

Lucyna Warda-Radys / Justyna Galant (eds.)

Kashubian Matters

Language, Literature, Education



unipress

Lucyna Warda-Radys / Justyna Galant (eds.)

Kashubian Matters

Language, Literature, Education

With 3 figures

V&R unipress

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;
detailed bibliographic data are available online: <https://dnb.de>.

© 2025 by Brill | V&R unipress, Robert-Bosch-Breite 10, 37079 Göttingen, Germany, info@v-r.de,
an imprint of the Brill-Group

(Koninklijke Brill BV, Leiden, The Netherlands; Brill USA Inc., Boston MA, USA; Brill Asia Pte Ltd, Singapore; Brill Deutschland GmbH, Paderborn, Germany; Brill Österreich GmbH, Vienna, Austria)
Koninklijke Brill BV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.
All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Printed and bound by CPI books GmbH, Birkstraße 10, 25917 Leck, Germany
Printed in the EU.

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage | www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com

ISBN 978-3-8471-1922-7 (print)

ISBN 978-3-8470-1922-0 (digital) | ISBN 978-3-7370-1922-4 (eLibrary)

Contents

Lucyna Warda-Radys / Justyna Galant	
The Kashubian region and culture – continuation and development . . .	7

Part I – Language

Marek Cybulski	
Standardisation of the Kashubian Language in the volumes of the Kashubian Writers' Library	23

Joanna Ginter	
Activities of the Kashubian Language Council regarding the codification of Kashubian spelling	37

Hanna Makurat-Snuzik	
Literally translated idioms in the context of the unequal position of the source and target language. The case of the Kashubian translation of Jerzy Samp's Gdańsk legends	47

Izabela Milewska / Beata Milewska	
Word formation of names of wives and daughters in Kashubian (in the first half of the 20 th century)	63

Part II – Literature

Bartosz Dąbrowski	
From myth to disillusionment. The image of Kashubia in the fiction of Róża Ostrowska	77

Grzegorz Schramke	
Into the future and alternative worlds. Kashubian fantasy, science fiction, and horror in book publications and periodicals	91

Part III – Education

Beata Milewska

An Encounter with Kashubian culture during a lesson of Polish as a
foreign language: fishing traditions 111

Justyna Pomierska

Thirty years of teaching Kashubian in a Polish school. Positive effects of
Kashubian language education 125

The Kashubian region and culture – continuation and development

*I greet the Kashubian people, the eternal hosts of this Pomeranian land.
I would like to encourage you to continue to protect your identity
by maintaining family ties, deepening your knowledge of your language,
and passing on your rich tradition to the younger generation.*
John Paul II (1999)

Kashubia is an ethnographic region in northern Poland, distinguished by its language, culture, and tradition. The name of the region, of unclear origin,¹ appeared in written historical sources in the 13th century (in the form *Cassubia*)².

Where is Kashubia?

In general terms, Kashubia lies on the Baltic Sea, in the north of Poland. Today, it covers an area of about 7,076 km² (Mordawski 2005, p. 86) and includes the following counties: Kartuszy, Bytów, Lębork, Puck, Gdańsk, Wejherowo, Słupsk, Człuchów, Kościerzyna and Chojnice, as well as the Tri-City agglomeration: Gdańsk, Sopot, and Gdynia.³ However, the borders of the territory referred to in the past as Kashubia were different and are not easy to determine today as they give rise to numerous discussions related to different interpretations of documents (Treder 2006, p. 69). Moreover, the area inhabited by the Kashubians has also changed significantly over the centuries. The change (caused by settlement movements, both spontaneous and controlled) consisted in narrowing the ex-

Lucyna Warda-Radys, ORCID 0000-0002-0299-3611, University of Gdańsk.

Justyna Galant, ORCID 0000-0001-5928-9863, University of Gdańsk.

- 1 Most likely, the name comes from the 5th–7th century, i.e. from the time of the migrations. However, historians and onomastics have not yet decided whether Kashubia was originally the name of the people from which the area name was created, or vice versa, whether the name of the people should be derived from the area called Kashubia. (For some etymological proposals, see e.g. Pryczkowski 2017, pp. 13–14.)
- 2 In the papal bull of Pope Gregory IX issued on March 19th March 1238, in which he confirmed the Hospitallers' possessions located near Stargard on Ina (Labuda 1996, 89). Nowadays, Kashubian Unity Day is celebrated on this day.
- 3 About 375 thousand people of Kashubian origin live in the counties of Puck, Wejherowo, Kartuszy, Kościerzyna, Chojnice and Bytów; this constitutes almost 70% of the total population of Kashubians (Mordawski 2005).

ternal borders of the territory (mainly in the west). Currently, the entire area of compact Kashubian settlement is located in the Pomeranian Voivodeship.

Who are Kashubians?

The Kashubian community is distinguished by the fact that it has maintained and cultivated its identity, culture, and language for centuries. Kashubians are – as Gerard Labuda stated – “the last link of the Baltic West Slavic tribes that have sustained and saved their cultural and ethnic community in close connection with the nationwide political and national community, as its inseparable part” (Labuda 1996, p. 120). The vast majority of contemporary Kashubians identify with both their own regional group and the Polish national group (Obracht-Prondzyński 2007, p. 15). The former is mainly determined by the fact of being born into a Kashubian family, generational rootedness, knowledge of the Kashubian language, as well as attachment to the land and ethnic culture. Researchers also state that currently the Kashubian community is clearly moving from habitual adherence to native culture to active searching, conscious shaping and deepening of its self-identification as an autonomous ethnic minority (Synak 1997, p. 212).

As Sławomir Łodziński states, one can distinguish 5 stages in the Polish state’s approach to the Kashubian population. The first stage covers the years 1945–1989, in which the Kashubians were referred to as an “ethnographic group”. The second, marked by the usage of the term “ethnic group”, spans the years 1989–2002. Between 2002 and 2003, the term “ethnic minority” began to be employed in reference to the Kashubians. During the fourth stage, from 2002, the results of the General Census introduced the term “Kashubian nation” into the public discourse. The last stage began in 2005, when the Kashubians started being legally referred to as a community using a regional language⁴ (Łodziński 2007, pp. 156–165).

How large is the Kashubian community?

Estimating the number of people with Kashubian identity is not easy. Under the communist regime, when Poland was called The Polish People’s Republic (1952–1989), acknowledging Kashubian roots was shameful and rather undesirable; the situation altered with the political changes after the pivotal 1989, and in recent years may go as far as to say that declaring one’s Kashubian identity has

4 See below.

become fashionable (Obracht-Prondzyński 2007, p. 10). According to sociological studies, the number of residents with Kashubian origin ranges from 550 to 600,000 (Mordawski 2005, pp. 41–44). Among them are people who fully identify with the Kashubian ethnic group and those whose association with the Kashubian culture varies, e.g. they come from mixed families, or do not speak Kashubian. There are also several tens of thousands Kashubians who live outside Poland: in Germany and on the North American continent (mainly in Canada). These are environments with a strong sense of Kashubian identity, which in recent years have been intensively seeking contacts with “taczężnā” (Pryczkowski 2017, pp. 10–11).

What is the linguistic status of Kashubian?

Disputes about the linguistic status of Kashubian have been ongoing among linguists, historians, sociologists, and politicians for over a century (see e.g. Breza 2001; Dalewska-Greń 2007; Dubisz, et al., 1995; Mańczak 2002; Obracht-Prondzyński 2002; Treder 2006). The significance of Kashubian at various times depended, to a large extent, on Polish language policy, and the status of this ethnolect was not clearly defined for many years. For various researchers, Kashubian was/is: 1) a language (literary with its own dialects), 2) a language *in statu nascendi*, 3) a literary microlanguage, 4) an ethnolect, 5) a regional language, 6) a regiolect, 7) a dialect (of Polish) or even 8) a vernacular. The belief in the subordinate status of the Kashubian language in relation to Polish contributed to its discrimination by state social institutions and relegation to the level of folklore (Latoszek 1992, p. 48).

Legally, the question of the status of Kashubian was resolved in the Act on National and Ethnic Minorities and on the Regional Language of 6th January 2005. Article 19 of the Act states:

1. For the purposes of this Act and in accordance with the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages “a regional language” shall mean a language that is: (1) traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State, who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State’s population; and (2) different from the official language of that State; it shall not include either dialects of the official language of the State or the languages of migrants.⁵

5 <http://skarbnicakaszubska.pl/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/USTAWA-z-dnia-6-stycznia-2005-r-o-mniejszo%C5%9Bciach-narodowych-i-etnicznych.pdf> (accessed 10 IV 2025). The demand to recognise the Kashubians as an ethnic minority was not taken into account by the legislator.

The resolution contributed to raising the prestige of Kashubian, and consequently to intensifying activities to reinforce its condition and broadening the scope of its use. Kashubian began to be acknowledged in various spheres of public life, including official contexts. Numerous actions have also been taken to address the feeling of cultural inferiority and to disseminate knowledge about Kashubia both in Poland and abroad.

According to statistics, the Kashubian language is currently used on a daily basis by about 81,000 people (14.2% of the Kashubian community), while knowledge of the regional language is declared by over 367,000 people (64.5% of the community) (Mordawski 2005, 54). Sociologists emphasise that language is a central value of culture, and in communities gathered around language (as is the case with Kashubian) it is used not only for communication but is also a basic form of building bonds and transmitting culture (Smolicz 1990, p. 153), consequently it is crucial for the development of a given community.

How do Kashubians protect their cultural heritage?

The Kashubian community is very active in caring for its identity and culture, as well as preserving and developing its language. As it is impossible to list all the initiatives devoted to that here, we will focus on a few.

a) Associations, institutions, and organisations

The largest non-governmental social organisation that brings together people who care about the culture and the social and political life of Kashubia and Pomerania is the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association (*Kaszëbskò-Pòmòrsczé Zrzeszenie – ZKP*)⁶. Some of the main goals of this organisation are to increase people's awareness and knowledge about the history and culture of Kashubia and to propagate the Kashubian nature of Gdańsk (Obracht-Prondzyński 2006). The more detailed statutory goals of the ZKP include: inspiring comprehensive cultural, social, and economic development of Kashubia, Kociewie, Bory, and the entire Pomerania; shaping democratic relations in the region; developing Kashubian-Pomeranian social and political thought; cultivating and developing

6 On 28th October 1956, a meeting of 32 people took place in Gdynia, at which the Kashubian Association was established. Lech Bądkowski headed the founding committee. On 2nd December 1956, the 1st Annual General Meeting of the Association's delegates took place in Gdańsk, where Aleksander Arendt became the first president. In 1964, the organisation expanded its formula and scope of activity, adopting the name: Kashubian-Pomeranian Association (Obracht-Prondzyński 2006, pp. 23–51).

the cultural specificity of Pomerania; spreading knowledge of Kashubian-Pomeranian traditions in society (especially among the youth)⁷. ZKP has 70 local branches and over 6.500 members. It is the organiser or co-organiser of numerous competitions, seminars, conferences, exhibitions, festivals, and workshops devoted to various aspects of life in Pomerania. The largest event hosted by the Association is the annual Kashubian convention, during which Kashubians (as well as lovers of their culture) meet to celebrate, emphasise their regional identity, learn about and promote the language and traditions. The conventions are held in various locations in Pomerania, usually in May or June.

Since 1962, the Student Club “Pomorania” (Kash. “Karno Sztudérów ‘Pòmòraniô’”) has been operating in cooperation with the board of the Association and with Pomeranian universities. The goal of the club members is to prepare young people for conscious and active participation in the public life of the region and the country. Important activities of the “Pomorania” club include, among others, organising the Regional Knowledge Contest: Pomerania, preparing a Kashubian language course, and conducting regional workshops entitled “Remusowa Kara”, which aim to show the youth the culture of Kashubia and Pomerania in its modern guise⁸. Since 1967, the club has awarded an important distinction called the “Medal of Stolem” (colloquially the “Kashubian Nobel Prize”). Nominees for this prestigious award are individuals or groups of people, institutions, associations, and organisations that have made a significant contribution to the development of Kashubian and Pomeranian culture and its popularisation⁹.

On 26th August 2006, the Kashubian Language Council (Radzëzna Kaszëbszczégò Jãzëka) was established within the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association as a body responsible, among other things, for standardising the Kashubian language and promoting knowledge and awareness of it. Its specific areas of activity – standardisation and normalisation, education, media and administration, church and liturgy, and language policy and administration – are handled by specially appointed commissions. The Council also has an online Advisory Board for Kashubian Language – Doradnica Kaszëbszczégò Jãzëka (<https://rjk.org.pl/poradnia/>).

Another association, one grouping academics, mostly humanists from various fields, who conduct broad research on the Kashubian-Pomeranian community, is the Kashubian Institute, established in 1996 (registered by the court on 22nd January 1997). In addition to conducting research, the Institute publishes

7 <https://www.kaszubi.pl/article/view/o-nas> [10.04.2025].

8 <https://pomorania.wordpress.com/remusowa-kara/> [10.04.2025].

9 Among those awarded the Stolem Medal are two researchers who published their articles in this volume: prof. dr hab. Marek Cybulski (2020) and dr Justyna Pomierska (2025).

valuable sources (not exclusively academic ones), runs a scientific journal: the annual "Acta Cassubiana"¹⁰, organises courses, trainings, conferences, and academic symposia, prepares training materials, funds scholarships for young people, etc. The most significant academic undertakings of the Institute include the publication of four volumes of a synthesis of the history of Kashubians against the background of the history of Pomerania (from modern times to the present day) based on extensive archival, library, museum, iconographic, and press research (the series: *Historia Kaszubów w dziejach Pomorza*, vol. I – Gerard Labuda; vol. II – Zygmunt Szultka; vol. III (parts 1–2) and vol. IV – Józef Borzyszkowski; vol. V – Cezary Obracht-Prondzyński), and an extensive (over 400 entries) compendium of knowledge about Kashubian symbols, myths, cultural traditions, memory, the imagined world, identity narratives, beliefs, and stereotypes – *Gniazdo Gryfa. Słownik kaszubskich symboli, pamięci i tradycji kultury* (Griffin's Nest. A dictionary of Kashubian symbols, memory, and cultural traditions, edited by Cezary Obracht-Prondzyński, Gdańsk 2021)¹¹. The last project is still being developed, this time in an open form – on the *kaszubopedia* website (<https://kaszubopedia.pl/>): the authors invite those interested to co-create, contribute, and develop the project by submitting corrections, additions, and suggesting own ideas (e.g. new entries).

Of course, museums are the cultural institutions that are particularly concerned with collecting, protecting, researching, and making available the various manifestations of material and spiritual culture. In fact, according to Obracht-Prondzyński, Kashubia and Pomerania are today among the regions in Poland with the highest concentration of museums (Obracht-Prondzyński 2007, p. 36). These institutions are highly diverse in both type and the extent of their collections. The Kashubian community is especially proud of the Museum of Kashubian-Pomeranian Literature and Music in Wejherowo¹², established in 1968 – a vibrant center of culture and scholarship. The institution boasts a large library (including early printed books, regional press, and cartographic publications), and it regularly organises academic conferences, meetings with prominent authors, exhibitions of regional artists, book launches, competitions, and concerts.

An important institution on the cultural map of Kashubia is also the Kashubian People's University (KUL), operating since 1983. The main areas of its activity focus on civic education and local government involvement, regional education, and broadly understood ecological education¹³. Among other things,

10 <https://www.instytutkaszubski.pl/acta-cassubiana>.

11 One may learn about other projects of the Kashubian Institute at <https://www.instytutkaszubski.pl/>.

12 <https://muzeum.wejherowo.pl/>.

13 <https://kul.org.pl/>.

KUL supports folk artists, organises workshops for teachers with a regional focus, conducts international youth exchanges, and also provides adult education.

b) Kashubian-language texts and Kashubian literature

The beginnings of Kashubian literature date back to the 16th century and include: *Duchowne piesnie d. Marcina Luthera y ynšich nabożnich mężow Zniemieckiego w Sławięsky ięzyk wilozone Przez Szymana Krofea, sluge słowa Bożego w Bytowie* (Religious songs of Dr. Martin Luther and other pious men translated from German into Slavonic by Szymon Krofej, servant of the Word of God in Bytów) (1586) and *Mały Catechizm D. Marciná Luthera Niemiecko-Wandalski ábo Słowięski / to jestá z Niemieckiego języká w Słowięski wystáwion y ná jáwnosc wydan / z Przydatkiem Siedm Psálmów Pokutnych krolá Dawida y inszych Potrzebnych rzeczy: osobiłwie Historiy Passiy nášzego Páná Jezusa według Ewangelistá Mattheusza / y niektórych Piesn duchownych*. Drukowany w Gdańsku przez Jerzego Rhetá / Roku Páńskiego 1643 (A Small Catechism of D. Martin Luther, German-Vandal or Slavonic translated from the German language into Slavonic and published with the Supplement of the Seven Penitential Psalms of King David and other Necessary Things: especially the History of the Passion of our Lord Jesus according to the Evangelist Matthew and some Spiritual Canticles. Printed in Gdańsk by Jerzy Rhet in the Year of Our Lord 1643) by Michał Pontanus (the author also known as Mostnik, or Brückmann). These works, notably, contain Kashubian linguistic features in terms of lexis and phonetics (Tréder 2014, pp. 73–75). However, it is only from the mid-19th century that we can speak of works written entirely in Kashubian. In 1843, Florian Ceynowa (1817–1881), the first Kashubian social and national activist (called “the awakener of Kashubia”), published two texts on Kashubian customs in a Warsaw magazine: ‘Wiléjá Noweho Roku’ and ‘Szczōdráki’, prepared outlines of Kashubian grammar, translated fragments of catechisms, published historical essays, and compiled and published fairy tales and parables in Kashubian. It is impossible to list all the creators of Kashubian literature and their works here¹⁴, but key figures include Hieronim Derdowski (1852–1902), author of the epic poem ‘O panu Czōrlńszcim co do Pucka po sēcē jachôł’ (‘About Mr. Czarliński who went to Puck to buy nets’) (1880), Aleksander Majkowski (1876–1938),

14 Many of them were published in the series Library of Kashubian Writers, which is presented in this volume by M. Cybulski.

whose novel *Žěcé i przigodě Remusa* (The Life and Adventures of Remus¹⁵) is considered to be the greatest literary work in Kashubian, as well as Franciszek Sędzicki (1882–1957), Jan Karnowski (1886–1939), Leon Heyke (1885–1939), Aleksander Labuda (1902–1981), Jan Trepczyk (1907–1989), Jan Rompski (1913–1969), and Franciszek Gucza (1911–1993). Significant contributions were also made by Jan Piepka (1926–2001), Alojzy Nagel (1930–1998), and Jan Drzeżdżon (1937–1992). Polish-language writers who supported Kashubian literature include Lech Bądkowski (1920–1984), Franciszek Fenikowski (1922–1982), Róża Ostrowska (1926–1975)¹⁶, and Jerzy Samp (1951–2015) (Borzyszkowski 2011; Treder 2005; Kuik-Kalinowska & Kalinowski 2007). In the 21st century, around 50–60 individuals write in Kashubian (Obracht-Prondzyński 2007, p. 24), with their works appearing in local press, specialised publications¹⁷, and on Kashubian websites. Nowadays Kashubian literature is being translated into other languages, including Polish, Sorbian, Belarusian, Czech, Slovak, German, and French.

Canonical works of Polish literature (e. g. by Adam Mickiewicz, Julian Tuwim, and Pope John Paul II) and also prominent works of international literature (e. g. by Agatha Christie and Charles Dickens) are being translated into Kashubian.

c) The Kashubian language in churches and Kashubian Bible translation

Some Protestant Kashubian writings from 16th to 19th centuries survive, such as the abovementioned *Duchowne pieśni* (Religious Songs) by Szymon Krofey, Martin Pontanus' translation of the *Small Catechism*, or the The Smółdzino Pericopae – a collection of biblical readings used in worship. In the 20th century, Kashubian entered Catholic liturgy, mainly through Bible translations, with Alojzy Nagel recognised as the first modern translator, albeit of only a single passage – *The Parable of the Sower* (Mark 4:3–20) – published in 1973. In 1992, the four Gospels translated by Fr. Franciszek Gucza were published (Kaszëbskô Biblëjô. Nowi Testament. IV Ewanjelje. Z łącznë przełożël na kaszëbsczi jãzëk ks. Franciszek Gucza, Poznań 1992), followed in 1993 by the full *New Testament* translated by Eugeniusz Gołabek (Świëté Pismiona Nowégô Testameńtu. Na podstawie Biblii Tysiąclecia skaszëbił Eugeniusz Gołabek, Gdańsk-Pelplin 1993)

15 This work has been available on the Internet since 1999, as part of the Virtual Library of Polish Literature of the University of Gdańsk (<http://monika.univ.gda.pl/~literat/remus/index.htm>).

16 The image of Kashubia in the prose of Róża Ostrowska is presented in B. Dąbrowski's the article in this volume.

17 In 2021, an extensive publication was published that discusses the activity of Kashubian publishers and the specificity of their activities (Kalinowski 2021).

and in 1999 by his translation of *The Book of Psalms* – (Knéga Psalmów, Gdańsk 1999). Interestingly, Grucza's version leans toward Polish linguistic norms, while Gołąbek emphasises Kashubian distinctiveness (Sikora 2013, p. 144). More recently, Franciscan friar Fr. Adam Ryszard Sikora has translated several biblical books directly from original languages, e.g. *The Gospel of Mark*, *The Gospel of John*, *The Gospel of Matthew*, *The Gospel of Luke*, *The Book of Genesis*, *The Book of Exodus*, *The Book of Leviticus*, *The Book of Numbers*, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (Ewanielëjò wedle swiätégò Marka, 2001; Ewanielëjò wedle swiätégò Jana, 2007; Ewanieliò wedle swiätégò Mateùsza, 2009; Ewanieliò wedle swiätégò Łukòsza, 2010; Knéga Zóczatków 2015; Knéga Wińdzeniò, 2016; Knéga Kapłańskò, 2017; Knéga Lëczbów, 2018 i Knéga Pòwtórzonégò Prawa, 2019).

The first Catholic Mass in Kashubian was celebrated by Fr. Franciszek Grucza in 1983 during a Kashubian community meeting in Łączyńska Huta. The first public Mass followed, taking place in Rumia in 1986. Since then, Kashubian-language liturgies have become increasingly common in churches across the region¹⁸.

d) Kashubian in schools

The group of children and young people (especially in cities) who acquire knowledge of the Kashubian language at home is systematically decreasing. Even if young people declare that they know the language, it is usually passive knowledge. In order for the language to survive, it became necessary to introduce its institutional teaching (at school), and consequently to develop appropriate programmes and prepare textbooks. This became possible as a result of the socio-political changes in Poland after 1989¹⁹.

The core curriculum states that Kashubian education takes place in two complementary areas: learning the Kashubian language and acquiring the knowledge of the Kashubian language and culture, which is why cultural content (including historical content) and knowledge of the language are treated in a holistic manner and treated as complementary to learning the Kashubian language. The aim of Kashubian education is to shape the student's awareness of the regional language, culture, and identity in partnership with the family, local, and regional environments²⁰.

18 <https://www.mojestrone.pl/kaszubszczyzna-w-liturgii-kosciola/> [10.04.2025].

19 For more on this subject, see the article by J. Pomierska published in this volume.

20 <https://zpe.gov.pl/podstawa-programowa/szkola-podstawowa/jezyk-regionalny-jezyk-kaszubski> [25.04.2025].

It is also worth adding that since 2014, the University of Gdańsk offers Kashubian ethnophilology that combines practical learning of the Kashubian language (even from scratch) with studying about the literature, culture, and history of the region and the impact of language on shaping identity.

e) Kashubian in the media and on the Internet

The longest-running Kashubian periodical is the monthly “Pomerania”, published since 1963 by the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association (<https://www.mie.siecznikpomerania.pl/>), which prints articles in Polish and Kashubian, with a fairly wide range of topics concerning broadly understood Kashubian issues, including historical, social, or educational concerns. Numerous other local newspapers also publish in Kashubian. The periodical also presents literature created by authors from local communities. The offer is further enriched by numerous other local newspapers published in Kashubia, with different reach and dominant focus.

In the years 1990–2010, a Kashubian programme, “Rodnô Zemìa” was broadcast on television. It included, among others, information about current events and issues important to the Kashubian community, presented the history and culture of Kashubia, interviews with Kashubian activists and scientists. An important element of the programme were Kashubian language lessons “Gòdómë pò kaszëbskù” (“We speak Kashubian”). Currently, TVP3 Gdańsk broadcasts, among others, the information and public affairs programme “Tedë jo”; Farwë Kaszëb – a bilingual programme presenting the contemporary life of the Kashubian community²¹.

In the 1990s, Radio Gdańsk began broadcasting a weekly Kashubian-language programme “Na bòtach ë w bòrach”, and since 2004 the programme “Klëka”, which presented the latest news from the Kashubia region. In 2004, the Ziemia Pucka Association founded a bilingual (Polish and Kashubian) radio station “Radio Kaszëbë”, whose mission is to build local ties among the inhabitants of Pomerania through the national, cultural, and ethnic integration of the community living in the ethnically Kashubian region²². As part of the 24-hour programme broadcast 7 days a week, listeners can tune in to enjoy information, entertainment, and music programmes.

The first Kashubian news website was established in 2001; its initial name – “Zasoby Kaszubsko-Pomorskie” – was changed in 2006 into “Nasze Kaszuby” (naszekaszuby.pl). Initially, the portal provided, among others, academic arti-

21 For more see: <https://kaszubopedia.pl/index.php/glossary/kaszubi-w-telewizji/> [10.04.2025].

22 <https://radiokaszebe.pl/nadawca/> [10.04.2025].

cles, a Kashubian bibliography, and illustrative materials, today it offers current information, journalistic, and popular science articles, and a discussion forum.

Also in 2001, the website kaszubia.com was created by M. Kwidziński, containing, among other things, information about the Kashubian language, writers, culture, ethnography, genealogy, geography and history, as well as materials for computer users.

In 2004, D.V. Paździerski founded the website “Rastko Kaszuby” (<https://kaszebi.rastko.net/>), as one of the regional centers of the Slavic Project Rastko. The website provides literary, historical, and linguistic materials related to Kashubia. Today, the various Kashubian organisations and institutions with educational, cultural, media, regional, and other profiles are present on the Internet, alongside a variety of Kashubian-language blogs and YouTube channels in Kashubian.

There is also a Kashubian Wikipedia – Wikipedijô (<https://csb.wikipedia.org/>) and Kashubian versions of Firefox and Linux. Online dictionaries can be used to translate between Polish and Kashubian and Kashubian and other languages.

Contents of the volume

The confirmation and/or presentation of efforts aimed at the development and enhancement of the prestige of the Kashubian language is reflected in the content of the articles presented in this volume. The first two articles in the part devoted to language focus on activities related to the culture of the Kashubian language. Marek Cybulski discusses the scope of standardisation of the Kashubian language (in terms of phonetics and inflection) in the series of volumes of the Kashubian Writers’ Library, published since 2007 by the Kashubian Institute and already numbering 18 volumes. He points out that thanks to such activities, the contemporary Kashubian-speaking reader can more easily use the extensive treasury of Kashubian literature and familiarise themselves with different styles of the language. Joanna Ginter, member of the Kashubian Language Council (KLC), an institution dealing with, among others, regulation of the Kashubian language (including the standardisation of its spelling) presents the KLC resolutions on orthography and outlines selected problems related to the codification of spelling: the discrepancy between norm and usage, the dominance of spelling over the language system (phonetics), as well as the editorial negligence of the resolutions and its consequences. The next two texts focus strictly on linguistic data. Hanna Makurat-Snuzik discusses the strategy of translating idioms word for word using examples from Jerzy Samp’s Kashubian translation of Gdańsk legends. It shows that translations into minority languages (especially closely related ones with similar system structures) can lead to the adaptation and

assimilation of new idiomatic structures, which can have three types of consequences: 1) languages can lose their specificity and unique features in the translation process; 2) word-for-word translation can benefit a weaker language system that develops by borrowing patterns from other languages; 3) a minority language that evolves in the translation process can become a hybrid that combines the features of the source and target languages. Beata Milewska and Izabela Milewska draw attention to the traditional village structure reflected in the Kashubian category of names of people in kinship relationships (names of wives and daughters). They emphasise that in the vernacular it is much more dynamic than in the general language system, but, like the latter, it is subject to historical changes. The article presents the word-formation models according to which the masculine and paternal derivatives included in the Dictionary of Kashubian dialects against the background of folk culture (*Słownik gwar kaszubskich na tle kultury ludowej*) by Fr. Bernard Sychta are created.

Two articles in the "Literature" section are devoted to contemporary prose. Bartosz Dąbrowski analyses three representations of Kashubia in the Polish-language prose of Róża Ostrowska: through the mythographic convention of the pastoral, the romantic representations of the incredible Slavic lands, and in the mode of twentieth-century critical nostalgia. He notes that in the author's works the Kashubian theme is closely related to the author's experience of post-war exile from her native Vilnius region and finding a second homeland in Kashubia. Grzegorz Schramke's article is devoted to contemporary Kashubian horror, fantasy, and science fiction literature. After a short presentation of the history of Kashubian writing, the author moves on to present and classify contemporary works that he categorises as fantasy. He notes that Kashubian fantasy, whether in terms of setting, subject matter, or creation of characters (origin, name), largely fits into the regional literature trend. He asks the reader to contemplate the question of whether regional literature, such as Kashubian, whose important role is to support activities aimed at preserving and developing the language and identity, should remain regional in its development or strive towards universalism.

Beata Milewska's article in the "Education" section, contains the thesis that teaching language and culture should take into account local aspects. The author states that fishing traditions are among the elements important for the identity of the Kashubians living on the Baltic Sea, hence in her article she suggests questions that are worth considering when creating a lesson plan on a given topic at different levels of advancement; she suggests materials (song, questionnaire, film – all in the form of authentic Kashubian texts); and adds a methodological commentary. Justyna Pomierska's article presents an outline of the history of teaching Kashubian in school (since 1991), the way of organising teaching taking into account the specificity of the subject: language skills taught from scratch and

preparation for cultural and social involvement in the life of the region (which is particularly important given the observed rapid decline of generational transmission of the language). The author concludes that Kashubian school education brings the expected effects: a positive change in the attitude of young people towards the language can be seen. The matriculation exam at the end of high school, the result of which is rarely taken into account in university admissions, is a proof of identity, the crowning achievement of many years of study, or an expression of gratitude to teachers from the “small homeland”. Young Kashubians declare that they know, appreciate, and like the Kashubian language and increasingly use it in peer contacts and in public spaces.

Bibliography

- Borzyszkowski J.: O historii literatury kaszubskiej i jej twórcach. Gdańsk 2011.
- Breza, E. (ed.): *Kaszubszczyzna / Kaszëbizna*. Opole 2001.
- Dalewska-Greń H.: *Języki słowiańskie*. Warszawa 2007.
- Dubisz S. / Karaś H. / Kolis N.: ‘Kaszubskie dialekty’, in: *Dialekty i gwary polskie. 1st edition*. Warszawa 1995, pp. 67–70.
- Pryczkowski, E.: ‘Pochodzenie Kaszubów w świetle badań lingwistycznych i historycznych’ in: “Przegląd Zachodniopomorski” 2017/XXXII/3, pp. 7–20.
- Smolicz, J.: Kultura i nauczanie w społeczeństwie wieloetnicznym. Grabczyk-Ryszka, E. (transl.). Warszawa 1990.
- Treder, J. (ed.): *Język kaszubski. Poradnik encyklopedyczny*. Gdańsk 2002.
- Treder, J.: ‘Języki lechickie’ in: Treder, J. (ed.): *Język kaszubski. Poradnik encyklopedyczny. 2nd edition*. Gdańsk 2006.
- Kalinowki, D. (ed.): *Kaszebsko smara. Oficyny wydawnicze Kaszub. Działalność i znaczenie*. Słupsk 2021.
- Kuik-Kalinowska A. / Kalinowski D.: *Literatura kaszubska. Rekonesans / Kaszëbskô lëteratura. Wezdrzënié*. Gdańsk 2017.
- Labuda, G.: *Kaszubi i ich dzieje*. Gdańsk 1996.
- Latoszek, M.: ‘Wokół funkcji przekazywania języka kaszubskiego przez instytucje społeczne’, in: Breza, E. (ed.) *Problem statusu językowego kaszubszczyzny. Materiały z sesji popularnonaukowej, 17 X 1991*. Gdańsk 1992.
- Łodziński, S.: ‘Między grupą etniczną a społecznością posługującą się językiem regionalnym. Ewolucja statusu prawnego Kaszubów w polityce państwa w Polsce po 1989 roku’, in: Obracht-Prondzyński, W.C. (ed.): *Kim są Kaszubi*. Gdańsk 2007, pp. 145–169.
- Mazurek, M.: ‘Zrzeszenie Kaszubsko-Pomorskie – kwestie polityczne w świetle przeprowadzonych badań w organizacji’, in: “Acta Cassubiana” 2007/9, pp. 151–166.
- Mordawski, J.: *Statystyka ludności kaszubskiej. Kaszubi u progu XXI wieku*. Gdańsk 2005.
- Obracht-Prondzyński C.: *Kaszubi dzisiaj: kultura – język – tożsamość*, Gdańsk 2007.
- Obracht-Prondzyński, C.: *Kaszubi: między dyskryminacją a regionalną podmiotowością*. Gdańsk 2002.

- Obracht-Prondzyński, C.: Zjednoczeni w idei. Pięćdziesiąt lat działalności Zrzeszenia Kaszubsko-Pomorskiego (1956–2006). Gdańsk 2006.
- Sikora, A.R.: Przekłady tekstów biblijnych na kaszubski. Historia. Stan aktualny. Perspektywy, "Scripta Biblica et Orientalia" 2013/5, pp. 129–152. Lublin 2013.
- Synak, B.: Kaszubi w nowych warunkach ustrojowych', in: M. Kempny, M. / Kapciak, A. / Łodzińskiego, S. (eds.): *U progu wielokulturowości. Nowe oblicza społeczeństwa polskiego*. Warszawa 1997.
- Treder, J.: Historia kaszubszczyzny literackiej. Studia. Gdańsk 2005.
- Tréder, J.: Spòdlowò wiedza ò kaszëbiznie, wëd. pòprawioné i pòszerzoné. Gduńsk 2014.
- Mańczak, W.: O pochodzeniu i dialekcie Kaszubów. Gdańsk 2002.

Part I – Language

Standardisation of the Kashubian Language in the volumes of the Kashubian Writers' Library

Abstract

Given the great dialectal diversity of Kashubian, thus far the only regional language in Poland, its standardisation is becoming necessary. At the same time, the polyvalence of Kashubian is increasing. The standardisation of the Kashubian language in terms of phonetics and inflection is being carried out in the volumes of the Kashubian Writers' Library. As part of this series, 18 volumes of texts by Kashubian writers have already been published, most often in two versions: original and standardised, and provided with historical, historical-literary and linguistic contexts.

Keywords: Kashubian language, language status, standardisation, polyvalence, Kashubian Writers' Library

Kashubian against the background of other Slavic languages

Kashubian is a group of dialects used by people living in the north of Poland, on the Baltic Sea. Together with Polish, Kashubian belongs to the group of West Slavic languages, and within it to the subgroup of Lechitic languages,¹ which, in addition to Polish dialects, also included the language of the so-called Dravāno-Polaben,² which became extinct in the 18th century. As early as the 10th century, Kashubian was influenced by Polish dialects, and then by the Polish language, because the area of Kashubia became part of the Polish state,³ while the

Marek Cybulski, ORCID 0000-0003-2576-5408, University of Gdańsk.

1 Term introduced by the Russian linguist, Aleksander Hilferding (1831–1872) in his work 'Ostatki Sławjan na jużnom beregu Bałtijskiego Morja', in: "Etnograficzeskij Sbornik Russkogo Geograficzeskogo Obszczestwa", vol. V, St. Petersburg 1862, pp. 1–191; Polish translation: Aleksander Hilferding, 'Resztki Słowian na polskom kuchni morza', Perczyńska, N. (transl.), Treder, J. (ed.), afterword: Popowska-Taborska, H. / Treder, J. Gdańsk 1989.

2 Treder, J.: 'Języki lechickie', in: Treder, J. (ed.): *Język kaszubski. Poradnik encyklopedyczny*, 2nd edition. Gdańsk 2006, pp. 103–105.

3 Szultka, J.: 'Szkic dziejów Kaszubów ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem przemian językowych', in: Breza, E. (ed.): *Kaszubszczyzna/Kaszëbizna*. Opole 2001, pp. 11–41.

Kashubian population was and is neighbouring with the population speaking the so-called Polish land dialects. Therefore, many linguists, especially Polish ones, consider Kashubian to be a dialect of Polish, although markedly different from other Polish dialects: Greater Poland, Lesser Poland, Masovian, and Silesian. Even today, some researchers include Kashubian in the group of Polish dialects, although it is more often assumed that Kashubian is a separate language.⁴ This is particularly facilitated by the resolution adopted by the Sejm of the Republic of Poland in 2005 that Kashubian is the only regional language⁵ in Poland and as such is entitled to legal protection.⁶

Language standardisation

In every literary language, as well as in dialects and vernaculars, there is a language norm, i. e. a set of all elements of language (phonemes, morphemes, words, ways of pronouncing them, combining them, etc.) that are socially approved and used by all speakers of that language.⁷ Failure to comply with the language norm entails risks of misunderstanding and/or ridiculing the speaker. Of course, the norm works differently in languages with a long literary tradition, in which such activities are promoted by prescriptive publications and the media, and differently in vernaculars, where the speaker's failure to adhere to the norm can merely result in lack of acceptance.⁸ The totality of activities aimed at establishing and complying with the norm of a language/dialect has been called normalisation, and more broadly – also taking into account the set of external activities accompanying the introduction of the norm – standardisation.⁹

4 Cf. e.g. Rzetelska-Feleszko, E.: 'Rozwój kaszubszczyzny i jej odrębność', in: *Kaszubszczyzna/Kaszëbizna*. op. cit., pp. 99–106.

5 Recently the Sejm of the Republic of Poland recognised it as a regional language, although the President did not sign the bill.

6 Cf. Cybulski, M.: 'Praktyczne aspekty ustawy o mniejszościach narodowych i etnicznych oraz o języku regionalnym,' in: Treder, J. (ed.) *Kaszubszczyzna w przeszłości i dziś, / Kaszëbizna dõwni ẽ dzys*. Warszawa 2006, pp. 63–72; 73–98.

7 Cf. e.g. Pisarek, W. / Reczek, J.: 'Norma językowa,' in: *Encyklopedia języka polskiego*, 2nd edition, Wrocław 1992, p. 226.

8 Cf. *Miedzy sąsiadami krążą żartobliwe rymy drwiące z wymowy Bylaków* (the term *Bëlôrcë* – B. Sychta, *Słownik gwar kaszubskich na tle kultury ludowej*, vol. 1. Wrocław 1967, p. 32).

9 Cf. Cybulski, M.: 'Standaryzacja kaszubszczyzny – zakres, historia, przykłady', in: Sędziak, H. / Czyż, D. (eds.): *Polszczyzna Mazowska i Podlasia*, vol. XVII, *Językowa przeszłość i współczesność Mazowsza i Podlasia*, Łomża 2013, pp. 93–103, reprinted: *Standarizacjõ kaszëbiznë – òbjim, historio, przëkladë*, 'Biuletin Radzëznë Kaszëbsczëgò Jãzëka 2014', Gduńsk 2014, pp. 89–99; *Standaryzacja kaszubszczyzny – zakres, historia, przykłady* in: "Biuletyn Rady Języka Kaszubskiego 2014"/ "Biuletin Radzëznë Kaszëbsczëgò Jãzëka," Gduńsk 2014, pp. 237–248.

In the work of the Kashubian community, especially its opinion-forming elites, for the sake of socio-cultural ennoblement and/or revitalisation of Kashubian,¹⁰ standardisation has played and continues to play an important – if not the most important – role. It should be added, however, that standardisation, i.e. reducing the structural variability of Kashubian, is accompanied by increasing its functional variability, i.e. developing polyvalence, consisting in “the ability of language to express thoughts at various socio-cultural levels of linguistic communication and in various functional styles”¹¹. Both of these types of activities of Kashubian authors and linguists currently constitute the main core of efforts to raise the linguistic status of Kashubian, because it is precisely the developed polyvalence and the existence of a language norm that are considered today as the most important features of literary languages, contrasting them with dialectal varieties of ethnic languages.¹²

The Kashubian Language Council (Radzëzna Kaszëbsczégò Jãzëka), established in 2006, is currently responsible for the institutional standardisation of the Kashubian language. It brings together Kashubian linguists, writers, publicists, and teachers and is responsible for assessing the correctness of spoken and written Kashubian texts.¹³

As part of the work on the standardisation of Kashubian, the following have been published:

- E. Gòłąbk, *Wskôzë kaszëbszczégò pisënkù*, Gduńsk 1997 – in contrast to what the title suggests, the first Kashubian-language prescriptive guide;
- *Kaszëbszczi słowôrz normatiwny*, Gdańsk 2005 – the first Kashubian-language prescriptive dictionary;

10 Synak, B.: ‘Współczesne funkcjonowanie kaszubszczyzny’, in: Breza, E. (ed.) *Kaszubszczyzna. Kaszëbizna*. Opole 2001, p. 303; Treder, J. ‘Formy kultywowania i aktywizacji kaszubszczyzny’, in: Treder, J. (ed.): *Historia kaszubszczyzny literackiej. Studia*. Gdańsk 2005, pp. 328–344.

11 Zieniukowa, J.: ‘O nowych badaniach, wprowadzonych pod koniec XX wieku form komunikacji w języku kaszubskim, Badania kaszuboznawcze w XX wieku’, in: Borzyszkowski, J. / Obracht-Prondzyński, C. (eds.): *Badania kaszuboznawcze w XX wieku*. Gdańsk 2001, p. 262. See also: Rogowska-Cybulska, E.: ‘Poliwalencja kaszubszczyzny a kultura masowa (Przyczynek do roli gatunków tekstów jako argumentu w dyskusji nad statusem językowym kaszubszczyzny)’, in: Treder, J. (ed.): *Kaszubszczyzna w przeszłości i dziś / Kaszëbizna dõwni ẽ dzys*. Warszawa 2006, pp. 73–98.

12 Cf. Cybulski, M.: ‘O normie morfonologicznej w kaszubszczyźnie’, in: “Studia Slavica”/ “Slovanské Studie” 2012/XVI, p. 195.

13 The Kashubian Language Council publishes its proposals of correct usage in the form of resolutions in the bilingual Polish-Kashubian yearbook “Biuletyn Rady Języka Kaszubskiego / Biuletin Radzëznë Kaszëbszczégò Jãzëka”. Fourteen volumes of the bulletin have been published so far, starting from 2003 (two volumes in 2007: Polish and Kashubian), and then in 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024 (one bilingual volume each).