	'aC, oC	'aC, oC	'aC, oC	'aC, oC
*ɛC _{hard}	*ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ
*C'ɛC ; C'ɛC _{vel} ar/labial	*ɛ	ɛ, ɔ	ɛ?	ɛ	ɛ, ē	ɛ, ē	i, ī	i/ə, ī	i/ə, ī
*ɔ	*ɔ	ɔ, ɛ	ɛ?	ɛ > ɔ	ɛ, ē	ɛ, ē	ɛ, ē	ɛ, ɔ	ɛ, ɔ
*dV _{front} , tV _{front}	*d', t'	d', t' / d t?	d', t' / d t?	d', t'	d', t'	d', t' / dz', c'	dz', c'	dz, c	dz, c
*rV _{front}	*r'	r'/r?	r'/r?	r'	r'	r'	ř	ř	ř
*By	*By	Boj	Boj	By	By	By	By	Bə, Bī	Bə, Bī

*aN	*aN	other	aN	aN, oN	aN, ōN	aN, ōN	aN, ōN	aN, óN	aN, óN
*o-, u-	*o-, u-	vo-/vǫ- /vi-, aj-	o-/vo-, u-/vu-	vo-, hu-/vu -	vo-, hu-/vu -	vo-, hu-/vu -	vo-/wo -, vu-/wu -/hu-	vo-, vu-	wo-, wu-

Polabian of Rügen: ʀüg

Viadrinian: ʒra, ʒri, ʒdem, ʒgd, ʒank, ʒuse, ʒec, ʒran, ʒhg, Szczecin/Stettin, ʒcam, nau, ʒaa, ʒpyr, ʒgbp, ʒreg

Old Kashubian: ʒkol, ʒbel, ʒdra, ʒdkr, ʒkös, ʒneu, ʒsch, ʒrum, ʒslo, ʒsto, ʒbüt, ʒlau

Old East Kashubian: ʒsto, ʒbüt, ʒlau, Northern Pomerelia

Old West Kashubian: ʒkol, ʒbel, ʒdra, ʒdkr, ʒkös, ʒneu, ʒsch, ʒrum, ʒslo,

Modern Kashubian ʒbüt, Northern Pomerelia

Slovincian Kashubian ʒsto

3.1 Common Polabo-Kashubian innovations:

PSl. *CorC > Plb.-Kash. *CarC

PSl. *CjC~*Cj' C > Plb.-Kash. *ColC

PSl. *Cj' C > Plb.-Kash. *C'arC

PSl. *ěC_{hard} > Plb.-Kash. *'aC_{hard}

PSl. *ęC_{hard} > Plb.-Kash. *qC_{hard}

3.2 Position of Viadrinian and Polabian of Rügen within the Polabo-Kashubian dialectal continuum

As far as we can assess, Viadrinian remained the most conservative of the dialectal continuum, and while East Old Kashubian still possibly shared some common innovations with other West Slavic languages (Old Polish, Old Czech, Old Sorbian), i.e. affricatisation of *ř, ř'* (see: Schaarschmidt 1998: 97-8, 105-9) of the 13th c., Viadrinian remained unaffected. However, it still shared some even later common innovations with Polabian and Old East Kashubian, i.e. prothetic *v-* and Old Kashubian specifically, i.e. $\bar{q} > \bar{q}$, $\bar{a}N > \bar{o}N$. Although

very little can be said about Viadrinian vowel length and the evidence is too scarce to give a reliable attempt at reconstructing it, the shared innovations with Old Kashubian, which affect long vowels only, prove that Viadrinian had phonemic vowel length.

In the view of all that, it is possible to assume that Viadrinian and Old Kashubian formed a unitary phonemic system till the 13th century. Possibly till its extinction, Viadrinian of Pomerania was virtually identical to Old Kashubian, with minor dialectal differences, and formed one language system. For the sake of convenience and because ‘Viadrinian’ is an artificial and temporary term, ‘Viadrinian’ can be regarded as westernmost part of Old West Kashubian (see: above), as opposed to ‘Old East Kashubian’, to save the dichotomy. Together, the whole linguistic area in question (until the 16th c.), except for the island of Rügen/Rugia, can be referred to as (Common) Old Kashubian. That pertains to Viadrinian dialects of Pomerania. Dialects spoken between Pomerania and the Sorbian areas, e.g. the dialect of so-called *Oderwenden* mentioned by Megiser, need further research in order to determine their relationship with neighbouring languages.

Polabian of Rügen shares some typically Polabian features with Polabian of Mecklenburg and seems to be identical or almost identical with it. MeckPlb. together with RügPlb. stand in the middle between DrPlb. and Old Kashubian. MeckPlb. and RügPlb. have undergone a number of common innovations till 13 c. which did not include DrPlb. On the other hand they did not share the $*eC_{hard} > oC_{hard}$ sound change with Kashubian and share a common $*By > Boj$.

To sum up, the Polabo-Kashubian continuum seemed to have two centres of innovations, placed in the extreme outskirts of its area, in Wendland in the west and northern Pomerelia/north-east West Pomerania in the east. The vast majority of innovations seem to have spread from either side towards the ‘interior’, reaching it with varying degrees of success. As a result, the dialects in the middle, on both sides of the Odra/Oder river, shared only some innovations with the innovative centres. Yet we must keep in mind that this impression of conservative intermediate dialects is reinforced both by much earlier extinction of those dialects compared to DrPlb. and still living Mod. Kash. and by fixed toponomastic forms which often show less variability as they entered written documents earlier than some other areas, especially eastern West Pomerania. This is to some extent also corroborated by

the fact that loanwords in PLSx. show that there were sound changes unaccounted for by toponomastics.

3.3 Old Kashubian (including 'Viadrinian') phonemic inventories and innovations

Common Old Kashubian phonemic system till ca. 13th c.

Vowel system:

Short: *a q e ɛ i o u* (y)

Long: *ā q̄ ē ē̄ ī ō ū* (ȳ)

Consonant system:

		Labia l	Labio -pala- tal	Dental/alveolar		Post-alve -olar	Velar
				plain	palata- lised		
Nasal		m	m'	n		ń	
Plosive	voice- less	p	p'	t	t'		k
	voiced	b	b'	d	d'		g
Affri- cate	voice- less			c	c'	č	
	voiced			dz	dz'	dž (?)	
Frica- tive	voice- less			s	s'	š	x
	voiced	v	v'	z	z'	ž	
Tap/trill				r	ř		
Approximant				l	l'	j	

The presented phonemic system is slightly different to the one described by Topolińska for 12th-century Kashubian (Topolińska 1974: 25-47). Some kind of prothesis which surfaces only before **u-* as *h* (see: 2.16) should also be mentioned here. It is highly probable that the prothesis was in fact a velar or a labial approximant, as in place names: *Huznām/Wuznām* 1140, *Sv'qto-hus't'*/*Sv'qto-wus't'* 1277, *Hukrev'ica/Wukrev'ica* 1329 and arose in hiatus positions. It would seem highly probable, taking into consideration the *v-/w-* prothesis at the later stage, on the other hand the *h-/w-* prothesis might not yet have been phonologised.

Another interesting feature, which is attested in toponomastics, is that while PSl. **i* and **y* generally merged, an *y*-like vowel was retained in OKash. after labial consonants and velar *g*, e.g. *Myslibor-*, *mogyla*. Although one may argue that it was a positional variant of *i*, it would make a possible scenario for a later phonologisation of *y* after labials in Plb. and subsequent diphthongisation, while in Kashubian the contrast was lost, although the original PSl. **y* never palatalised the preceding labial, cf. **milǫjb* > **m'ili* > *mjili* 'kind, nice', **mysliti* > **mis'lit* > *məsləc* 'to think'. The merger of **i* and **y* in all positions except after labials (and velars?) could be an early common Polabo-Kashubian feature.

Polabian of Rügen phonemic inventory

The phonemic inventory of RügPlb. seems to be very similar to that of Common OKash., except for (also uncertain in early OKash.) *h-*, *w-*, and *dž*. Very little can be said about vowel length in RügPlb. and its potential reconstruction could not be based on any other written or spoken attestations. However, RügPlb. sound changes and the lack of typically Kashubian innovations place it close to DrPlb and, especially, MeckPlb.

Late Old Kashubian innovations till ca. 15th-16th c.

This period shows first dialectal differences between more innovative Old East Kashubian and conservative Viadrinian (Old West Kashubian), as the general situation could be described for convenience. However, there is no fixed frontier between the two and each isogloss differs in its range. From that period it seems to be a rule that innovations originate

in the eastern dialects and spread in a westward direction with various effects, although developments common for the whole area are still well-attested in this period.

To Old East Kash. innovations belong the affricatisation of $d', t', r' > dz', c', r'$ which reached Sch , Rum and Neu in the west and perhaps spread even further to Kös , Bel , and Dra later than 14th c.

Specifically Old East Kash. is OKash. $e, \bar{e} > i, \bar{i} > i, \bar{i}$ which is well attested in Slovincian and Mod. Kash., but most likely has not spread further west than Sch (*Cižnica*-1628).

The other nasal vowel underwent a widespread sound change and is proof that West and East Old Kashubian continued to share common innovations. The $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ sound change spread from East Old Kashubian and reached in 15th-16th c. the Odra/Oder river and east Hither Pomerania (Uec). Taking into account that the last speaker of RügPlb. allegedly died in 1404, it is possible that territories west of Uec were already germanised at the time where this innovation was spreading westwards.

This sound change was most likely intertwined with $\bar{a}N > \bar{o}N$ innovation, either triggering it or being caused by it. This is confirmed not only by the environment for the sound change, $\bar{a} + \text{nasal element}$, but also similar geographic distribution of both innovations, as single attestations of $\bar{a}N > \bar{o}N$ are found in West Old Kashubian as far to the west as Gbg , Reg , Stargard and Nau .

Cooccurrence of both innovations and coherence of environments and items in which they are attested prove that West Old Kashubian had a set of long and short vowels which seems highly compatible with East Old Kashubian vowel system.

Later on, a possible local denasalisation of $\bar{o} > \bar{o}$ might have occurred in some areas, both East and West Old Kash., as attested in $g\bar{o}\bar{z} < *g\bar{o}\bar{z}$ (Rum , Uec). However, in what environment the sound change could have occurred remains unknown as more data is needed.

In contrast to the preceding innovations, the prothetic v - before $*o$ - was first attested in the west (13th c.), and perhaps came as a common innovation from Polabian areas (attested in Meklenburgian Polabian since 12th c.), and was spreading eastward reaching Old East

Kash. in 14th c. at the latest. While it was well attested in most of the continuum, including Slovincian areas, it rarely surfaced in Pomerelian toponyms, perhaps as a result of its different pronunciation closer to bilabial fricative [β] or approximant [w] while in most other positions it was already established as [v]. Nonetheless, the difference was purely phonetic, *w-* being a positional realisation of phonemic *v* before *o-* in anlaut, as PSI. **orati* > OKash. *vorac* > Kash. *worac* || iter. *varac* ‘to plough’ still illustrate, cf. also early mediaeval borrowing Kash. *woltwř* ‘altar’ < **vāltār* < OKash. **voltār*/*woltār* < **oltār* (ultimately from Latin *altar*, probably via Old Czech and Old Polish). This prothesis would have marked the latest common Polabo-Kashubian development.

Viadrinian (Old West Kashubian) phonemic inventory

Vowel system:

Short: *a q e ɛ i o u* (y)*

Long: *ā ē ēī ō ōū* (ȳ)*

Viadrinian (Old West Kashubian) consonant system:

		Labia l	Labio -pala- tal	Dental/alveolar		Post-alve -olar	Velar
				plain	palata- lised		
Nasal		m	mʹ	n		ń	
Plosive	voice- less	p	pʹ	t	tʹ		k
	voiced	b	bʹ	d	dʹ		g
Affri- cate	voice- less			c	cʹ	č	
	voiced			dz	dzʹ	dž (?)	
Frica- tive	voice- less			s	sʹ	š	x

	voiced	v	v'	z	z'	ž	h
Tap/trill				r	ř		
Approximant				l	l'	j	

Old (East) Kashubian phonemic inventory

Old (East) Kashubian vowel system:

Short: *a q e i j o u (y)**

Long: *ā ē ī ĭ ō ō̄ ū (ȳ)**

Old (East) Kashubian consonant system:

		Labia	Labio	Dental/alveolar		Post-alve	Velar
		l	-pala-	plain	palata-	-olar	
			tal		lised		
Nasal		m	m'	n		ń	
Plosive	voice-less	p	p'	t			k
	voiced	b	b'	d			g
Affri-cate	voice-less			c	c'	č	
	voiced			dz	dz'	dž (?)	
Frica-tive	voice-less			s	s'	š	x
	voiced	v	v'	z	z'	ž	h
Tap/trill				r	ř'		
Approximant		w		l	l'	j	

I conclude with a new tree for the investigated area:

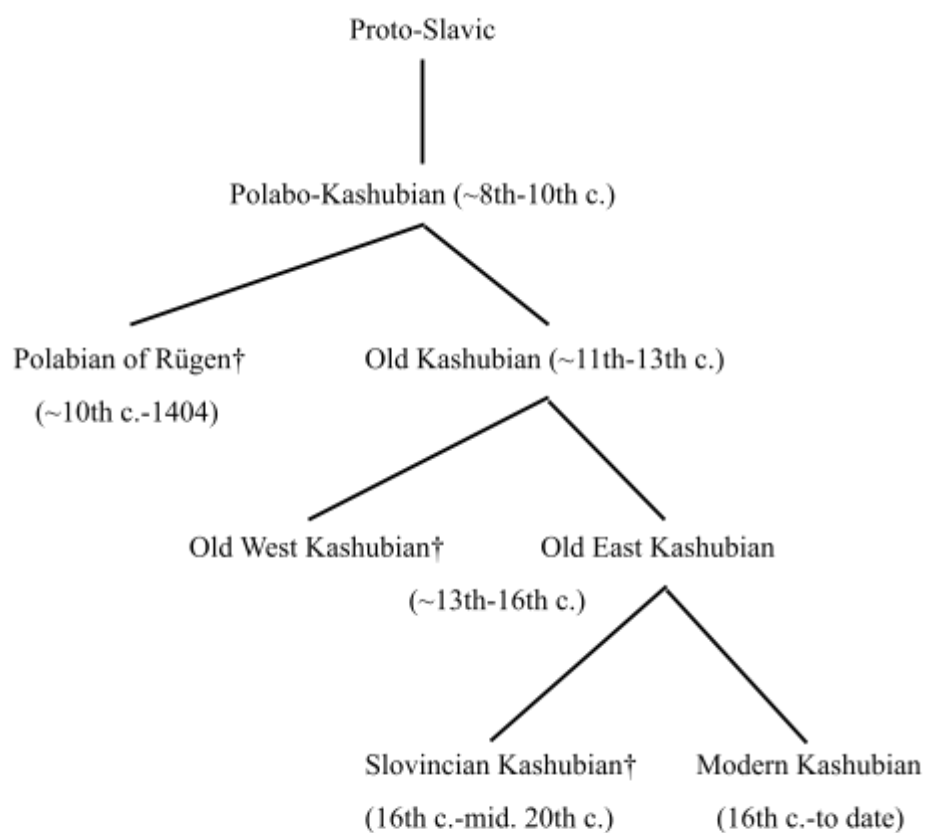


Fig. 2. Language tree for the Polabo-Kashubian language continuum within the Borders of the Former Province of Pomerania.

4 THE CORPUS OF POLABO-KASHUBIAN LOANWORDS IN POMERANIAN LOW SAXON

***astrębъ** m. ‘goshawk’, *Jastschipp* m. (‘Sto: Cecenowo/Zezenow; within PKash. area) ‘goshawk’, identified by Knoop as PKash. *jastřib* (PoW I: 1275), cf. also P *jastrzqb* ‘goshawk’ (ESSJa I: 83).

***baranъ** m., ***baranъкъ** m. ‘ram’ *Baran* m., *Baranke* ‘ram’ (Knoop 1890a: 4) on Rügen and near ʔös. Rightly identified as Slavic **baranъ*; cf. Slnc. *barón* ‘ram’, PKash. *baran* ‘ram’, P *baran* ‘ram’ (ESSJa I: 155-8).

***blъščьka** f., *Bleesch(k)e* f. (NE Pom., ʔSch, ʔRum, ʔLau: Unieszyno/Groß Wunneschin; outside Kash. area) ‘eye (pejorative)’ < OKash. **blěščka*; juxtaposed in PoW (I: 372) with Kash. *blešč* ‘cataract (Star im Auge)’, cf. also Kash. *blěščq* ‘eye’, *bleščac sq* ‘to glower’, *blěščka* ‘woman who glowers’.

***bogušъ** m., *Buguschke* n. (‘Sto: Budowo/Budow, ʔLau: Unieszyno/Groß Wunneschin; all outside Kash. area) ‘small, wasted away, withered spruce’; from OKash. *boguš* with PLSx diminutive suffix *-ke*, cf. Kash. *b^wog^wuś* ‘rich man’, *b^wog^wuśka* ‘rich woman’; semantics unclear, perhaps in connection with Kash. *wub^wogⁱ* ‘poor’.

***borna** f. ‘harrow’, *Borna* f., ‘harrow’ attested in Cecenowo/Zezenow (‘Sto East FPom, within the Kashubian-speaking area) by Knoop (1890b: 5) who correlated the form with P *brona* ‘harrow’. However, the form is best explained by Slnc., PKash. *borna*, with *o* being the reflex of OKash. *ā* as in **bārna*, cf. DrPlb. *bornā* ‘harrow’. PKash. *borna* || *brōna* (ESSJa II: 204-6). Here also belongs *dörch-borme* ‘to determine quality of soil; to plough deeply’ (PoW I: 601) attested in East and Central-East FPom (ʔRum, ‘Sto: Domaradz/Dumröse, Lubuczewo/Lübzow; ʔLau: Unieszyno/Groß Wunneschin, Wilkowo Nowowiejskie/Villkow, all outside Kash.-speaking areas).

***borovъka** f. *Borrufke* f., *Borfke* (East FPom), *Bruftje* (‘Sto: Labehn/Łebień outside Slnc. area), *Burfke* n. (‘Sto, East FPom) ‘bilberry’; 3. *Burfke* n., (‘Sto: Wytowno/Weitenhagen,

Paprzyce/Papritzfelde outside Slnc. area ‘boxtree’; identified by Winter (1967: 115) as Kash. (Pomorian) *b^worówka* ‘bilberry’. It seems that this borrowing is restricted to the recently Germanised area in East FPom. Disyllabic forms must have arisen due to the accent on the first syllable which matches with the Kash. form. Neuter forms arose due to reanalysis of **-ka* as the LSx. diminutive suffix *-ke(n)*.

***bōkь** m. *Bunk* m./f., dim. *Bunkske* n. (Uec, east FPom., Sto, Lau) ‘dung beetle’, (NE Pom., Sto) ‘horsefly’, (Saa, Lau) ‘louse’, (Lau) ‘bug’, (NE Pom.) ‘small, fat child’, recognised by Bielfeldt (1963:159) as Kash. *bōk* ‘insect’; part of numerous compounds: *Bussbunk* (west and south FPom., Reg), *Bussbank* (west FPom.), *Bussbuck* (Slo) ‘dung beetle’, *Bosbunk* (Bel, Cam, Gbg, Büt) ‘horsefly’, *Dreckbunk* (Reg, Lau) ‘dung beetle’, *Füerbunk* (Uec) ‘glow-form, firefly’, *Gissbunk*, *Jissbunk* (south and east FPom., Büt) ‘*Tabanus bromius*’, *Hansbunk* (HPom.) ‘buffoon, clown’, *Kauhunk* (Sch, Sto) ‘dung beetle’, (NE Pom.) ‘*Tabanus bromius*’, *Klitschkebunk*, *Klitzkebunk* (Sto) ‘castor bean tick’, *Lusbunk* (FPom. coast between Parsęta/ Persante and Wieprza/ Wipper) ‘dung beetle’, *Messbunk* (FPom., Sto, Lau), *Ossebunk* (Neu) ‘*Tabanus bromius*’, *Schap(s)bunk* (Sto) ‘dung beetle’, *Scharnbunk* (FPom., Sto, Kol), *Schanbunk* (Kol), *Schambunk* (Sto, Lau), *Schāmbunk* (Gbg), *Schombunk* (Lau), *Scharmbunk* (Sto), *Schaumbunk* (Gbg), *Scheinbunk*, *Scheinbunker* (Sch), *Schānbunk*, *Schānbunk* (Gbg) ‘dung beetle’, (NE Pom.) ‘horsefly’, (Sto) ‘louse’, *Schausterbunk* (Sto) ‘dung beetle’, *Schwienbunk* (Sch) ‘dung beetle’ (PoW); compounds are found also in Kash., e.g. *brūmbōk* ‘*Bombus terrestris*’, cf. also P *bqk* ‘horsefly, bittern, bumblebee’ (ESSJa II: 235).

***bratikь** m., *Bratzer* (north east FPom.), *Brazich* (Sto: Domaradz/Dumröse; outside Kash. area), *Bratzik* (Sto: Główczyce/Glowitz; within PKash. area), *Brazek* m. (Sch: Sławno/Schlawe); identified by Winter (1963: 286) as Kash. *bracək* ‘small brother’ < OKash. *brac’ik*. The form *Bratzer*, with the LSx suffix *-er*, probably belongs to **bratъcb* (see below). Interestingly, while all other forms point to the OKash. period, the westernmost form from Sch shows later *ĩ, ũ > ə* development.

***bratъcbь** m., *Bratz* m./f. (Fra, Ank, FPom. east of Ina/Ihna, DKr, Sto) ‘misbehaving child’; according to Winter (1963: 286) from Kash. *bracək* ‘small brother’, however, since affricatisation of *t’, d’* in Plb. and Viadr. (OWKash.) is very questionable, PSl. **bratъcbь*, Viadr.

(OWKash.) **bračc* ' is more plausible, cf. Polabian placenames like *Garz* < PSl. **gordьcbь*, DrPlb. *brotáč* 'brother, small brother', Cz *bratec* 'small brother' (ESSJa III: 9).

***brid-**, *Bridjack* m. (Łau), *Bridje* (ŹFra), *Briwjack* (Łau: Unieszyno/Groß Wunneschin; outside Kash. area) 'uncouth, boorish person; swear word'; identified by Winter (PoW I: 112) as a derivative of Kash. *břadki* 'ugly; nasty; naughty' with the LSx suffix *-jack*. Also *Britzack*, *Britzock*, *Bridezack* m. (north east Pom.) 'Kashub (pejoratively)' belong here; incorrectly interpreted by Knoop (1890b: 6) as related to P *brat* 'brother'.

***brodikь** m., ***brodišьkь** m., *Brudsik* n. (NE FPom.) 'type of fishing net (*Watnetz*)', identified by Winter (1967: 110) as Kash. *brodzak* 'type of fishing net (*Watnetz*)'; The dim. form *Broseschka* (Što: Cecenowo/Zezenow; within PKash. area) goes back to attested Kash. *brodzask* 'type of fishing net (*Watnetz*)' (Lorentz 1958: 53).

***bryždževьka** f., *Brischoffke(s)* f. (ŹGhg, Łau: Salinko/Saulinke; outside Kash. area) '(half)dried fruit'; identified in PoW (I: 445) as Kash. *brížžovki* 'dried fruits', cf. Kash. *bražžac*, *brížžac* 'to fry, to cook sloppily; to dry meat, fish', Sln. *bríždzati* 'to splatter' (ESSJa III: 67). The interesting distribution of this loanword suggests that Viadr. (OWKash.) **briždžovka*, OKash. **briždžovka* was common at least east of Odra/Oder.

OEKash., Viadr. (OWKash.) **bubańc** m., Viadr. (OWKash.) **bubas** m., **bubalc** m., **bubač** m., *Bubanz(er)* m. (FPom., Što, Büt) 'bogyman', (ŹNau, Šaa, Što, Łau) 'street urchin'; *Bubas* (ŹPyr) 'bogyman', *Bubatsch* (ŹGhg) 'bogyman', *Bubalz* (ŹNau, ŹNet) 'bogyman', *Bubautz* (ŹRum) 'bogyman'; from onomatopoeic *bubu* with a number of Slavic suffixes, cf. also PLSx. *Bubu*, *Baubau* 'bogyman', Kash. interj. *b^wub^wu* 'warning of a bogeyman or an interjection imitating thunder', *b^wubač* 'bogyman', *b^wubanc*, *b^wubranc* 'boy, youngster' (Sychta I:80-1); according to SEK (I: 158) the secondary meaning 'boy, street urchin' developed under the influence of G *Bube* 'boy, street urchin'. Cf. also PLSx. *Buba* 'numpty' and adj. forms *bubawig* (ŹGhg) 'stubborn', *buballerig* 'boorish' (Stralsund/Strzałów, CPom., ŹKol), *bubanzig* (ŹGhg, Šlo), *bubatzig* (CPom.), *bubalzig* (ŹNet, Šlo; south to OKash. area), *bubantsch* (ŹReg), *blubantsch* (ŹFla; south to OKash. area) 'boorish' (PoW I:473).

OEKash., Viadr. (OWKash.), Plb. **buč** interj. used to summon pigs, OEKash., Viadr. (OWKash.) **buča** f., **bučka** f. 'pig, piglet', *butsch* (east FPom.), *buutsch* (ŹRüg, ŹGhg, east

FPom.), *puutsch* (CPom., west FPom., †Sch), *putsch* (†Dra, NE FPom.) ‘interj. used to summon pigs’, *Butschke* n. (east CPom., NE Pom., †Sto), *Butscheschwien* (†Sch), *Butschefarken* (†Sch), *Butsche* (†Bel, †Rum), *Butschje* (†Neu), *Butsch* (†Rum, †Sto, †Lau), *Buutsch* (east FPom.), *Putsch* (†Nau, †Rum), *Puutsch* (†Nau); related to Kash. *b^wuč* ‘interj. used to summon pigs’, *b^wuča*, *b^wučka* ‘pig’; according to SEK (I: 159-60), related to PSl. **bučati*, cf. DrPlb. 3sg.pres. *b’aucě* ‘to bark’, Kash. *b^wučec* ‘to roar, bowl, hum’, P *buczeć* ‘to hum’ (ESSJa III: 74).

OKash. **buxel** m., OKash., Viadr. **bušel-** ‘piglet’, *Buchel* n. (east FPom.) ‘piglet’, *Buchelke* (†Büt), *Buschelke* (†Büt) ‘piglet, pig’ (†Reg; from Kash. interj. *b^wux b^wux*, *b^wuša b^wuš b^wuš* used to summon pigs, cf. derivatives *b^wuxla* ‘pig’, *b^wuxlwoč* ‘piglet’, *b^wuxlotac* ‘to eat voraciously’, *b^wuša*, *b^wuška* ‘pig’ (SEK I: 163, 173), see also: *buč*, *bučka*.

***buj-**, ***buž-**, *Bujeba(ba)* f. (Stralsund/Strzałów, †Pyr, †Saa, †Dra) ‘crib, children’s bed’, *Buschebaba* f. (HPom., FPom.), *Buschebá* (†Dra), *Busebaba* (FPom.) ‘crib, children’s bed, cradle’, *busche busche baba* (†Dem), *busch(e)* (CPom., †Lau) ‘words of a lullaby’, *Buschebedd* n. (Stralsund/Strzałów, †Sto), *Buschebum* (†Rüg), *Buscheheia* (†Fra, †Kös, †Neu); probably of onomatopoeic origins with counterparts in Slnc. with different vocalism: interj. *bjiĵa*, *bjižü* used to lull sb to sleep, PKash. *bjižac*, *bjižkac* ‘to cradle’, *bjižónka* f. ‘cradle’, *b’ižóvka* f. ‘swing’; according to SEK (I: 117-8), contamination of Kash. interj. *bjibji* and *žüžü*, cf. *bjibac*, *žüžkac* ‘to cradle’; alternatively, PLSx. forms might be related to PSl. **bujati* (also Knoop [1890a: 6] compares it with P *bujac* ‘to swing’), Kash. *b^wujac* ‘to swing’ and PSl. **bužati*, Ru dial. *бужать* ‘to pass away, die, let out a breath’ (ESSJa III: 83, 104).

OKash. **bulva** f., *Bulwe* f. (†Bel, †Lau, †Büt: Bytów/Bütow; outside PKash. area) ‘potato’; identified in PoW (I: 497) as P *bulwa* ‘bulb’, but semantically and geographically closer to PKash. *b^wulva* ‘potato’; for etymology, see: SEK I:168-9; cf. also *Bulweback* (†Fla, south to OKash. area) ‘potato pancake’.

***bъзь** m., *Bäs* m. (north †Sto, †Lau) ‘elder’, from Kash. *bes* ‘elder’ (PoW I:225), cf. DrPlb. *bâz* ‘elder, lilac’, P *bez* ‘elder’ (ESSJa III: 144-5).

***čabrati**, *Gezabber*, *Jezawwe* n. (FPom., CPom.) ‘chatter, loud ranting’, from OEKash., Viadr. (OWKash.) *čabr-/čavr-*, cf. Kash. *čabrovac*, *čabrotac*, *čab^wotac*, *čavrotac* ‘to blab, blather, chat’.

***čěčety** m., *Schittschäning* m. (Rüg) ‘redpoll’ (PoW II: 809); related to P *czeczotka* ‘redpoll’, US *ćičotka* ‘redpoll’, Cz *čečetka* ‘redpoll’ (ESSJa IV: 33); considering that PLSx. *-ing* is chiefly a feminine suffix and *Schittschäning* is masculine, it is possible to assume that the whole formation was originally Slavic and later reanalysed; perhaps the underlying form was RügPlb. **čěčet-nik* with later assimilation of *tn > n* and reanalysis of suffix *-nik* as LSx. *-ing*.

***čexliti**, ***čexl’ati** : *schich(e)le* (NE FPom., Słupsk/Stolp, Rum) ‘to clean field crop from soil and roots’ (PoW II: 789); related to Kash. *čexl’ac*, *čexlac* ‘to clean root crop from soil and roots’ from an expressive variant of PSl. **česliti*, **česl’ati* ‘to scratch’ (SEK I: 229), cf. Cz dial. *čechlat’* ‘to comb out wool’, Sln. *čehljati* ‘to scratch, rub, comb’ (idem).

***dobrъjъ**, ***dobrě** : *dobri* (Gwd) ‘good’, *dobsche* (Bel, Dra) ‘good, well’, *Stimmuje dobsche!* (Dra) ‘Correct! Stimmt genau! (phrase used by calculating money)’; apparently from OKash. *štimmuje dobr’e*; the verb being a borrowing from MLSx. *stimmen* ‘to be correct’; cf. DrPlb. *dübrě* ‘good’, *dübre* ‘good, well’, Kash. *dobri* ‘good’, *dobře* ‘good, well’, P *dobry* ‘good’, *dobrze* ‘good, well’ (ESSJa V: 45-6).

OKash. **drāž(ka)** f.: ‘wood shoulder yoke’, *Drāschk* f./n. (Lau, Reg, east and NE FPom.) ‘wood shoulder yoke’, *Drooschk* (Sch, Sto), *Droschkje* (Sch, Rum, Lau), *Drouschke* (Lau), *Draschke* (Lau); *Drausch* (Gbg) ‘wood shoulder yoke’; a Rücklehnwort from PLSx. *Dråg* f. ‘stretcher’, borrowed into Slavic and adapted as an *i*-stem and often extended by the *-ka* suffix.

***drōžьkъ** m.: *Droonschk(e)* m. (NE FPom.), *Droonschkje* (Lau: Kierzkowo/Kerschkow; outside Kash. area), *Dresoonschk* (Lau: Leśnice/Lischnitz; outside Kash. area) ‘thick stick’; juxtaposed in PoW (I:664) with P *drązek* ‘bar, stick’ (ESSJa V: 129-30), but the underlying form is more likely Kash. *drōžk* ‘bar, stick’.

***drъvъlo** n., *Dräblo* (CPom.), *Dräplo* (HPom., ⚭Dra), *Dräwlo* (CPom., ⚭Nau) ‘fictional field name; stupid person’ (PoW I:630); perhaps from elsewhere unattested OKash./Viadr. *drevlo* ‘timber, wood’, cf. Kash. *drevlășče* ‘flagstaff’, *drevňola* ‘blunt, untalented person’ (Sychta 1967: 241), P surnames *Drewło*, *Drewlo* (Rymut 2003).

***dup-**, ***dupьсь**, *Dups* m. (⚭Rüg, HPom., FPom.) ‘1. short, fat boy, 2. bottom, arse, 3. short, fat nose, 4. stub, 5. goose or duck quill’, *Duppke* (⚭Ran, east FPom.), adj. *dupsig* (HPom., FPom.), *dupprig* (⚭Ank), *duppig* (FPom.) ‘sturdy, short, and fat’ *Dupsnäs* f. ‘snubnose’, *Dupsschwanz* m. ‘dog’s docked tail’ (PoW I:695); identified by Winter (1963: 287-8); derivative from PSl. **dupa* f. (ESSJa V: 157-8), cf. Kash. *däpc* ‘short person’, *düpk* ‘1. slowpoke, 2. milksop, 3. jack (playing card)’, *düpa* ‘bottom, arse’.

***glъbovъk-** *Glum(m)buffke*, *Glambuwken* Pl. (⚭Sto: Wolinia/Wollin; outside PKash. area) ‘scrubby pine tree’; according to Bielfeldt (PoW IV: 175), related to Kash. *glъb*, gen. *glъbja* ‘trunk of tree’, cf. also P *glъb* ‘cabbage stump’ (ESSJa VI: 143); the underlying forms point to two stages of elsewhere unattested early OKash. *glъbъvk* > OKash. *glъbъvk*, alternatively *glъbъvka*, if feminine.

***golvačь** m. *Glowwatsch* m. (CPom., FPom.), *Globbatsch* (⚭Dra), *Globbatz* (⚭Rum, ⚭Sch) ‘1. violent person, 2. cheeky boy, 3. *Knautia arvensis*’, identified in PoW (I:966) as Kash. *glowōč* ‘1. person with a big head; 2. apple variety, 3. *Arctium tomentosum*’. Here probably belongs also *Kowatsch* m. (⚭Sch, ⚭Sto: Budowo/Budow; outside Slnc. area) ‘*Centaurea scabiosa*’, juxtaposed with P *glowacz* ‘*Centaurea cyanus*’ (PoW I: 1499); for semantic reasons, the last form cannot be analysed as a reflex of **kovačь* m., a form unattested in the area.

***gordь** m., ***-gorda** f. ‘fortification, town’, *Gard* f. (⚭Rüg, HPom.) ‘burgh with the land that belongs to it; an administrative unit; castellany’ Dähmert (1781: 142). Gender might suggest that the underlying form is f., which is attested in Slnc. PN *Bjelogarda*. Cf. also DrPlb. *gord* ‘castle, court; barn, stall’, Slnc. *vogōrd* ‘garden’, P *gród* ‘burgh’ (ESSJa VII: 37-8). Also compounds *Gard-Vaagd*, *Gard-Vagedij* belong here (idem).

***gōžь** m., *Goosch* n. (ʔRum), *Göösch* (ʔUec) ‘grab strap in a flail’; recognised in PoW (I:986) as Kash. *gōž* ‘grab strap in a flail’, cf. OCz *húže* ‘cord’ (SEK II: 197-8). The distribution points to a widespread occurrence of the word in OEKash. and Viadr. (OWKash.).

***xalupa** f. ‘hut, cottage, house’, *Chalupp* f. (ʔSto: Budowo/Budow; outside Slnc. area) ‘hut’, identified in PoW (I: 523) as P *chalupa* ‘hut, cottage, house’, but numerous LSx reflexes in OEKash. and east Viadr. (OWKash.) area point to a native form *xalupa*, perhaps also *kalupa*: *Kalupp*, *Kalüpp* (FPom.), *Galupp* (ʔSto: Wolinia/Wollin; outside PKash. area), *Glupp* (ʔSaa) ‘old, dilapidated house’, cf. Kash. *xaləpa* ‘hut, cottage, house’, Kash. placename *Xaləpə*, P *chalupa* ‘hut, cottage, house’ (ESSJa VIII: 15-7).

***xalupьnikъ** m., *Chalupnik* (ʔDKr) ‘cottager (Eigenkätner)’ can be analysed as OKash. *xalupnik*, Kash. *xaləpnik* ‘cottager’ as well as P *chalupnik* ‘cottager’; in ʔDKr the Kash. linguistic area meets the Polish in the southern part.

***xolрьсь** m. *Glops* m. (ʔSch) ‘boor, rough person; funny boy’; according to PoW (I:964), a syncopated form of *Globbitz*, *Globbietz*, *Glowitz* m. (CPom., FPom.) ‘cheeky young man; fat, strong boy; boor’, from P *chłopiec* ‘boy’. However, the first form is probably Kash. *xlopc* ‘boy; farmhand; apprentice; jack (playing card)’ with the regular development of *-ьсь.

***xvoja** f., ***xvojьka** f., *Kouj* f. (ʔSaa) ‘pine tree’ (PoW 1499) < Viadr. (OWKash.) *xoj-/koj-* ‘pine tree’, cf. Plb. *x’üöja* ‘pine tree’, Slnc. adj. *x’ojovi* ‘spruce’, P *chwoja*, *choja* (ESSJa VIII: 125-6); also the diminutive form is preserved in *Choika* f. (north-east FPom.) ‘spruce’, recognised in PoW (I: 524) as PKash. *xojka* ‘pine tree, tree in general’ (Sychta 1968: 45).

***xvojьčę** n., *Choitz* (ʔSto: Cecenowo/Zezenow; within PKash. area) ‘small spruce’, according to PoW (I: 524) from PKash. *xojka* ‘pine tree, tree in general’ (Sychta 1968: 45), but more precisely the form and semantics point to PKash. *xójčq* ‘small pine tree’ (Sychta 1968: 45)

***xvošць** m., ***xvošцькь** m., ***xvošцьka** f., *Koschk* m./n. (ʔSch, ʔNeu, north east FPom.), *Koschke* (ʔSch, ʔLau), *Goschk* (ʔNeu, ʔBüt: Osieki/Wusseken; outside PKash. area), *Goschka* (ʔSto: Budowo/Budow; outside Slnc. area), *Gosch* (ʔLau: Unieszyno/Groß Wunneschin; outside Kash. area), *Guschk*, *Chooschk* (ʔNeu) ‘*Equisetum*, *Equisetum arvense*’; *Kusch* m. (ʔBel, ʔKol, ʔKös, ʔSch, ʔNeu), *Kuuschk* (ʔNeu) ‘*Equisetum pratense*’; juxtaposed with Kash. *k’oščka*,

xʷoščka ‘*Equisetum arvense*’ (PoW I: 1493,1562), cf. also Kash. *xʷošč* m. ‘*Equisetum arvense*’; the LSx forms go back to OKash. *xošč/košč* m., *xoščka/koščka* f., masculine gender perhaps points to elsewhere unattested *xoščk/koščk* m., cf. also OP *chwoszczki* ‘*Equisetum*’, LS *chóśc* ‘*Equisetum*’ (ESSJa VIII: 134-5).

***xyśb** / ***xyša** / **xyzь** / ***xyza** / ***xyža** f., *Kiez* m. (geographic distribution unknown) ‘colony settlement, especially inhabited by fishermen’, (᠑Nau) ‘remote group of houses’, *Kiez* m./f. (᠑Rüg, Stralsund/Strzałów, ᠑Uec) ‘sheepcote’ (PoW I: 1377); related to DrPlb. adj. *x’aiznã* ‘pertaining to a hut’, Kash. *xáč, xáča* ‘house’, OP *chyž, chyža* ‘hut’ (ESSJa VIII: 159-66); invariably attested *z* [ts] in the PLSx. form points to an affricate and close relation to the Kash. form < OKash. **xič, xiča*.

Viadr. (OWKash.) **hupač** m. *Hupatsch* (᠑Cam) ‘hoopoe, *Upupa epops*’ (PoW I: 1204), cf. US *hupak*, LS *hupac*, Slk. *hupáč*, Lusatian LSx. *Hupatz*, Altmark LSx. *Hupk* (Bielfeldt 1963:164) < most likely from onomatopoeic *hup-* imitating hoopoe’s cry (cf. Lat. *upupa, G epops* and above mentioned US, LS and Slk. forms) + Slavic suffix *-*ačb*.

***jama** f.: *Jemme* pl. (NE FPom.) ‘pit, hole’; from a treaty from 1408 between Duke of Pomerania Bogislaw VIII and the Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen: [...] *in die Jemme oder in di Vochs Gruben* [...] (Knoop 1890a: 20), compared there with P *jama* ‘pit, hole’

***(j)edlinьka** f., *Jidlinka* (᠑Sto: Smołdziński Las/Holzkathen; within Slnc. area) ‘juniper’; interpreted in PoW (I:1279) as Kash. *jiglinka* ‘juniper’ (see: **jьgьlinьka* below), but might go back to Kash. **jodlinka*, a diminutive form of attested Kash. *jodlana* ‘fir’ (Sychta 1976: 108), cf. also P *jodla* ‘fir’, LS *jedla* ‘fir’ (ESSJa VI: 14-5).

***jьgьlinьka** f., ***jegьlinьka** f., ***gьlinьka** f., *Jichling, Jügling* m. (NE Pom.), *Jickling* (᠑Sto: Żelkowo/Wendisch Silkow; outside Kash. area), *Jiglinkä* (᠑Sto: Jezierzyce/Jeseritz; outside Kash. area), *Jechlienke* (᠑Sto: Gardna Wielka/Gross Garde; within Slnc. area), *Jingling* (᠑Sto: Szczypkowice/Zipkow; within PKash. area), also in compounds: *Jüglinkebusch* (᠑Sto: Gąbino/Gambin; outside Kash. area), *Giglingsstruk* (᠑Sto: Budowo/Budow; outside Kash. area) ‘juniper’; recognised in PoW (I: 1279) as Kash. *jiglinka* ‘juniper’; *Jechlienke* points to an elsewhere unattested form *jeglinka*, derived from Kash. *jegła* ‘needle’ occurring beside *jigła* ‘needle’; also *Glienker* m. (᠑Sto: Smołdzino/Schmolsin; outside Kash. area),

Glienkebusch, Glienkestruk (Sto: Wierzchocino/Virchenzin) ‘juniper’; the deletion of *ji-/je-* in anlaut may have occurred already in Kash., cf. *jikro/kro* ‘calf’, *jiskřac sq* ‘to twinkle’ beside *skra* ‘spark’, *jeřabjina/řabjina* ‘rowan’.

***ѣльмъ** m.: *Helum* m. (Gbg, northSto) ‘elm tree’; juxtaposed in PoW (I: 1111) with Kash. *heləm* ‘elm tree’, cf. also DrPlb. *jělmǎ* ‘elm tree’, P *ilm* ‘elm tree’; PLSx. has also undoubtedly native *Elme* f. ‘elm tree’ (HPom., Rüg); Kash. *heləm* is widely accepted as of Slavic origin (ESSJa VIII: 222-3, Derksen 2008: 211), but the initial *e-* preceded by protetic *h-* points to an early borrowing from Germanic. Except for this isolated form, **j_bC > heC* is unknown to Kash. and DrPlb., therefore *Helum* might be a Rücklehnwort.

***ju (že), jü** (HPom.) ‘1. command to a draught animal to move forward, 2. request to hurry up’, e.g. *Man jüh, ick heww keen Tied! Hier is dien Frühstück, un nu jü!*; maybe also *hü* (Nau, Gwd, Fra, Saa, Dem) ‘command to a horse or an ox to move forward or turn left, haw’ belongs here, but onomatopoeic origin cannot be excluded; cf. DrPlb. *jauz* ‘already’, Kash. *jü, jüž, wuž, už* ‘already’, P *juž* ‘already’, *no juž! ale juž!* ‘command to hurry up’, OCS *ju, u, juže, uže* ‘already’ (Bartula 1981: 190), Slk. *už* ‘already’, US *juž, južo, hižo, huž* ‘already’ (ESSJa VIII: 190-1).

***junьсь** m.: *Junz* m. (Sto) ‘young bull’; identified in PoW (I: 1296) as Kash. *juńc* ‘young bull’, cf. also DrPlb. *jaunǎc, joinǎc* ‘young bull’, P *juniec* ‘young bull’ (ESSJa VIII: 197-8).

***каланькъ** m.: *Kalo(o)nke* m. (north east FPom.) ‘mud’, according to Bielfeldt (1963:160) from Kash. *kala* ‘mud’; cf. especially PKash. *kalińc* ‘small, thin eel dwelling in sea silt’ (Sychta 1968:122); the underlying form can be interpreted as elsewhere unattested OKash. **kalānk > kalōnk* m.

***kališь** m., *Kalliesvågel* m. (Kös) ‘oystercatcher’ (PoW I: 1318); from OKash. *kališ* ‘marsh, swamp’, cf. OEKash. placenames *Kalitsch* (Rum), *Hohe Kaliß* 1780 (Sto), *Calliesbarg* (Neu), *Kalis* 1251 (Dra) etc. (Rzetelska-Feleszko & Duma 2008: 167), and Viadr. (OWKash.) *Kalisch* (Use; idem), cf. Kash. *kowl* ‘mud’, *kowlava* ‘pond’, *kalǎšče, kalask^{wo}* ‘mud’; the etymology fits as the bird in question hatches in wetlands.

Plb., Viadr. (OWKash.) **kařina** f., OEKash. **kařina** f.: *Krien* f. (HPom. north to Peene/ Piana river), *Krein* (ʹGbg, ʹSch), *Kar'ien* (HPom., FPom), *Ker'ien* (ʹRüg), *Kar'een* (ʹUse, ʹCam, ʹNau), *Kor'een* (Wolin/Wollin, Szczecin/Stettin Bay) ‘1. basket carried on the back, 2. basket for various usage’; juxtaposed in PoW (I: 1521) with Kash. *kařana* ‘basket carried on the back’; probably a Rücklehnwort from MLSx. *kar* ‘basket’ with a Slavic suffix, according to Hinze maybe also connected to PSl. **krina* ‘wooden vessel, measure of grain’ (SEK III: 22-3).

OKash. **karkulica** f., **karkulička** f.: *Karkullitz* f., *Krakullitz(k)a* f. (NE Pom.) ‘thick staff’; identified in PoW (I: 1338) as Kash. *karkʷulaca* ‘walking staff’. From **kṛkul-*, cf. *kṛkul'a* (ESSJa VIII: 217).

Viadr. (OWKash.) **Kařinka** f.: *Katinka* (ʹRan) humour. ‘female person, wife’; derived from the PLSx. name *Katrien*, *Trien*, G *Katharina*, *Kati* with the Slavic suffix **-inьka*.

***klęčьka** f.: *Klitschk* f. (geographical distribution unknown, but the form points to NE FPom.) ‘bigger wooden hook’; recognised in PoW (I: 1418) as Kash. *klə(č)ka* ‘hook’; from OKash. **klijčka > klička > Kash. klə(č)ka*, borrowed between 13th-16th century; from PSl. **klęka* denoting ‘something bent, crooked, curved’ in many WSl. languages, cf. Kash. *klaka*, south Kash. *kląka* ‘runner of a sledge’, P *klęk* ‘crooked tree’, Cz *klek* ‘crooked tree’, US *klak* ‘something curved, especially handles of a plough’ (ESSJa X: 31, SEK III: 50-1).

***klěščь m., *klěščьka f.**: *Kleist* m./f. (Uznam/Usedom, Wolin/Wollin, FPom. coast), *Kleisch* (Wolin/Wollin, ʹCam, ʹGbg), *Kleich* (ʹUse), *Kleesch* (ʹUse), *Kleest* (ʹUse), *Kleste* (ʹGbg), *Kleschke* (ʹLau: Leba/Leba; outside Kash. area; PoW I: 1411), *Kleeschk* f. (ʹSto: Gardna Wielka/Gross Garde; within Slnc. area) ‘fish. wooden knotting needle used to knot fishing nets’ (Rosenfeld 1993: 53); related to Kash. *klěščka*, *klěška* ‘fish. wooden knotting needle used to knot fishing nets’.

***kličькь m.**: *Klitschkebuck* m. (west FPom., NE FPom.), *Klitschge-* (ʹSto), *Klitsch-* (ʹKös, ʹSch), *Klietschke-* (ʹRum, ʹSto), *Kletschke-* (ʹLau), *Kletschkje-* (ʹLau), *Klisch(e)-* (ʹSch, ʹNeu), *Kliesch-*, *Klitteke-* (ʹSch), *Knitschke-* (ʹBüt) ‘1. tick, 2. great capricorn beetle (ʹSto)’, *Klitschkebuckskrut* n. (ʹSto) ‘fern’, *Klitschkebunk*, *Klitzkebunk* m./f. (ʹSto) ‘tick’; according to Herrmann-Winter (PoW I: 1418-9), related to Kash. *klăčk* ‘tick’.

***kľuka** f.: *Kluck* m./f. (Řüg, Dra), *Klúk* (Řüg) ‘bigger, often forked, staff, stick used by fishing’, *Kluck* (east FPom.) ‘1. staff used by the village leader to pass the message on it, 2. yoke for draught animals’; related to Kash. *klěka* ‘1. curved staff used by the village leader to pass the message on it, 2. yoke for one ox or one cow’. (ESSJa X: 55-6)

***kolač** m. *Kollatsch* m. (Sch, Rum, Sto: Budowo/Budow; outside Slnc. area), *Kollaatsch* (north-east FPom.), *Kullasch* (Lau: Villkow/Wilkowo Nowowiejskie; outside PKash. area), *Kuiwatsch* (Sto: Cecenowo/Zezenow; within PKash. area) ‘wheat bread with raisins’ < OKash. *kolač*, identified by Herrmann-Winter as PKash. *k^wołowč* ‘kind of bread, bread roll’, P *kolacz* ‘kind of flat-cake or pie’ (PoW I: 1472); cf. also US *kolač* ‘round bread’, LS *kolac* ‘round bread’ (ESSJa X: 118-19).

***kopica** f. *Kap'itz* m. (Ghg) ‘haystack of medium size’, also *Kapitze* in LSx of Brandenburg (BBW 2870f); PoW (I: 1331) points out connection with *Kööps* (see: **копѣць*). Gender of the LSx form does not agree with the suggested reconstruction, but the accent and the Brandenburgian form point to an underlying trisyllabic Viadr. (OWKash.) *kop'ica*, cf. DrPlb. *tšipaičă* ‘haystack’, Kash. *k^wopjica* ‘haystack’, OP *kopica* ‘haystack’ (ESSJa XI: 20).

***копѣць** m. *Kööps* m. (north FPom.), *Käups* (Use, Central Pom.), *Koips* (west Central Pom.), *Koeps* (Bel), *Köups*, *Kuips* (Gbg), *Keeps* (north-east FPom.), *Kööpsel* (Cam), *Käupsel* (Kös), *Köppsel* (Pyr) ‘haystack, the quantity of hay one can carry on a stretcher’, identified in PoW (1478) as P *kopiec* ‘pile’ (also: ‘manmade barrow, mound’), but the form with *-*bcč* > -*c* formally, semantically, and geographically much closer corresponds to Kash. *k^wopc* ‘haystack; manmade mound’ and can be interpreted as OKash. *kopc*. Also the verb *kööpse*, *käupsen* (Use), *koipsre* (Cam, Kol) *keipse* (Sch) ‘to make a haystack’ (idem), cf. also LS *kopc* ‘manmade mound’ (ESSJa XI: 38-40).

Kash. **k^worka** f., *Kuierka* (Sto: Cecenowo/Zezenow; within PKash. area) ‘clog’; Rücklehnwort from PLSx *Kork* f. ‘clog’, with *C^woC* realised as *C_uięC* in the local dialect (Lorentz 1903: 376), cf. PKash. *k^worka* ‘clog’.

***korva** f. ‘cow’, *Kroff*, *Kruff* f. ‘old cow’, *Kroffstall* m. ‘old cowshed’ (Sto), cf. DrPlb. *korvě stal* ‘cowshed’, identified by Bielfeldt (1963) as Kash. (Pomoravian) *krova* ‘cow’; Not

metathesised forms in Slnc. and PKash. are attested only in derivatives and placenames, e.g. *karvja* ‘pasture for cows’, *Karvjwo* PN ‘Karwia’, *korvjińc* ‘cow manure’, cf. DrPlb. *korvo* ‘cow’, P *krowa* ‘cow’ (ESSJa XI: 106-12). Possibly also *karwen*, *kawen*, *kaben* (‘Gwd, ‘Gri, ‘Ank in HPom) ‘to eat reluctantly, to chew’ belong here; cf. P *žuć jak krowa* ‘to chew like a cow, to chew slowly’, the association might have been reinforced also by the similarity of PLSx. *kaugen* ‘chew’ and *Kauh* ‘cow’. Cf. also verbal derivative in Kash. *karvjec* ‘to become lazy’ (Sychta 1968: 142).

***krĭčьma** f., ***krĭčьmarь** : *Kaschemm* f. (HPom., FPom.) ‘infamous tavern’, *Katchmer* (FPom.) ‘innkeeper’; cf. Kash. *karčma* ‘tavern, inn’, P *karczma* ‘tavern, inn’, (ESSJa XIII: 211-3) G dial. *Kretscham* ‘village inn’ (Bielfeldt 1963: 166). The deletion of *r* might have happened also before borrowing the word into PLSx., cf. Kash. *kačmowř* beside *karčmowř* ‘innkeeper’, P dial. *kaczma* ‘tavern, inn’.

***krōgь** m., *Krang* f. (‘Rüg) naut. ‘1. ring or hook eyelet with which the foresail is attached to the stay sail, 2. fixing ring made of juniper tree in eel trap’, *Krange* f. (‘Rüg, MPom.) hist. ‘curve, bend, arc’ (PoW I:1506); PoW cites here Teuchert’s view (1972: 226) according to which it is a borrowing from ODu. naut. *crengen* ‘to bend, turn over’, although forms given by Teuchert have different vocalism: *Kreng* f., *Krengelruēde* f., and *ümkrengel(l)n* ‘to turn over a wagon, plough, or harrow’, however, taking into account the very generic meaning of ODu. *crengen* as well as the fact that PLSx *Krange* appears in field names and place names, cf. *Crangen* 1756 (‘Neu), *Crangenn* 1483 (‘Rum), Slavic origins cannot be completely excluded, cf. Kash. *krōg* ‘1. circuit, 2. lunar corona, 3. wooden disc used in a sport game *krōg z mōla*’, P *krqg* ‘circle’ (ESSJa XIII: 25-7).

***kruša** f., ***krušьka** f.: *Kruschk* f. (CPom., FPom.), *Krusch*, *Krusche* (FPom.), *Kruscher* (‘Neu), *Kruusch* (‘Gbg), *Kruuschke* (‘Sto), *Krüşchk* (‘Ghg, ‘Sto, ‘Lau), *Krüschka*, *Kroschk* (‘Büt), *Kruschtje* (‘Slo), *Kruuschj* (‘Slo), *Kreschk* (NE FPom.) ‘1. small, wild pear; 2. less worth, unripe fruit, especially apple’; *Austkr(u)usch(ke)* f. (south FPom., ‘Büt) ‘type of pear (Augustbirne)’, *Drögkruschke* f. (‘Sto, ‘Lau) ‘dried pear’, *Kruschkenbom* m. (‘Ghg, ‘Dra, ‘Neu) ‘wild pear tree’ (PoW I: 1538-9), *Kruscheboom*, *Kruschkeboom* m. (‘Sto: Garda Wielka/Gross Garde; within Slnc. area) ‘pear tree’ (Rosenfeld 1993: 58); *Kruschkenbur* m. (‘Sch, ‘Rum) ‘pejor. small farmer’ PoW (I: 1539); according to PoW (I: 1538), related to P

gruszka ‘pear’ and Kash. *kruš(k)a* ‘cow, little cow’. Although the first etymology is better than the other, both are incorrect as the loanword is more closely related to Kash. *krāška* ‘pear’ and other Slavic cognates with initial *k-*. Kash. *kruš(k)a* ‘cow, little cow’ is unrelated and has different etymology (see: SEK III: 96-7, Winter 1963: 282).

***kuna** f.: *Kun* f. (HPom., Fra) ‘1. turkey hen, 2. swear word denoting a conceited woman’, cf. Kash. *kuna* ‘1. female dog, 2. old cow’, P *kuna* ‘marten’ (ESSJa XIII: 102-4).

***кѣdakati**: *kadaken*, *kedākeln* (Rüg) ‘to cackle, cluck’; cf. Kash. *gdakac*, *dgakac*, *daxtac* ‘to cackle, cluck’, reconstructed by Sławski as PSi. **кѣdakati* (SEK II: 10-1), which seems to be a suitable reconstruction also for the RügPlb. form.

***mati** f., ***materica** f., ***matъnja** f., ***matnica**² f.: *Mäter* f. (HPom. coast), *Mater* (Rügen/Rugia, HPom.), *Mätritz* f. (Sch), *Mätnitz* (Sch, Sto: Wysoka/ Wittstock; within Slnc. area), *Mätens* (Sch) ‘fish. sack in a fishing net to which fish are caught’; derivatives of PSi. *mati-ere*, cf. DrPlb. *motai* ‘mother’, Kash. *macəca* ‘1. uterus, 2. fish. sack in a fishing net to catch fish’, *matńω* ‘fish. sack in a fishing net to catch fish’, *mac-eře*, *maceřa* ‘mother’, P *matnia* ‘fish. sack in a fishing net to catch fish’; Bielfeldt (1963: 160) interpreted *Mätritz* and *Mätnitz* as Slavisms; *Mäter/Mater* must go back to Plb./Viadr. (OWKash.) *matēr* < PSi. **mati*, *Mätritz* to early OKash. **mat’erica*; *Mätnitz* is probably derived from OEKash. **matńā* (> Kash. *matńω*) > *matńica*; *Mätens* probably also related to **matńā*.

***malina** f.: *Malinees* pl. (Sto: Gardna Wielka/ Gross Garde; within Slnc. area) ‘raspberry’; identified in PoW (II:126) as Kash. *maləna* ‘raspberry’; cf. also DrPlb. *molainā* ‘strawberry, raspberry’, P *malina* ‘raspberry’.

OKash. **mamuška** f., **mamučka** f.: *Mamutsch* f. (CPom.), *Mamuschka*, *Mamutschka* (Uec, Pyr, Rum), *Mamutschke* (Ghg) ‘mom, mommy’ (PoW II: 128); derivatives with Slavic suffixes *-uška*, *-učka*; cf. Kash. *mamaška* ‘mom, mommy’, P *mamuška* ‘mom, mommy’.

OKash. **Maruška** f.: *Maruschka* (FPom., Nau, Saa) ‘familiar form of the name Maria’ (PoW II: 144); with Slavic suffix *-uška*.

² PSi. **matъnja* and **matnica* can also be derived from the root **met-* ‘to throw’ and its apophonic forms.

***melčъ** m.: *Mal'etsch* m. (NE FPom.) ‘common sowthistle, perennial sowthistle, dandelion, butterbur’; interpreted in PoW (II: 126) as P *mlecz* ‘dandelion’, but possibly borrowed from Kash. *mlěč, mlóč* ‘milky sap from plants like dandelion, spurge etc.’; also *Metsch* m. (‘Sto: Domaradz/Dumröse; outside Kash. area, ‘Sto: Cecenowo/Zezenow; within PKash. area, ‘Lau: Unieszyno/Groß outside Kash. area) ‘thistle (Gänsedistel)’ (PoW II: 170) belongs here.

***močъ** m.: *Motsch* m./f. (CPom., ‘Gbg, FPom). ‘mud’, *motschen, motschern, motschen, motschern* (CPom., FPom.) ‘to play in mud’ (PoW II: 209); from elsewhere unattested Viadr., OKash. *moč*, cf. Kash *m^wočăšče* ‘wet place, ground’, P *mocz* ‘urine’, *moczary* ‘swamps’.

***močъka** f., *Moonschk* m./f./n., *Monschk* (NE Pom.), *Munsch* (‘Rum, Słupsk/Stolp, ‘Sto), *Moonschkje* (‘Lau), ‘1. thick, cooked flour mash eaten with sweet or sour milk, 2. mud’, *Molschk* n. (‘Kös) ‘fried dish made of flour groats and black pudding’, *Bottermonschk* (‘Sto) ‘1. potato mash, 2. mud’, *moonschkre* (NE Pom.) ‘to play in mud’; identified by Winter (PoW II: 201) as Kash. *mōčka* ‘1. fine flour, 2. flour mash, groats’.

***myma** f.: *Mimm* f., *Mimmken* (NE FPom.), ‘mother, mom’; identified in PoW (II: 182) as Kash. *məma, məmka* ‘mother, mom’.

***noгъкъ** m.: *Nork* m. (FPom., ‘Kös) ‘great crested grebe’; identified in PoW (II: 311) as Kash. *nōrk* ‘diving duck, wild duck’, cf. also P *nurek* ‘diver’.

***ordlo** n.: *Reddel* m. (‘Saa, ‘Kös, ‘Fla), *Riddel* (‘Rum), ‘plough used to dig up potatoes’, *reddeln* (‘Rüg, FPom.) ‘to hill up or dig potatoes’ (PoW II: 585); The etymology was proposed by Bielfeldt (1963: 158); cf. DrPlb. *rådlü* ‘hookplow’, Kash. *redlo* ‘ard plough’, P *radlo* ‘ard plough’.

***ortaj-** f. (?), ***ortajъka** f.: *Rat'eij* f. (FPom.), *Rataje* (‘Dra), *Rataje(r)sch* (‘DKr), *Ratäk* (‘Nau, ‘Sch) ‘diligent, excessively hardworking woman’, *rataije* (Stolp/Słupsk), *rateijere* (‘Neu), *ratajera* (‘DKr) ‘to work hard’; according to PoW (II: 575), related to P *rataj* ‘farmer, earner working for a landowner’, cf. also DrPlb. *råtoj* ‘plowman’, Kash. *retoj* ‘farm-hand looking after horses’; forms with word-initial *ra-* rather than Plb.-Kash. *re-* may indeed point to a borrowing from P.

***paportъ** f. > Polabo-Kash. ***parpartъ** f./m. ‘fern’, *Parpatz* n. (ǂLau: Unieszyno/ Groß Wunneschin, Kierzkowo/ Kerschkow; all outside PKash. area) ‘fern’, incorrectly identified in PoW as P *paproc* ‘fern’; PKash. *parpa(r)c* ‘fern’ is more adequate here; *Purpatsch* m., *Pupatsch* (ǂSto: Karzino/ Karzin; outside Slnc. area), *Parpatsch* (ǂSto: Budowo/ Budow; outside Slnc. area) ‘*Equisetum*, *Equisetum arvense*, *Equisetum sylvaticum*’, identified in PoW as Kash. (‘Pomorianian’) *pupač* ‘*Equisetum arvense*’, however only the form *Pupatsch* can be analysed this way, *Parpatsch* belongs to Slnc. *parpwo(r)č*, PKash. *parpa(r)c* ‘fern’ with a later semantic shift. The form *Purpatsch* can be interpreted both as OKash. **pupač* with an *r* introduced from a continuant of **porportъ* m. or the other way around, with an *u* introduced from **pupač*. The form **porportъ* > *parpart* is a common Plb.-Kash. innovation, cf. placenames DrPlb. *Parpart* 1360, *Parparde* 1368 (Rost 1907: 269), MeckPlb. *Parpart* 1299 (Jeżowa 1961: 77), RügPlb. *Parpart* 1277 (Łęgowski & Lehr-Splawiński 1922: 120), Viadr. (OWKash.) *Parpartne* 1256 (ǂUse; Lorentz 1964: 83), *Parpart* 1468 (ǂGbg; Rzetelska-Feleszko 1991:17), OEKash. *Parparde* 1422 (ǂKös; idem), *Parport* 1262, *Parpartno* 1271 (ǂSch; idem), and appellatives Slnc. *parpwoč*, *parpwoč* ‘fern’, PKash. *parparc*, *parpac*, *parpoc* ‘fern’.

***paпъкъ** m., ***poдъpaпъкъ**: *Pānk(e)* m. (FPom.) *Ponk(e)* (west FPom., NE FPom.), *Pönker* (Stargard), *Peunk(e)* (ǂGbg, ǂReg), *Puttpānk(e)* (NE FPom.) ‘poor farmer with a small farm’, *Pānkerie* (west FPom., NE FPom.) ‘miserable farm’; according to PoW (II: 385) of P origin; the loanword has a clear counterpart in Kash. *pōnk* ‘landlord, often a nobleman, having a big farm and living in a small manor house’; the loanwords point to a native Viadr., OKash. form *pōnk/pānk*.

***perlyкъ** m.: *Prelick* n. (ǂUec) fish. ‘barrier made of fishing net which leads fish into a fish trap’; according to PoW (II: 493) of unclear etymology; cf. Kash *přelāk* ‘throat, gulp’, P *przelyk* ‘throat’; figuratively, it is the part of the fish trap which ‘swallows’ the fish and leads them right into the ‘belly’.

***pěnedъzъ** m., *Penunse* f. ‘1. money, 2. lumber’; *Pernunschen* (HPom., CPom), *Panuschen*, *Penunjen* (HPom., Szczecin/Stettin, ǂPyr, ǂNet) *Pernünsen* (ǂGwd, ǂAnk, ǂPyr, ǂSto), *Pernünschen* (ǂRüg, ǂDem, ǂGri, Greifswald/Gryfia), *Penonze* (ǂGri, ǂGhg, ǂKol), *Pinonsche* (ǂGri, ǂRan, ǂGbg,

Reg); *Pienundsche* (Kol), *Pinonje* (Ghg, Cam); *Pinonse* (Nau, Sch); *Pinunse* (Uec, Saa, Neu, Rum) ‘1. money, 2. lumber’; According to PoW (II:411) related to P *pieniądze* ‘money’, however the number of various forms and their shape makes it difficult to explain it through G slang *Penunse*, *Penunze*, a borrowing from Polish, and direct borrowing from P seems an ad hoc solution, therefore they should be treated as borrowings from local Slavic languages, cf. DrPlb. *pąz* ‘pfennig’, Kash. *p’ėńqz*, *p’ejqz*, *p’eqz* ‘coin’, pl. *p’ėńqze*, *p’ėńqze*, *p’ėńunze*, *p’ejqze*, *p’qze* ‘money’ (Lorentz 1968: 5, 7, 26).

***pila** f., ***pilę** n., onomatopoeic *pila pila!* (Kös) ‘exclamation to summon goslings’, cf. Kash. *ppjila*, *ppjilã* ‘gosling’ (Sychta 1970: 272).

***ponorva** f., *Punnãf* f. 1. ‘may beetle’s larva’ (Rum, CPom., NE FPom.), 2. ‘horsefly’s (*Stechfliege*) maggot’ (Sch), *Punow* (Neu), *Ponnaw* (Sch), *Punnãwel* (Kös, Büt); identified in PoW (II: 521) as Kash. *p^wonarva* ‘larva, grub’; all from OKash./Viadr. (OWKash.) *ponarva*.

***porse** n., *Prossa* n., *Pröser* ‘small pig, piglet’ (Neu, Büt), with Polish-like *CroC* metathesis. Either of Polish origin or Kashubian influenced by Polish, cf. genuinely Kash. *parsã* ‘piglet’ beside Polish-influenced *prosã* ‘piglet’ (Sychta 1970: 172).

***рощк-**, *Panschk* f. (FPom.), *Panschka* (northSto), *Pãnschke* (Lau: Prebendow/ Przebądowo; inside PKash. area), *Pauschka* (Lau: Wilkowo Nowowiejskie/ Villkow, outside Kash. area) ‘flat bread cake roasted on hot stones’; identified in PoW (II: 388) as Kash. *pqčk* m. ‘1.flat bread cake roasted on hot stones, 2. bud’; also *Punzke* (Rum, Sto: Kuleszewo/ Kulsow; outside Kash. area), *Punztje* (Neu, Fla, south to OKash. area) ‘deep-frying dough for Schrovetide’ (PoW II: 522) belongs here, cf. also P *paczek* ‘doughnut’.

***русьница** f., ***руська** f.: *Päschnitz* m. (NE Pom.) *Pischnitz* m. (Sto) ‘thick mash made of barley or peas’; from Kash. *pãšnica* ‘dish made of mashed barley’ (PoW II: 396); also *Pischk* m. (Büt) ‘thick mash made of barley’; from Kash. *pãška* ‘groats, especially barley groats’; derived from PSI. iter. **pyxati* ‘to blow, puff, also: to bloat, bulge’ (SEK IV: 56-7).

***pľuta** f.: *Plett* f. (Łau: Kierzkowo/ Kerschkow; outside Kash. area) ‘puddle’, identified in PoW (II: 451) as Kash. *plata* ‘puddle’; here belong also *Plütt* f. (FPom.), *Plitt* (NE FPom.) ‘puddle, small pond’, *plütten, plüttern* (ŕüg) ‘to splash, dabble’ (PoW II: 462).

***posěďkь** m., ***posěďarь** m. *Pussatk* (Šaa, south FPom.), *Pussaatk* (ŕdra), *Pussartsch* (ŕfla), *Posattk* (ŕnet), *Pusseek* (Što) ‘small farmer, *Kleinbauer*’ (PoW I: 524, Winter 1963: 284) and interpreted by Winter as related to Kash. *p^wosadoř* ‘owner’ < **posěďarь*. The attestations might point to an elsewhere unattested form **posěďkь* with Kashubian reflex of the **-ьkь* suffix.

Viadr. (OWKash.) **rem-** f.: *Remm* f./n. (HPom. coast) ‘a few centimetres thick lath’ (PoW II: 597); the short vowel points to a Rücklehnwort from MLS *râme* cf. ‘lath’ which has undergone the Polabo-Kashubian **ra-* > *re-* sound change, cf. Kash. *rema* beside *rama* ‘lath’; elsewhere PLSx. has a native reflex *Råhm* (*Råhmen*) with expected vocalism and length.

***ritь** f.: *Kimmritz* f. (FPom.) ‘gluteal cleft’ (PoW I: 1379); compound noun (cf. PLSx. *Kimm* f. ‘gluteal cleft’) of which the second part is related to Kash. *řac* ‘buttocks’, P *rzyć* ‘buttocks’, LS *ryś* ‘buttocks’.

***ronь** m.: *Roofke* n. (Łau: Unieszyno/ Groß Wunneschin, Salinko/ Saulinke; both outside Modern Kash. area) ‘vagina’ (PoW II: 639); from Kash. *röv* ‘ditch, gully, gluteal cleft’ or its diminutive *rövк* with (Sychta 1970: 343) PLSx. diminutive suffix *-ke*.

***roźkь** m., ***rožikь** m.: *Rooschk* f. (NE FPom.) ‘dose of snuff from a cowhorn’, *Rooschick* (Što: Gardna Wielka/ Gross Garde; within Slnc. area) ‘inglenook, chimney corner’, identified as Kash. *rōžk* (PoW II: 639-40) ‘1. small horn, 2. traditional snuff-box made of cowhorn, 3. corner’; *Rooschick* may go back to elsewhere unattested *rožik* or may simply have acquired an epenthetic vowel.

***rqbьca** m.: *Roopz* m., *Ropz* m. (NE FPom., Što: Gardna Wielka/ Gross Garde; within Slnc. area) ‘fisherman who cuts ice-holes during winter fishing’; identified as Kash. *rqbca* (PoW II: 639) ‘1. lumberjack, 2. fisherman who cuts ice-holes during winter fishing’ (Sychta 1970: 300).

***skrinьja** f.: *Schennje, Chenje* f. (‘Sto) ‘reservoir for fish on a boat’; from Kash. *křǎna, skřǎna* ‘1. chest, case, 2. reservoir for fish on a boat’ (PoW II: 784).

***šišьka** f.: *Schischke* m. (NE FPom.), *Schieschk(e)* (‘Saa), *Schuschke* (‘Büt, ‘Lau) ‘fir or pine cone’, *Ficht-schuschke* (east FPom.) ‘fir cone’, juxtaposed by Winter (1967: 115) with Kash. *šǎška* ‘fir cone’, P *szyszka* ‘cone’.

***trimati**, *abtrimo* (HPom., Central Pom.), *aftrimo* (‘Use, ‘Pyr), *abtrümo* (‘Rüg), with accent on the first or the last syllable, *abtriminski* (‘Sto: Domaradz/ Dumröse; outside Kash. area) interj. ‘get out! stand aside!’ (PoW I: 8); from PSI. **trimati*, cf. Kash *třǎmac* ‘to hold’, P *trzymać* ‘to hold’, Cz. *třítat* ‘to hold’; perhaps from imperative 2sg **trimaji*, cf. Kash. *třǎmω(j)*, especially Northern Kash. *třǎm'ωj* and Slnc. *třǎm'ω*, P *trzymaj*; DrPlb. has *-aj* in this verb class, cf. *ricaj, jimaj* (Polański 2010: 125); the underlying form might be *ab-trimā*, with /ā/ from MLSx /â/ realised as [ɔ] as a reflex of Plb./Viadr. (OWKash.) long /ā/ from syncopated PSI. **trimaji* > *trimā*; with the LSx. preposition *af*, G *ab* the compound verb would be a semantic match and a calque from G *ab-halten*, PLSx *af-hollen* ‘to keep sb away from sth’, cf. numerous compound verbs with Germanic prepositions in DrPlb., e.g. 3sg present *an-dirzě* ‘to stop’, 3sg past *bi-sǎpol* ‘to sleep with sb’ (Polański 2010: 157), Kash. *jic dǎrx* ‘to cross, to go through’; The loanword occurs also with a suffix *-inski* from PSI. **-inьskьjь*, apparently added already in PLSx as an emphatic particle.

***ušьnikь** m., *Huschnick* m. (‘Büt: Trzebiatkowa/ Tschebiatkow; outside PKash. area) ‘earwig’ (PoW I: 1212); from PKash. *wušńik* ‘earwig’, with a prothetic *h* in anlaut.

***veslo** n.: *Juosla* n. (NE FPom.), *Juoslä* (‘Sto: Gardna Wielka/ Gross Garde; within Slnc. area), *Giessel* (‘Sto: Gardna Wielka/ Gross Garde; within Slnc. area) ‘pole to push a small boat onwards’; incorrectly interpreted in PoW I: 1296) as related to Kash. *x^woxla* ‘pole used by ice fishing’; in fact from Slnc. *vjoslo, vjeslo* ‘pole to push a small boat onwards’, with typical Slnc. diphthongic reflex of *ǫ* > *u̯e* in the accented syllable, *vju̯e̯slø* in Lorentz’s (Lorentz 1912: 1314) transcription; *Giessel* most likely belongs to the other variant *vjeslo* (*vji̯e̯slø*). The deletion in Slnc. *vj-* > *j-* is attested also in other examples in the PLSx. dialect of Gardna Wielka/Gross Garde, cf. *Jeerschik* < *vjěrk*, but preserved in *Wjitnik* < *vjitńik* (Rosenfeld 1993: 50, 125). Cf. also DrPlb. *veslü* ‘oar’, P *wiosło* ‘oar’.

***věverica** f., ***věverička** f. ‘squirrel’, Fibritzkat f. (Reg, Kol, Dra, Neu, DKr), Wibritzenkatt (Neu) ‘squirrel’, Bielfeldt (1964: 174) identified the first part of the compound as PKash. *vjevjörka* ‘squirrel’, but the underlying form can be reconstructed as OKash. *v’ev’erica* > *v’ev’eřica*, Viadr. (OWKash.) *v’ev’erica*; also in a figurative sense: *Fibritz* m./f. (Ank, Nau, Neu, Saa, Central Pom.), *Fibritt* (Dra), *Fibritz* (Ran, Dkr, west FPom.) ‘skinny, slender person’ (PoW I: 783); the last form might be interpreted as a diminutive OEKash., Viadr. (OWKash.) *v’ev’eřička*; adjectives *fibritzig* (HPom., FPom.), and *fibritz* (Kol) ‘agile, canny’ (idem) also belong here; cf. also OP *wiewierzyc*, LS *njewjerica*, *njewjericka*, Cz *vevěrice*.

***ворбыль** m. ‘sparrow’, *Frobel* m., *Wrobel* (Sto: Strzelino/Groß Strellin, outside Slnc. area), *Wrobbel* (Sto: Lubuczewo/Lübzwow; outside Slnc. area), *Fribbel* (East FPom) ‘sparrow’, identified by Winter (1961: 273) as Kash. (Pomorian) *wróbel* ‘sparrow’, cf. DrPlb. *vorble* NA.pl. ‘sparrow’, P *wróbel* ‘sparrow’. Forms with *TarT* in Kash. are attested only in PN, e.g. Slnc. *Vorblano* || *Varblano*, PKash. *Varbláno* (Lorentz 1923: 107).

***вѣхъ** m.: *Jeersch* m./f. (Sto: Gardna Wielka/Gross Garde; within Slnc. area) ‘upper line in a fishing net’ (Rosenfeld 1993: 48), from Kash. *vjěrk* ‘1. top, peak, 2. upper line in a fishing net’, cf. also DrPlb. *varx* ‘top, peak’, P ‘top, surface’.

***zajęc** m.: *Saiz* m. (Sto: Cecenowo/Zezenow; within PKash. area) ‘hare’; identified in PoW (II: 725) as Kash. *zajc* ‘hare’; from OKash. *zajic* > Kash. *zajic* > *zajc*; cf. also DrPlb. *zajac* ‘hare’, P *zajac* ‘hare’.

***žlt-** *Schölschke* m. (Lau: Łebień/Labehn; outside PKash. area) ‘ladybird’, connected to Kash. *žoltī* ‘yellow’ (PoW II: 907), perhaps should be interpreted as elsewhere unattested *žwtck-* < **žltok-*.

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