A syntactic sketch of Wangerooge Frisian

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introductory remarks

This working paper presents a preliminary sketch of the syntax of Wangerooge Frisian, the now extinct language of the German Wadden Sea island Wangerooge. The sketch is intended to lay the groundwork for a more comprehensive grammatical description of the language which is currently in development.[1] It thus represents work in progress and is in no way intended as a definite description of the language – on the contrary, many grammatical phenomena still need to be described (or described better), and any comments on the present manuscript are most welcome.

In this introductory chapter a brief overview of Wangerooge Frisian is provided: I first introduce the historical and sociolinguistic context of the language (Section 1.2). Section 1.3 then provides a brief overview of the linguistic sources and relevant earlier work on Wangerooge Frisian. In Section 1.4 the structure of the remainder of the working paper is explained.

1.2 The Wangerooge Frisian language

Wangerooge Frisian belongs to the Frisian branch of the Germanic language family, which is in turn a branch of Indo-European. More specifically, Wangerooge Frisian belongs to the East Frisian subbranch and is often considered a dialect of a larger East Frisian language. Most East Frisian varieties are now extinct, and only a few of them are documented in any detail. The closest relative of Wangerooge Frisian for which documentation exists from the modern era is the dialect of Harlingerland, which is recorded in a single document, Johannes Cadovius Müller's *Memoriale linguæ Frisicæ* from 1691 (published by König 1911); for more information on the early documentation of East Frisian, see Versloot (2001a,c). The closest present-day relative of Wangerooge Frisian is Sater Frisian (or Saterlandic), which is spoken by a small minority in Saterland in Lower Saxony (see e.g. Fort 2001; Slofstra & Hoekstra 2022).

Wangerooge Frisian was the native language of the few hundred inhabitants of Wangerooge until the mid-19th century. The earliest linguistic documentation of the language is from around 1800, but the bulk of the surviving material was recorded in the 1830s and 1840s, as explained in more detail below. After the *Neujahrsflut*, a tidal flood which struck the German North Sea coast on New Years' Eve 1854–55 and destroyed many of the houses on Wangerooge, most of the

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inhabitants were evacuated to the new settlement Neuwangerooge on the mainland. Soon after this point Wangerooge Frisian was no longer acquired by children, leading to a rapid decline in the number of speakers. The Oldenburg census of 1890 found 32 people who spoke Wangerooge Frisian at home, 12 on the island and 20 in Neuwangerooge, of whom only a single person was less than 30 years old (Kollmann 1891: 384–385).[2] Around 1900, the linguist Theodor Siebs counted about thirty fluent speakers in total, none of them less than fifty years old (Siebs 1923: 237–238); on a field trip in 1927 Siebs found seven remaining speakers in Neuwangerooge, the youngest of whom was 79 years old (Siebs 1931: 80). The last two people with some knowledge of the language are said to have died in 1950 (Siebs 1954: 161–162), but since one of these is not mentioned by Th. Siebs and the other is said to be "nicht mehr ganz rein sprechend" (Siebs 1923: 238), they were probably not fluent speakers (see Versloot 1996a: xi, liv). Already in 1927, Th. Siebs believed that the language had already died out or would do so within a few years (Siebs 1923: 238).

Until the middle of the 19th century, the community on Wangerooge appears to have been relatively isolated and to have practiced linguistic endogamy. The scientist Ulrich Jasper Seetzen (1767–1811), who visited the island in 1799, wrote that "Man kennt wenige Beispiele, daß sie ihre Insel mit dem Festlande vertauscht hätten oder daß Fremde sich bei ihnen ansiedelten" (Seetzen 1804, cited by Eelking 1853: 28). Another visitor to the island, Lorenz Oken (1779–1851), described the Wangerooge Frisians as "eine einzige Familie von 200 Menschen, die bloß unter sich heiraten" (Oken 1807, cited by Braüning-Oktavio 1958: 21). That the language of the Wangerooge Frisians was clearly distinct from the Low German varieties spoken on the mainland was recognized both by outsiders and by the islanders themselves.[3]

From the limited evidence concerning the sociolinguistic situation, it appears that Wangerooge Frisian was already in a vulnerable position in the early 19th century, i.e. before the *Neujahrsflut* of 1854–55 and the resettlement of speakers to the mainland. Firstly, the language appears to have had low prestige, both among outsiders and within the speech community itself. Ehrentraut (1849: 13–16; 1996b: 446.35–36) reports that the Wangerooge Frisians were often made fun of because of their language, and that they were subject to various prejudices from people from the mainland, e.g. that they were pagans and that Wangerooge Frisian was "a thieves' language which the islanders had invented in order not to be understood" by outsiders.[4] Ehrentraut himself was also teased and called an "antique dealer" (*Antiquitätenkrämer*) because of his interest in the language. He gives the following quotation in Wangerooge Frisian as an example of how his work was perceived by the speakers themselves:

> *yaa schríivet de Wangeróoger too$_e$l up, deer kumt doch siinléᴛʜiig nicks fon herdúut, dait kant yaa doch nich farsta'un, af yaa múttert álltiid 'n Wangeróoger bii yam hab, deer yam dait farthiúutsket. dait kan jaa doch éewiig nich líziin weer* (Ehrentraut 1849: 16)
> "They are writing down the Wangerooge language, surely nothing will ever come out of that, people cannot understand that, unless they always have a person from Wangerooge with them who can translate it into German for them. Surely no one is ever going to be able to read it"

Secondly, a state of asymmetrical bilinguialism was already evident in the early 19th century. The

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[2] Note that the census only allowed for a single home language (*Umgangssprache*) per person; it is not stated how a person was counted who spoke one language to their spouse and another to their childen. The census also did not distinguish degrees of fluency.

[3] See e.g. Winckelmann (1671: 11, cols 1–2); Oken (in Braüning-Oktavio 1958), Seetzen (2017), Kosegarten (1846), Lübben (1847), or the comment by an islander cited from Ehrentraut (1849) below (some other early references to the language are cited by Gerhardt 1938: 4–7). Even Schaumann (1839), who believed that Wangerooge Frisian and Sater Frisian were dialects of Low German, recognized that they were "zum grössten Theile ganz unverständlich" to Low German speakers (p. 462).

[4] "eine Diebessprache, welche die Insulaner erfunden hätten, um nicht verstanden zu werden" (Versloot 1996b: 446.36).

Wangerooge Frisian language apparently never had any official or administrative functions, and various reports mention that the Wangerooge Frisians spoke (Low) German as well (e.g. Winckelmann (1671: 11, cols 1–2); Crome 1793: 48; Eelking 1853: 30–31). This appears to have been the case for a long time, and the Wangerooge Frisian material from Ehrentraut's fieldwork attests to pervasive lexical and grammatical influence from Low German. The influence is likely to have increased after the establishment of a health resort (*Seebad*) on the island in 1804. Finally, the precarious position of the community overall was recognized already before the flood of 1854–55. Ehrentraut (1849: 15–16) predicted that it would only be a matter of time before the village would be destroyed by a flood, and Lübben (1847: 49), who had visited the island a few years after Ehrentraut, also thought that the island would eventually "fall victim" to the waves.

The decline of Wangerooge Frisian is illustrated clearly by the statistics in Table 1.1, which gives an estimate of the number of speakers at various times. The figure for 1738 is the number of inhabitants on the island reported for this year; the figure for 1890 is from the census (cf. above); the counts for 1900 and 1927 were made by Th. Siebs.

Table 1.1: Number of Wangerooge Frisian speakers

Year	Speakers (approx.)	Source
1738	171	Ehrentraut 1849
1790	174	Crome 1793
1890	32	Kollmann 1891
c. 1900	30	Siebs 1923
1927	7	Siebs 1931

1.3 Sources and earlier work

Although Wangerooge Frisian is now extinct, a number of primary and secondary sources exist which make it possible to study the language in considerable detail. This section will briefly mention the most important ones; more complete overviews of earlier literature may be found in Gerhardt (1938) and Versloot (1996a).

By far the most important primary source is the material collected by the lawyer and politician Heinrich Georg Ehrentraut (1798–1866), who carried out fieldwork on Wangerooge four times in the period 1837–41. Some of this material appeared during Ehrentraut's lifetime (Ehrentraut 1849; 1854), while many texts were only published later (Versloot 1996b), after the rediscovery of Ehrentraut's original manuscripts (see Versloot 1996a: lxix–lxx for details). An overview of the material which this working paper is based on is given in Table 1.2.[5] The table clearly shows the importance of the Ehrentraut texts: more than 90% of the corpus is made up of Ehrentraut's collection.

Other important materials include the texts collected by Enno Littmann and Th. Siebs around 1900 (published as Littmann 1922 and Siebs 1923), which attest to the language at a later stage, about two generations after Ehrentraut's work. The translated texts published by Firmenich (1854) and Winkler (1874), as well as the *Wenkersätze* collected in 1884, are clearly less representative

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[5]The second column lists the main text types found in a given collection. 'Sentences' refer to individual sentences which are not part of longer texts, either translations from German or the copious example sentences found in the Ehrentraut material. 'Autobiographical' refers to texts where a Wangerooge Frisian speaker talks about their own life in particular or more generally about life on the island.

of spontaneous spoken language, but are of interest because they allow explicit comparison with German parallel texts.

Table 1.2: Wangerooge Frisian corpus

Source	Main type of material	Date	Words
Ehrentraut MS. (Versloot 1996b)	Fairy tales, sentences, etc.	*c.* 1840	*c.* 66,000
FA1 (Ehrentraut 1849)	Sentences	*c.* 1840	*c.* 12,500
FA2 (Ehrentraut 1854)	Autobiographical, fairy tales	*c.* 1840	*c.* 18,000
Firmenich (1854)	Translations, anecdotes	*c.* 1850	*c.* 1,700
Winkler (1874)	Translation	1871	*c.* 950
Wenkersätze (Bosse 2021)	Sentences	*c.* 1884	*c.* 450
Littmann (1922)	Autobiographical	1897	*c.* 2,000
Siebs (1923)	Autobiographical, sentences	*c.* 1899	*c.* 3,000
In total			*c.* 104,600

Scholarly work on Wangerooge Frisian has so far focussed mainly on phonological and morphological phenomena. Phonological work includes Löfstedt (1932) and Stiles (2008) on the historical development of vowels and Hoekstra (1998) on 'r-insertion' between alveolar plosives. On morphology, relevant work includes Hoekstra (2001: 348–350) on agreement with plural pronouns, Hoekstra (2008) on suppletive verbs, Versloot (2002) on diminutive morphology.[6] With the exception of Hoekstra (n.d.) on the copula *heit* 'be (called)', the syntax of the language appears to be entirely unexplored. As Versloot (2001b: 424) notes, however, the rich documentation of Wangerooge Frisian provides a solid basis for a description of its syntax, and Hoekstra (1998: 26) expresses the hope that the language will be the object of further investigations in the future. This syntactic sketch is intended as a step in that direction.

1.4 This working paper

As mentioned in Section 1.1, this paper gives a preliminary description of the syntax of Wangerooge Frisian. The linguistic sources used for the description are listed in Table 1.2 above. The vast majority of examples come from the Ehrentraut material (i.e. Ehrentraut 1849; 1854; Versloot 1996b); if no source is given for an example in the text, it is from this part of the corpus. For other examples, the source is mentioned between brackets.

The approach is synchronic and descriptive; only very occasionally comparison is made to other Frisian or Germanic languages. The various syntactic phenomena are usually illustrated with two or more examples. The reader will note that not all grammatical phenomena get equal treatment. For instance, the description of tense and modality (Chapter 5, Section 5.1) is relatively detailed, whereas the overview of infinitival constructions (Chapter 6, Section 6.7) is very brief and does not do justice to the material. I intend to improve on this imbalance in the published grammar.

All examples are given a fairly close English translation. In cases where Ehrentraut's German translations were deemed helpful, these are given as well. However, due to time constraints no interlinear glosses have been provided, except in the short text collection in Chapter 7. Such glosses will of course be provided throughout the final grammar.

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[6]For overviews of some other earlier studies, most of them historically oriented, see Århammar (1968: 292–293) and Kramer (1996: 305–307).

The working paper consists of the following chapters: Chapter 2 gives an overview of the major parts of speech and their grammatical categories. In Chapter 3 the structure and word order of phrases (noun phrases, adpositional phrases, etc.) are described. Chapter 4 gives an overview of the simple clause, introducing types of speech acts, predicates, modifiers at the clause level, and word order. In Chapter 5 a number of verbal categories are discussed, namely tense, modality, aspect, voice, and valency. Chapter 6 deals with complex clauses and subordination. Finally, Chapter 7 contains a small selection of glossed and translated Wangerooge Frisian texts. The interlinear glosses in this chapter follows the Leipzig Glossing Rules; the abbreviations used are listed in Table 1.3. A few of these are also used in the running text.

Table 1.3: Glossing abbreviations

Gloss	Meaning
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
APPL	applicative
COMP	complementizer
COP	copula
DEM	demonstrative
DEF	definite article
DOCH	particle *doch*
F	feminine
INDF	indefinite article
INF1	infinitive 1 ("short" infinitive)
INF2	infinitive 2 ("long" infinitive)
M	masculine
NEG	negation
N	neuter
POSS	possessive
PL	plural
PST	past
PTCP	participle
RECP	reciprocal
SG	singular
WAIL	particle *wail*

Chapter 2

Parts of speech

2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the major parts of speech in Wangerooge Frisian and their inflectional categories. The parts of speech covered are (in this order): nouns (Section 2.2), pronouns (Section 2.3), determiners and quantifiers (Section 2.4), adjectives (Section 2.5), verbs (Section 2.6), adverbs (Section 2.7), particles (Section 2.8), adpositions (Section 2.9), and conjunctions (Section 2.10).

2.2 Nouns

Nouns in Wangerooge Frisian inflect for number, distinguishing singular and plural forms. An overview of the attested pluralization patterns (declension classes) with example nouns is shown in Table 2.1. Several singularia tantum and pluralia tantum are also mentioned by Ehrentraut. Examples of the former include *biifääl* 'command', *schot* 'floor', *floot* 'high tide', and *jil* 'money'. Examples of the latter include *állers* 'parents' and *flü'ckuu* (parts of a sieve). (On occasional singular agreement with morphologically plural nouns, see Ch. 3.)

   Three noun classes (grammatical genders) are distinguished, which in line with the tradition will be called masculine (M), feminine (F), and neuter (N). The interplay of various principles of gender assignment (phonological, semantic, morphological, etc.) have yet to be investigated; there is a great deal of variation in the material, however, with many nouns appearing with more than one grammatical gender. Gender is not overtly marked on the noun itself, but is reflected in the choice of anaphoric pronouns, the inflection of attributive adjectives, and the form of determiners, possessive pronouns, and the numerals one to three.

   There is no productive case inflection, but a small number of nouns are attested with the possessive suffix *-s*; these are personal names and common nouns referring to humans. The common nouns found so far are listed in Table 2.2. The possessive relation in all the attested examples is a close one – i.e. the possessed is something or something closely associated with the possessor – but it is not necessarily semantically inalienable (cf. e.g. *huus*).

(1)　*den gíingen yaa naa de faun hírii állers huus*
　　　'Then they went to the girl's parents' house'

(2)　*nuu farléevet dan méllers fent him in djuu faun*
　　　'Now the miller's son falls in love with the girl'

Table 2.1: Noun pluralization patterns

Pattern	SG	PL	Gloss	Comment
-Ø	foot	foot	'foot'	
	fitk	fitk	'wing'	
	wain	wain	'wagon'	also wains
	hoon	hoon	'horn'	
	tä'fel	tä'fel	'table'	also tä'fels
	stuunn	stuunn	'hour'	also stúunnen
-s	éerem	éerems	'arm'	
	jel	jels	'skiff'	
	bánnel	bánnels	'nettle'	
	mä'ärket	mä'ärkes	'market'	
	móoget	móoges	'maid'	
-en	keed	kéeden	'chain'	
	greep	gréepen	'grip'	
	doo$_e$t	doo$_e$ten	'deed'	
	forst	få'årsten	'prince'	
	freig	fra'igen	'question'	also fre'ig
	móoget	móoges	'maid'	
-uu	fät	fü'ttuu	'keg'	also fü'ttuus
	kruus	kruuzuu	'jug'	
	huus	huuzuu	'house'	also huuzuus
	gräft	grüvuu	'grave'	
-er	bauk	ba'uker	'book'	
	blad	blader/bloo$_e$der	'leaf'	(bloo$_e$der only on trees)
	kalf	kálver	'calf'	
	kurf	kúrver	'basket'	
	hóorkiint	hóorkiiner	'illegitimate child'	
	kuu	kíier	'cow'	
	breif	bre'iver	'letter'	
	loo$_e$f	loo$_e$ver	'loaf, loaves'	
	gat	goo$_e$ter	'hole	
-(ii)ng	meen	méeniing	'morning'	also meens
	broo$_e$r	bróoriing	'brother'	also broo$_e$rs
	sónnelk	sónnelng	fish sp.	
-ster	spíiliider	spíiliister	'player'	
	róoiider	róoiister	'rower, oarsman'	
	rä'thmackiider	rä'thmackiister	'wainwright'	
Irregular	dii	dígge	'day'	
	goos	gooz	'goose'	
	deef	deev	'thief'	
	mon	liúud(en)	'man'	
	wüükuu	wü'cke	'week'	also wüükuu(s)
	kronkbääd	kronkenbääd	'sickbed'	

Table 2.2: <u>Common nouns attested with</u> POSS -*s*

Noun	Gloss
állers	'parents'
foo$_e$r	'father'
maam	'mother'
meller	'miller'
mon	'man'
nóo$_e$ber	'neighbour'
pastóor	'minister'

The exact status of possessive -*s* is not clear from the evidence. On the one hand, the coordinated noun phrase in (3), where only *maam* 'mother' receives the -*s*, suggested that it may be better analysed as a clitic ('phrasal affix'). On the other hand, examples like (4), where the determiner agrees with the possessed noun rather than the possessor, suggests that *nóo$_e$bers* might be better analyzed as a premodifier or as the first element in a compound. In any event, it seems likely that -*s* should not be cons idered a productive case affix in Wangerooge Frisian.

(3) *daa gungt hii naa siin foo$_e$r un maams huus*
     'Then he goes to his father and mother's house'

(4) *nuu quaa djuu nóo$_e$bers faun too daa béener*
     'Now the neighbour's daughter says to the childen: ...'

2.3 Pronouns

2.3.1 Personal (and reflexive) pronouns

Personal pronouns are inflected for case, distinguishing a nominative form used for subjects and subject complements and an oblique form used for objects and complements of adpositions. Three persons and two numbers are distinguished; in the third person singular the three nominal genders are also distinguished. The paradigm is shown in Table 2.3. (Possessive pronouns are discussed below under determiners.)

Table 2.3: Personal pronouns

		NOM	OBL
1SG		iik ('k)	mii
2SG		duu (-tuu)	dii
3SG	N	et ('t)	et ('t)
	F	yuu	hírii ('z)
	M	hii ('ii)	him ('m, 'n)
1PL		wii	uus
2PL		yum ('m)	yoo
3PL		yaa	yam ('z)

Several pronouns have reduced or clitic variants, given between brackets in Table 2.3, which

may appear under certain conditions. Some of these forms are transparently phonetically reduced forms of the full pronoun (cf. e.g. *hii* and *'ii*), while others are not phonologically related to the full forms (cf. the pronouns *hírii* and *yam* and the clitic variant *'z*). The conditions under which the reduced forms may occur are not the same for the different pronouns. For instance, the 2PL nominative form *'m* appears to be a verbal enclitic as it is only attested immediately following a finite verb, e.g. in questions:

(5)   *wut häb 'm den bla'uket?*
      'What have you (PL) seen, then?'

The 2SG nominative form *-tuu* is found in the same context, but also cliticized to the conjunctions *dat* and *wut*, as e.g. in (6):

(6)   *iik weil dáttuu weerst deer de héeriing fíngen weert!*
      'I wish that you were where the herrings are caught!'

The 3PL oblique form *'z* (also spelt *z'*), finally, is found both after verbal forms and other pronouns:

(7)   *won de wask den ful weer, den bróo_eten daa twoo yárens naa 't schip too un sme'iten z' in 't ruum*
      'When then the sieve was full, the two of them brought theirs to the ship and threw them in the freight hold'

(8)   *nuu ha'itert yaa 'z uk fon kíiltiis, áaber bii óolen tíiden híiten yaa 'z píijäcker*
      'Now they also call them [a type of coat] *kíiltiis*, but in the old days they called them *píijäcker*'

Generic pronoun

A generic 3SG pronoun *'n* 'one' (or 'you', 'people') also exists. Etymologically, *'n* is presumably a reduced form of *ään* '(some)one', which is also used as an indefinite pronoun (see below). The generic pronoun appears mainly (exclusively?) in subject position, as in (9) and (10):

(9)   *man nuu kan 'n 't in ään dii wail doo.*
      '… but now one can do it in a single day' (i.e. walk around the island)

(10) *far jil kan 'n der düüvël donsën sjoo*
      'For money one can watch the devil dance' (a proverb)

Instead of the pronoun *'n*, a generic noun phrase *'n minsk* (lit. 'a person') is sometimes used. As the use of the plural anaphoric pronouns *yam* (and *yaa*) in (11) shows, this is interpreted as referring to people in general. *'n minsk* appears to be the only available option if a possessive relation ('one's') is to be expressed, as shown in (12); at least no possessive uses of the generic pronoun *'n* are attested.

(11) *bii óolen tíiden, won 'n minsk leig too sla'ipen, den kaum yam wail in de slaip far, yaa wúurden ríipiin.*
      'In the old days when people were sleeping, it sometimes happened in their sleep that they were "called" [i.e. by spirits].'

(12) *wut is djuu sun star in 'n minsk siin óogen*
      'How bright the sun is in one's eyes'

Reflexive pronoun

The oblique form of the personal pronoun normally also functions as reflexive forms. However, a dedicated third person reflexive pronoun *sick*, a borrowing from Low German, is also mentioned by Ehrentraut. In the corpus this is mainly attested in proverbs, many of which are close translations of (Low) German equivalents (see Versloot 1996a: lxxxi–lxxxii).

(13) *yuu hää hirii wittiich lat*
      'She has had her fortune told' (lit. she has let herself foretell)

(14) *dee sick feel unnernímt, dee mut uk feel doo.*
      'He who makes many plans for himself, also has to do a lot'

Reciprocal pronoun

The reciprocal pronoun is *óoren* 'each other', as shown in (15)–(17). When this is the complement of an adposition, the preposition usually attracts the stress, though this does not appear to be obligatory; compare (16) and (17).

(15) *nuu kan dait jung wüüf un djuu faun óoren gaar nich fardríge, häbt all dii spektáakel*
      'Then the young wife and the girl cannot stand each other, they argue all day'

(16) *daa twein gunget mítooren, un dan ään gungt alle'in*
      'The two of them go with each other, and the last one goes alone'

(17) *nuu tjúuget yaa béener mit óoren un won yaa nich doo$_e$d sint den líbbet yaa noch*
      'Then they have children with each other, and if they haven't died yet, then they are still alive.'

2.3.2 Indefinite and negative pronouns

The indefinite and negative pronouns identified so far are listed in Table 2.4. These include the more canonical pronouns like 'someone' and 'something' and adverbial proforms like 'somewhere'; see (Haspelmath 1997: Ch. 2) for discussion and arguments for treating these types together.

Table 2.4: Indefinite and negative pronouns

	Indefinite	Negative
Person	woo, ään 'someone'	nímmens 'no one'
Thing	wit 'something'	nicks 'nothing'
Place	a'inerwéegen 'somewhere'	nárgens/narns 'nowhere'
Time	?	éewiig/siinléтнiig nich 'never'
Manner	jicks 'somehow' (?)	?

The difference between *woo* and *ään* appears to be identifiability to the speaker – compare the examples in (18) and (19) below – but this matter requires further investigation. Because the form *ään* is identical to the masculine form of the numeral 'one', one might expect that a feminine indefinite pronoun ?*ain* also existed, but this does not seem to be attested.

(18) a. *is deer íiven woo wíziin?*
          'Was someone just here?'

b. *nuu sant dan úpperst woo weg naa dan weert too deer djuu wäädenschüp mit dan mon mácket hää*

'Now the colonel sends someone over to the innkeeper who made the bet with the man'

(19) a. *kiik, deer is ään bii 't hólthauen*

'Look, someone is chopping wood over there'

b. *dan oor dii daa kumt der al ään mit dan hánsken*

'The next day already someone comes with the glove'

An indefinite manner proform appears to be attested in (20), but this is somewhat uncertain as this is the only example. No temporal indefinite proform ('sometime', 'at some point') has been found so far. The meaning 'never' is expressed by combining one of the adverbs *éewiig* 'always' and *siinléтнiig* 'ever' with the standard negation, as shown in (21); this is well attested in the corpus.

(20) *won iik et man jicks íiven doo kan, den silt duu 't hab.*

'If I can manage to do it somehow, then you will get it'

(21) *dan wii sin iik siinlëтнiig nich giingën*

'That road I have never taken'

2.3.3 Interrogative pronouns

The most important interrogative proforms are listed in Table 2.5. These include the pronouns *woo* 'who(m)' and *wut* 'what' and a number of interrogative adverbs of time, place, etc. None of these inflect for case.

Table 2.5: Interrogative pronouns and adverbs

	Form	Gloss
Person	woo	'who'
Thing	wut	'what'
Identity	wolk, wólker	'which'
Property	wut far (wólker)	'what kind of'
Place (etc.)	weer	'where'
Time	won, wonéer	'when'
Manner	huu	'how'

For the interrogative pronoun of identity, Ehrentraut gives the alternative forms *wolk* and *wólker*, apparently without any functional distinction. In the texts collected by Ehrentraut, only *wolk* occurs, as in (22).

(22) *wolk fon be'iтнen häb' yum 't roo$_e$t?*

'Which of the two have you given it to?'

For the interrogative property or 'type' construction ('what kind/type of X'), the form *wut far*, consisting of the pronoun *wut* and a prepositional phrase with *far* 'for' (the form *wut far wólker* is also mentioned by Ehrentraut, but does not seem to be attested in texts). As (24) shows, the prepositional phrase may appear immediately following the pronoun or separated from it.

(23) *naa wut far gøødër weilën yum lauk?*
      'What kind of things were you going to look for?'

(24) *wut hää hii far ba'uker? oder wut far ba'uker hää hii?*
      'What kind of books does he have?'

The form *weer* functions both as an interrogative locative adverb ('where'), as in (25) and as a 'pronominal adverb' replacing *wut* (and possibly *woo* – this requires further investigation) in adpositional phrases, cf. (26).

(25) *weer wult duu weg?*
      'Where are you going?'

(26) *weer huulst duu saa bítterliik uum?*
      'What are you crying so awfully about?'

Relative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns *weer* and *wut* are also used as relative pronouns. In addition, for human antecedents the relativizer *dee(r)* is found. The use of these forms is treated in Chapter 6, Section 6.5 on relative clauses.

2.4 Determiners and quantifiers

2.4.1 Articles and demonstratives

Wangerooge Frisian distinguishes between an indefinite article (in the singular) and two definite articles. The indefinite article is normally written *'n* (the spelling *än* is also occasionally found in the material). This form is used with all three genders in the singular:

(27) *dait weer 'n oo$_e$l hex*
      'That was an old witch (F)'

(28) *daa kumt yuu deer bii 'n groo$_e$t slos*
      'Then she arrives at a big castle (N)'

(29) *yuu wul him 'n góolen ring reik*
      'She wants to give him a golden ring (M)'

The definite articles are inflected for gender and number. There is a distinction between a 'weak' article *de/'t* and a 'strong' article, which is formally identical to the distal demonstrative pronoun. The weak article *de* may appear as *der* before alveolar consonants (cf. Hoekstra 1998). The functional distinction between the strong and weak definite articles still requires investigation.

The two functions of the strong article/demonstrative appears to have been distinguished by means of stress, as suggested by the occasional underlining of the forms in the Ehrentraut material when the function is demonstrative (rendered with small caps in the examples quoted in the following):

(30) *nu sant yu na him to, dat hi sil faraiven bi hiri kumme in DAN pizel in 't slos*
      'Now she sends a message to him that he should come to her tonight in THAT room in the castle'

Table 2.6: Demonstratives and definite article

	'Weak' DEF	'Strong' DEF + DIST	PROX
N	't	dait	dit
F	de	(d)juu/diu	dis
M	de	dan	din
PL	de	daa	díz(z)e

(31) *yuu wul 'n laum uut DAIT scha'ipheck hab*
      'She wants a lamb from THAT sheep pen'

Like the strong article/distal demonstrative, the proximal demonstrative also distinguishes all three genders; see the overview in Table 2.6.

(32) *un dait is dis løøv deer hiir bii him is*
      'And that is this lion (F) which is here by him'

(33) *nuu múttert dízze beiTH béener siin schaíper uk wárii*
      'Now these two children also have to look after his sheep'

2.4.2 Possessive determiners (pronouns)

The possessive determiners (or pronouns) correspond to the personal pronouns discussed above. There is syncretism between the masculine and neuter possessive determiner (*siin* 'his/its'). A distinction is made between attributive possessives, i.e. true determiners as in (34), and a form used in predicative position, as in (35). The predicative forms are only sporadically attested in the corpus, however.

(34) *nuu gungt yuu weg heníin wíider bii hírii árbeid*
      'Now she goes home again to her tasks'

(35) *un dan sä'ckel jil, deer in 'e walt is, dait hat híriins*
      'And the bag of money that is in the woods, that is hers'

Table 2.7: Possessive determiners

		Attributive	Predicative
1SG		miin	miin(s)
2SG		diin	diin(s)
3SG	N/M	siin	siin(s)
	F	hirii	hiriins
1PL		uuz	uuz
2PL		yoo	yoons
3PL		yar	yárens

The three possessive adjective forms *míiniig(st)* 'my', *míiniig(st)* 'your (SG)', and *síiniig(st)* 'his' are also mentioned by Ehrentraut, these are not actually attested in the corpus, with a single exception from a close translation of a German text:

(36) *huu laang dat hii al fon daa síiniigen weg is*

      '... how long he has already been away from his loved ones' (cf. German *die seinigen*)

2.4.3 Numerals

Cardinal numerals

The basic cardinal numerals are listed in Table 2.8. More complex numerals are formed as in (37)–(38):

(37) *da fénter fríiden me'istende'ils fon sex un twíintiig óoder acht un twíintiig jeer, da fa'uner thríiuu un twíntiig, fia'ur un twíntiig, uk wail fiiv un twíntiig jeer, deermit dat ya yam húushooliing farstíinen.*

      'The young men usually married around 26 or 28 years of age, the young women 23, 24, and sometimes 25 years, so that they understood their housekeeping.'

(38) *nu gunget ya 'nin de keller, der fiint ya hunnert un ain un sööventig doo$_e$TH*

      'Now they go down in the basement, there they find 171 dead bodies'

Table 2.8: Cardinal numerals

1	ain, ään	11	ánelf	30	dártiig
2	twoo, twain	12	twü'llef	40	féertiig
3	thríiuu, three	13	thréttiin	50	fö'öftiig
4	fiaur/fia'uer	14	fíirtiin	60	séstiig
5	fiiv	15	fü'üftiin	70	sö'öventiig
6	sex	16	séxtiin	80	táchentiig
7	sjúugen	17	sjúugentiin	90	nä'ägentiig
8	acht (áge)	18	áchtiin	100	húnnert
9	niiúugen/njúugen	19	niiúugentiin/njúugentiin	200	twóohunnert
10	tiióo$_e$n/tjóo$_e$n	20	twíntiig	1000	dúuzent

The cardinal numerals one, two and three inflect for gender. Contexts with 'two' and 'three' are the only plural contexts in Wangerooge Frisian where grammatical gender is relevant. The forms *ain*, *twoo*, and *thríiuu* are used for counting and in feminine and neuter contexts, as in (39)–(40); *ään*, *twein*, and *three* are the masculine forms, cf. (41).

(39) *Deer was 'n sëlschüp in än schippërshuus, dait mii wail thriuu wücke hoo$_e$d wizzë, deer weerën fëntër un sjeelër, ain wüüf un twoo faunër*

      'There was a party in a skipper's house, that is probably three weeks (F) ago, there were boys and young men, one woman (N) and two girls (F)'

(40) *un twoo jeer dernáa weer hírii foo$_e$r stúurven*

      'and two years (N) later her father had died'

(41) *Aínmool is der 'n óolen buur, dan hää three fénter, twein klauk un ään gánsen dúumen.*

      'Once upon a time there was [lit. 'is'] an old farmer, he had ['has'] three sons, two clever ones and one really stupid one'

When speaking of 'mixed' group of two and three people, e.g. one man and one woman, the feminine–neuter form is used, as in (42) (note that the noun *wüüf* is grammatically neuter).

14

(42) *nuu sint yaa mon un wüüf mitóoren* [...] *yaa sint gans aíniig mit óoren daa twoo*

'Now they are each other's husband and wife ... they are very cosy with each other, the two of them'

Ordinal numerals

The ordinal numerals from '1st' to '20th' are listed in Table 2.9. Higher ordinals are formed by adding the suffix -*st* to the cardinal number.

Table 2.9: Ordinal numerals

1st	eerst	11th	ánelfst
2nd	oor, twood – twoost, tweinst	12th	twü'llefst
3rd	thrääd – thríiuust, threest	13th	thréttiinst
4th	fiä'äd/fia'urst	14th	fíirtiinst
5th	fiifst	15th	fü'üftiinst
6th	sext	16th	séxtiinst
7th	sjúugenst	17th	sjúugentiinst
8th	achst	18th	áchtiinst
9th	njúugenst	19th	njúugentiinst
10th	tjóo$_e$nst	20th	twíntiigst

For the lower ordinals a number of alternative forms exist. The ordinals 'second' and 'third' may inflect for gender – the forms are F/N *twoost, thríiuust*; M *tweinst, threest* – but the uninflected forms *oor* and *thrääd*, as in (43), are more common in the texts. In (44) both *dan Or* and *dan Tweinst* 'the second (man)' occur.

(43) *dan oor meen wul hii siin schaíper wíider wégjagii* [...] *dan thrääd meen jágget hii wíider schaíper uut*

'On the second morning he wants to drive out his sheep ... on the third morning he drives out his sheep again'

(44) *En wull ik veel, dan Or Minn un dan Thräd niks reik, um to ßion, off dan Erst mi thonk wull, dan Tweinst vergnaug'd is un dan Thräd mi flitiger bid*

'One I will give a lot, the second less, and the third nothing, in order to see if the first will thank me, the second will be pleased, and the third will pray to me more diligently.' (Firmenich)

Ehrentraut also mentions the form *twood* 'second', but this does not appear to be attested in the texts. The form *fia'urst* 'fourth' is not attested either, only the (presumably older) form *fiä'äd*.

2.4.4 Other quantifiers

In addition to the numerals, several other quantifying expressions are found. In Table 2.10 some of the most important ones are listed on a scale roughly from lower to higher quantities. The form *beiTH* 'both' is only used with quantities of two.

The forms *mónniich*, *mónniicher* and *elk*, *élker* appear to be in free variation, as suggested by examples like (45). In the corpus *jéeder* is several times more frequent than *elk/élker*, but it is unclear if there is any semantic difference between the two forms.

Table 2.10: Quantifiers

	Gloss	Comments
nain	'no'	
we'iniig	'(a) few'	
éeniig	'some'	
mónniich(er)	'several, some'	
feel	'many'	
beiтн	'both'	
jéeder	'each/every'	*'n jéeder* 'everyone'
elk/élker	'each/every'	
all	'all'	also *alles* 'everything'

(45) *in 't wátter sint al mónniicher (oder mónnich) mínsken úumkiimiin.*
     'Several people have already died in the water'

(46) *jéeder húushooliing sláchtert uk än swiin*
     'Every household would also butcher a pig'

(47) *in élker huus, deer hii den kaum, deer queid hii*
     'In every house where he came he would say: …'

   While *mónniich(er)* means 'several, some, more than one', *éeniig* has the sense 'some from a group', 'some but not all', as in (48):

(48) *un in der tuun ha'iden wii 'n twóopaunden hóogen kápken mit sü'lver up af gool up, éeniig ächt gool un sü'lver un éeniig úunächt*
     'And for church we had a tall cap made of two pieces of fabric with silver or gold on it, some (had) real gold and silver and some (had) fake'

The meaning 'some of', 'some from a specific group' may also be expressed by *wolk*, as in (49):

(49) *nu sant hi ins 'n mool fon sin jäägers wolk up 'e jacht*
     'Now one time he sends some of his hunters out hunting'

2.5 Adjectives

2.5.1 Inflection of adjectives

With the exception of the comparative and superlative forms (on which see below), adjectival inflection is limited to two specific contexts: attributive adjectives in indefinite masculine singular noun phrases normally receive the suffix *-en*, and adjectives in the partitive construction receive the suffix *-s* (or *-es*). In all other contexts, including predicative position and feminine and neuter noun phrases, the adjective remains uninflected. The masculine indefinite suffix is shown in (50); compare the adjectives *oo$_e$len*, *ä'änsiigsën*, and *ä'ärmen* with feminine *oo$_e$l* (51a) and neuter *äärm* (51b).

(50) a. *Deer is ainmool 'n oo_elen groo_ev mit sin wüüf, da häbbet ään ä'änsiigsën fent*
'Once upon a time there was [lit. is] an old count with his wife, they had [have] a single son'

b. *un da beener weert weg broo_et na än äärmen mon too*
'And the children are taken to the poor man'

(51) a. *dait weer 'n oo_el hex*
'That was an old witch'

b. *nu sint yáa dër, de dókter un de kaizder sin mam un än äärm arbeidswüüf*
'Now they are there, the doctor and the emperor's mum and a poor working woman (N)'

Table 2.11: Adjectival suffixes

M.INDF	*-en*
PART	*-s (-es)*
elsewhere	*-Ø*

Multiple adjectives in masculine indefinite contexts are all inflected (*'n groeten swarten mon* 'a large dark man'); on the copying of the M.INDF suffix to modifying adverbs (*'n gánsen ríiken kö'öniing* 'a very rich king'), see Chapter 3, Section 3.3 on adjective phrases.

Indefinite masculine noun phrases occasionally appear with uninflected adjectives, as in (52), but this appears to be rare.

(52) *mit ainmool kaum än oo_el mon*
'Suddenly an old man came'

The partitive construction

The partitive construction consists of an indefinite pronoun (e.g. *wit* 'something') or some kind of quantifying element (e.g. *feel* 'much') followed by an adjective with the partitive suffix *-s* (occasionally *-es*). This combination constitutes a noun phrase referring to a subset of the things which the adjective may describe. Some examples of attested partitive constructions are given in Table 2.12.

(53) *nuu mut deer áaber wit lebéndiigs oon wíziin hab*
'But there must have been something alive in there'

(54) *tääft de rɪɢ snácket yaa nicks goods fon him*
'Behind his back they say nothing good about him'

Table 2.12: Examples of the partitive construction

alles góodës	'everything good, all good things'
feel goods	'much good'
nicks farbórgens/goods/niis/ríuchelks	'nothing hidden/good/new/right'
tóofel goods	'too much good'
wit bö'özes/lebéndiigs/litks/niischíiriigs	'something bad/alive/small/interesting'

The adjective *nii* 'new' also occurs in the partitive form *niis* outside of the partitive construction, as in (55); this might also be analyzed as an independent noun.

(55)   *da freiget hi dan wert, wut hir dülung niis is*
       'Then he asks the innkeeper what the news is here today'

In the proverb in (56), *bö'özes* and *góodes* appear as independent nouns outside of the construction; in addition the form is *góodes* rather than expected *goods*; this biblical saying was probably copied more or less directly from German.

(56)   *bö'özes mut mit góodes fargúlten wíze.*
       'Evil must be overcome with good'

2.5.2   Adjectival comparison

Most adjectives have a comparative form in *-er* and a superlative in *-st*. A few adjectives are fully suppletive, while a number of irregular forms are the result of historical vowel changes; see Table 2.13 for an overview of these irregular forms.

Table 2.13: Irregular adjectives

Alternation	Positive	Comparative	Superlative	Meaning
ei ~ e	breid	bredder	bretst	'wide'
	heit	hétter	hetst	'hot'
	keim	kémmer	kemst	'clean, pure'
	sweit	swétter	swetst	'sweet'
oo$_e$ ~ a	djoo$_e$p	djápper	djapst	'deep'
	groo$_e$t	grátter	gratst	'big, great'
	koo$_e$l	káller	kalst	'cold'
	oo$_e$l	áller	alst	'old'
ii ~ ää	fiir	fä'äder	fäärst/fiirst	'far'
aa ~ a	laang	lánger	langst	'long'
uu$_e$ ~ a	liúu$_e$f	liáver	liafst	'dear'
au ~ o	saum	sómmer	somst	'beautiful'
Full suppletion	good	bétter	best	'good'
	feel	moo	meist	'much'
	litk	(mínner)	minst	'small'

A large number of apparently irregular adjectives are the result of synchronically productive phonological processes. An overview of the relevant processes is given in Table 2.14.

2.6   Verbs

Finite verbs in Wangerooge Frisian have the inflectional categories person, number, tense, and mood. There are three nonfinite forms: the perfect participle, the 'short' infinitive, and the 'long' infinitive or gerund which has a number of distinct functions (similarly to the English *-ing* form).

Table 2.14: Phonological processes affecting adjective comparison

Process	Positive	Comparative	Superlative	Meaning
Voicing of /f/	doo_ef scheif	dóo_ever sche'iver	doo_efst scheifst	'deaf' 'bent'
Simplification of /xtst/	ächt slíucht	ä'chter slíuchter	ä'chst slíuchst	'good' 'bad'
Devoicing of /d/	luud siid	lúuder síider	luutst siitst	'loud' 'low'
/d/-insertion	naah líttii édder	náahder líttiider éerder (!)	naahst líttiist eerst	'close' 'late' 'early'

2.6.1 Finite verb forms

The finite moods are indicative (IND) and imperative (IMP). In the indicative present (PRS) and past (PST) tenses are distinguished; all three tense/mood forms distinguish singular (SG) vs. plural (PL). In the past tense three persons are distinguished in the singular; in the present tense, the singular distinguishes three persons, whereas the plural only in some contexts makes a distinction between 1PL/2PL (i.e. the speech act participants) on the one hand and 3PL on the other.

Table 2.15: Person and number suffixes

	PRS	PST	IMP
1SG	-Ø	-Ø	
2SG	-st	-st	-Ø
3SG	-t	-Ø	
1PL	-et/Ø	-en	
2PL	-et/Ø	-en	-et
3PL	-et	-en	

A simplified overview of the person and number suffixes is given in Table 2.15. There are many variations to these depending on the phonological makeup and inflectional class of the verb. For instance, the suffix *-et* surfaces as *-ert* after an alveolar plosive, i.e. on all verbs with a stem ending in *-d* or *-t*.

The 1PL and 2PL present-tense usually take the suffix *-et*, except when the subject pronoun immediately follows the finite verb form (in which context the 2PL pronoun *yum* may also be reduced to *'m*). Compare the short forms *gung* and *häb* in (57a) and (58a) with the 'full' forms *gúnget* and *hä'bbet* in (57b) and (58b):

(57)   a. *nuu gung wii up 'e a'uver longs*
           'Then we go along on the shore'
       b. *wii gúnget nuu wíider 'niin*
           'We go home again then'

(58) a. *wut häb 'm den bla'uket?*
          'What have you seen then?'
      b. *yum hä'bbet oors nain loo$_e$n bii yoo foo$_e$r in 'e hémmel*
          'You will otherwise get no reward with your father in heaven'

2.6.2 Nonfinite verb forms

The three nonfinite verb forms will be termed 'infinitive 1' (INF1), 'infinitive 2' (INF2), and 'participle' (PTCP) in the following. The infinitive 1 (the 'short' infinitive), which is used in auxiliary verb constructions, is normally identical to 1SG present form.[1] The infinitive 2 (the 'long' infinitive is formed from the infinitive 1 through the addition of the suffix *-(e)n*. This infinitive is used in a number of different contexts, including after the particle *too*, in AcI constructions, and as a verbal noun; it also functions as a present participle, though this function is relatively rare in the corpus.

The participle is formed in two different ways depending on the inflectional class of the verb: strong verbs, i.e. ablaut verbs, add *-(e)n* to the PST stem of the verb; weak and transitional verbs add *-d* or *-t*. The participle is used as a verbal adjective and to form the periphrastic tenses perfect and pluperfect.

Table 2.16: Strong verb: *gung* 'go'

	PRS	PST	IMP
1SG	gung	giing	
2SG	gungst	giingst	gung
3SG	gungt	giing	
1PL	gung(et)	giingen	
2PL	gung(et)	giingen	gunget
3PL	gunget	giingen	
INF1	gung		
INF2	gungen		
PTCP	giingen		

2.6.3 Inflectional classes

A number of verb inflections can be distinguished on the basis of the formation of the past tense. Ehrentraut (1849) distinguishes three main classes: strong verbs, which form the past tense by stem vowel mutation; weak verbs, which form the past tense by adding the suffix *-d/t* (in some cases *-ert*) to the stem, and 'transitional' verbs (*Übergangszeitwörter*) which have stem vowel mutation as well as the suffix *-d/t* in the past tense. In addition, several strong and transitional verbs show vowel mutation in the 2SG and 3SG present tense, often but not always with the same vowel as the past-tense stem. In Tables 2.16–2.18 an example of each of the three inflectional classes is given.

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[1]Ehrentraut (1849: 29) mentions only three exceptions, namely the verbs *wíze* 'be' (1SG *sin*), *hab* 'have' (1SG *häb*), and *frítte* 'eat, feed' (1SG *frit*).

Table 2.17: Weak verb: *lauk* 'look'

	PRS	PST	IMP
1SG	lauk	lauket	
2SG	laukest	laukest	lauk
3SG	lauket	lauket	
1PL	lauk(et)	laukeden	
2PL	lauk(et)	laukeden	lauket
3PL	lauket	laukeden	
INF1	lauk		
INF2	lauken		
PTCP	lauket		

Table 2.18: Transitional verb: *koo$_e$p* 'buy'

	PRS	PST	IMP
1SG	koo$_e$p	kaft	
2SG	kafst	kafst	koo$_e$p
3SG	kaft	kaft	
1PL	koo$_e$p(et)	kaften	
2PL	koo$_e$p(et)	kaften	koo$_e$pet
3PL	koo$_e$pet	kaften	
INF1	koo$_e$p		
INF2	koo$_e$pen		
PTCP	kaft		

2.7 Adverbs

Adverbs may function both as clausal constituents or as modifiers in adjective or adverb phrases. Many adverbs are formally identical to adjectives. Under one possible analysis, these are derived from adjectives through conversion or zero-derivation. However, there are also several 'native' adverbs which are not used as adjectives. In the following, some examples of adverbs recurring in the material are given, grouped according to semantic categories.

Spatial adverbs may be subdivided into locative and directional adverbs; the former answer the question 'where', the latter the question 'whereto' or 'wherefrom'. Some examples from the material are given in Table 2.19.

Table 2.19: Spatial adverbs

Locative	állerweegen 'everywhere'
	bin/bínnen 'inside'
	buut/búuten 'outside'
	búve 'above, upstairs'
	deer 'there'
	duun, nah, thicht, tech 'close'
	fiir 'far'
	hiir 'here'
	iin 'home, inside (a house/ship)'
	oon 'in, inside (not a house/ship)'
	óorsweer 'elsewhere'
	tääft 'behind, in back'
	toomíd 'in the middle'
Directional	danne 'from there'
	dílle 'down'
	fárwas 'ahead'
	hoo$_e$d 'to here'
	niin/herdíin 'home, inside'
	thwärs 'across'
	tooríɢ, ríɢels, ríɢwas 'back'
	uumhóoch 'upwards'
	up 'up'
	nuut/herdúut 'out'
	weg 'away, from here'

Temporal–aspectual adverbs concern the location in time relative to the speech situation, the duration, or the frequency of a state of affairs. Some examples are given in Table 2.20.

Table 2.20: Temporal–aspectual adverbs

Relative time	al 'already' bol 'soon' den 'then' dü'üluung 'today' fara'iven 'this evening' farjéer 'this year' farméen 'this morning' flux, gliik(s) 'at once' júrsen 'yesterday' kórtens, óoris 'recently' noch 'still' nuu 'now' óorenjursen 'the day before yesterday' tooméen 'tomorrow' toothoonuuriidemeen 'two days after tomorrow' tooúuriidemeen 'the day after tomorrow'
Duration	éewiig 'forever' fiirtennácht 'two weeks' kort 'shortly' laang 'long'
Frequency	des aivens 'in the evening' díggels, alldígge 'every day' a'inmool 'once' ímmer, steid, ste'idiig 'always' jéerelks 'every year' méeniing 'in the morning' midíggen 'at noon' monniichmool 'sometimes' oft, óftmool, ófters 'often' séllen, uunoft, raar 'rarely'

Manner adverbs describe the way in which a state of affairs is realized; they almost always function as clausal constituents. Some examples are given in Table 2.21. Some of these may also have other functions; for instance, *gau* 'quickly' may also be used as a temporal adverb 'soon, at once'.

Table 2.21: Manner adverbs

ächt 'well, really'
deeg 'well, thoroughly'
gau 'quickly, soon'
gern 'preferably'
lóngsaam 'slowly'
luud, dicht 'loudly'
mita'ins 'suddenly'
sacht 'gently'
slúmpwiiz 'accidentally'
sóotiis 'quietly'
stílken(s) 'secretly'

Degree adverbs specify the degree of something else, typically an adjective or another adverb. Examples are given in Table 2.22.

Table 2.22: Degree adverbs

allíiker/glíiker 'just as'
éegentliik 'really, especially'
gans, heil 'completely'
íidel 'only, nothing but'
íiven, juust, krek 'just, exactly'
knap 'hardly'
liik 'exactly'
nauch 'enough'
téemelk 'quite'
wü'rtelk 'really, very'

Propositional adverbs, often called sentence adverbs, modify the propositional content of the clause, e.g. by specifying the likelihood that it is true (epistemic adverbs) or expressing the speaker's attitude towards it (evaluative adverbs). Adverbs translating e.g. German *bestimmt*, *wahrscheinlich*, *leider*, *glücklicherweise* etc. appear to be absent in the material. Likelihood and certainly are expressed with epistemic particles (see below), whereas speaker attitude may be expressed with complement-taking predicates like the one in (59).

(59) *dait is wü'rtelk spíitelk, dáttuu dait kort kríigiin häst*
      'It is really sad that you have broken that'

2.8   Particles

A number of frequent particles with various functions occur in the material. The most important ones include the negation *nich* (*ni'*) 'not', the focus particles *bloo$_e$t* and *man* 'only', *uk* 'also', and *sülst* '-self, even', and the discourse particles. A list of recurring discourse particles is given in Table 2.23 In addition to these, a number of prepositions and adverbs occur as verbal particles. These are discussed in Chapter 5 on the verbal group.

Table 2.23: Discourse particles

Particle	German translation	Function
áaber	'aber'	adversative
doch	'doch'	counterexpectation
ins, ínsen	'(ein)mal'	downtoner
jaa	'ja'	uncontroversial information
man	'nur, bloß'	downtoner
wail	'wohl'	affirmation, probability
wis	'gewiss'	certainty, high probability

2.9   Adpositions

The material contains a large number of prepositions; a fairly comprehensive overview of these is given in Table 2.24.

Table 2.24: Central prepositions

Form	Meaning	Form	Meaning
aan	'without'	longs	'along'
an	'on'	mit	'with'
auf	'off, down'	naa	'after, towards'
ä'fter	'behind'	siit, sent	'since'
bet	'until'	súnner	'without'
bii	'by, next to'	tä(ä)ft	'behind'
buut/búuten	'outside (of)'	too	'to' (etc.)
búve	'above'	únner	'under'
döör	'through'	up	'on'
far	'for, in front of, ago'	uum	'around, away for'
fon (fen)	'from'	uur	'over'
jeen	'against'	uut	'out (of)'
in	'in'		

In addition to these 'simple' adpositions, a number of combinations of preposition + directional adverb may be better analyzed as circumpositions, for instance the combinations *too ... herdíin* 'in through, into' and *too ... herdúut* 'out through, out of':

(60) *nuu la'itert yaa djuu duuv too 't fínster herdíin*
'Then they let the dove in through the window'

(61) *daa smit yuu 't too de säck 'erduut*
'Then she throws it out of the bag'

For further information on adpositions, see also Chapter 3, Section 3.4 on adpositional phrases.

2.10 Conjunctions

The most common coordinating conjunctions in the material are *un* 'and', *af* 'or', and *man* 'but'. These are listed along with some alternative forms in Table 2.25. A fuller discussion of the use of these coordinators is found in Chapter 6, Section 6.2.

Table 2.25: Coordinating conjunctions

Form	Gloss	Function
áaber(st)	'but'	adversative
af	'or'	disjunctive
man	'but'	adversative
óoder	'or'	disjunctive
un	'and'	additive

A list of subordinating conjunctions found in the material – including complex subordinators consisting of another element and *dat* or *as* – is given in Table 2.26. These subordinators and the clauses they introduce are discussed at greater length in Chapter 6, Sections 6.3–6.7.

Table 2.26: Subordinating conjunctions

Form	Gloss	Clause type(s)
aan dat	'without'	negative concomitance
af	'if'	complement
al … al	'the … the'	proportion
as	'when, as, like'	temporal, similarity, comparative
as won	'as if'	comparison
bet (dat)	'until'	temporal
dat	'that, so, because'	complement, purpose, result, causal
den	'because'	causal
dee(r)	'who, which'	relative
deermit dat	'so'	purpose
déeruum dat	'(just) because'	causal, concessive
derwiil dat	'while'	temporal
eer (as)	'before'	temporal
huu(fel)	'how (much/many)'	complement
jee … jee	'the … the'	proportion
obschóon(s) dat	'even though'	concessive
saaból as	'as soon as'	temporal
saaláang as	'as long as'	temporal
súnner dat	'without'	negative concomitance
uumdat	'because'	causal
too	'to'	infinitive phrases
weer	'where, which'	complement, relative
weerum dat	'why'	complement
wiils (dat)	'while'	temporal
won	'when(ever), if'	temporal, conditional, concessive
wut	'if, which'	complement, relative

Chapter 3

Phrases

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the structure of four phrase types is presented: noun phrases (Section 3.2), adjectival and adverbial phrases (Section 3.3), and adpositional phrases (Section 3.4). The section on the noun phrase also treats the expression of adnominal possession and agreement within the noun phrase.

3.2 Noun phrases

3.2.1 Structure of the noun phrase

Noun phrases are used to refer to entities in the (real or imagined) world. They typically consist of at least a noun and a determiner, e.g. an article or a possessive construction. In addition, various other modifiers may occur within the noun phrase. A schematic overview of the structure of the noun phrase is given in Table 3.1. Some examples of noun phrases analyzed according to this model are given in Table 3.2 on p. 29.

Table 3.1: Basic noun phrase structure

Predet	Det	Quant	Premod	N	Postmod
oors 'other' *all* 'all' *sucks*/*saa* 'such'	Articles Demonstratives Possessives	Numerals Quantifiers	AdjPs	Nouns	Adpositional phrases Subordinate clauses Noun phrases *nauch* 'enough'

Most noun phrases contain a determiner, i.e. some element usually appears in the slot 'Det' in Table 3.1. However, some noun phrases have no determiner. This occurs in noun phrases with indefinite plural and noncount nouns, and with proper names and other nouns referring to unique individuals. If the noun is not otherwise modified, the noun phrase consists of only a single noun, as in (1)–(3):

(1)   *den ha'iden yaa uus mit **ste'iner** náasmiitiin*
       'then they would have thrown rocks at us'

(2) *diu mëllën griint **millii***
'The mill grinds flour'

(3) *daa fra'iget **pastóor** dan fent*
'Then the vicar asks the young man...'

Table 3.2: Examples of noun phrases

Predet	Det	Quant	Premod	N	Postmod
	djuu			nacht	
	dan	oor		dii	
	dan		äärm kronk	mon	
	djuu		saum	haun	
oors	'n			laum	
oors				liúuden	
all	de			fénter	
		fia'ur	gans litk iirsk	kóoner	béener
	djuu		jungst		
	daa	three	góolen	ring	
	'n		gans gans groo$_e$t grein	flákkens	
	'n		gansen kosbooren		
	de		druuch	kant	fon Wangeróoch
	da	beiᴛʜ		faúner	
	siin	beiᴛʜ		knápsäcker	
all	daa	oo$_e$r		bre'iver	
all	dait		naahst	sjéelfolk	fon de bre'idgumel siin kant

Noun phrases may occur without a head noun; in these cases a quantifier or premodifier instead takes on the role of head of the phrase, such as *twein* in (4) or *jungst* in (5):

(4) *nuu fídert daa twein an, dat yaa wult nuu frii*
'Now those two [young men] indicate that they want to get married now'

(5) *djuu jungst djuu blift uur*
'the youngest [girl], she remains'

The determiner slot may contain a definite or indefinite article, a demonstrative, or a possessive determiner or other possessive construction (on which see further below). Only one determiner per noun phrase is allowed. The category 'indefinite article' here includes the negative quantifier *nain* 'no', as in (7).

(6) *nu kumt 'er **'n** gansen sweeren ståårm*
'Now a very severe storm rises'

(7) *'t is farjéer **nain** good áriing wíziin*
'It has been no good harvest [i.e a bad harvest] this year'

The distal demonstrative and the "strong" definite article are identical in the transcription and thus cannot always be distinguished unambiguously. They were most likely distinguished in speech by means of stress, as noted in Chapter 2, Section 2.4.

A limited number of elements may occur in the predetermination slot, namely the quantifier *all* 'all', the "alternative" pronoun *oors* 'other', and the "type" pronouns *sucks* and *saa* 'such'. While *all* typically occurs in definite noun phrases (cf. [8]), *oors* and *sucks*/*saa* are only found in indefinite noun phrases; *oors* may be modified by an adverb like *gans* or *heil* 'whole, completely', as in (9):

(8) *all de fúugel únner de hémmel*
     'all the birds under the sky'

(9) *hii gungt nuu uk weg un nimt gans oors 'n wii*
     'Now he also leaves and takes a whole other route'

There does not appear to be any semantic distinction between *sucks* and *saa*, but in the corpus *sucks* is usually found in plural contexts, while *saa* is limited to singular contexts:

(10) *sucks twein schiir fénter*
      'two such handsome young men'

(11) *saa 'n groo$_e$t iirdbiiviing*
      'such a great earthquake'

Numerals, both cardinal and ordinal, and a number of other quantifying expressions may appear in the quantifier slot. Numerals are shown in (12)–(13):

(12) *daa three góolen ring*
      'the three golden rings'

(13) *dan thrääd meen*
      'the third morning'

Further examples are given in (14)–(16), namely with the quantifiers *jéeder* 'every', *bei*TH 'both', and *mónniich* 'several, some'. Note that *mónniich(er)* (as well as *elk/élker* 'each/every' and *éeniig* 'some') is only attested in noun phrases without a determiner and could potentially be analysed as occupying the determiner slot instead.

(14) *'n jéeder laun hää siin mood*
      'Every country has its customs'

(15) *daa weert daa bei*TH *Wangeróoger hállet too fóoges*
      'Then both of the Wangeroogers are summoned before the reeve'

(16) *dait hää al mónniich frech rítters yar léevent kóstert*
      'That has already cost several brave knights their lives'

A noun phrase may contain one or more adjectival phrases in the premodifier slot (on the structure of adjectival phrases, see Section 3.3 below). As discussed in Chapter 2, adnominal adjectives show gender and number agreement with the head noun, with the suffix *-en* in M.SG.INDF noun phrases vs. *-∅* elsewhere:

(17) *'n groo$_e$ten fugel*
      'a big bird (M)'

(18) *'n groo$_e$t fiúur*
      'a big fire (N)'

Multiple adjectival phrases may appear in the premodifier slot, generally without a conjunction. Qualifying adjectives (e.g. dimension, age, colour) come before classifying adjetives (e.g. material, origin, or type).[1]

(19)   *'n bla'uen oostíiniisken dauk*
        'a blue East Indian scarf'

(20)   *'n groo_et íirzen durn*
        'a big iron door'

The order of multiple qualifying adjectives, as in examples (21)–(23), requires further investigation.

(21)   *'n groo_et saum huus*
        'a nice big house'

(22)   *'n óolen swárten mon*
        'an old black man'

(23)   *frech jung kéerels*
        'brave young fellows'

   Several different types of postmodifiers may be added to the noun phrase, including relative clauses, complement clauses, adpositional phrases, and in some cases other noun phrases. (24) shows a noun phrase containing a relative clause, (25) one containing a complement clause:

(24)   *dan áppel, deer fääst hangt...*
        'the apple that is hanging fast...'

(25)   *daa is dan buur in ongst, dat siin faun dait nich doo kan*
        'Then the farmer is in fear that his daughter is not able to do that.'

A common type of postmodifier are adpositional phrases with *fon* 'of', which have a number of different functions; two examples are given in (26)–(27):

(26)   *de druuch kant fon Wangeróoch*
        'the dry side of Wangerooge'

(27)   *duu bist noch 'n koon fon 'n been*
        'You as still a small child [lit. a grain of a child]'

The adverb *nauch* 'enough' occurs as a postmodifier in plural and noncount noun phrases:

(28)   *den sul iik fisk nauch fang*
        'then I will catch enough fish'

---

[1]Note that some adjectives may be used with either a qualifying or a classifying function. In (i) *swart* 'black' is a qualifying premodifier describing the colour of a bow, whereas in (ii) it has a classifying function, describing the type of bread:

(i)   *'n swart síiтнen sloif*
        'a black silk bow'

(ii)   *'n stuck druch swart broed*
        'a piece of dry rye bread'

(29) *nain folk nauch*
      'not enough people'

In expressions of quantity and measure, another noun or noun phrase[2] may occur as postmodifier. The head of the noun phrase expresses the quantity, the postmodifier the substance or material being quantified.

(30) *reik mii än bíitiik melk*
      'Give me a bit of milk'

(31) *daa hää hii nich ään ø'ørken jil bii him*
      'Then he doesn't have a single penny of money with him'

As (32) shows, the noun in the postmodifier field may itself be modified:

(32) *three fíngerbreid grein úllen bain*
      'three finger's breadth of green woollen ribbon'

Expressions of quantity include noun phrases with nouns derived with *-el* '-ful'. This suffix is used to derive nouns of quantity; in (33)–(34) the base nouns are *huus* 'house' and *säck* 'sack':

(33) *'n gans húusel béener*
      'an entire house full of children'

(34) *'n gróoₑten sä'ckel jil*
      'a big sack of money'

The gender of a noun derived with *-el* is the same as the base noun; compare neuter *'n gans húusel* with masculine *'n gróoₑten sä'ckel*, the latter with the M.SG.INDF adjective suffix *-en*.

3.2.2 Adnominal possession

Three types of adnominal possession are found: constructions with a possessive pronoun in the determiner slot, the historical genitive case with the suffix *-(en)s*, and *fon*-phrases in the postmodifier slot. The first of these is by far the most common strategy. It is used both with anaphoric possessors and with full noun phrase possessors, as in (35)–(36):

(35) *siin fooₑr*
      'his father'

(36) *dan fent siin fooₑr*
      'the boy's father'

This is the standard possessive construction with animate common nouns. With proper names and a few common nouns with human referents, a suffix (or clitic) *-(en)s* is found:

(37) *Gre'itens faun*
      'Greit's daughter'

(38) *siin fooₑr un maams huus*
      'his father and mother's house'

---

[2]Or rather a 'nominal' in the terms of Huddleston & Pullum (2002), i.e. a noun with modifiers but no determiners.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, some combinations of a noun and possessive -*s* might be better analyzed as predeterminers, i.e. as lexicalized units. An argument for this analysis is provided by the following example, where the determiner *djuu* agrees with the head *faun* rather than with *nóo_ebers*:

(39) *nuu quaa djuu nóo_ebers faun too daa béener*
    'Now the neighbour's daughter says to the childen: …'

Finally, some constructions with *fon* 'of' may be analyzed as a type of possessive construction. However, this is apparently only found with inanimate and nonhuman 'possessors', e.g. *de bre'idgumel siin kant* 'the bridegroom's side (of the family)' in (40), and it is possible that the *fon*-phrase is better analyzed as expressing the semantic role of SOURCE. This question requires further investigation.

(40) *all dait naahst sjéelfolk fon de bre'idgumel siin kant*
    'all the closest male relatives from [or 'belonging to'] the bridegroom's side'

(41) *djuu lääb fon 't kalf*
    'the rennet of [or 'from'] the calf'

Some examples of possessive constructions are shown in the schematic overview of noun phrase structure in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Possessive constructions

Predet	Det	Quant	Premod	N	Postmod
	dan fent siin			foo_er	
	siin swester hiri			úungëluck	
	siin foo_er un maams			huus	
	djuu		nóo_ebers	faun	
all	dait		naahst	sjéelfolk	fon de bre'idgumel siin kant
	djuu			lääb	fon 't kalf

3.2.3 Agreement in the noun phrase

Some determiners, the numerals from one to three, and adjectives show gender and/or number agreement with the head noun. The forms were described in Chapter 2. Many nouns have variable gender, apparently without any semantic difference. For instance, *straun* 'beach' may be either feminine (42) or neuter (43):

(42) *yuu gungt díggels naa de straun*
    'she goes to the beach daily'

(43) *deer licht 'n oolen kunne an 't straun*
    'There is an old barge lying on the beach'

Another phenomenon is variable gender agreement with some animate nouns; this may be analyzed as a case of zero derivation of either the masculine or the feminine noun. Attested examples include *doo_eTH* 'corpse, dead body', *frün* 'friend', *pat* 'godfather/godmother', *drook* 'dragon', *løøv*

'lion(ess)', and (apparently) *twíinëlng* 'twin'. The noun *minsk* is grammatically masculine when it means 'man, person' and grammatically neuter when it means 'woman'.

Occasionally, determiners and other agreeing elements show a "mismatch" in agreement with the head noun. In these cases, a morphologically plural noun appears to have been reanalyzed as a collective noun. The most frequent examples of this in the corpus are the phrases *dait gø'øder* 'those [lit. that] goods' and *dait ágge dígge* 'that week', lit. 'that eight days':

(44) *as dait agge digge uum is*
      'As that week [lit. that eight days] has passed...'

(45) *dait gø'øder is noch klam*
      'Those goods are [lit. that goods is] still clammy'

Another apparent example is the noun *sóoken* 'case(s)', which is said to be a plural form by Ehren-traut, but which is also attested with singular feminine agreement (*diu sóokën*).

3.3   Adjectival and adverbial phrases

Adjectival and adverbial phrases have a similar structure: an adjective or adverb as the head, a premodifier slot with one or more optional adverbs, and a postmodifier slot where an adpositional phrase, a complement clause, or the adverb *nauch* 'enough' may appear. The examples in Table 3.4 show the basic structure of adjectival phrases; the same template may be used to describe adverbial phrases.

Table 3.4: Examples of adjectival phrases

Premod	Adj	Postmod
gans gans	groo$_e$t	
gans wunner wunner	schiir	
gánsen swéeren	ríiken	
saa	falsk	up hírii
gans	tróoriig	dat hírii mon weg is

If an adverb modifies an adjectival head with the M.SG.INDF suffix *-en*, the suffix is usually copied to the adverb. Compare *gans* 'very' in (46) with *gánsen* 'very (M.SG.INDF)' in (47):

(46) *'n gans äärm faun*
      'a very poor girl'

(47) *den wart hii 'n gánsen ríiken kö'öniing*
      '... then he becomes a very rich king'

However, occasionally this copying of the agreement suffix fails to apply, as in (48) with the em-phatic adjective *grúunriik* 'extremely rich'. The reason for this is unclear; the same compound adjective is also found with expected *gánsen*, as shown in (49):

(48) *'n gans grúunríikën bur*
      'an extremely rich farmer'

34

(49)   *'n gánsen grúun-riiken kéerel*
       'an extremely rich fellow'

Adverbial phrases have the same structure as adjectival phrases:

(50)   *iik häb miin íirdappel gans djoo_ep biidúulven*
       'I have buried my potatos very deep'

Multiple adverbs may appear in the premodifier slot. This is used to express emphasis; a common combination is *gans* 'very' plus *sweer* 'seriously, gravely'. If multiple adverbs appear in the premodifier slot of a M.SG.INDF adjectival phrase, the suffix *-en* is copied to both or all of the adverbs, as shown in (52).

(51)   *gans sweer uungelúckelk net*
       'very seriously incredibly beautiful'

(52)   *ään gánsen swéeren ríiken kóo_epmon*
       'one very seriously rich merchant'

Sometimes the same adverb may be repeated to the same effect:

(53)   *'n gans wunner wunner schiir minsk*
       'a really marvellously beautiful woman'

The postmodifier slot can only be filled in adjectival and adverbial phrases which are not used as premodifiers, i.e. in phrases used as clause-level complements or adjuncts. (54) contains an adjectival phrase with a *dat*-clause in the postmodifier slot:

(54)   *un dait wüüf is daa gans tróoriig, dat hírii mon weg is.*
       'And then the wife is very sad that her husband is gone.'

(55) shows an example with an adverbial phrase with *nauch* in the postmodifier slot:

(55)   *dait is fóoken nauch quítнiin*
       'That has been said often enough'

3.4   Adpositional phrases

The great majority of adpositions in Wangerooge Frisian are prepositions. These combine with noun phrase complements or complement clauses to form adpositional phrases. (On prepositions with clausal complements, see also Chapter 6.) Adpositional phrases may have several different functions, including arguments, adjuncts, and postmodifiers in other phrases. Some examples are given in (56)–(57); the prepositions are indicated with bold type.

(56)   *un hérsket **uur** daa fisk **in** 't wátter un **uur** de fúugel **únner** de hémmel un **uur** all de tíiren deer **up** íirden kriúupet*
       '… and rule over the fish in the water and over the birds under the sky and over all the animals that move on the earth'

35

(57) *'n bíitiik **far** de Frans tiid daa häbt yaa **mit** fiif, sex schü'üpuu **in** Hambå'årg liin*
'A short while before the French time [1806–1814] they were lying in Hamburg with five or six ships'

Some apparent combinations of a prepositional phrase plus a directional adverb may be better analyzed as circumpositional phrases. Examples include (with various reductions of the directional elements): *too … herdíin* 'in through, into' (58), *too … henúut/herdúut* 'out through, out of' (59), and *bii … herdílle* 'down from' (60).

(58) *half twü'llef daa kúmmet yaa, kúmmet too 't kóoigat 'erdíin*
'Half past eleven they come, they come in through the keyhole'

(59) *daa smit yuu 't too de säck 'erduut*
'Then she throws it out of the bag'

(60) *iik wul bii dan hell 'erdille trúumel*
'I'm going to roll down from that dune'

The reason for this analysis is that the meaning of the circumposition is not obviously composed of the canonical meaning of the preposition plus the meaning of the directional adverb. The alternative analysis is to consider examples like (58)–(60) to be combinations of a prepositional phrase and a directional adverb, parallel to examples like (61) and (62):

(61) *… un së'ttert hiri up 'e hingst dille*
'… and put her down [*dille*] on [*up*] the horse'

(62) *hi is fon de hel herdílle trúumelt*
'He rolled down [*herdílle*] from [*fon*] the dune'

The structure of prepositional phrases and circumpositional phrases (provided this analysis is accepted) is illustrated with some examples in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Examples of adpositional phrases

P1	NP	P2
uur	daa fisk in 't wátter	
in	't wátter	
far	de Frans tiid	
too	't kóoigat	'erdíin
bii	dan hell	'erdille

The complement of a preposition cannot be an anaphoric pronoun with an inanimate referent; instead, the pronominal adverb *deer* is used, as in (63). When occurring immediately before the preposition, Ehrentraut usually writes the two as a single word, in accordance with German orthography, as in (64).

(63) *yaa máckiit uurlóngs uk wail 'n snéeen mon in 'e wínter, dat daa liúuden **deer** ong **far** weer silt*
'Sometimes they also make a snowman during the winter in order that people will be afraid of it'

(64) *… dat hii all dait jil deerfar roo$_e$t hää*
     '… that he has paid all that money for that [a harness and sable]'

Similarly, the combination of a preposition and the inanimate interrogative and relative pronoun *wut* is not allowed. Instead the proform *weer* is used:

(65) *weerfar (oder weermit) häb iik dait farthioo$_e$nd?*
     'For what [i.e. why] have I deserved that?'

(66) *… un dan breídgummel kan nich sjoo, weer yuu döör fíllen is*
     '… and the bridegroom cannot see what she has fallen through'

The combination of a preposition and an animate (or at least human) anaphoric pronoun is commonly found in the material, as in (67), whereas the combination of a preposition and the interrogative pronoun *woo* 'who(m)' is only rarely attested; (68) is one of the few examples:

(67) *bist duu ong **far him***
     'Are you afraid of him?'

(68) ***mit woo** hä'stuu swiin hü'ütert?*
     'With whom have you been herding swine?'

Chapter 4

The simple clause

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a number of topics related to basic clause structure are related. In Section 4.2 the expression of different speech acts is covered. Section 4.3 treats different predicate types and the structure of the simple clause. (Coordination and subordination are covered in Chapter 6.) In Section 4.4 modification is treated, i.e. clausal adjuncts and negation. Section 4.5 deals with various word order phenomena.

4.2 Speech acts

Independent clauses can be distinguished according to the type of speech act they are used to express. Here I will distinguish four fundamental types: declarative, interrogative, directive, and exclamative clauses. These different functional categories correspond to different formal clause types, specifically to the different ways in which the initial positions in the clause – the 'prefield' (*Vorfeld*) and the position of the finite verb (*linke Satzklammer*) may be filled.

In declarative clauses, the prefield is normally filled by a non-interrogative element – in (1) the subject *hii* – and the finite verb is in second position:

(1) *hii kan noch nich snack*
     'He cannot speak yet'

In polar questions (interrogatives), the prefield is empty, and the finite verb thus appears in the first position in the clause. The subject normally appears immediately following the verb, as in (2):

(2) *kanst duu uur d' glattuu kumme?*
     'Can you (sg) walk across the shallow sloughs?'

In content questions, the prefield is filled by an interrogative element. The finite verb is in second position; if the interrogative element is not the subject, the subject appears immediately following the finite verb:

(3) *wut häb 'm den bla'uket?*
     'What have you (pl) seen then?'

In a canonical directive clause there is no overt subject, and the prefield is empty.[1] The finite verb is in the imperative mood (cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.6), namely the imperative singular form when a single person is adressed (4) and the imperative plural when there is more than one addressee (5):

(4) *reer dait stippëls ins uum*
     'Stir the sauce a bit'

(5) *wízet frúchtboor un méert yoo*
     'Be fruitful and multiply'

An overt subject may be present in a directive clause, however, as the following example shows:

(6) *nim duu dait man wíider mit 'niin*
     'Just take that back home with you'

A special kind of directive clause is the adhortative construction with *laist* 'let's', which is used to make a suggestion to a group which includes the speaker. The adhortative marker *laist* derives historically from an imperative form, explaining its position in the finite verb slot:

(7) *laist der uum wääd*
     'Let's make a bet about it'

Exclamative clauses are – at least in writing – formally identical to content questions: they have an interrogative element, either *huu* 'how' or *wut* 'what', in the prefield and the finite verb in second position. Unlike interrogative clauses, however, the exclamative clause does not ask a question, and the interrogative pro-forms *huu* and *wut* do not serve as 'placeholders' for a constituent which has to be supplied. The exclamative clause expresses a subjective exclamation or outburst on the part of the speaker:

(8) *huu neid hii der uut!*
     'How he rushed out of there!'

(9) *wut is djuu sun star in 'n minsk siin óogen*
     'How bright the sun is in one's eyes'

4.3   Predicates and basic clause types

A number of basic clause types can be distinguished on the basis of the type of predicate (verbal vs. non-verbal) and the number of arguments required. Here four types of verbal predicates will be distinguished: intransitive, monotransitive, ditransitive, and zero-place ('atmospheric') predicates. Non-verbal predicates may be equative, attributive, or locative. Finally, a number of "special" argument types will be discussed, namely free afficiaries, external possessors, and zero-anaphoric subjects.

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[1]In directive clauses the prefield is occasionally filled by an adverb such as *nuu*: *nuu kum man 'erdúut* 'now just come outside'.

4.3.1 Intransitive predicates

Canonical intransitive predicates, such as *slaip* 'sleep' and *wack* 'be awake' in (10) and *flíiuug* 'fly' in (11), require a single argument, the subject. Some examples of intransitive verbs are given in Table 4.1.

(10)   *diggen slept hi un nachten wacket hii*
        'How he rushed out of there!'

(11)   *duu wult flíiuug eer du fitk häst*
        'You want to fly before you have wings'

Table 4.1: Examples of intransitive verbs

Verb	Gloss
fisk	'fish'
flíiuug	'fly'
gung	'walk, go'
klets	'sprint, race'
kneiz	'sneeze'
kúmme	'come'
loo$_e$p	'run'
reiz	'travel'
slaip	'sleep'
stäärv	'die'
staun	'stand'
swom	'swim'
thiin	'surge, seethe'
úpwack	'wake up'
wack	'be awake'

A special type of intransitive predicates are verbs with an obligatory reflexive object. On the surface these verbs look transitive, but the reflexive object is by definition coreferential with the subject and does not represent a separate argument. A few examples with reflexive verbs are given in (12)–(14); some additional examples of such verbs is found in Table 4.2.

(12)   *yuu hää hirrii wirriid*
        'She has hurried'

(13)   *iik mut mii quíilii*
        'I have to throw up'

(14)   *un daa fraut yaa yam un stellt 'n groo$_e$t gástbot an*
        'And then they are happy and organize a great feast'

4.3.2 Monotransitive predicates

A canonical monotransitive verb requires two arguments, a subject and a direct object. (15)–(16) contain three transitive predicates, *ítte* 'eat', *kriig* 'get', and *wítte* 'know':

Table 4.2: Examples of reflexive verbs

Verb	Gloss
brik + REFL	'throw up'
drei + REFL	'turn around'
farhál + REFL	'recover, convalesce'
frau + REFL	'rejoice, be happy'
quíilii + REFL	'throw up'
scheem + REFL	'be ashamed'
schick + REFL	'put up with, resign'
wírrii + REFL	'hurry'

(15) *nu ittert ya all bri, un Hans sin wüüf kricht noch ooiiflader dërtóo.*
     'Now they all eat buttermilk soup, and Hans's wife gets pancakes in addition'

(16) *dait wíttert yaa saa genaú nich*
     'They do not know that exactly'

Many monotransitive verbs allow object suppresion, in which case there is no overt direct object in the clause. The verb *itte* 'eat' is an example of such a verb, along with *drink* 'drink' (17) and *wask* 'wash' (18).

(17) *ya silt deer hoed kumme, un silt mit hiri itte un drink*
     'They must come over there and eat and drink with her'

(18) *Un jee blëtsiiger dat dait käässiing wuurd* […] *jee këmmer kun yuu wask*
     'And the dirtier the pillow got … the better she would be able to wash'

4.3.3 Ditransitive predicates

Ditransitive predicates require three arguments: subject, direct object, and indirect object. The indirect object generally has the semantic role of beneficiary or recipient and is usually animate, e.g. *dju faun* in (19) and *mi* in (20). (The latter clause is directive and hence has no overt subject.) Some examples of ditransitive verbs from the material are given in Table 4.3.

(19) *man dan fent roo$_e$t doch álltiid dju faun moo as dju faun him*
     'But the boy always gives the girl more than the girl him'

(20) *gont mi diu ruu doch.*
     'Please allow me to have some peace'

A number of verbs are ditransitive in one sense and monotransitive in another, such as *leer* 'teach'/'learn'. In the sense 'teach' (21) it is ditransitive, in the sense 'learn' (22) it is monotransitive.[2]

(21) *dan is saa klauk, dan kan gärs wáxen leer.*
     'He is so clever that he can teach grass how to grow'

(22) *nuu fraíget dan foo$_e$r, wut yaa leer wult?*
     'Now the father asks what they want to learn'

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[2] The sentence in (21) is a rare example of an inanimate indirect object; *gärs* here should probably be understood as personified.

Table 4.3: Examples of ditransitive verbs

Verb	Gloss
bioo$_e$d	'offer'
gon	'grant, allow to have'
leer	'teach'
lein	'lend'
reik	'give'
stjuur	'send'
tääl	'tell'
tóotääl	'promise'
wiiz	'show'

4.3.4 Atmospheric predicates

A small number of verbal predicates, primarily describing weather events and other atmospheric phenomena, have no referential arguments. They are constructed with a nonreferential ("formal") subject *dait* or *'t* (or one of the variant forms *det* and *et*):

(23) *det thúunert*
     'It's thundering'

(24) *'t hää ríiniin*
     'It has rained'

(25) *wut is 't glääd buut! 't hää hílstert.*
     'Wow, it is slippery outside! Clear ice has developed'

Some of these predicates are only attested in the 3SG present-tense form. In the overview in Table 4.4 the short infinitives are listed; hypothecial infinitive forms not attested in the corpus are indicated with a question mark.

Table 4.4: Examples of zero-place predicates

Verb	Gloss
dau	'thaw'
fríiuz	'freeze'
hiil	'hail'
?hílster	'develop clear ice'
leiтн	'flash lightning'
?riin	'rain'
?riip	'develop hoar frost'
?smut	'rain lightly'
snii	'snow'
stjuf	'raise dust'
thúuner	'thunder'
wei	'blow' (of wind)

4.3.5 Non-verbal predicates

Non-verbal predicates are usually formed by combining a copular verb, such as *wíze* 'be' or *heit* 'be called, be', with a subject complement, either a noun phrase, an adjectival phrase, or a locative expression. In addition, some intransitive predicates may take a subject complement (discussed as a type of attributive predicate below), and a small number of transitive predicates take a direct object and an object complement (see below under 'Object complements').

Equative predicates

Equative predicates identify or classify the subject referent. The predicate complement in these cases is a noun phrase (or a nominative pronoun, as in 28). The usual copula for stative equative complements is *wíze*:

(26) *daa sant yuu weg naa dan seldóo$_e$t too, deer hírii mon wíziin hää*
   'They she summons the soldier who had been her husband'

(27) *djuu maam kreig hírii fifst been, dait is 'n faun*
   'The mother got her fifth child, that is a girl'

(28) *nuu fraíget dan leútnant djuu faun, wut yuu Aalewíinaa Grä'ävendaal is? "ee, quaa yuu, dait is yuu*
   'Now the lieutenant asks the girl if she is Aalewiinaa Gräävendaal. Yes, she says, that is her'

For changes of state the copula *weer* is used:

(29) *won hii daa döörhool kan, den wart hii 'n gánsen ríiken kööniing*
   'If he can make it through those [i.e. three nights in a haunted castle], then he will be a very rich king'

(30) *... won yuu wüüf wuurd*
   '... when she became a married woman'

   A special case is the copula verb *heit* 'be called, be'. This is used as a 'naming verb', i.e. to assign a name to the subject (cf. the German cognate *heißen*):

(31) *... 'n óolen mon, dan hat Kléemens*
   '... an old man, he's called Kleemens'

(32) *dait fin hat den püünmillii un dat grof hat grant*
   'The fine flour is called *püünmillii* and the couase flour is called *grant*'

However, in the Wangerooge Frisian documented by Ehrentraut, the third-person present form of *heit* had developed into an equative copula, competing with *is*, as shown by example sentences like (34); for an extensive discussion of this use of *heit*, see Hoekstra (n.d.), who analyses *hat* in examples like (33) and (34) as a suppletive allomorph of *wíze* 'be'.

(33) *dai' hat 'n kla'uken gast, hat laang nain dúumsnuut.*
   'That is a clever man, that is certainly no fool'

(34) *dait is 'n hii, oder dait hat 'n hii*
   'That is a male [lit. 'a he']'

There is a single example of plural *haítert* 'are' in the corpus, cf. (35); otherwise the examples are all in the 3SG.

(35) *dan hää yar maam yam úumhingen, haítert de kööniing siin ring*
       'Their mum has hung those around their necks, those are the king's rings'

Table 4.5: Copula verbs

Verb	Gloss
bliiv	'stay, remain'
heit	'be (called)'
weer	'become, will be'
wíze	'be'

Attributive predicates

With attributive complements a property is predicated of the subject. The copula *wíze* is used for states, the copula *weer* for changes of state:

(36) *dan is saa klauk, dan kan gärs wáxen leer.*
       'He is so clever that he can teach grass how to grow'

(37) *iik sin kronk wuurdën*
       'I've fallen ill' (lit. 'I have become ill')

Attributive complements are normally adjective phrases, but a few examples of other types are found in the corpus, such as (38) with a prepositional phrase expressing origin and (39) with a noun phrase expressing the age of the subject.

(38) *krúnkel mii de kraag nich, iik sin fon Jéever.*
       'Don't crease my collar, I'm from Jever'

(39) *nuu waxt daa fénter gau herán, dat yaa sint áchtiin jeer*
       'Now the boys soon grow up so that they are eighteen years old'

Attributive complements also occur with a few verbs apart from the copulas *wíze* and *weer*, namely verbs of position. This construction is attested at least with *staun* 'stand', *lidz* 'lie', and *sit* 'sit'.

(40) *da stont et dër kant un kloer, itten un drinken un uk än bääd*
       'Then it is [lit. stands] ready there, food and drink and also a bed'

(41) *yaa le'iveten dat daa da litk béener farbiúuterten, won yaa noch he'iтнen le'igen, won yaa no' ni' dø'øpet wéeren*
       'They believed that they [i.e. the fairies] would exchange the little children when they were still 'lying heathen', when they had not been baptized yet'

(42) *sin faun sit in 'n barg farwúnsket*
       'His daughter is [lit. sits] enchanted in a mountain'

(43) *deer sit yuu lüтнuug un hää hírii haun in de schoo_et un dää nicks*
      'She is sitting there idle, her hands in her lap, doing nothing'

The adjective *stil* in the expression *stil swiig* 'keep silent' possibly also belongs here:

(44) *deer sil hii gans fon stil swiig*
      'About this he has to keep completely silent'

Locative predicates

Locative predicates indicates the place or position of the subject referent, either literally or metaphorically. The copula *wíze* may be used to form locative predicates. (45)–(46) describe the literal position of the subject:

(45) *hii is de gánse díggen in 't wéertshuus*
      'He is in the inn all day'

(46) *djuu faun yuu is in de kö'öken*
      'The girl, she's in the kitchen'

In (47)–(48) two examples of metaphorical locative predicates are given:

(47) *yuu is in de wü'ükuu*
      'She is in childbed [lit. in the weeks]'

(48) *hii is in ongst un nood*
      'He is in fear and distress'

Location may also be predicated by means of a position verb; at least *staun* 'stand' and *sit* 'sit' are attested in such contexts.

(49) *dan stont in 'n goodën biiraup*
      'He is [lit. stands] in good repute'

(50) *... wut dait uk weer is, dat diu kööningsdochter deer sit in dan barg*
      '... if it is really true that the princess is [sitting] in the mountain'

Object complements

A number of verbs are constructed with a direct object and an object complement, which may be of various types, e.g. a noun phrase, an adjectival phrase, or a prepositional phrase. The meaning of these predicates is either that the subject changes the state of the object ("resultative" verbs), that the subject keeps or leaves the object in a particular state, or that the subject considers the object to be in a certain state. A special subtype is made up of "naming verbs" where the subject assigns a name or label to the object.

   Some examples of resultative predicates are shown in (51)–(54); here one might distinguish between two types of verbs, namely resultative verbs with a very general meaning like *máckii* 'make' and *doo* 'do, make', and verbs with a more specific meaning like *hau* 'chop' and *foog* 'sweep'. Presumably the range of object complements occurring with the latter type is much narrower.

(51) *da gunget ya weg [...] un macket him doo_ed*
      'Then they walk over ... and kill him [lit. make him dead]'

(52) *daa dää hii hírii de durn íppiin*
'Then he opens the door for her [lit. makes her the door open]'

(53) *nu hä hi dait holt kort hauen*
'Now he has chopped the wood to pieces [lit. short]'

(54) *wut fóoget dan 't keim far siin durn*
'How clean he sweeps it in front of his door'

Verbs of keeping or leaving include *lait* 'let, leave' and *hool* 'keep':

(55) *lait daa liúud wut yaa sint, saa blifst duu sülst uk wut duu bist.*
'Leave people [to be] what they are, then you will also remain what you are'

(56) *nu hoolt ya dan breif noch gans fardä'chtiig far de kaízderin*
'Now they keep the letter completely secret from the empress'

The verb *hool* may also be used as a verb of evaluation, meaning 'consider (to be)':

(57) *iik hool miin püüper saa good as duu diin safferóo$_e$n.*
'I consider my pepper just as good as you do your saffron'

Verbs of naming and calling occurring with object complements are *heit* 'call, be called' (see above for the copular uses of this verb) and *nam* 'call, name'. With *heit*, the object complement may be a preposition phrase with 'quotative' *fon*, as shown in (59):

(58) *daa hiit hii hírii: Fro Maansroth", un yuu must him "oll Rinkrank" heit*
'Then he calls her *Fro Maansroth* and she has to call him *oll Rinkrank*'

(59) *un dait grof heit wii fon ráagen klii*
'... and the coarse [part] we call *ráagen klii* ['rye bran']'

(60) *dan häbbet ya Líioon nam lat't*
'They have called him [lit. let him call] Liioon'

4.3.6   Special argument types

'Free afficiaries'

Intransitive, monotransitive, and attributive clauses may occur with an additional argument, here termed a 'free afficiary'. The free afficiary refers to a participants who is in some way affected by the situation, either as recipient, beneficiary, or maleficiary. The free afficiary usually represents given information and is usually expressed by an anaphoric pronoun. As shown by (62) and (63), the oblique form of the pronoun is used.

(61) *miin óomel haid a'inmool 'n kalf, **dait** liit yuu 'n gans hoog heck máckii in de nóorder píizel*
'My grandmother once had a calf, she had a tall pen made for that in the room to the north'

(62) *yuu wul géeren bii yam bliiv un bii yam thióo$_e$n un wul yar móoget wíze won yaa **hírii** dait laum man lib lait wult*
'She will agree to staying with them and serve in their house and be their maid if they will only let the lamb live for her'

(63) *daa mácket yuu **him** siin bääd un wásket **him** siin fü'ttuu*
      'Then she makes his bed for him and washes his feet for him'

The example in (64) presumably represents the same construction in an attributive clause; the afficiary in this case, *hírii fent siin wüüf*, is a full noun phrase rather than a pronoun, but still represents given information.

(64) *yuu is hírii fent siin wüüf gans falsk, yuu mii yuu gaar nich liiᴛʜ*
      'She is very cruel towards her daughter-in-law [lit. 'she is her son's wife very cruel'], she cannot stand her at all'

External possessors

Another type of argument, which is closely related to the free beneficiary, is the external possessor. Here the possessor of the referent of a head noun is expressed as an argument on the clause level rather than as a determiner in the noun phrase in question. In (65) the noun phrase in question is the complement of a prepositional phrase.

(65) *mit 'n gróoₑten swárten síiᴛʜen bain dat de sloif híng him bii de schúller dílle.*
      '… with a large black silk ribbon so that the bow was hanging down to his shoulder'

The example in (66), where the noun phrase with the possessed noun is the subject of a passive clause, is probably a calque from German (cf. the expression *jemandem den Kopf waschen*).

(66) *weer iik sülst nich kúmme wart mii 't haud ni' wúsken*
      '… with a large black silk ribbon so that the bow was hanging down to his shoulder'

Zero-anaphoric subjects

In certain contexts, an anaphoric subject may be realized as zero. For instance, this construction is found when the subject of a complement clause is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause (i.e. in a context like *They$_i$ said that they$_i$ …*). The construction appears to be possible when a non-subject constituent in the complement clause is topicalized. Some examples of are given in (67)–(68):

(67) *nu thanket yu, weg heniin duur nich wider*
      'Now she thinks, to go back home [she] does not dare'

(68) *da qua hi fon na, dait wul nich lait*
      'Then he says no, that [he] won't allow'

In the following narrative passage, three zero anaphors occur in subsequent main clauses, but the number changes from singular to plural because two new discourse referents are introduced. The function appears to be similar to 'narrative V1' (cf. Section 4.5.3) but unlike that construction the sentences in (69) contain no overt subjects.

(69) *de kö'öning is noch ímmer farsáagt un tróoriig, gungt áaber all dii up 'e jacht, uum him de tiid too farwíilen. **gungt** [sɢ] ins ään dii up 'e jacht mit twein fon siin biidéenters, **kúmmet** [ᴘʟ] saa fiir in de walt 'noon dat yaa kant 'er nich wíider 'erdúut fiin; **sint** [ᴘʟ] gans fardwíllet.*
      'The king is still sad and miserable, but goes hunting every day to pass the time. [He] goes hunting one day with two of his servants, [they] travel so far into the forest that they cannot find their way out; [they] are completely lost'

47

4.4 Clausal modification

4.4.1 Adjuncts

Clausal adjuncts include expressions of time, place, manner, reason, and other 'circumstances' characterizing the situation. They may be realized by adverbial phrases, prepositional phrases, noun phrases, and adverbial clauses. The various types of adverbial clauses are discussed in Chapter 6, Section 6.4. Here only some common types of non-clausal adjuncts are treated; the semantic classification is based on the one proposed by Quirk et al. (1985: Ch. 8) for English.

Adjuncts of space

Adjuncts of space may be realized by locative and directional adverbs (see Table 2.19 in Chapter 2) and prepositional phrases, as in the examples in (70)–(71):

(70) *dan swárvet **hiir** siit áge dígge **in 't lauch** 'erdúum, hii kan gaar nain árbeid kriig.*
      'He has been idling about here in the village for eight days, he cannot get any work at all.'

(71) ***in der tuun** wúurden yaa den toohóo$_e$p gíviin.*
      'In the church they were then married.'

Adjuncts of time

Like adjuncts of space, adjuncts of time are also frequently expressed by dedicated adverbs (72) or by prepositional phrases 73. In addition, noun phrases expressing a duration may function as time adjuncts, such as *agge digge* 'eight days, a week's time' in (74) or *'n poor jeer dernáa* 'a couple of years after this' in (75).

(72) *nuu flíucht der **álltiid** 'n wiit duuv uur 't huus*
      'Then a white dove is always flying above the house'

(73) *dan swárvet hiir **siit áge dígge** in 't lauch 'erdúum, hii kan gaar nain árbeid kriig.*
      'He has been idling about here in the village for eight days, he cannot get any work at all.'

(74) *nu mut hi **agge digge** jagi, eer hi in dait laun kumt*
      'Then he must travel for eight days before he arrives in that country'

(75) ***'n poor jeer dernáa** stäärft dan foo$_e$r uk.*
      'A couple of years after this the father dies too.'

Adjuncts of process

The category 'process' includes expressions of manner, means, and instrument.[3] Manner adjuncts are frequently expressed by manner adverbials (see Table 2.21 in Chapter 2), as in (76)–(77), but prepositional phrases also occur (78).

(76) *deer sin iik **stílkens** weg gíingen*
      'I secretly went away from there'

(77) *hii kan **saa fel** nich siil as wii*
      'He cannot sail as fast as we can'

---

[3]Quirk et al. (1985) also include agentive phrases in passive constructions; I discuss these in Chapter 5.

(78) **up állerhant oort un wiiz** *weer de fisk fíngen*
      'The fish were caught in many different ways'

Adjuncts of means and instrument are usually expressed with a prepositional phrase with *mit* 'with, by':

(79) *nuu hää dan buur dan fent eeléndiig slain* **mit de swü'üpuu**
      'The fish were caught in many different ways'

(80) *un* **mit stree** *wart dait huus thä'cket*
      'And the house was thatched with straw'

(81) *nuu kumt de óoberst* **mit siin kuutsch** *far de geriúchsheeren yar durn*
      'Then the colonel arrives at the court officers' door in his carriage'

Adjuncts of respect

Adjuncts of respect identify an entity or theme "in respect of which the clause concerned derives its truth value" (Quirk et al. 1985: 483). This relation of respect or "aboutness" may be expressed with a preposition phrase with *uum* 'about' or *too* 'too, with':

(82) *daa fraíget hii dait oo$_e$l wüüf* **uum djuu faun**
      'Then he asks the old lady about the girl'

(83) **der** *wul yu him gau* **too** *hilp*
      'With that she will help him at once'

Adjuncts of contingency

Adjuncts of contingency express such notions as the cause, reason, purpose, or condition for the situation; many of these are expressed by adverbial clauses and hence discussed in Chapter 6. Meanings expressed with prepositional phrases include at least cause, reason, and purpose, as shown in the examples in (84)–(87):

(84) **deer** *kan hi noch wail gelúckelk* **döör** *weer*
      'He might become fortunate because of that [a dragon's heart]'

(85) *iik striid hiir* **fon wéegen miin allerliáfste Martsebílla**
      'I am fighting here because of my dearest Martsebilla'

(86) *hii mii hírii gans géeren liiᴛʜ, hii friit nich* **uum ríikiidom**
      'He likes her very much, he is not proposing for the prospect of wealth'

(87) *den fáriit yaa mit 'e jel weg* **uum roch** *up djoop wátter*
      'Then they sail out for skates [i.e. in order to catch skates] in the skiff in deep water'

Adjuncts of degree

Degree adverbials (see Table 2.22 in Chapter 2) are used to indicate whether a situation applies to a high degree (maximizers or intensifiers), a low degree (downtoners), or with respect to some other standard of comparison (measure expressions).

(88) *dait been hää him **keim** up de broo$_e$d farlúngerd*

'That child has become completely set on bread [i.e. does not want to eat anything else]'

(89) *iik haid **bol** úumfullen*

'I almost fainted'

(90) *won dan foor deer nuu **nauch** 'erdúum árbeidert hää*

'And when the father has been moving enough about there...'

4.4.2 Clausal negation

As a rule the clause is negated with the negative particle *nich* (sometimes reduced to *ni'*). For constituent negation the negative pronouns and quantifiers discussed in Chapter 2 are used: *nímmens* 'no one', *nicks* 'nothing', *nain* 'no(ne)', etc.

(91) *daa quaa yuu, yuu kan nich naa de dronk*

'Then she says that she cannot go to the wedding'

(92) *djuu faun hää dait uk ni' wust, dat hírii maam än hex weer*

'The girl also didn't know that her mum was a witch'

For more emphatic negation, *nich/ni'* may be modified by one of the particles *gans* 'really, at all' or (more rarely) *gaar* 'at all'.

(93) *daa liuud in dait wéertshuus da we'itert gans nich wut yam úurkumt*

'The people in the inn do not know at all what is happening to them'

(94) *dait wul diu oo$_e$l maam nuu aabër gaar nich hab*

'But this the old mother does not want at all'

In a few cases negation appears to be doubly expressed. In the complement clause in (95) there is an overt negation present despite the negative character of the complement-taking predicate. In (96) the negative particle is repeated, presumably for emphasis.

(95) *iik schroom deerfár, dat iik dait ni' doo wul*

'I am afraid to do it' (lit. 'I am afraid that I do not want to do it')

(96) *da qua dum Hans, allein wul hi nich iin bliv uk nich.*

'Then the stupid Hans says, he does not want to remain at home alone either'

4.5 Word order

4.5.1 Basic word order patterns

Clausal word order may be described with a field model similar to the one used in the German grammatical tradition. In this model, different clause types are distinguished on the basis of the position of the finite verb relative to the other constituents. The main variants in Wangerooge Frisian are **V2** (finite verb in second position), **V1** (finite verb in first position), and **V-late** (finite verb 'late' in the clause, following any non-finite verb forms).

The V2 and V1 patterns may be described using the same template; the difference between the patterns if described in this way is the presence vs. absence of a constituent in the prefield. See Table 4.6 for some examples of such clauses.

Table 4.6: Word order: V2 and V1 clauses

Conj	Prefield	V_{fin}	Middle field	V_{infin}	Final field
Declarative main clause (V2)					
	nuu	hää	dan buur dan fent eeléndiig	slain	mit de swü'üpuu
	now	has	the farmer the boy horribly	struck	with the whip
Complement clause (V2)					
dat	hii	sil	siin maam deer s'laang	hool	in 't snácken
that	he	shall	his mum there so long	hold	in conversation
Polar question (V1)					
		häst	duu de stäårk al	blaukët?	
		have	you the stork already	seen	
Directive clause (V1)					
		doo	mii de durn íppiin		
		do	me the door open		

The fields V_{fin} and V_{infin} contain finite and non-finite verb forms, respectively. Coordinating and subordinating conjunctions are in the Conj field. The Prefield contains a single constituent which may belong to various types, such as subject, a topicalized object, or an adjunct. The Middle field contains other arguments and adjuncts; the Final field contains adjuncts (especially prepositional phrases and directional particles) and clausal arguments.

In V-late clauses, the finite verb appears immediately following any non-finite verb forms. The Final field may be filled by the same constituents as in a V2 clause. The same appears to be the case for the Middle field; in this the subject is usually the first constituent (but cf. below).

Table 4.7: Word order: V-late clauses

Conj	Middle field	V_{infin}	V_{fin}	Final field
Complement clause				
dat	wii	erleízd	wúurden	fon de Frantsóoz
that	we	released	became	from the French
Relative clause				
deer	yuu fon hírii mon	kríigiin	hää	
which	she from her husband	got	has	
Conditional clause				
won	yuu de path man wíider	fiin	kan	'niin
if	she the way only again	find	can	home

The structure of the Middle field requires further investigation, in particular the possible positions of adjuncts. The order of the arguments in monotransitive clauses appears to be subject > object without exception; whether one or both of the arguments is pronominal does not matter:

(97) *den sil hii* [S] *dait* [DO] *doch ins fartä'äl*
       'Then he should just tell that'

(98) *toolést sjucht hii* [S] *fon fíirens än sjíriiktuun* [DO]
       'As last he sees a church tower in the distance'

(99) *as hii deer nuu kumt, da sjucht dan boo$_e$r* [S] *him* [DO] *fon fíirens al*
  'As he arrives there, the bear already sees him in the distance'

The most common order of the three arguments in ditransitive clauses is subject > indirect object > direct object, but this may be partly due to a 'weight principle' placing pronominal arguments earlier in the clause (indirect objects are usually pronominal, as in [100]). If both the indirect and direct objects are pronominal, the direct object may appear first, cf. (101). In (102) a rare example of a ditransitive clause with three full NP arguments is given, showing the order subject > indirect object > direct object.

(100) *nu racht sin maam* [S] *him* [IO] *twein golen ring* [DO]
  'Now his mum gives him two golden rings'

(101) *un daa racht hii* [S] *'t* [DO] *hírii* [IO]
  '... and then he gives it to her'

(102) *deer káften daa állers* [S] *daa béener* [IO] *den linúllen rócker* [DO] *far*
  'With this the parents would buy the children half-linen coats'

4.5.2 Extraposition

Left and right extraposition is commonly attested in the corpus. Left extraposition is frequently used to specify a topic, either the subject (103) or some other constituent. In (104) it is a conditional clause.

(103) *un dan áán fent dan hää sin litk finger místert an siin lääft haun*
  'And the one boy, he has lost his little finger on his left hand'

(104) *un won ya nich weilen, den sullen yaa biistráffët wízze*
  'And if they did not want to [follow orders], then they would be punished'

Right extraposition is used to clarify the identity of a constituent which is referred to by an anaphoric element in the clause. As (107) shows, this also occurs in V-late clauses, in this case a complement clause with *wut*.

(105) *da gunget ya wíider weg heníin, da* beiTH *faúner*
  'Then they go back home, the two girls'

(106) *deer sint yaa too groo$_e$t al too, too døøpen*
  'They are already to big for that, for being baptized'

(107) *nu fraíget dan foo$_e$r hiri, wut yu him wail lii*TH *mi, dan kaizder*
  'Now her father asks her if she really likes him, the emperor'

Left and right extraposition may be added to the field model by inserting an extra slot after Conj and the Final field, respectively, as shown in Table 4.8 for V2 clauses (and analogously for V-late clauses). 'LE' and 'RE' stand for left and right extraposition, respectively.

Table 4.8: Field model for extraposition (V2 clauses)

Conj	LE	Prefield	V_{fin}	Middle field	V_{infin}	Final field	RE
Left extraposition of subject							
un	dan ään fent	dan	hää	sin litk finger	místert	an siin lääft haun	
and	the one boy	he	has	his little finger	lost	on his left hand	
Left extraposition of conditional clause							
un	won ya nich weilen	den	sullen	yaa	biistráffèt wízze		
and	if they not wanted	then	would	they	punished be		
Right extraposition of subject							
		da	gunget	ya wüider weg heniin,			da beiтн faúner
		then	go	they again away home			the two girls
Right extraposition of too-phrase							
		deer	sint	yaa too grooₜt al too			too døøpen
		there	are	they too big already for			to baptize

53

4.5.3   Some rarer patterns

Narrative V1

Declarative main clauses may have V1 order under certain circumstances; the subject is then placed immediately following the finite verb. This construction appears in particular in narrative texts and will be termed 'narrative V1' here in line with the tradition in other Germanic languages. It is used to introduce a new event in the narrative, often several times in the same sequence:

(108)   *nuu jágget hii ään meen de schaíper alleín weg un spíllet up siin floítpiip.* **stont** *deer 'n wüüf in der durn un ropt an him, dat hii sil deer ins íiven hoo$_e$d kúmme.* **quaa** *hii, hii duur ni', hii mut wíider 'niin.*

'Now one day he drives out the sheep on his own and plays his whistle. And there's a woman standing in the door, shouting to him that he has to come over there for a second. And he says that he doesn't dare, he has to go back home.'

(109)   *as de köning un sin wüüf des meens upstaunt, da duurt dait sa lang, eer yar faun to sjoo$_e$n kumt.* **saint** *ya da kamermädchen dër 'niin wut yu nich upstaun wul, af wut hiri wit feilt.* **kumt** *diu kaamermäädchen dër 'erduut, hiri bääd is noch sa as dër 't jursen meen macket is*

'As the king and his wife get up in the morning they don't see their daughter for a long time; they then send the chambermaids [to see] if she won't get out of bed or if something is the matter with her. And the chambermaid comes out [and says] her bed looks like it did when it was made yesterday'

Clause-initial afficiaries

While many non-subject constituents may appear initially in V2 clauses – i.e. in the Prefield in Table 4.6 – in V-late clauses the subject usually appears clause-initially (i.e. as the first element in the Middle field). A notable exception to this are afficiaries expressed by oblique pronouns, which may appear before the subject in the Middle field, as illustrated in (110)–(113). (In [112] the afficiary may also be analyzed as an external possessor.)

(110)   *nu stont hi up, un it un drinket, un sjungt un floitket, dat him de slaip fargungt*

'Now he gets up, and eats and drinks, and sings and whistles, so the sleepiness leaves him [lit. so him the sleep goes away]'

(111)   *dait häst duu mii too fartónken, dat dii 't saa good gungt*

'That you can thank me for, that it is going so well for you'

(112)   *den wul iik jaa liáver árbeid dat mii 't blood únner de niil dánne springt.*

'Then I would rather work so the blood springs from under my fingernails'

(113)   *un won him djuu djúnkens farféer wul, wit bö'özes too doon, hii kan 't nich*

'And if the darkness is about to tempt him to do something bad, he cannot do it'

In (114) the clause-initial afficiary is combined with a presentational construction with *deer*:

(114)   *won mii deer úunfarhóft 'n minsk kumt, un iik häb deer nich up too kúcket den quider iik doch wail*

'If I get an unexpected guest [lit. if me unexpectedly a person comes] and I have not cooked enough for him, then I will say: ...'

Verb "echoing"

Occasionally the finite verb is repeated later in the clause; this kind of "echoing" may on the surface seem like a mere performance error, but seems to be rather tightly constrained. The material that is "braced" by the two identical verbs is always a constituent which could appear in the Prefield. If the subject is a full noun phrase, this appears in this position, and the second finite verb immediately follows:

(115) *nuu snuft dan eezel snuft all dan wii*
       'Now the donkey is sniffing all the way'

(116) *nu is dan broer is up diu dette gans falsk*
       'Now the brother is very cruel towards the sister'

(117) *nu sint sin broring sint inkimin mit nicks*
       'Now his brothers have come home without anything'

If the subject is an anaphoric pronoun, this is repeated after the second verb:

(118) *da qua yu, dat yu gungt gliikgü'ltiig gungt yu mít yam*
       'Then she says that she will go with them without concern'

(119) *nu muttert ya deer in dait stääd múttert yaa 'n nacht bliiv.*
       'Now they have to stay there in that town for a night'

The subjects in (115)–(119) all represent given information, either definite noun phrases or anaphoric pronouns. It is unclear whether this represents a constraint on the construction.

Chapter 5

The verbal group

5.1 Tense, mood, and aspect

In the following the expression of tense, modality, and aspect is discussed. The tense system (Section 5.1.1) consists of a morphological opposition between the present and the (simple) past and the periphrastic perfect and pluperfect constructions. The tense forms also have a number of functions better characterized as modal; these are also introduced in Section 5.1.1. Section 5.1.2 then treats the modal verbs, which are the important expressions of modality; the complementation patterns and functions of each of the seven modal verbs will be described. Finally, a number of periphrastic aspectual constructions are treated in Section 5.1.3.

5.1.1 Tense

Present

The present tense is used for all states of affairs which are simultaneous with the time of speaking. This includes stative and durative situations and predicates with habitual and generic meaning. (1) gives an example of a stative predicate. The following two examples are durative; (2) describes a shorter duration, (3) a more prolonged one.

(1) *uuz oo$_e$laun dait ligt saa farlatt deer kan nicks niis hoo$_e$d kummë*
   'Our island is [lit. lies] so desolate, nothing new can reach it'

(2) *lauk naa d' krog, wut hii sjuth*
   'Check the pot, whether it is boiling'

(3) *dan minsk árbeidert wíider fon nídern up*
   'That man is working himself up again from below'

The present is used to describe what generally happens, as in (4) and (5). (4) is an expression used to describe a person's habit; (5) is from a description of a children's game. Generic sentences, which describe all members of a class, also use the present tense, as shown in (6) from a collection of animal sounds.

(4) *hii stont up, eer der dü'üvel siin schóo$_e$r oon hää.*
   'He gets up before the devil gets his shoes on'

(5) *dan ään mut yam seik un daa oor gúnget all uursíid un den ra'upet yaa fon: „piihált.“*

'One has to look for them, and the others all go to hide and then they shout *piihált*'

(6) *yuu droont won yuu sjucht, dat 'n hírii wit too ítten racht, oors bä'lket yuu.*

'It [the cow] bellows (*droont*) when it sees that someone is going to feed it, otherwise it moos (*bä'lket*)'

The present tense may also be used with future time reference. In this function it competes with the modal verbs *sil* and *wul*, which may both be used in a predictive or future sense (cf. Section 5.1.2 below). This use of the present tense is relatively rare in the corpus, but this may have to do with the text types (there appear to be few future contexts in the fairy tales, for instance). However, it is found several times in Ehrentraut's collection of weather expressions:

(7) *de lucht is dámstiig, wii kríiget wis róckii*

'The air is hazy, we are certainly going to get foggy weather'

(8) *wut is deer 'n schuum up 't wátter, wii häbt jawa'il stiif wiin*

'What a lot of foam on the water, we are surely going to get a strong wind'

As (9) shows, the future use of the present may occur in the context of one of the modals *sil* and *wul*. It is not always clear if the modal has a purely predictive sense or expresses modality. In (9) *wul* might have either a future or intention sense.

(9) *den wul wii twein weg naa Fúunuux, un wult tóolauk wut 'er 't deer racht, wii kúmmet de sülf tiid wíider, wii wult weg un hoo_ed*

'Then the two of us will [or: want to?] go to Carolinensiel to see what is happening there, we will come back around the same time, we will just go there and back'

Finally, but importantly, the present tense is frequently used in narratives. It appears that one must distinguish between two types of narration in this regard: fictional or reported stories such as fairy tales, on the one hand, and stories and memories from the speaker's own life, on the other hand. Fictional and other reported stories may be narrated entirely or mainly in the present tense, while real-life stories are generally told in the past tense but may employ the present tense for dramatic effect. (10) is from a fairy tale – a retelling of Cinderella – told entirely in the present tense:

(10) *nuu nimt dan fent dan schóo_er, un gungt dan oor dii mit dan schóo_er naa all de fa'uner.*

'Then the boy takes the shoe, and the next day he goes to visit all the girls with that shoe'

Another common pattern found in fictional or reported stories is to change between perfect and present. In many cases a story will begin in the perfect and change to the present within a few sentences; the anecdote which begins with (11), for instance, is entirely in the present except the first clause.

(11) *deer is än mool 'n wüüf wíziin, yuu hää 'n lü'ürlitk stuk jil, deer kaft yuu hírii 'n lü'ürlitk swiin far*

'There once was [lit. has been, PF] a woman, she had [lit. has, PRS] a little money and with that she bought [lit. buys, PRS] a little pig'

In other cases a longer introductory passage is in the perfect, or the narration switches between perfect and present throughout. On this 'narrative perfect' see also below.

In stories told in the past tense, the present tense may be used to emphasize a significant event or a new episode in the narrative. This is seen in (12), from a story about two islanders who were sentenced to death; the story is narrated mainly in the past tense but occasionally switches to the present tense:

(12)   *daa kaúmen yar wü'üfer noch húulen un schríien mit yar litk béener up éerem, man yaa kreígen nich 'n wood mit yam too sprícken, daa híngster wúurden gliik de swü'üpuu roo_et. as yaa daa up Fúunuux kúmmet, daa is deer 'n schedárm leútnant, daa weert yaa deer glik fon dan leútnant farhéerd*

'Then their wives came [PST] screaming and shouting, carrying their little children, but they did not get [PST] to exchange one word with them, the horses were given [PST] the whip at once. When they then arrive [PRS] at Carolinensiel, then a police lieutenant is [PRS] there, and they are immediately interrogated [PRS] by the lieutenant'

Past

The inflected past tense is used to talk about most situations with past time reference. This includes punctual, durative, and habitual situations which occurred in the past. Examples of punctual situations are given in (13)–(14). In (13) a periphrastic progressive construction with 'sit' (*seiten … un snackëtën*) is used to provide a background situation for the punctual event in the following clause.

(13)   *yaa seiten bii oorën un snackëtën saa wit hoo_ed un wëg. mit ainmool kaum än oo_el mon, d' alst fon de gans oo_elaun, dan kaum an mit gëroo_ez un queid*

'They were sitting with each other small-talking; suddenly an old man came, the oldest man on the whole island, he came in loudly and said: …'

(14)   *dait heer stiin mii too barg as iik dait bla'uket*

'My hairs stood on end when I saw that'

Examples of durative past situations are given in (15)–(16), respectively a stative and a progressive predicate.

(15)   *túsken de sníipiiker dúunen un 't ba'ulaun deer leig 'n gróo_eten óolen dúunen*

'Between the Sniipiik dunes and the farmland there was [lit. lay] a big old dune'

(16)   *wut líipen daa béener farschiúchtert 'erdúum*

'The children were running around all frightened'

Descriptions of habits and customs are also in the simple past. (17) is from an account of wedding preparations on the island; (18) is from a description of a children's game.

(17)   *nuu must de breid noch weg, un must all de fa'uner nøøg. daa alst fa'uner macketen hírii up. den gíing de bre'idgumel weg un nø'øget uk all de fénter*

'Then the bride also had to go, and she had to invite all the girls. The oldest girls made her ready. Then the bridegroom would go and invite all the young men'

(18)   *deer dan trop in djuu kuul kriig kuun, dee kreig 'n knop*

'The one who managed to get his top in the hole, he would get a button'

As mentioned above, speakers usually employ the past tense when talking about their own experiences, while fairy tales and other reported stories are generally told in the perfect or present

(or a combination of the two). The fragment in (19) shows a rare example of a fictional story which is partly in the past tense; the section in the past tense appears to provide background information to the main events of the story, which are all narrated in the present tense:

(19)   *aínmool sint 'er liúuden wíziin, daa häb't 'n lítken fent haivt, dan weer saa groo$_e$t as 'n soo$_e$d tåårf. daa hää siin maam aínmool too him quíт</sub>нiin, hii kuun 't huus wail farwárii, yuu weil wéggung un weil árbeid up 't felt. un Jan Tå'årfken siin maam haid 'n détte, dait weer 'n oo$_e$l hex, un yuu weil, Jan Tå'årfken géeren dóo$_e$d hab, dat yuu siin äärfschüp kreig. dat wust Jan Tåårfken siin maam wail. daa quaa Jan Tå'årfken siin maam too him, as yuu úutgungt, hii mut de durn tóosluut dat siin bop der nich 'erdíin kumt, yuu brengt him uum.*

'There once were [PF] some people, they had [PF] a little boy, he was [PST] no bigger than a lump of peat. Then his mum once told [PF] him that he could [PST] look after the house, whe wanted to go and work [PST] in the field. And Jan Tå'årfken's mum had [PST] a sister, she was [PST] an old witch, and she wanted [PST] to kill Jan Tå'årfken, in order that she would get [lit. got, PST] his inheritance. Jan Tå'årfken's mum was aware [PST] of that. Then Jan Tå'årfken's mum says [PRS] to him as she is leaving [PRS] that he has to [PRS] lock the door, so that his aunt does not enter [PRS], she will kill him [PRS]'

Perfect

The perfect is a periphrastic tense form consisting of one of the auxiliaries *hab* 'have' or *wíze* 'be' plus a perfect participle. The main function of the perfect is to describe a past state of affairs from the point of view of the present. There are various reasons for doing so, which might be distinguished as separate meanings of the perfect construction.

The perfect is often used to describe a past situation with a direct result in the present, as in the following examples:

(20)   *iik häb miin íirdappel uut de kuul kríigiin*
         'I have taken my potatos out of the pit'

(21)   *daa kricht hii dü'chtiig schéllen fon siin foo$_e$r un maam, as hii déermit iin kumt, dat hii all dait jil deerfar roo$_e$t hää*
         'Then he gets a serious telling-off from his dad and mum, when he comes home with that, since he has given out all the money for that'

(22)   *'k häb diin bääd al mácket*
         'I have already made your bed'

In some cases the relation to the present is rather that the past event is very recent, e.g. something which just happened when the parents were out (23) or during the previous night (24).

(23)   *da állers häbt naa d' straun too wíziin, un nuu quídert yaa too daa béener: "wii häbt gans wit niischíiriigs bla'uket!"*
         'The parents have been to the beach and now they say to the children: "We have seen something very strange!"'

(24)   *wut hää dait been farnacht dwelsk wíziin*
         'How delirious that child was [lit. has been] last night'

The perfect can also be used to describe situations which occurred at some point in the past and which are part of the general experience leading up to the present (the 'experiential' perfect). In

such contexts the perfect usually cooccurs with the adverb *siinléтнiig* 'ever, at one point' (negated 'never').

(25) *hii is saa 'n fíxen minsk, quaa yuu jeen him, wut hii noch siinléтнiig nain wüüf haivt hää?*
'He is such a capable man, she says to him, has he never had a wife?'

(26) *iik häb 'n good dénkkops haud siinléтнiig haivt, áaber nuu is 't oors.*
'At one point I had [lit. have had] a good memory, but now it is different'

A rather different use of the perfect is found in narratives like fairy tales and anecdotes about the island. This 'narrative perfect' often cooccurs with the present tense in the same text. The perfect may be used in the first clause, as in (11) above – apparently as a kind of scene-setting device – after which the story changes to the present tense. In other stories the narration shifts between perfect and present, or there is a longer introductory passage in the perfect. The fragment in (27) is from the beginning of a fairy tale. After this introduction, the narration shifts to the present tense.

(27) *Aínmool is dër 'n gro_ev wizzin, dan hä 'n gro_et slos haivt. dan hä ain faun un ään fent haivt. nu is dan bro_er is up diu dette gans falsk. hi un sin dette häb't oor'n gans ni' fargung kun. un hi hä 'n ring haivt, dan hä fel túugënt biisíttiin, hi hä 't aber nich wust. un dan ring drëcht hi all digge ur sin finger*
'Once there was a count [PF], he had a big castle [PF]. And he had a daughter and a son [PF]. Now the brother is very mean to the sister [PRS]. He and his sister could not stand each other [PF]. And he had a ring [PF], and this had many virtues [i.e. magical properties] [PF], but he did not know this [PF]. And the ring he wears all day on his finger [PRS]'

The fragment in (28) is from a tale which shifts between present and perfect throughout. As (28) shows, however, the introduction setting the scene of the tale is almost entirely told in the perfect.

(28) *der is 'n buur wízin, un hää 'n faun haivt, un dan buur is ste'idiig hállet bi de kö'öniing, dat hii moo biitálii must as oors liuud. den is siin faun naa de kö'öniing too gíingen un hää him frii mácket, dat hii saa feel úunkostiing úutreik must hää.*
'There was a farmer [PF], and he had [PF] a daughter, and the farmer was always summoned [PF] before the king because he had to pay [PST] more than other people. Then his daughter went to the king [PF] and made him free [PF] from this that he had to [PF] give out so many expenses'

It is possible that the narrative perfect is an instantiation of a more general reportative (hearsay) use of the perfect, used to tell about events which the speaker has heard about from others. It does not seem to be found in texts where speakers talk about their own past experiences (though it should be noted that there is not a great number of such texts). On the other hand, the perfect is frequently found in the collection of texts about supernatural events on the island, most of which clearly consist of hearsay information. The fragments in (29) are from a ghost story which is almost exclusively in the perfect. The final sentence states clearly that the speaker had heard the story from people on the island. (On the reportative use of the modal *sul* in the final clause, see Section 5.1.2 below.)

(29) *daa twein daa häb't nain ruuh af rast up íirden haivt, saa hää hii spa'ukent bii yam […] dait hää saa thríiuu jeer döör duurd. yaa que'iden, pastóor sul him toolést fardríiviin hab.*
'The two of them had [PF] no peace or rest in the world, so much he haunted [PF] them … that lasted [PF] for three whole years. They (people) said [PST] that the priest finally exorcised [*sul* + PF] him'

Pluperfect

The pluperfect is formed with the past-tense form of *hab* or *wíze* plus the participle. There are two main uses of the pluperfect, one temporal and one modal. The temporal use can be described as a kind of past in the past. It situates an event in the past from the point of view of another past event, similarly to the way the perfect situates an event in the past from the point of view of the present. In (30) and (31) the event in the pluperfect immediately precedes another past situation:

(30) *hii wail dait åbër nich witë, dat hii sliipiin haid.*
    'But he would [PST] not admit [lit. 'know'] that he had been sleeping [PLUP]' (Siebs)

(31) *daa béener wéeren naa der dúunen wíziin, un ka'umen iin un que'iden too yar maam*
    'The children had been [PLUP] to the dunes and came home and said [PST] to their mum …'

The pluperfect in (32) is resultative in nature: a glass of beer was passed around until everyone had had a chance to drink from it.

(32) *un den roo$_e$t yuu dait gläs an de oor fa'uner – bet saaláang dat yaa der all wit fon haivt ha'iden.*
    'and then she gave [PST] the glass to the other girls – until they had all had [PLUP] some of it'

In (33), the first clause in the pluperfect describes a situation (*bii him wíziin haid*) which began sometime in the past and continues up until the reference point, i.e. a persistent situation. The second clause contains a resultative pluperfect (*gans ool wúurden weer*):

(33) *as yuu nuu al feel jéeren bii him wíziin haid, un al gans ool wúurden weer, daa hiit hii hírii: Fro Maansroth*
    'When she had then lived with him for many years [PLUP], and she had grown very old [PLUP], then he called [PST] her "Fro Maansroth"'

    The other major function of the pluperfect is to express counterfactual situations, i.e. events which could potentially have occurred (but did or do not).

(34) *deer haid we'iniig an faild, af iik haid úumfillen.*
    'Just a little bit more of that and I would have fainted' (lit. 'Little had missed on that [PLUP] or I had fainted [PLUP]')

As shown by (35), in counterfactual conditionals both the protasis (the '*won*-clause') and the apodosis may be in the pluperfect:

(35) *won hii moo haivt haid, den haid hii der noch moo far roo$_e$t*
    'If he had had [PLUP] more [i.e. money], then he would have paid [PLUP] even more for it'

The counterfactual pluperfect can also be used in contexts with present time reference, as shown in (36):

(36) *wut kumt mii dait geríifelk, nuu kan iik hendílle fárii, oors haid iik hendílle loo$_e$p must.*
    'That is [PRS] convenient for me, now I can drive [PRS] down there; otherwise I would have had to walk [PLUP] down there'

5.1.2 Modal verbs

The seven modal verbs in Wangerooge Frisian may all be complemented by a short infinitive or a directional expression. The verbs *kan*, *mii*, and *thuur* may also be used transitively, i.e. with a direct object; this is not strictly speaking a modal expression, but it is mentioned below for the sake of completeness. *Wul* may take a complement clauses with *dat*. In the following, for each of the modal verbs the inflectional paradigm is given along with examples of the different uses of the verb. For the modal meaning categories I have followed the terminology used in Gregersen (2020: Ch. 3).

mut 'must, have to'

The central necessity modal is *mut*. This is used for all types of dynamic necessity, namely participant-internal (37), participant-imposed (circumstantial) (38), and situational (existential) necessity (39):

(37) *ik mut mii quíilii*
       'I have to throw up'

(38) *to de duren kuunen wi nich moou henúutkume* [...] *Då musten wi to 't finster nuut.*
       'We could not get out through the door anymore ... then we had to go out through the window' (Littmann)

(39) *jung liúud kant stäärv, un oo$_e$l múttert.*
       'Young people can die, old people have to'

   Mut is also used to express inferential evidentiality – often called 'epistemic necessity' in the literature – as shown in (40) and (41). In some cases, such as (42), it is unclear whether *mut* expresses situational necessity or inferential evidentiality; such instances represent a likely bridging context between the two meanings (on the development from situational necessity to inferential evidentiality, see e.g. Gregersen [2020: 257–259]).

(40) *„wut smäält dait fiúur, da tåårf múttert weit wíze, dat et gans ni' ban wul.*
       'The fire is smouldering so, the turfs must be wet, since it won't burn at all'

(41) *deer mut wailéer 'n lauch wíziin hab*
       'There must have been a village there earlier'

(42) *nuu thánket dan kööniing, dait mut doch weer wízze*
       'Now the king is thinking that must be true'

Mut is also used to express obligation, as in (43). In negative contexts it rather has the meaning 'shouldn't', i.e. it expresses a piece of advice rather than an actual obligation not to do something; the point of the saying in (44) is not that one is not allowed to marry someone from far away, only that it is a bad idea. (Negated necessity is usually expressed with *thuur*, cf. below.)

(43) *dan buur is steidig hallet bi de koning, dat hi mo biitálii must as oors liuud*
       'The farmer was always summoned by the king because he had to pay more [i.e. tax] than other people'

(44) *fä'äder mústuu ni' frii as duu de schórstein smiúuken sjuchst.*
       'You shouln't marry further away than you can see the chimney smoking'

As (38) above shows, *mut* may combine with a directional expression rather than an infinitival phrase. Another pattern is the combination of *mut* and one of the manner adverbs *sa* 'so, in this way' or *oors* 'otherwise, in another way'. This appears to be attested only once in the Ehrentraut material (45) and once in the text in Winkler (46), here also with *sil*. The pattern is frequently attested also in other Frisian, Low German, and Dutch dialects (see Caers & Gregersen 2019), so it was possibly also regularly used in Wangerooge Frisian.

(45) *saa mut dait nich, dait mut oo_ers*
      'It shouln't be in this way, it has to be in another way'

(46) *Dait mi nich laanger sa bliv; dait mut un dait sil oors.*
      'It cannot be like this any more; it must and has to be differently' (Winkler)

Table 5.1: Conjugation of *mut* 'must, have to'

	PRS	PST	PTCP
1SG	mut	must	
2SG	must	must	
3SG	mut	must	must
PL	múttert	músten	

kan 'can, be able to, know'

The modal *kan* expresses ability and possibility; in transitive uses, it has the meaning 'know' or 'recognize'. Examples of various possibility meanings are given in (47)–(49). (47) shows participant-internal possibility (ability). (48), where the complement is a directional expression, is an example of participant-imposed (circumstantial) possibility. In (49), a relatively rare use of *kan* to express permission is shown; this could possibly be analysed as a variant of the participant-imposed possibility meaning.

(47) *hii sil 'n boo_et máckii, hii kan jaa sülst tímmer*
      'He should make a boat, since he can do carpentry himself'

(48) *Då wur de Elw un de Wiizer blokööird; deer kuunen nain schüüpu iin noch uut.*
      'Then the Elbe and the Wezer were blocked; no ships could [sail] in or our there' (Littmann)

(49) *nim wolk duu wult, duu kanst kírii nímme.*
      'Take the one you like, you can make the choice'

In (50), from a fairy tale where the emperor's mother is trying to have the empress killed, a use of *kan* is shown which might be paraphrased 'can bring oneself to' or 'have the heart to'. This is probably best analysed as a variant use of the ability meaning, but in a moral or emotional sense rather than physical ability or skill.

(50) *nu qua diu o_el jeen da héeren, wéeruum dat ya deer den mit teívet saa laang […] da quiddert ya all, dait kant ya nich doo*
      'Now the old woman asks the men why they are waiting so long [with executing the empress] … then they all say that they cannot do that'

As mentioned above, *kan* is also a transitive verb meaning 'know' or 'recognize'. The object is always a noun phrase referring to an individual (knowledge of a proposition is expressed with *witte*; cf. the difference between German *kennen* and *wissen*). However, when used to express the meaning 'recognize' *kan* is often complemented by a noun phrase as well as a *dat*-clause, as in (52). These are the only cases where *kan* occurs with a *dat*-complement.

(51) *de fúugel kan 'n bii de fíder.*
      'You know the bird by its feather'

(52) *yuu kan de kö'öniing áaber gliik, dat dait hírii mon is, man hii kan hírii nich*
      'But she recognizes the king immediately, that that's her husband, but he does not recognize her'

Table 5.2: Conjugation of *kan* 'can, be able to, know'

	PRS	PST	PTCP
1SG	kan	kuun	
2SG	kanst	kuunst	kuun
3SG	kan	kuun	
PL	kant	kúunen	

mii 'may, like'

The relatively rare verb *mii* has a number of distinct functions: it is attested with permission, epistemic possibility, and boulomaic meanings, as well as a very rare optative meaning which is probably not authentic Wangerooge Frisian (see below). When used as a transitive verb, *mii* means 'like'.

The permission meaning is shown in (53), which is also an example of the use of *mii* with a directional expression:

(53) *nuu is der uk aínmool mä'ärket thicht bii, daa bíddert yuu daa róoevers, of yuu deer nich weg mii?*
      'Now at one point there is a market nearby, then she asks the robbers if she may perhaps go to that'

When used as an epistemic possibility modal, *mii* expresses that a proposition is likely to be true, either according to the speaker (cf. [54] and [55]) or some other person whose speech or thought is reported, as in (56). The particle *wail* appears to be obligatory when *mii* is used epistemically. Note the use of the long infinitive *wíziin* for expected *wízze* in (55).

(54) *Deer was 'n sëlschüp in än schippërshuus, dait mii wail thriuu wücke hoo$_e$d wizzë*
      'There was a party in a skipper's house, that was probably about three weeks ago'

(55) *Deer miiet uk wail fíiftiin fomíili wéchsiidelt wíziin*
      'Probably some fifteen families left' (Littmann)

(56) *un hii thánket deer nich an, dat siin wüüf 'n been hab sil, hii thánket saa: deer mii wail 'n kat af 'n muus af saa farbórgen wíze*
      'And he doesn't think that his wife is going to have a child, he thinks like this: there might be a cat or a mouse hidden or something like that'

The example in (57), from a fairy tale where a character has been transformed into a lamb, might be either an epistemic possibility use ('might become') or a permission use ('will be allowed to become', i.e. by the higher powers). In the context, however, it seems clear that the character speaking is not certain about the outcome, so an epistemic reading is more likely, as reflected in the translation:

(57)   *"won duu der nuu ins wíider fon drunkst, den muchst duu wail wíider too 'n minsk weer"*
       'If you drink from that [a magical spring] once more, then you might become human again'

In the boulomaic use, *mii* expresses that the subject referent likes or enjoys engaging in a certain activity, as in (58). Closely related is the use of *mii* as a transitive verb meaning 'like'; (59) contains an example of either of these meanings.

(58)   *Då síiliichs, då miiet ghööin up 'n saun liz.*
       'The seals, they enjoy lying on a sand bank' (Littmann)

(59)   *kat mii de fisk wail, man hii mii siin foot nich weit máckii.*
       'The cat sure likes fish, but it doesn't like to get its feet wet'

Another related use is the fixed expression *liiTH mii* 'like', lit. 'may suffer' (compare English expressions like *cannot stand*, *cannot put up with*). The use of *mii* her is probably a relic of its earlier dynamic possibility meaning.

(60)   *yuu is hírii fent siin wüüf gans falsk, yuu mii yuu gaar nich liiTH*
       'She is very cruel to her son's wife, she cannot stand her at all'

Finally, *mii* is attested in a few contexts where it is unclear if it reflects entirely idiomatic Wangerooge Frisian usage. One is the optative use found in the translation of the Lord's Prayer, as exemplified in (61); while it is certainly possible that *mii* also had an optative use (cf. English *may*), it does not appear to be attested outside of this prayer.

(61)   *dii will mii dain weer up iirden as in 'e hémmel*
       'May your will be done on earth and in heaven'

Similarly, the dynamic possibility use shown in (62) might reflect authentic Wangerooge Frisian use (*mii* almost certainly had dynamic possibility meaning in the past), but it is perhaps more likely to be a translation effect – the text is a rather close paraphrase of an Old Frisian text where the ancestor of *mii* is indeed used.[1]

(62)   *dan thrääd dii fallt et saa dioo$_e$p* [oder siid] *dat et nein oogën sjoo mii.*
       'May your will be done on earth and in heaven'

duur 'dare' ('be allowed')

The 'audacity' modal *duur* is used to express whether the subject referent has the necessary courage to realize a given state of affairs. It is often used in negative contexts, i.e. to express that the subject referent does not dare to do something. (63) gives an example with an infinitival complement, (64) one with a directional expression:

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[1]The Old Frisian reads *Thes thredda dis fallath se alsa side, thet se nen age bisia ne mi.*

Table 5.3: Conjugation of *mii* 'may, can, like'

	PRS	PST	PTCP
1SG	mii	mucht	
2SG	miist	muchst	
3SG	mii	mucht	mucht
PL	miit	múchten	

(63) *daa quaa yuu, dan píizel is good nauch, man yuu duur der nich alle'in in slaip.*
'Then she says that the room is good enough but she does not dare to sleep in there alone'

(64) *yuu hää yam monniichmóol blauket, man yu hää nich na yam tóo durst fon diu løøv.*
'She has seen them many times, but she has not dared [to go] to them because of the lion'

However, *duur* is not restricted to negative contexts, as shown by (65) and (66). In (65) *duur* is used in an interrogative complement clause, in (66) in a declarative main clause:

(65) *daa quaa dan weert, huu hii dait dan óoberst wéeger duur, dait hat saa 'n góoden mon.*
'Then the host asks how they dare to deny the colonel that, he is such a good man'

(66) *duu duurst quíder wut duu wult, duu lichst nain blad far der tuut.*
'You dare to say what you want, you do not mince your words'

In negative contexts, the meaning of *duur* occasionally seems to be one of permission rather than audacity, i.e. 'be allowed' rather than 'dare', as in (67):

(67) *"duu la'ukest mii jaa saa oon"!* Antw: *"duur iik dii nich óonlauk?*
'"You're looking at me so!"' [Answer]: "Am I not allowed to look at you?"'

In many cases, however, the 'dare' meaning cannot be ruled out entirely, cf. the possible translations of (68):

(68) *yuu wul uk al mit him up schatt, den der duur nímmens fon dait folk 'eníin, dait wul dan leútnant nich hab.*
'She also already wants to go "up schatt" [meaning?] with him, because none of the people are allowed [or: dare to go?] there, the lieutenant does not want that'

It is unclear whether the occasional permission use arose in such contexts or whether it is more likely due to influence from German *dürfen* (or a combination of these two factors).

Table 5.4: Conjugation of *duur* 'dare' ('be allowed')

	PRS	PST	PTCP
1SG	duur	durst	
2SG	duurst	durst	
3SG	duur	durst	durst
PL	duurt	dúrsten	

thuur '**need**'

The modal *thuur* is used in negative contexts to express (lack of) circumstantial necessity, i.e. 'need not', cf. (69) with an infinitival complement and (70) with a directional:

(69)   *dee nich kumt dan thuur uk nich wíider gung.*
       'Who doesn't come doesn't need to leave again'

(70)   *duu thuurst noch ni' weg, de kóo_epliuud schiipiit noch nich*
       'You don't need to leave yet, the merchants aren't shipping yet'

There is a single example sentence in the Ehrentraut corpus showing the transitive use of *thuur* (translated with German *bedürfen*)

(71)   *iik thuur nich feel, ich bedarf wenig*
       'I don't need much'

Ehrentraut also points out that while the Low German loan word *bruuk* (cognate of High German *brauchen*) is found, this means 'use' (*gebrauchen*) rather than 'need':

(72)   *duu thuurst dait nich bruuk, du brauchst dieses nicht gebrauchen*
       'You don't need to use this'

Table 5.5: Conjugation of *thuur* 'need'

	PRS	PST	PTCP
1SG	thuur	thurst	
2SG	thuurst	thurst	thurst
3SG	thuur	thurst	
PL	thuurt	thúrsten	

sil '**have to, be supposed to, be going to**'

The most frequent meaning of *sil* is one of obligation or responsibility, i.e. that the subject referent is obliged or supposed to realize a state of affairs. The person or institution imposing this obligation or responsibility (i.e. the 'modal factor' or source) usually has to be inferred from the context. For instance, in the example sentence in (73) it is the speaker; in (74) it is the character whose speech is reported; and in (75), from a translation of the Ten Commandments, it is God.

(73)   *duu silt nich bliuuch wizzë*
       'Don't be stupid'

(74)   *daa quaa yuu wíider: deer sil hii doch man gans fon stil swiig*
       'Then she says again: about this he has to remain completely silent'

(75)   *duu silt nain dóoethslag doo.*
       'Thou shalt not kill'

Sil is also used to express prediction, either about what is probably the case (epistemic) or what is going to happen (future). With both of these meanings, the particle *wail* is normally used. In (76)–(77) two examples of the epistemic use are given:

(76) „*huu fiir sul dait wail wíze?*“ „*dait hat ’n dii re’izen.*“
      ‘How far will that be, you think? That’s a day’s travel’

(77) *Der Vater antwortet: dait sil’ yum beiᴛʜ wail al längst mit óoren a’ufreedert hab*
      ‘The father answers: the two of you surely have already agreed on this with each other’

The future/prediction use is shown in (78)–(80). As (80) shows, *wail* is not obligatory with this meaning, even though it is usually found. The example also shows that *wul* may be used with the same or at least a very similar prediction meaning.

(78) *duu silt dait wail doo mut*
      ‘You’re going to have to do that’

(79) *dait sil wail ’n góoden dronk weer*
      ‘That is surely going to be a good wedding’ (das wird wohl eine gute Hochzeit werden)

(80) *dait hü’ver wul farjéer djuur weer, oder: sil farjéer wail djuur weer*
      ‘Oats are going to be expensive this year’ (der Hafer wird in diesem Jahre wohl theuer werden)

Finally, *sil* also occurs a few times with a hearsay evidential meaning; here it expresses that the speaker(s) have heard a piece of information from someone else.

(81) *yaa que’iden, pastóor sul him toolést fardríiviin hab.*
      ‘They said that the priest supposedly drove him away at last’

(82) *hii hää dait uk heerd dat deer saa ’n gróoeten sä’ckel jil in de walt lidz sil.*
      ‘He has also heard that a very large bag of money supposedly is lying in the forest’

Table 5.6: Conjugation of *sil* ‘have to, be supposed to, be going to’

	PRS	PST	PTCP
1sg	sil	sul	
2sg	silt	sult	
3sg	sil	sul	sul
pl	silt	súllen	

wul ‘want to, will’

The usual function of *wul* is to express the volition or intention of the subject referent; depending on the context it can be rendered e.g. by English ‘want to’, ‘plan to’, ‘will’, or ‘be going to’. (83) contains three examples:

(83) Der Knabe: „*bab, huu weer dait far óolen tíiden, won da liúuden toohóoₑp we’ilen un we’ilen dronk doo?*

Der Alte: „*ee, miin fent, dait wul iik dii fartä'äl*
The boy: 'Dad, how was it back in the day when people wanted to marry and were going to have a wedding?'
The old man: 'Well, my boy, that I will tell you'

More rarely in the corpus, *wul* occurs with a purely predictive sense (i.e. a temporal use, cf. [84] as well as [80] above) or a proximative or inceptive meaning (i.e. aspectual uses, cf. [85]). This is clearest when the subject is inanimate and hence unlikely to plan or want anything:

(84) *e, qua diu oel, dait wul all nich hilp*
      'Yes, says the old lady, all of this is not going to help'

(85) „*wut smäält dait fiúur, da tåårf múttert weit wíze, dat et gans ni' ban wul.*
      'The fire is smouldering so, the turfs must be wet, since it won't burn at all'

Ehrentraut also gives a number of examples of the predictive use with animate subjects, e.g. (86)

(86) *dan fent wul groo$_e$t weer*
      'The boy is going to be big' (der Knabe wird groß werden)

On the other hand, even in cases with an inanimate subject one cannot always rule out a volitional reading, as inanimate subjects may be personified:

(87) *de doo$_e$th wul 'n óorzaak hab.*
      'Death is going to [or: wants to?] have a reason'

Table 5.7: Conjugation of *wul* 'want to, will'

	PRS	PST	PTCP
1SG	wul	weil	
2SG	wult	weilst	weil
3SG	wul	weil	
PL	wult	we'ilen	

5.1.3   Aspectual constructions

Progressive constructions

Wangerooge Frisian makes few obligatory aspectual distinctions. A simple present-tense form, for instance, may be interpreted as durative or habitual depending on the context, as discussed above. However, two periphrastic progressive constructions occur relatively frequently in the material, the 'location + infinitive' construction and the *bii 't*-construction.

In the 'location + infinitive' construction a verb of movement or location followed by a *too*-infinitive expressing an activity. At least the verbs *sit* 'sit' (88), *staun* 'stand' (89), *lidz* 'lie' (90), and *gung* 'go, walk' (91) are attested in this construction, as shown in the following examples.

(88) *hii sit deer too ítten*
      'He is sitting there eating'

(89)   *den staunt all daa liúuden far de durn too hárken deernáa naa daa béener*
       'Then all the people are standing by the door listening to the childen'

(90)   *daa licht yuu too snúrken*
       'Then she is lying there snoring'

(91)   *hii gungt deer saa too ko'iern*
       'He goes there walking back and forth'

The construction is also occasionally found with the copula *wíze*. In some cases the construction might be interpreted as a locative predicate plus a purpose clause, e.g. in (92) one could imagine the interpretation 'that they are by that farmer in order to shepherd'. Similarly, in (93) an interpretation 'as she is on the road to go for a walk' might be possible.

(92)   *daa quíddert yaa, dat yar beiᴛʜ állers sint doo_ed, un sint yaa bii ᴅᴀɴ buur too schaíperwáriin.*
       'then they say that both of their parents are dead and that they are shepherding by that farmer'

(93)   *as yuu too spatséeren is up de wii.*
       '... as she is walking on the road'

However, in other cases such an analysis is clearly not possible: (94) can only mean 'someone was sawing on it', not 'someone was on it in order to saw'. Here *wíze* + *too*-infinitive can only be a progressive construction.

(94)   *då faild iik fööil piin in miin bain, as won deer een mit 'n snüüdhu oon weer to sååghen*
       'then I felt a great pain in my leg, as if someone was sawing on it with a saw' (Littmann)

   The other progressive construction consists of the preposition *bii* + the neuter definite article *'t* + verbal noun (infinitive 2), as shown in (95) and (96):

(95)   *iik sin bii 't dü'ülven*
       'I am digging worms'

(96)   *nuu häb iik oors meens bii 't sjénnen wíziin, kaum djuu oo_el dü'üvelskiint nich wíider?*
       'Now just the other morning I was churning butter, and who came if not that old '

As shown by (97) and (98), the *bii 't* construction may be combined with the movement verb *gung* or the position verb *staun*. In the former case the resulting meaning is 'to go to do':

(97)   *daa gúnget yaa naa dronk, un yuu gungt wíider bii 't sámmeln*
       'Then they go to the wedding, and she [i.e. Cinderella] goes to gather [peas] again'

(98)   *hii stont deer noch bii 't séenen*
       'He is stil standing there sowing'

Phasal aspect

Periphrastic constructions also exist for the phasal aspects inceptive and terminative. Inceptive meaning, i.e. that a situation is beginning, may be expressed with the verb *ánfang* 'begin' + *too*-infinitive, as in (99) and (100).

(99) *'t fangt al stíifer an too we'ien.*
      'It is already beginning to blow stiffer'

(100) *den fánget da béener an too sjúngen*
       'Then the children start singing'

For the three weather predicates *riin* 'rain', *snii* 'snow', and *thúuner* 'thunder', Ehrentraut records a construction in which another verb is used to express that the situation is inceptive. These verbs are *smútter* 'drizzle, rain lightly', *múnkel* 'rumour', and *grúumel* ('thunder'?), as shown in (101)–(103):

(101) *yum múttert daa bääd iin hálii, dait smúttert too ríinen.*
       'You need to bring the bed inside the house, it is beginning [lit. drizzling] to rain.'

(102) *dait múnkelt too sníien oder too ríinen*
       'It is beginning [lit. rumouring] to snow/to rain'

(103) *dait grúumelt too thúunern*
       'It is beginning to thunder'

For terminative meaning, i.s. finishing situations, the verb *?uphool* 'stop' is used:

(104) *'t halt gans nich up too ríinen.*
       'It does not stop raining at all'

(105) *hool man up too háckiin in tuunn*
       'Just stop digging in the garden'

5.2   Voice and valency

5.2.1   The passive: *weer* (and *wíze*)

A periphrastic passive construction is formed by combining the change-of-state verb *weer* 'become' (cf. Table 5.8) with a perfect participle; under certain conditions, described below, the copula *wíze* 'be' may also be used as a passive auxiliary.

Table 5.8: Conjugation of *weer* 'become'

	PRS	PST	PTCP
1SG	weer	wuurd	
2SG	warst	wuurdst	wúurden
3SG	wart	wuurd	
PL	weert	wúurden	

The passive construction demotes the first argument (i.e. the logical subject of the predicate) to optional status; with intransitive predicates the passive clause has no subject, while with transitive predicates an object argument is promoted to subject status. The logical subject may be expressed by a *fon*-phrase, but this is very rare in the corpus.

The transitive passive construction is the most frequent one in the corpus. Examples are shown in (106)–(108); in (108) the use of an agent phrase with *fon* is shown.

(106) *daa wart 'er tä'äfel décket*
       'Then the table is set'

(107) *a'inmool is der 'n dronk, deer weert all daa liúud too nø'øget*
       'Once upon a time there is a wedding, all the people are invited to that'

(108) *daa weert yaa deer glik fon dan leútnant farhéerd*
       'Then they are interrogated on the spot by the lieutenant'

Passives of intransitive predicates ("impersonal passives") are shown in (109)–(111). In (109) the placeholder *'er* occurs in the expected subject position, but as (110)–(111) show this is not obligatory, in (111) presumably because of the pronominal adverb *deer*.

(109) *nu wart 'er wë'gsant uum dan ring*
       'Now they send out someone to get the ring' (lit.: 'now there is sent away about the ring')

(110) *nu wart na dan dóktër tóo schríiviin*
       'Now they write to the doctor' (lit.: 'now there is written to the doctor')

(111) *wüüduu-rock is laang, deer wart fookën* (oder oft) *up triddiin*
       'A widow's coat is long, people often step on that' (lit.: 'on that is often stepped')

In (112) the complement clause with *woo* 'who' can presumably be analyzed as the subject of the passivized verb.

(112) *nuu wart 'er fórsket, woo daa bre'iver kríigiin hää*
       'Now it is investigated who has received the letters'

Table 5.9: Conjugation of *wíze, wízze* 'be'

	PRS	PST	PTCP
1SG	sin	weer	
2SG	bist	weerst	wíziin, wízziin
3SG	is	weer	
PL	sint	wéeren	

The copula *wíze* is used as a passive auxiliary in two cases: to form a (plu)perfect passive and when the passive auxiliary has to be in the infinitive, usually after a modal verb. (113) shows a perfect passive, (114) a pluperfect passive; in (115) first a present passive with *weert* is shown, in the next sentence a pluperfect passive with *wéeren*.

(113) *nuu sint daa beiTH béener fon Gaad un álle mínsken farlátt*
       'Now the two children are [or: have been] deserted by God and all people.'

(114) *yaa le'iveten dat daa da litk béener farbiúuterten, won yaa noch he'ɪᴛʜen le'igen, won yaa no' ni' dø'øpet wéeren*

'They believed that they [i.e. the fairies] would exchange the little children when they were still 'lying heathen', when they had not been baptized yet'

(115) *daa weert yaa naa Grö'nniing broo_et. daa kreígen wii hiir órder, dat yaa wéeren naa Grö'nniing broo_et*

'Then they are brought to Groningen. Then we received the instruction that they had been brought to Groningen'

In (116) a rare example of the combination of *wíze* and *weer* is shown:

(116) *Gott troost, won der ain fargíttiin weer un weer nich nø'øget wúurden*

'God help them if one had been forgotten and had not been invited'

The other context where *wíze* is used as a passive auxiliary is in the infinitive, i.e. after modal verbs, as in the following examples. However, in this context *wíze* and *weer* appear to be in free variation; Ehrentraut gives several examples like (118) and (119) illustrating this.

(117) *nu sil diu sóokën gans nau únnersocht wizze mit siin maam*

'Now the case with his mum has to be investigated very thoroughly'

(118) *dait sil dain weer oder wíze*

'That will/must be done' (das wird oder soll gethan werden)

(119) *dait slot mut ípiin díirket wíze oder weer*

'The lock has to be picked open'

5.2.2 The causative: *lait*

A periphrastic causative construction is formed with the verb *lait* (Table 5.10) plus the short infinitive. In the causative construction, the subject causes or allows an event to happen. The subject of the embedded event may or may not be suppressed, cf. below.

Table 5.10: Conjugation of *lait* 'let, cause to'

	PRS	PST	PTCP
1SG	lait	liit	
2SG	latst	?liitst	lat't
3SG	lat	liit	
PL	la'itert	líiten	

Causatives with *lait* cover a broad semantic spectrum, including at least manipulative, directive, and permissive causative meaning. In manipulative uses, the subject is an agent directly causing the event, as in (120) and (121):

(120) *iik häb 'n kurf döör de luuk úphüüstert up schot* [...] *un nuu wul iik him wíider sak lait*

'I have pulled a basket up on the floor through the hatch ... and now I want to lower it again' (lit. 'to make it go down')

(121) *bálspiiliin doot yaa nuu uk noch, un drook upflíiuug la'iten, […] yaa la'itert uk wail schü'üpuu siil up 't wátter.*

'They also still play ball games, and fly kites [lit. make kites fly up] … they also sometimes sail boats [lit. make boats sail] on the water'

In directive causative uses, the subject referent causes the event to happen by 'directing' someone else rather than actively manipulating another participant, i.e. by asking, inviting, commanding, etc.

(122) *miin óomel haid a'inmool 'n kalf, dait liit yuu 'n gans hoog heck máckii in de nóorder píizel*

'My grandma once had a calf, she had a tall pen made for that in the room to the north'

(123) *den liit dan bre'idgumel ään fon siin best frün kúmme*

'Then the bridegroom had one of his best friends come'

(124) *nu hästu far him wail än fat kalf slacht lat't*

'Now you have had a fat calf slaughtered for him' (Winkler)

In permissive causatives, the subject either permits the event to occur or at least does nothing to prevent it; in these *lait* can usually be translated with English 'let':

(125) *den silt duu mii farsprick, dat duu mii drink lait wult*

'Then you must promise me that you will let me [or: allow me to] drink'

(126) *ee, won duu bii uus thióoₑn wult, den wul wii diin laum uk wail lib lait*

'Yes, if you will serve in our house, then we will let your lamb live'

The combination of permissive *lait* with a position verb results in the meaning 'leave (in a particular position)', as in the following examples. (128) is from a consultant's commentary on the fairy tale she is telling: the two characters in question had been left sleeping in the forest when the narrative changed in a different direction.

(127) *yaa wult yar ooₑl kláttiig huus staun lait un wult weg un wult thióoₑn*

'They want to leave [lit.'let stand'] their old dilapidated house and go elsewhere and serve'

(128) *nu wul' wi ins wider de köningsdóchter un de ritter upseik, weer da sint, da häv' wi in dan walt slaipen lidz lat't.*

'Now we will go look for the princess and the knight again where they are, we left them sleeping in the forest' (lit. 'we have let them lie sleeping')

The causee, i.e. the participant who is caused or permitted to realize the event, is not necessarily expressed. Compare the two instances of causative *sjoo* 'see' in (129) – in the first sentence the causee *yuu* 'she' is realized; in the second there is no overt causee, presumably because it is clear from the context:

(129) *"ee, den wul yuu 't uk doo, man den sil hii yuu hírii mon sjoo lait." - daa lat hii hírii mon íiven búve 't wátter sjoo*

'Yes, then she is going to do it, but then he has show her [lit. 'let her see'] her husband – then he shows her husband just above the water'

Compare also the two examples without causees in (130). The understood causee of *døøp* 'baptize' would presumably be a minister, but this is irrelevant in the context; the understood causee of *nam* 'call' is presumably people in general.

(130)   *døøp wult yaa yam nich lait* […] *dan ään wult yaa Flóorens nam lait*

'They don't want to have them baptized .. one of them they want to call [lit. 'let call'] Flóorens'

In (131) *hírii* might look like a causee, but is actually a free beneficiary ('free indirect object'):

(131)   *yuu wul géeren bii yam bliiv un bii yam thióoen un wul yar móoget wíze won yaa hírii dait laum man lib lait wult*

'She will agree to staying with them and serve in their house and be their maid if they will only let the lamb live for her'

The verb *lait* is also used in a hortative construction. A few examples of the form *lait us* 'let us' are attested, but the more usual form is *laist* 'let's' (presumably via an unattested contracted form **laits*).

(132)   *lait uus mítoorën snack*
        'Let us talk to each other' (laßt uns mit einander reden)

(133)   *ee, laist saaláang teiv too súnnendii*
        'Yes, let's wait until Sunday'

5.2.3   The applicative: *bii-*

The applicative prefix *bii-* may be used to change the valency of both transitive and intransitive verbs. With an intransitive base verb, *bii-* adds a direct object (though see below for a few exceptions). With a transitive base verb, a *bii-*derivation normally changes the type of direct object.

Examples of *bii-*verbs from intransitive bases include *biiloo_ep* 'reach, catch' from *loo_ep* 'walk, run' (134), *biifarii* 'sail (tr.)' from *fárii* 'drive, sail (intr.)' (135), and *biislaip* 'sleep with' from *slaip* 'sleep' (136).

(134)   *iik kan dii wail biilóo_ep*
        'I can certainly catch up to you'

(135)   *hii biifáret dait wad*
        'He sails on the Wadden Sea'

(136)   *hii hää mii biislíipiin, iik sil 'n been hab*
        'He has slept with me, I am going to have a child'

With transitive verbs, the addition of *bii-* usually involves a change of the semantic role of the object. From *seen* 'sow' (137), for instance, one can derive *biiséen* 'sow on, cultivate' which takes a location rather than a theme object (138).

(137)   *deer haid wailéer bii óolen tíiden än fóoget hü'ver oon seend*
        'On that [part of the island] a bailiff had sowed oats a long time ago'

(138)   *iik häb dait laun biiséend*
        'I have sowed on the land'

Similarly, the object of *spíiker* 'nail up' refers to an entity that is hung up with nails, i.e. a theme argument. Judging from the single attested example of *biispíiker*, this verb means 'nail shut, close with nails', and the object thus refers to the location of the nails.[2]

(139) *deer spíikert yaa dait haid up fääst*
'On that [door] they nail up the skin [of the seal]'

(140) *iik wul de kist biispíiker*
'I am going to nail the crate shut'

The direct object may also be changed from an *effectum* to an *affectum* object. For instance, from *máckii* 'make' (141) the verb *biimáckii* 'wrap, envelop' (142) is derived.

(141) *ya weilen än golen biker macki lait*
'They wanted to have a golden beaker made'

(142) *iik wul dait gø'øder biimáckii dat 'er 't nich blétsiig wart*
'I am going to wrap the goods so they won't get dirty'

However, with some transitive bases it is unclear what the effect of *bii-* is, and it may have been more or less semantically empty. For instance, both *lóvvii* (143) and *biilóvvii* (144) mean 'promise'. It is possible that the former was used with concrete objects and the latter with abstract objects, but unfortunately there are too few examples to determine this.

(143) *iik häb da äärm dait lúvet, un dait silt yaa uk hab*
'I have promised that to the poor people, and they are also going to have it'

(144) *e, dait hää hi hiri bilúvvet, in dan pizel, deer yu slip, deer sul hi uk on wizze.*
'Yes, he had promised her that, in the room where she was sleeping he was also going to be'

That *bii-* may be semantically empty is also suggested by pairs like (145) and (146) where Ehrentraut gives two variants, one with and one without *bii-*:

(145) *duu must diin surn tä'mstiig oder biitä'mstiig*
'You have to restrain your anger'

(146) *iik wul dii liúcht, oder iik wul dii biiliúcht*
'I am going to light [the way] for you'

Many *bii-*verbs have a nominal base. Because of the nature of the material, it is usually not possible to determine whether these are derived directly from the corresponding nouns or through a zero-derived verb. For instance, the nominal root *schad* 'shadow' is found in the verb ?*biischád* 'beshadow, cover with shadow', but it is unknown if a simplex verb *schad 'shadow' also existed.[3]

(147) *dan boo_em biischádert dait huus*
'The tree covers the house with shadow'

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[2]Also attested is the derived verb *farspíiker*, whose object refers to an entity which is enclosed by means of nails (i.e. also a theme argument): *iik wul dait gø'øder farspíiker in djuu kist* 'I am going to nail up the things in the crate'.

[3]Note that Ehrentraut cites the infinitive as *biischáder*, but this is probably a misanalysis of the 3SG form *biischádert*, which shows *r*-insertion. The infinitive of the verb was more likely ?*biischád*.

Another example is the verb *biihéx* 'bewitch, enchant' (148) from the noun *hex* 'witch', which is frequently attested in the corpus. However, it is uncertain if a corresponding simplex verb **hex* existed.

(148) *as yuu nuu all hírii héxenkunst bíioor'n hää, daa biihéxt yuu yam*
 'Then when she has gotten all her magic ready, then she enchants them'

5.2.4 Noun incorporation

Noun incorporation in Wangerooge Frisian can be understood as a valency-reducing process. In the prototypical instance, a transitive verb is compounded with a noun which would otherwise be its object, resulting in an intransitive predicate:[4]

(149) *Gaad un siin wóod [sic] wart döör djuu báadtiid fargíttiin, deer wíttert yaa nicks moo fon, yaa häbt nauch too doon too **héerfrezeeren**.*
 'God and his word has been forgotten because of the resort period, they know nothing of that anymore; they are too busy combing their hair'

The construction is only attested in nonfinite contexts, e.g. in a *too*-infinitive as in (149), but since the total number of attestations of the construction is quite limited, this may well be accidental.

The example in (150) shows that the incorporated noun may be inflected, as *schaíper-* 'sheep' is the plural form (SG *schaip*):

(150) *daa quíddert yaa, dat yar beiTH állers sint doo_ed, un sint yaa bii DAN buur too **schaíperwáriin***
 'then they say that both of their parents are dead and that they are shepherding for that farmer'

Another possible example is shown in (151), where the verb *ä'skenpuust* could possibly be analysed as containing an otherwise unattested plural form **ä'sken-* 'ashes'. However, the verb is clearly a pun on the name of the main character, Äskenpuuster (Cinderella), and is probably a backformation from this name. (Unsurprisingly, the verb is not attested outside the context of this particular fairytale.)

(151) *yuu kumt deer nich weg, yuu kan ä'skenpuust.*
 'She's not getting away from there, she can [i.e. has to] blow ashes'

A closely related phenomenon, which could possibly be analyzed as a special case of noun incorporation, are noun-verb compounds in the durative *bii 't*-construction (on which see Section 5.1.3 above); this of course depends on the analysis of the verb in this construction.

(152) *kiik, deer is ään bii 't hólthauen*
 'Look, someone is chopping wood over there'

(153) *bístuu bii 't wäärkplüüzen*
 'Are you picking oakum?'

Note the instance from Littmann in (154), where an unexpected *-te-* 'to' appears in the verb form *áuftebriken* 'take down, demolish'. The nonfinite complementizer otherwise does not appear in the *bii 't*-construction.

(154) *Helkís weeren wi al bi 't huuzu áuftebriken.*
 'At Christmas we were already taking down houses.' (Littmann)

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[4]On noun incorporation in other Frisian languages, see Dyk (1992a,b; 1993; 1997); Ebert (1989).

5.3 Verbal particles

The meaning of a verb may be modified with a number of verbal particles which have a special distribution: in V-late clauses and with nonfinite verb forms they occur immediately before the verb and are normally written as a prefix by Ehrentraut. If the particle verb is the finite verb of a V2 clause, the particle occurs at the end of the clause. This phenomenon is illustrated with the verb *úpstaun* 'get up' (from *staun* 'stand') in (155)–(157):

(155)   *as hii des meens nuu wíider úpstont*
        'As he gets up again in the morning...'

(156)   *iik sin saa møød, iik kan nich úpstaun*
        'I am so tired, I can't get up'

(157)   *hii stont up, eer der dü'üvel siin schóo$_e$r oon hää.*
        'He gets up before the devil gets his shoes on'

Most of these verbal particles have corresponding prepositions and/or directional adverbs. However, the verbal particle may have a meaning slightly different from the corresponding adverb or preposition. For instance, the literal meaning of the preposition *döör* is 'through', as in (158). As, a verbal particle, this meaning of *döör* is not necessarily present anymore: *döörstick* in (159) is etymologically 'stick through', but simply means 'shuffle'.

(158)   *lauket de groot riiz döör 't kóoiigat*
        'Then the big giant looks out through the keyhole'

(159)   *iik wul da koort döörstick*
        'I will shuffle the cards'

A list of verbal particles is given in Table 5.11. (Note that not all of the infinitives are attested in this form; all of the infinitives of the simplex verbs are securely attested, however.) The frequency of these in the corpus differs greatly; for instance, only a few instances of *uumtóo* are attested, whereas *auf* and *oon* are very frequent.

Table 5.11: Verbal particles

Particle	Literal meaning	Examples
an	'on, at'	*ánmail* 'paint (on)', *ánnimme* 'take on, hire'
auf	'off'	*a'uftjoo* 'take off', *a'ufkioo$_e$z* 'select'
bii	'by'	*bíistaun* 'assist, stand by', *bíireik* 'add, enclose'
biioorn	'together'	*bíioornswiilii* 'rake (hay)', *bíioornkriig* 'collect'
dille	'down'	*dílleban* 'burn down', *díllefal* 'fall down'
döör	'through'	*döörgriin* 'grind completely', *döörstick* 'shuffle (cards)'
far	'before'	*fárlidz* 'lay before', *fárreik* 'pretend'
hoo$_e$d	'here'	*hoo$_e$dgung* 'go here', *hoo$_e$dkumme* 'come here'
iin	'in, home'	*íinkumme* 'come home', *íinarii* 'harvest'
kort	'in pieces'	*kórtbrik* 'break in pieces', *kórtsmiit* 'throw (and break)'
mit	'with, along'	*mítnimme* 'bring along', *mítsjung* 'sing along'
naa	'after'	*náalait* 'leave behind', *náakjauel* 'imitate, repeat'
oon	'in, on'	*óontjoo* 'put on', *óonslaip* 'fall asleep'
too	'to'	*tóobreng* 'spend (time)', *tóolait* 'allow'
toohoo$_e$p	'together'	*toohoo$_e$pswiilii* 'sweep (rubbish)', *toohoo$_e$pgíve* 'marry'
unner	'under'	*únnerduuk*, *únnerdjuup* 'submerge'
up	'up'	*úpstaun* 'get up', *úpdrink* 'drink up'
uum	'around'	*úumdrei* 'turn around', *úumbreng* 'kill'
uumtoo	'around'	*uumtóowøøl* 'wrap around', *uumtóosloo* 'wind around'
uur	'over, up'	*úurreik* 'give up', *úurgung* 'go over, cross'
uut	'out'	*úutjagii* 'chase out, banish', *úutitte* 'eat up'
weg	'away, there'	*wégloo$_e$p* 'walk away', *wégriucht* 'execute'
wiider	'again(st)'	*wíidersprik* 'contradict', *wíiderkumme* 'come back'

Chapter 6

Complex sentences

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses complex sentence structures, which includes three main types of construction: coordination (Section 6.2), (finite) subordinate clauses (Sections 6.3–6.6), and infinitive constructions (i.e. non-finite subordinate clauses) (Section 6.7). For the finite subordinate clauses, four main types are distinguished, namely complement clauses, adverbial clauses, relative clauses, and comparative clauses.

6.2 Coordination

The three main coordinators are additive *un* 'and', disjunctive *af* 'or', and adversative *man* 'but'. In addition to *af*, the German borrowing *óoder* 'or' is also reasonably well attested. The adversative coordinator *áaber(st)* 'but', also a loanword, is attested a few times in the corpus. A few correlative coordinators are also found, described at the end of this section.

6.2.1 Additive *un* 'and'

The additive coordinator is *un* 'and'. It may link any type of clause or constituent, as exemplified in (1)–(3):

(1) *nu breckt de kriich uut mit de turk, un hii mut mit all siin folk naa de turkíi*
     'Now war breaks out with the Turks, and he has to go to Turkey with all his men'

(2) *den wul wii twein weg naa Fúunuux, un wult tóolauk wut 'er 't deer racht*
     'then the two of us want to go to Carolinensiel, and want to check how things are there'

(3) *den kaum de bre'idgummel un nø'øget all da fénter litk un groo$_e$t*
     'then the bridegroom came and invited all the men, young and old'

6.2.2 Disjunctive *af* and *óoder* 'or'

The most frequent disjunctive coordinator in the material is *af* 'or' (occasionally spelt *of*). Like *un*, it may link any kind of clause or phrase.

(4)   *nu wult ya uk witte wut yu doed is af wut yu líbbet.*
     'Now they also want to know if she if dead or if she is alive'

(5)   *un noch häb't ya nicks fon 'im heerd of blauket*
     '… and still they haven't heard or seen anything of him'

If an *af*-clause follows a clause containing a negation, the resulting meaning sometimes comes close to a negative conditional ('unless') or negative concomitance ('without') clause:

(6)   *dait kant yaa doch nich farstaún, af yaa múttert álltiid 'n Wangeróoger bii yam hab, deer yam dait farthiúutsket*
     'People can't understand that anyway, or they always need to have a Wangerooge person with them who can translate it into German'

   In addition to *af*, the loanword *óoder* is found in the material. It may also coordinate both clauses or phrases. (In [7] the coordinated subordinate clauses are a conditional and a complement clause, the latter with conditional meaning in the context.)

(7)   *únner de sjéeler geböörd et noch wail énkelt, dat yaa wiider fríiden, far állen, won yaa jung wéeren, óoder dat yaa litk béener ha'iden.*
     'Among the men it did happen once in a while that they married again, especially if they were still young or if they had small children.'

(8)   *dait kan gans licht farfíind weer mit too heit wátter óoder too koo$_e$l*
     'It [buttermilk] may very easily become *farfíind* (frothy) with too hot water or too cold.'

6.2.3   Adversative *man* and *áaber* 'but'

The adversative or contrastive coordinator is *man* 'but'. It usually connects clauses, as in (9)–(10), but is also found linking a clause fragment to a clause, as in (11):

(9)   *yuu kan him wail, man hii kan hírii nich.*
     'She recognizes him, but he does not recognize her.'

(10)   *hii is nuu in 't slos blíiviin bii de prinsés, man yuu hää oors än mon hab sul.*
     'He then stayed in the castle with the princess, but she was supposed to have another man [as her husband].'

(11)   *hi wul uk wail mit as schipper, man nich as stiurmon*
     'he would also like to join as skipper, but not as steersman'

   In addition to *man*, the (recent?) High German borrowing *áaber* is attested, but this is very rare, with less than ten examples in the entire corpus. The variant form *áaberst* is attested a single time, cf. (13):

(12)   *nuu ha'itert yaa 'z uk fon kíiltiis, áaber bii óolen tíiden híiten yaa 'z píijäcker*
     'Now they also call them [a type of coat] *kíiltiis*, but in the old days they called them *píijäcker*'

(13)   *wii fénter wii kre'igen bióor un brénnewiin, piip un toobák un dónseten än dü'ünken, áaberst da fa'uner nich*
     'We men got beer and brandy, a pipe and tobacco, and danced to music, but not the girls'

6.2.4 Correlative coordinators

Few examples of correlative coordinating conjunctions are attested. No exclusive disjunctive co-ordinator corresponding to English *either … or* (or German *entweder … oder*) appears to be found. An emphatic additive coordinator *saawa'il … as* 'both … and' is found only once in the material, cf. (14):

(14) *Gaad siin séegen is saawa'il in wátter as in wiin*
      'God's blessing is both in the water and the wind'

A negative additive coordinator *wä'äder … noch* 'neither … nor', as seen in (15)–(16), is attested three times in the corpus.

(15) *wut is dait huus nácket, deer is wä'äder wátter noch fiuur in.*
      'What a simple [lit. naked] house, there is neither water nor fire in it.'

(16) *hii hää wä'äder been noch kü'üken.*
      'He has neither child nor chicken.' (i.e. neither heirs nor any other dependants)

Note that (16) is an adaptation of a Low German expression.[1] The same phrase is attested with the standard negation followed by *af*, i.e. 'not … or' rather than 'neither … nor'. It is possible that this pattern was copied from Low German (note also Low German *kind* 'child' in [17] rather than Wangerooge Frisian *been*); however, it is also attested elsewhere in the corpus, cf. (18).

(17) *dan hää nich kind af kü'ükën*
      'He does not have child or chicken.'

(18) *dan síiliich is dood, hii reert nich fin af foot moo.*
      'The seal is dead, it is not moving fin or foot anymore.'

6.3   Complement clauses

This section treats finite complement clauses, i.e. subordinate clauses functioning as complements of predicates, nouns, or prepositions. These may be introduced by *dat* 'that', *wut* 'if', a 'wh'-subordinator like *weer* 'where' and *huu* 'how', or no complementizer.

6.3.1   Complement clauses with *dat*

The subordinator *dat* has several functions: in addition to complement clauses, it may introduce purpose, result, and causal clauses, and it may combine with other conjunctions and adverbs (e.g. in temporal and negative concomitance clauses). These different types will be treated below; the present section only focusses on *dat* introducing complement clauses.

The most frequent use of complement clauses with *dat* is as object clauses. The complement-taking predicates belong to several different types, including utterance (19), perception (20), propositional attitude (21), desiderative (22), and manipulative predicates (23) (terms from Noonan 2007). Note that the manipulative predicates attested with *dat*-clauses, such as *raid* 'advise', *nøøg* 'invite', and *órder* 'command' all necessarily involve the manipulator communicating in some way; hence, they can also be analyzed as utterance predicates. (See below for further details on the classification of complement clauses.)

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[1]Recorded in various forms, e.g. *gên kind of küken* (ten Doornkaat Koolman 1879–1884, s.v. *küken*) and *nitt kind af kúken* (Woeste 1882, s.v. *kind*).

(19)   *daa quaa yar foo$_e$r, dat yaa sult eerst weg un sult wit farthióo$_e$n.*
       'Then their father says that they first have to go away and earn something'

(20)   *yu hää herd, dat hir is 'n kronkenhus*
       'she has heard that there is a hospital here'

(21)   *oors ment pastóor, dat yu dait stílliin hää.*
       'otherwise the minister will think that you have stolen that'

(22)   *dait weílen daa oo$_e$l liúuden nich hab, dat yaa dait doo súllen.*
       'the old people would not accept that, that they were going to do that'

(23)   *man nuu raid iik dii, dat duu de durn nich wíider íppiin däst*
       '... but now I advise you to not open the door again'

As (22) shows, the complement clause may be explicative to a (cataphoric) pronoun in the matrix clause.

Most complement clauses with *dat* are object clauses. Table 6.1 shows the number of *dat*-clauses in different syntactic environments in the Ehrentraut material, showing that close to eight in ten are object clauses. The table also gives the frequencies of the word order patterns V2 and V-late in the different contexts; V2 is frequently attested in object and noun complement clauses, whereas it is absent in complements to adjectives and prepositions. Two subject clauses with V2 are attested.

Table 6.1: V2 and V-late in *dat*-clauses

Function of *dat*-clause	V2	V-late	n/a	Total
Object	87	194	18	299
Subject	2	24	1	27
Complement in PP		15		15
Complement in AdjP		20		20
Complement in NP	10	8		18
Misc.	1	2		3
Total	100	263	19	383

The word order of object *dat*-clauses appears to be sensitive to the type of matrix predicate. A count of the almost three hundred object *dat*-clauses appearing in the Ehrentraut material revealed the distribution across different semantic types shown in Table 6.2; the terms for the different types are from Noonan (2007).

Dat-clauses functioning as subject are much less frequent; in the Ehrentraut material there are some thirty examples (as opposed to c. three hundred object *dat*-clauses). The subject complements are almost always explicative to a cataphoric pronoun in the matrix clause, as in (24) and (25). Subject *dat*-clauses are almost invariably V-late, but cf. the V2-clause in (26) with the predicate *staun* 'say (of a text)', lit. 'stand'.

(24)   *daa quaa dan kö'öniing, huu dait den tóogungt, dat hii in 'e walt groo$_e$t mácket is.*
       'Then the king asks [lit. 'says'] how that may be that he has been raised in the woods'

(25)   *dait duurt nich laang dat äärm liúud wit hä'bbet.*
       'It does not last long that poor people have something [i.e. money]'

Table 6.2: Distribution of V2 and V-late in object *dat*-clauses

Type of CTP	Example	V2	V-late	n/a	Total
Utterance	*quídder* 'say'	72	40	4	116
Propositional attitude	*leiv* 'believe'	5	22	2	29
Commentative	REFL *frau* 'rejoice'	1	9	–	10
Knowledge	*wítte* 'know'	1	28	2	31
Fear	*gr_eoot* 'dread'	–	3	–	3
Perception	*sjoo* 'see'	3	39	4	46
Desiderative	*wul* 'want'	–	25	6	31
Manipulative	*uurréed* 'persuade'	5	7	–	12
Achievement	*tóolauk* 'make sure'	–	21	–	21
Total		87	194	18	299

(26) *ur 'n di af three kricht hi wider 'n breif, deer stont oon, dat yu is good tofrídder*
'After about three days he receives another letter; there it says that she is quite content'

In (27) one of very few examples of a *dat*-clause functioning as subject complement is given.

(27) *dan gungt fon 't hoog auf mit siin schip, un gungt le'iger, dat hii éerder siil kan. le'iger, dait is, dat hii thíchter bii fóorwatter is, dat hii éerder siil kan.*
'He takes his ship from the higher point to the lower one so that he can sail earlier. "Lower", that is [to say] that he is closer to navigable water, so that he can sail earlier'

Dat-clauses may also be complements of prepositions. In these cases, the pronominal adverb *deer* is always present in the matrix clause, corresponding to the use of cataphoric *dait* or *et* mentioned above (see examples [22] and [24]–[25]).

(28) *daa hää pastóor deer uk nain äärch auf, dat daa állers dait nich hab wult.*
'Then the minister also does not suspect [lit. has no suspicion on] that the parents do not want it.'

Adjectival and nominal complementation with *dat*-clauses is also fairly common in the material. Adjectives which may take a complement clause include *ong* 'afraid', *gewáar* 'aware', *mísselk* and *tróoriig* 'sad', and *fra'uelk* 'happy'; the majority of these are commentative. The *dat*-complements of adjectives always have V-late order.

(29) *hii is nuu noch ímmer ong, dat yuu him nich wul*
'he is still afraid that she does not want him.'

(30) *un dait wüüf is daa gans tróoriig, dat hírii mon weg is.*
'And then the wife is very sad that her husband is gone.'

Complement-taking nouns include *úrtel* 'verdict', *príτнiiken* 'sermon', *breif* 'letter', *úungeluk* 'misfortune', and *ongst* 'fear, dismay'.

(31) *daa is dan buur in ongst, dat siin faun dait nich doo kan*
'Then the farmer is in fear that his daughter is not able to do that.'

(32) *da qua de kaizder, hi hää ään breif uur de oor krigin, dat sin wüüf hää twein jung huun krigin, un yu is him úuntreoo.*

'Then the emperor says he has received one letter after the other [saying] that his wife has got two young puppies, and [that] she is unfaithful to him.'

V2 in *dat*-complements of nouns is attested after the head nouns *stavë't* 'messenger, message', *úrtel* 'verdict', *breif* 'letter', *order* 'command', and *mood* 'fashion, habit'. In the first four of these, the *dat*-complement clause expresses a communicated content, i.e. similar to complements of utterance predicates. V-late in noun complements is attested after *ongst* 'fear, dismay', *úungeluk* 'misfortune', *weerteiken* 'proof', *príтнiiken* 'sermon', and *gerücht* 'rumour', which correspond to various types of predicates (fear, commentative, utterance).

6.3.2 Complement clauses with no complementizer

Complement clauses without a complementizer are attested as objects of utterance and propositional attitude predicates, and as noun phrase complements after 'utterance nouns'. This type of complement clause thus has a more restricted distribution than *dat*-clauses, and also appears to be rarer overall. However, a systematic collection of all examples in the material is necessary to confirm this impression. A few examples are given in (33)–(35), with the predicates *quídder* 'say', ?*fárhool* 'put forth, suggested', and *mein* 'think', respectively.

(33) *djuu oo$_e$l djuu quaa, yuu mii nain wiin*

'the old woman says she does not like wine'

(34) *Då kaum de reghööiriin […] un hiil uuz far, wi sulen farschus haab, uum nå laun úuertosiideln*

'Then the government came … and suggested to us [that] we would get credit in order to settle on the mainland' (Littmann)

(35) *dat daa síiliichs dait wis meint dait sint yar oo$_e$l*

'… so that the seals will think for sure [that] those are their parents'

In (36) an example with the complement-taking noun *raid* 'advice' is given.

(36) *Ain ghræwin weer hiir up Wangeroogh in 'e bååd-tiid, ju rååed mi dan raid, iik sul då élernblååder bruuk, den wur iik wiider beter.*

'A countess was here on Wangerooge during the resort period, she gave me the advice [that] I should use alder leaves, then I would get well again.' (Littmann)

Unlike *dat*-clauses, complement clauses with no complementizer have obligatory V2 order. They can all be analyzed as reported declaratives; as (37) shows, the construction involves origo shift: the origin of the reported speech (*då dokters*) is referred to with a 3PL rather than a 1PL pronoun.

(37) *Un as jå dait dain haiden, då twaiden då dokters jööin mi, moou kuunen jå deer nich an do, hail kuunen jå nich; ju notuur must hail.*

'And when they had done that, the two doctors said to me they could not do more on this, they could not heal it; nature itself had to heal.' (Littmann)

In (38), *quídder* 'say' introduces direct speech; this is probably better analyzed as an independent clause than a complement clause.

(38) *Då twaid iik jööin de dokter: „Won ju notuur hail mut, den wul iik hiir nich longer bliiw, den wul iik wiider niin.“*

'Then I said to the doctor: "If nature has to heal it, then I don't want to stay here any longer, then I want to return home".' (Littmann)

6.3.3 Complement clauses with *wut* and *af*

Polar complement clauses, i.e. complements which mark the truth value of the proposition as indeterminate, are normally introduced by *wut* 'if, whether'. Such clauses appear after complement-taking predicates like *fraig* 'ask' (39), *wítte* 'know' (40), *lauk* 'look, check' (41), and *quídder* in the sense 'ask' (see below).

(39) *iik wul him fraig, wut hii mit gung wul*
'I will/want to ask him if he wants to come along'

(40) *hii wet nich, wut hii up 't haud gungt, af up 'e foot.*
'He doesn't know if he's walking on his head or on his feet'

(41) *daa gungt djuu faun weg, un la'uket, wut yuu slept.*
'Then the girl goes to check if she is asleep'

The alternative polar complementizer *af* (or *of*), presumably an older form, is also attested a few times in the corpus, cf. (42)–(43):

(42) *daa bíddert yuu daa róo$_e$vers, of yuu deer nich weg mii*
'Then she asks the robbers if she is not allowed to leave'

(43) *doo diin litk kúuker ins ípiin, óomel wul lauk, af duu uk bíiters krichst.*
'Open your little mouth, granny wants to check if you are also getting any teeth'

Polar complements of *quídder* 'say, ask'

When the complement-taking predicate *quídder* occurs with *dat*-clauses, it can normally be translated 'say', as in (19), repeated here as (44):

(44) *daa quaa yar foo$_e$r, dat yaa sult eerst weg un sult wit farthióo$_e$n.*
'then their father says that they first have to go away and earn something'

In combination with a *wut*-clause, however, *quídder* always means 'ask', as in (45)–(46). There are no examples of the combination of *quídder* and a *wut*-clause with the meaning 'say'.[2]

(45) *nuu quaa hii jeen siin foor, wut dan fúugel ni' bétter is as 'n fat kuu?*
'Then he asks his father if the bird isn't better than a fat cow'

(46) *nu qua diu mam jen him, wut hi him nich scheemt*
'Now his mum asks him if he isn't ashamed of himself'

A similar pattern can also be observed with some *wh*-complements, cf. below.

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[2]Compare utterance predicates like *say* or *tell* in English, which retain their usual meaning when used with polar complement clauses: *The police didn't say if anybody was hurt*, etc.

86

Insubordinate and adjunct *wut*-clauses

Polar *wut*-clauses also appear in two constructions where they are probably better analyzed as independent and adjunct clauses, respectively, rather than complement clauses. The first type, which I will term 'insubordinate *wut*-clauses', expresses a report of a polar question; because there is no matrix clause, it must be inferred from the context who asks the question. The construction is commonly used in narrative texts where dialogues between characters are reported, as in (47)–(48):

(47) *man hírii állers sint laang al doo*ₑ*d wízziin.*
"wut yuu den nain moo swester af bróoriing hää?
"naa, quaa yuu...
'... but her parents have been dead for a long time.
Does she not have any other siblings?
No, she says...'

(48) *un da kumt hi des aívens bi än hus, der sjucht hi 'n liácht. hi klóppet an. -"wut hi wul? - hi*
wul deer iin, - **wut hi deer quartéer kriig kan?** *den hi is møød.*
'And then in the evening he comes to a house, and he sees a light there. He knocks on the door. "What does he want?" – He wants to come inside, – [and he asks] if he can get accommodation there? Because he is tired.'

The other pattern, here referred to as 'adjunct *wut*-clauses', functions as a kind of purpose clause. This expresses that the action in the main clause is carried out to determine whether the proposition of the *wut*-clause is true or false. When rendering these *wut*-clauses in English, this purpose relation can usually be expressed by inserting '(in order) to see/check/find out' before the complement clause.

(49) *doot dait fínster ínsen ípiin, wut djuu duuv hiir wail herdíin kumt*
'Please open the window [to see] if the dove is going to come inside'

(50) *yaa wult weg un wult naa hírii kantóor too, wut yaa daa breíver nich fiin kant*
'They want to go to her office [to see] if they might be able to find the letters'

(51) *dan oor dii daa kumt der al ään mit dan hánsken; nuu múttert yaa all yar hánskens kriig, wut*
DAN *deer uk too pásset?*
'The next day already someone comes with the glove; now they all have to get their gloves [to find out] if that fits with those'

6.3.4   Other finite complement clauses

A less common type of complement clause is introduced by a '*wh*-subordinator', most of which may also function as interrogative pronouns.
    Complement clauses of place are introduced by *weer* 'where':

(52) *wii fra'igeten, weer Hank un Thiark wéeren, kréigen áaber nain óntwoo*ₑ*rt*
'we asked where Hank and Thiark were, but did not get an answer'

(53) *'n jéeder wet am bésten, weer him de schóoer thrúcket.*
'Every man knows best where his shoes are too tight'

Complement clauses of reason are introduced by *weerum dat*, i.e. 'why' plus the complementizer 'that':

(54) *daa fra'iget dan fúugel, wéeruum dat dan mon siin búrrel kórtsmiitiin hää?*
      'then the bird asks why the man has broken his bottle'

The subordinator *huu* 'how' usually introduces manner complements, as in (55) and (56), but may also introduce complement clauses of reason, as in (57):

(55) *hi wet nich, huu hii dait biitíilii mut*
      'he does not know how he is going to go about that'

(56) *nu wul wi ins 'n óogënblick fon de kaizderin un fon diu o_el still swiig, un wult ínsen lauk, hu 't de kaizder gungt in de kriich.*
      'Now we are going to be silent about the empress and the old woman for a minute, and see how the emperor is doing in the war'

(57) *daa kumt 'er mool 'n mon bii him, dan fra'iget him, huu hii saa tróoriig is?*
      'then once a man comes to him and asks why he is so sad'

The subordinator *huu* may also express degree; in these cases it combines with an adjectival element to form a complex subordinator. The structure of this is *huu* + adjective + the complementizer *dat*:

(58) *elk mut siin säk naa de méllen dríge, den wet hii huu sweer dat hii is*
      'Everyone has to carry his own bag to the mill, then he knows how heavy it is'

(59) *den wetst duu, huu feel dat 'er oon is in de säk*
      '... then you know how much there is in the bag'

When *huu* combines with *feel* 'many, much', it may also modify a noun. In these cases Ehrentraut writes *huuféel* or *húufel* as a single word, as the examples show apparently with variable stress:

(60) *dan fra'iget dan úpperst yam, huuféel mińsken dat deer wail wíziin sint*
      'then the colonel asks them how many people there might have been there'

(61) *hii kricht siin purs ins uut de knápsäck, un laúket, húufel jil dat hii hää*
      'he gets his wallet out of his pocket and checks how much money he has'

Complement clauses of identity are introduced by the complex subordinator *wut far* + N + *dat* 'which N':

(62) *daa weert yaa deer glik fon dan leútnant farhéerd, wut far Fúunuuxter dat yam djuu órder roo_et häbt naa Wangeróoch too.*
      'then they are interrogated by the lieutenant at the spot about which Carolinensiel people have given them the instruction [to go] to Wangerooge'

Note that like polar complements, *wh*-complements of *quídder* also require the meaning 'ask' rather than 'say', as in (63) with *weer* 'where' and (64) with *weruum dat* 'why':

(63) *daa stont deer 'n lítken swerg an 'e wii, dan quaa jeen him, weer hii weg wul*
      'then a little dwarf is standing by the road, he asks him were he is going'

88

(64) *o_el köningswüüf yu fangt an to húullen un to spektáakeln un qua jen hiri mon, weruum dat hi dait dain hää*

'The old queen begins to cry and make a fuss and asks her husband why he has done that'

Adjunct *huu*-clauses

As with polar complement clauses with *wut*, there are also examples in the corpus of adjunct *wh*-clauses; so far, this has only been found with *huu* 'how'. Like adjunct *wut*-clauses, this type of *wh*-clause functions as a kind of purpose clause. It communicates a question or uncertainty which the action of the matrix clause is supposed to settle. Examples of this pattern with *huu* 'how' are given in (65)–(67):

(65) *nu biisocht dan o_el gro_ev dait kronkenhus uk ään dii, huu 't da kronken deer oon gunget*

'Now one day the old count visits the hospital too, [to see] how the sick people there are doing'

(66) *nu qua hi jen sin wüüf, dat hi wul him úpmacki, un wul na de turkii na sin swóoger, hu 't dan deer gungt.*

'Now he says to his wife that he intends to make himself ready and go to Turkey to his brother-in-law [to see] how he is doing there'

(67) *as yaa in Grö'nniing kúmmet, daa gúnget noch eerst naa Hank un Thiárk too, huu yaa wail toomóod sint.*

'As they arrive in Groningen they first go to Hank and Thiark, [to find out] how their spirits are'

6.4   Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are adjuncts at the clause level. In Wangerooge Frisian these clauses are introduced by a subordinator which may be simple or complex, in the latter case usually consisting of some other element plus the complementizer *dat.*

Many different semantic types of adverbial clauses may be distinguished, and these types may be subdivided in various ways. Kortmann (1997: Ch. 4) makes a principal distinction between clauses of time, 'CCC' clauses expressing causal, conditional, concessive, and related notions, 'modal' adverbial clauses such as manner and similarity, and a leftover category which includes place, substitution, (negative) concomitance, and addition. Many but not all of the types distinguished by Kortmann are attested in the Wangerooge Frisian material.

6.4.1   Temporal clauses

Several different subtypes of temporal clauses may be distinguished on notional grounds – Kortmann (1997) lists nine principal types – but these do not necessarily have dedicated markers in a given language. In Wangerooge Frisian, at least seven different temporal subordinators are attested. Some may express more than one temporal relations, others express only one. The semantic classification used below is based on Kortmann (1997).

Simultaneity overlap: *as* 'when, as'

The subordinator *as* 'when, as' is used to express simultaneity overlap, i.e. that the subordinate situation overlaps in time with the matrix situation. This overlap may be of a different nature depending on the tense value and aktionsart of the two situations. In (68) the matrix situation accompanies the subordinate situation (and may in fact be inferred to be caused by it), while in (69) the matrix situation occurs at some point during the course of the subordinate situation.

(68) *un yaa huullt all saa sweer, as yaa fónoor'n gúnget, dat 'er 't is nain mínniicheit*
      'And they all cry so bitterly when/as they part ways that it is a serious matter'

(69) *nuu kumt der a'inmool 'n stuudént uum hírii, un fra'iget hírii, wut yuu him hab wul, as yuu too spatséeren is up de wii.*
      'Then at one point a student comes looking for her and asks her if she wants to marry him, as she is out walking on the road.'

   In other cases, the notion of simultaneity overlap shades into (immediate) anteriority (on which see below). In (70) the subordinate situation may be inferred to occur just before the matrix situation. In (71) the use of the perfect in the subordinate clause makes this explicit.

(70) *as yuu íinkumt, daa racht de duuv hírii de stok*
      'As/when she enters the house, the dove hands her the staff'

(71) *nuu, as hii dait dain hää, daa gungt hii wíider naa hírii too.*
      'Then, when/after he has done that, he goes back to her.'

Contingency: *won* 'when(ever)'

The conjunction *won* – which is also used in conditional and concessive clauses – is used to form contingency (or indefinite time) clauses: whenever the subordinate situation occurs, the matrix situation is true as well.

(72) *daa biiluurt yuu hírii, won yuu díggen naa 't schaípheck gungt naa dait litk laum.*
      'Then she spies on her when(ever) she goes to the sheep's enclosure to the little lamb.'

(73) *up lest fangt et an too snácken, won djuu móoget mélket*
      'Finally it [a magical creature] starts talking when(ever) the maid is milking.'

In many instances the subordinate clause expresses a prerequisite for the matrix situation, i.e. a kind of anteriority.

(74) *den mut wii eerst, won 't wad druuch licht, würm düülv*
      'Then first, when [perhaps 'as soon as'] the tidal flat is dry, we have to dig for worms.'

(75) *un den, won yaa gans druuch wéeren, wúurden yaa kálket*
      'And then, when they [the walls] were completely dry they were whitewashed.'

(76) *won yuu kloo$_e$r weer, den liit dan bre'idgumel him naa der tuun spíilii.*
      'When she [the bride] was ready, the bridegroom went to the church accompanied by music' (lit.: 'the bridegroom let himself be played to the church')

Won may also be used to express a future situation, often also with an anteriority interpretation, as in (77).

(77) *wii gunget nuu wäg, un won dait djunk wart, dän tik duu in 'e jäl, dän kant wii dait häär, won wii 't siiliichfangen dain häbt*
'… then we can hear it when we are done catching seals.'

Posteriority and terminus ad quem: *eer (as)* 'before'

Temporal clauses expressing posteriority are formed with *eer* 'before'. In these, the situation in the matrix clauses happens before the subordinate situation:

(78) *hii stont up, eer der dü'üvel siin schóoer oon hää.*
'He gets up before the devil gets his shoes on' (proverb)

In a single instance the combined form *eer as* is found:

(79) *yoo foo$_e$r wet, wut yum nø'ødiig sint, eer as yum bíddert.*
'Your Father knows what you need before you ask'

The conjunction *eer* is also used to express *terminus ad quem* relations. Here the situation in the matrix clauses does not just happen before the subordinate situation, but is true until this point in time.

(80) *nu mut hi agge digge jagi, eer hi in dait laun kumt, deer diu kööningsdochter is.*
'Then he has to travel for eight days before/until he arrives in the country where the princess is'

Simultaneity duration: *wiils dat* 'while'

Simultaneity duration clauses are expressed with *wiils dat* 'while'. Here the matrix situation happens at some point during the subordinate situation.

(81) *dan boo$_e$m mústuu buug wiils dat hii noch jung is.*
'You should bend the tree while it is still young.'

(82) *djuu oo$_e$l bop hää áaber, eer yuu naa de dronk gíingen is, sex kruus áriit un sex kruus boo$_e$n mídoorn smíitiin, deermít dat yuu doch wit too dóoen hää, wils dat yaa naa de dronk sint.*
'But before going to the wedding, the old woman mixed six cups of peas and six cups of beans, so that she [Cindarella] still had something do to while they were at the wedding.'

Terminus ad quem: *bet (dat)* 'until'

The preposition *bet* 'until' is attested a few times as a conjunction introducing a *terminus ad quem* clause, as in (83):

(83) *un daa fa'uner daa síiden un brútten den saaláang as de sjéeler slíipen bet et tiid weer too kóckiin*
'and the girls would sow and knit as long as the men were sleeping, until it was time to cook'

In the Littmann texts, the variant *bit dat* is found twice:

(84) *Den taiw wi eerst noch 'n liten set, bit dat 'et water fon 't saun áufsaket is*
'Then we first wait a little while, until the water has subsided from the sand' (Littmann)

Immediate anteriority: *saaból as* 'as soon as'

The complex subordinator *saaból as* 'as soon as' expresses a situation with occurs immediately before the matrix situation.

(85) *man saaból as yaa dait geríngst deer man fon mä'ärketen, den gíingen yaa naa pastóor too un líiten yam gliik in 'er tuun toohóoₑp gíve*
'But as soon as they noticed this [i.e. a pregnancy], they went to the minister and got married in the church at once'

Ehrentraut also mentions a form *saaglíik* 'sogleich' alongside *saaból*, but this does not appear to be attested in running text, and it is uncertain if it could be used to introduce subordinate clauses.

Simultaneity co-extensiveness: *saaláang as* 'as long as'

The complex conjunction *saaláang as* 'as long as' is used to introduce simultaneity co-extensiveness clauses. These express situations which are co-extensive with the matrix clause situation.

(86) *då wuurden wi entlatt un kraighen jööider fiiwhunert mark pensjoon al jööir, so long as wi libet.*
'Then we were retired and each received a pension of five hundred marks every year, as long as we live.' (Littmann)

(87) *der weert nain swiin up 'e kánsel séttert saaláang as der pastóoren sint*
'No pigs will be placed on the pulpit as long as there are ministers.' (proverb)

6.4.2 Causal clauses

Clauses of cause and reason may be introduced by a number of subordinators. In the material we find at least the subordinators *den*, *déeruum dat*, *umdat*, *dewail dat*, and *dat*. The most frequent of these is probably *den*, examplified in (88)–(89). As these examples illustrate, *den* introduces V2-clauses.

(88) *hírii kan hii wail bruuk, den siin wüüf wart al ooₑl*
'He can certainly use her [in his household], because his wife is already getting old'

(89) *yu it uk siinlëᴛʜig mit him nich an de tääfël, den dait itten, deer yaa íttert, dait kan yu nich fardríggë*
'She also never eats with him at table, because the food that they eat, that she cannot stand'

The conjunction *den* is homonymous with the adverb *den* 'than', but these elements appear in different positions and can hence always be distinguished. This is illustrated in (89): the adverb takes the position of the first clausal constituent, whereas the subordinating conjunction is in the conjunction slot.

(90) *un daa is yuu him úuntr$_e$oo wúurden, won hii déerfon heert, den is hii mal in 't haud, den hii hää hírii gaar too geern liiтн mucht*

'And then she has been unfaithful to him, [and] when he hears about this, then he is out of his mind, because he had liked her an awful lot'

The complex subordinator *déeruum dat* (with a number of spelling variants in the texts, such as *deerúum dat*, *deeruum dat*, and *derum dat*) consists of the prepositional adverb *déeruum* 'because of that, for that reason' and the complementizer *dat*. There are about a dozen examples of this subordinator in the Ehrentraut material. Unlike *den*-clauses, causal clauses with *déerum dat* always have V-late order, as in (91)–(92). (Note the comma in (92), which may suggest that Ehrentraut considered *déeruum* to be an adverb in the matrix clause. Under such an analysis, the *dat*-clause can be regarded as a complement of the adverbial *déeruum*.)

(91) *nuu kuun de kö'öniing bétter sjoo, won dait wiin mínnert in de bíiker, déeruum dat 'er nain déckels up is.*

'Now the king was better able to see when the wine in the beaker is decreasing, because there is no lid on it'

(92) *dait doot yaa déeruum, dat 'n nain ail in 'e haun hool kan.*

'They do that [i.e. use an eel spear] because one cannot hold an eel in one's hand'

The rare conjunction *uumdat* appears five times in the corpus: four times in the translation of the Parable of the Prodigal Son in Winkler's *Dialecticon* (spelt *uumdet* or *umdet*), and once in the Ehrentraut material. (93) is from Winkler:

(93) *un hi must uk hunger liith, uumdet hi niks nain jil mo haid*

'… and he also had to suffer hunger because he didn't have any money left at all' (Winkler)

The example from Ehrentraut is given in 94; note the curious spelling *úm dat*, probably a typo for *ûm dat* (i.e. *uum dat* in the modified spelling):

(94) *den yuu wet nich dat hii macht an hírii kriig kan, un hii kan macht an hírii kriig úm dat hii siin schóoer farkéerd far de kóoii sta'unen hää*

'because she does not know that he can get power over her, and he can get control power over her because he has put down his shoes the wrong way in front of his bunk'

The causal conjunction *dewail dat* (German *dieweil*) is attested once in the Littmann material, cf. (95):

(95) *un ju wail uuz am ljafsten nå Fååel haab, dewail dat hi deer ghruun haid to biibáuen*

'… and they [i.e. the authorities] preferred that we should go to Varel because he [i.e. the grand duke] had arable land there' (Littmann)

Causal uses of *dat*

Another way of forming causal clauses is with the subordinator *dat* alone. These are not always unambiguous (cf. below), but in a number of cases, like (96)–(98), a causal reading appears to be the only possible one.[3] In (98), the *dat*-clause is a reply to a content question with *wéeruum* 'why'.

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[3] Regarding (96), Ehrentraut explicitly points out that *dat* here means 'weil', i.e. 'because'.

(96) *iik sin saa suf, dat iik farléeden nacht nich slíipin häb, iik kan gaar nich úpstaun.*
    'I am so tired because I haven't slept last night, I can't even stand up'

(97) *hi smeichelt him sa früntelk bi hiri in un yu mi him sa gern liiᴛʜ dat hi sa klauk is*
    'He cosies up to her so suavely and she likes him so much because he is so clever'

(98) *„wéeruum huulst duu?" — „dat miin twoo fa'uner naa de dronk sint, un iik nich mit."*
    '"Why are you crying?" – "Because my two ladies have gone to the wedding and I'm not with them".'

Two rather different subtypes of causal clauses with *dat* may be distinguished, however, corresponding to Sweetser's 'content' and 'speech-act' domains, respectively (Sweetser 1990: 76–86). In examples like (96)–(98), which all represent the former type, the causal clause specifies the actual 'real-world' cause or reason for a situation. In the latter type, exemplified by (99)–(100), the causal clause motivates the previous utterance.[4]

(99) *hä'stuu schóftiid haivt, dáttuu saa laang we' wíziin bist?*
    'Have you been on a break, since you have been away for so long?'

(100) *yum häb't jaawa'il nain good kábuuk haivt, dat yum ni' ful wúurden sint in djuu tiid?*
    'You surely had a bad mussel catch, since you haven't filled your boat in that time'

The example in (101) is ambiguous between the two readings:

(101) *nuu fra'iget siin wüüf him, wut him failt, dat hii gans nain fisk fangt?*
    'Now his wife asks him what's wrong with him, because/since he isn't catching any fish'

There are also a number of cases, however, where it is unclear whether a *dat*-clause should be considered a complement or a causal clause. The analysis depends on the possible argument structure constructions that the matrix verb may occur in. Consider (102):

(102) *nuu síttert daa twoo béener an de waínwii un huullt bítter, dat dan fent sáafel sleeg kríigiin hää.*
    'Now the two children are crying bitterly by the road because the boy has got such a beating'

While Ehrentraut translates the verb *huull* with the German intransitive verb *heulen* 'wail, cry', it is possible that *huull* could also be used transitively ('bemoan, lament'). If that is the case, the *dat*-clause in (102) could be a complement clause, i.e. the object of *huull*; if not, it must be a causal clause. A comparable example is given in (103).

(103) *as hii daa de píizel ípiin dää, daa farschrécket yaa yam, dat hii saa hooch is.*
    'As he opens the living room, then they are startled that he is so tall.' (or: '… because he is so tall')

While such examples cannot be classified unambiguously, they may provide a useful hint about how the causal use of *dat* developed.

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[4]The example in (100) could also be interpreted as belonging to Sweetser's epistemic domain, where the content of the causal clause motivates an epistemic evaluation. There seems to be only one other potential example of this type in the corpus: *wut smäält dait fiúur, da tåårf múttert weit wíze, dat et gans ni' ban wul* 'How the fire is smouldering, the turfs must be wet, since it won't burn at all'. This could also be a result clause, however.

6.4.3 Purpose and result clauses

Clauses of purpose (final clauses) and result (consecutive clauses) are frequent in the material and are usually introduced by *dat*. Although the distinction between (intended) purpose and "typically nonintended" results (Kortmann 1997: 94) is not clear-cut in every instance, most of the relevant clauses can be unambiguously assigned to either one of the two types. In addition, there is at least a statistical tendency to distinguish them: while result clauses occur with V2 and V-late with more or less the same frequency, purpose clauses are almost invariably V-late.

(104) *dait hat 'n únnuckiig wéder, won det rint un weit, dat 'n nich úutlauk kan.*
'It is *únnuckiig* weather when it is rainy and windy so one cannot see outside'

(105) *wut is djuu sun star in 'n minsk siin óogen, dat iik mut 'er fon quink.*
'How sharp the sun is in one's eyes, so that I have to squint because of it'

(106) *man yaa spílleten nich uum jil, yaa spílleten dat yam de tiid wéggiing.*
'… but they did not play for money, they played in order to kill time.'

Purpose clauses are occasionally introduced by the subordinator *deermít dat*:

(107) *djuu oo$_e$l bop hää áaber, eer yuu naa de dronk gíingen is, sex kruus áriit un sex kruus boo$_e$n mídoorn smíitiin, deermít dat yuu doch wit too dóoen hää, wils dat yaa naa de dronk sint.*
'But before going to the wedding, the old woman mixed six cups of peas and six cups of beans, so that she [Cindarella] still had something do to while they were at the wedding.'

(108) *nu qua yu jeen him, dat hi sil deer doch fon diu faun auflait, deermít dat 'er 't him den hërnáast nich reoot.*
'Then she tells him that he has better dispense with that girl, so that he is not going to regret it afterwards.'

6.4.4 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are formed with *won* 'if, when', which is also used in temporal clauses (see above). As in temporal *won*-clauses, the word order is always V-late.

(109) *daa quaa dait oo$_e$l wüüf fon ee, weerúum nich, won yaa óoren fardrígge kant, yuu wul 't jaa wail hab.*
'Then the old woman says yes, why not, if they can get along with each other, she will indeed agree to it.'

(110) *won hii him dait farsprík wul, wut uunsichtboor in siin huus is, den sil hii fisk nauch fang.*
'… if he will promise him the invisible thing that is in his house, then he will catch enough fish'

A counterfactual conditional clause may be formed by using the pluperfect in a *won*-clause, as in (111):

(111) *daa quaa hii, wut dait sul, won hii moo haivt haid, den haid hii der noch moo far roo$_e$t*
'Then he asks what the point of that is; if he had had more, then he would have given more for it'

Conditional clauses with *won* may occur in insubordination constructions expressing hope ('if only'), as in (112):

(112) *won Hank un Thiárk 'er man oon sint!*
       'If only Hank and Thiark are inside!'

Note finally that conditional clauses and temporal clauses expressing contingency are not always distinguishable, cf. an example like (113) with a generic subject.

(113) *dait melk, won deer 't roo_em auf is, hat flíttiin melk*
       'Milk with cream on top of it is called *flíttiin* milk.' (lit: 'The milk, when/if the cream is on top of it...')

6.4.5   Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses may be formed in different ways. In one pattern, the conditional conjunction *won* is followed by *uk* 'also' later in the clause, as in (114) and (115):

(114) *won djuu oo_el wüüf híirii héxenkunst up 't liif kríigiin hää, den hää yuu 't úutaiv must, won 't uk an hírii éegen been wízziin hää*
       'When the old witch had set her mind [?] on her sorcery, then she also had to carry it out, even if it was on her own child'

(115) *naa, dait dää yuu ni', won hii hírii uk all dait jil reik wul wut hii hää, den dää yuu 't nich*
       'No, she isn't going to do it, even if he is to give her all the money that he has, then she isn't going to do it'

In a few proverbs, the variant *as … uk* is found instead:

(116) *dan oo_el sílttuu eer, as is 't uk mit 'n stok.*
       'the old man you must honour, even if it is with a stick'

A less frequent pattern is the complex subordinator *obschóon(s) dat*, a Low German loan, which is attested three times in the Ehrentraut material. In all of these the concessive clause is factive (i.e. 'even though' rather than 'even if'):

(117) *daa bíddert hii Flóorens hii sil him siin léevent schenk, hii wul him géern gevángen reik, obschóon dat hii nich lib kan, dat hii nich ään éerem hää.*
       'The it [a giant] asks Floorens that he will allow it to live, it wants to surrender even though it cannot live because it has no arms.'

(118) *un sin bei*TH *brooring da kant dait hus un gøøder hool, un mit oor'n deil, obschoons dat ya 't nich an him farthioo_ent häb't*
       'And his two brothers can keep the house and the belongings and share between them, even though they haven't deserved it from him'

Finally, the causal subordinator *déerum dat* (see Section 6.4.2) is occasionally used to express concessive meaning, similarly to English 'just because'. This strategy requires a negative element in the matrix clause, as in (119) and (120).

(119) *daa quaa de riiz: déeruum dat duu mii ään éerem aúfslain häst, reik iik mii doch no' nich gevángen*

'Then the giant says: just because you have cut off one of my arms, I am not going to surrender yet'

In (120), from a different fairy tale, *deeruum dat* is followed by the adverb *derum* 'for that reason' in the matrix clause. The meaning here is also concessive:

(120) *da qua diu drach jen him, deeruum dat hi ain fon hiri fitk kort hauen hää, derum racht yu hiri noch nich gefangen*

'Then the dragon says to him, just because he has cut off one of its wings, [for that reason] it is not going to surrender'

6.4.6   Negative concomitance clauses

Clauses of negative concomitance are very infrequent in the material. They occur with two different subordinators, both consisting of a preposition meaning 'without' and the complementizer *dat*: *aan dat* and *súnner dat*:

(121) *won hii deer uur dan barg loo$_e$p kan, aan dat hii fallt, den sil hii hírii hab*

'If he can run over that mountain without falling, then he can have her'

(122) *den mut iik saa fiirtennácht, thräädlf wü'cke únner ään bauch in 't wad lidz, súnner dat iik mii ään twein dii a'ufrau kan*

'Then I have to be on the Wadden Sea continuously for two or two and a half weeks, without being able to rest even for one or two days'

6.4.7   'Modal' adverbial clauses: similarity, comparison, proportion

A number of related clause types are subsumed by Kortmann (1997) under the heading 'modal' adverbial clauses. Three of these types are attested in the corpus, namely similarity, comparison, and proportion clauses.

Similarity: *as* 'as, like'

The subordinator *as* – also a temporal and comparative conjunction – is used to express similarity between two situations (or, in the case of [124], that a similar situation has never occurred):

(123) *yum músten 't man saa hab, as iik et haivt hab, as iik 'n been weer.*

'You ought to have it [dinner] like I had it when I was a child.'

(124) *dan niuugënst dii saa kumt dër saa 'n groo$_e$t iirdbiiviing, as dër fon de warlt tooföörën nein wízziin is.*

'On the ninth day there will be such a great earthquake as there has never been in the world before.'

Note that *as* does not necessarily introduce a full clause, but always expresses a similarity between two situations.

(125)   *hii sit úpet jil, as der dü'üvel up 't oo$_e$s.*
        'He sits on his money as the devil on the carrion.' (proverb)

(126)   *dan gungt síidelng, as de rab*
        'He/it walks sideways like a crab.'

Comparison: *as won* 'as if'

In a comparison clause with *as won* 'as if', the matrix situation is compared to an imagined situation in the subordinate clause. (Note that *comparison* clauses are distinct from *comparative* clauses as described below.) The construction is very frequently found in proverbs and other idiomatic expressions, as in (127) and (128):

(127)   *dait been is him saa ä'änelk as won hii him too der tuut uut krípiin is.*
        'That child is so similar to him as if he crawled out of his nose.'

(128)   *iik sit as won iik up nä'ädel un spääl sit*
        'I'm on pins and needles' (lit.: 'I'm sitting as if I am sitting on needles and pins')

Comparison clauses may function as complements – in (129) the comparison clause is an object, in (130) it is a subject complement:

(129)   *un nuu sil hii 'n prik nímme, un hii sil do as won hii fisket*
        'And then he is to take his fishing spear and do as if he is fishing' (i.e. pretend that he is fishing)

(130)   *nu is diu ool maam keim as won yu úunsinniig is.*
        'Now the old mum is just as if she is out of her mind.'

Proportion: *al … al*, *jee … jee* 'the … the'

Proportion clauses express a "proportionality or equivalence of tendency or degree" (Kortmann 1997: 88) between the two situations. In Wangerooge Frisian the conjunction is always correlative, similar to English *the … the*. Two conjunctions are attested in running text, *jee … jee* and *al … al*. The former is also attested without a clause, as in *jee moo jee bétter* 'the more, the better'.

When used to introduce a proportion clause, *jee* and *al* are always followed by a comparative form and the complementizer *dat*, as in (131)–(133):

(131)   *jee moo dat iik de kat strook, jee hóoger stekt hii siin steet.*
        'The more I stroke the cat, the higher it lifts up its tail.'

(132)   *al moo dat der dü'üvel hää, al moo wul hii hab.*
        'The more the devil has, the more he wants.' (proverb)

(133)   *un al fä'äder dat wii deer nuu 'noon kaumen in de wéster duunen, al grátter wuurden daa dúunens*
        'And the further we got into the west dunes, the greater the dunes were'

In addition to *jee … jee* and *al … al*, Ehrentraut also mentions the correlative conjunction *huu … juu*. However, this is not attested in running text, only in the example phrase *huu lánger, juu liáver* 'the longer, the lovelier'.

6.5   Relative clauses

6.5.1   Relative clauses with *dee(r)*

The relativizer *dee(r)* is used with all nominal antecedents, both animate (human and non-human) and inanimate. As (135) and (136) show, the antecedent may be pronominal.

(134)   *hat wis ään fon yar klauk fénter, deer dait jil kríigiin hää*
'It is surely one of their clever boys who has got that money.'

(135)   *nuu wail hii, dee bii mii weer, dan siiliich s'joot, deer up 't druug laig*
'Now the man who was with me wanted to shoot the seal that was lying on the bank.' (Siebs)

(136)   *dan áppel, deer fääst hangt, deer yuu mit sweer moi fon de boo$_e$m kriig mut, dan is hírii doch feel liáver, as dan, deer yuu únner de boo$_e$m fint*
'The apple which is hanging fast, which she has to use force to get off the tree, that pleases her much more than the one which she finds under the tree.'

Free relative clauses referring to human beings are found with *dee(r)* 'whoever, he/she/they who'. A resumptive pronoun usually appears in the matrix clause, either *dan* (M), *djuu* (F), or *dee(r)* (M and F?). Note that *dee* in (139) in this context clearly refers to a boy:

(137)   *dee deer uur loo$_e$p kuun aan too fállen, dan sul siin faun too 'n wüüf hab.*
'Whoever could walk across that [a glass mountain] without falling, he would get his [the king's] daughter in marriage.'

(138)   *un deer noch nain bre'idgumel haid, djuu giing mitter 't fermíilii 'niin.*
'And whoever did not have a bridegroom yet, she went home with her family.'

(139)   *deer dan trop in djuu kuul kriig kuun, dee kreig 'n knop*
'Whoever could get the spinning top into the pit, he got a button.'

Relative clauses with *dee(r)* may have locative meaning, as in (140). This appears to be the standard way of forming locative relative clauses, but cf. the example with *weer* in (141).

(140)   *un gungt naa dan boo$_e$m too, deer hírii klóoeder hánget*
'... and goes to the tree where her clothes are hanging.'

(141)   *dait wéertshuus nich, weer hii hírii auf friid hää, oors än wéertshuus*
'... not the inn where he has proposed to her, another inn'

6.5.2   Relative clauses with *wut*

Relative clauses which have an abstract antecedent, e.g. an entire predication (142) or a non-specific entity (143), are introduced with *wut*:

(142)   *då fraiget hii miin bab, wit wii uk fon dait wiin drunken haiden. då twå miin bab fon nå, wut wii uk nich haiden.*
'Then he asked my father if we had also drunk from the wine. Then my father said no, which we really hadn't' (Siebs)

(143) *iik häb dait huus kaft mit samt all wut 'er oon is.*
       'I have bought the house with everything that is inside it.'

Wut is also used in free relative clauses referring to inanimate entities:

(144) *yuu wul him álles sweit un léefelk máckii, racht him wut hii wul.*
       'She wants to make everything sweet and lovely for him, gives him what(ever) he wants.'

(145) *da settert yu him fon allerhant lecker itten un drinken up, wut 'er man is*
       'Then she put all kinds of delicious food and drinks before him, whatever there is'

Finally, in the texts collected by Littmann, *wut* is also occasionally found with nominal antecedents, as in (146):

(146) *Då jung síiliichs in 'e septémer moounth, wut nich fungen sint, då saiket oorn up.*
       'In September, the young seals which have not been caught, they will find each other.'
       (Littmann)

6.6 Comparative clauses

Comparative clauses modify an adjectival or adverbial phrase. They express either equivalence ('as X as') or non-equivalence ('less/more X than') with respect to a standard of comparison. In both cases, the comparative clause in Wangerooge Frisian is introduced by *as*, and the clause may be elliptical. Clauses of equivalence are shown in (147)–(148):

(147) *den mut iik saa good hilp mii as iik kan*
       'Then I have to help as well as I can'

(148) *kiik, duu kanst mii net saafel doo as 'n luus de mii toohóojoont*
       'Look, you can harm me just as much as a louse that is gaping at me'

Clauses of non-equivalence are shown in (149)–(150):

(149) *iik sin nuu wit quíiveriiger as iik wíziin sin.*
       'I am now a bit stronger than I was before.'

(150) *nuu quaa hii jeen siin foor, wut dan fúugel ni' bétter is as 'n fat kuu?*
       'Then he asks his father if the bird isn't better than a fat cow'

In two examples the combination *as dat* is found. Here the comparative construction with *as* scopes over a complement clause with *dat*:

(151) *hii is nich bétter wart as dat hii ste'iniiget wart.*
       'He isn't worth any more than that he should be stoned.'

(152) *uurlóngs séttert yaa uk d' liin uut up 't wad, áaber nich fä'äder, as dat yaa z' wíider biiloo_ep kant.*
       'Sometimes they will put out the [fishing] lines on the mudflat, but not further than that they can reel them in again'

6.7 Infinitive constructions

This section only gives a brief overview of some constructions with the "long" infinitive (infinitive 2, INF2), either with or without the particle *too*. These are infinitives as complements of perception verbs and verbs of movement and position, adjunct *too*-infinitives, and infinitival attributes. Aspectual constructions with infinitives (progressive and phasal aspect) were treated in Chapter 5 (Section 5.1.3). Constructions with the 'short' infinitive, which occurs after auxiliaries (modals and causative *lait*), were also discussed in Chapter 5 (Sections 5.1.3 and 5.2.2).

6.7.1 Infinitival complements

The long infinitive is used in a number of complement constructions. These include complements of (at least) the perception verbs *sjoo* 'see' and *heer* 'hear', as in (153)–(155), and of the movement/position verbs *gung* 'go', *kúmme* 'come', and *bliiv* 'stay, remain', as in (156)–(158):[5]

(153) *daa sjucht hii hírii deer sta'unen*
    'Then he sees her standing there.'

(154) *den schoot hi mit siin kenoonen, dat wi då kuughels dansen sjo kuunen in't water*
    'Then he was shooting with his cannons, so that we could see the shots dancing in the water' (Littmann)

(155) *iik heer deer 'n huun wúufen*
    'I can here a dog barking there.'

(156) *hii gungt tääft der durn sta'unen*
    'He goes to stand behind the door.'

(157) *hii kumt him in de meit fléchten*
    'He comes rushing towards him.'

(158) *hi bleiv buten durn staun un weil gar nich 'niin kumme.*
    'He remained (standing) outside the door and did not even want to come inside.' (Winkler)

The verb *hab* 'have' may also take an INF2 complement expressing position, as in (159) and (160):[6]

(159) *hii hää siin stok álltiid tääft der durn sta'unen*
    'He always has his (walking) stick standing behind the door'

(160) *un bii winterdii den haiden wii der 'n stuck holt uur lídzen as 'n klomp*
    'and during the winter we had a piece of wood lying there as a walkway.'

Finally, there are at least examples of INF2 constructions without *too* functioning as subject complement (161), and of *too*-infinitives functioning as subjects (162):

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[5]In (154), *hi* 'he' refers metonymically to a Danish fleet lying in the North Sea. Several or all members of an ethnic group may be referred to in the singular, e.g. *de Frantsóoz* 'the French' (lit. 'the Frenchman') and *de Tjuutsk* 'the Germans' (from Littmann; lit. 'the German').

[6]Hoekstra (1997: xiv–xv) discusses a parallel construction with the verb *fine* 'find' in West Frisian. Such a construction does not seem to be attested in Wangerooge Frisian.

(161) *dait hat 'n dii re'izen.*
       'That is a day's travel.'

(162) *is nain kunst schípper too wéeren, man schípper too blíiven.*
       'It's no great feat to become a skipper, but to remain a skipper.'

6.7.2   Adjunct infinitives

Infinitive constructions as purpose clauses

Too-infinitives may be used to express the purpose of an action, as in (163)–(165):

(163) *wii wult naa de Mü'llum [...] too, too stránnken*
       'We want to go to Mellum ... to beachcomb.'

(164) *nuu mut dan fent noch alleín bii dan buur bliiv bii de schaíper too wáriin*
       'Now the boy has to remain at the farmer's house along to look after the sheep'

(165) *daa gungt der än fent naa hírii too un wul hírii hab too dónsen*
       '... then a young man approaches her and wants to have her to dance' (i.e. intends to dance with her)

An apparently synonymous construction is *uum* + *too*-infinitive, as in (166) and (167). This is rare in the corpus, however.

(166) *hii is weg, uum too físken*
       'He has gone fishing' (lit. 'He is away in order to fish')

(167) *weerhóo$_e$d hii kúmme sil, uum too riúchten daa lebéndiig un daa doo$_e$d.*
       '... from where he will come, in order to judge the living and the dead.' (Creed translation)

Negative concomitance ('without -ing')

A single example of a negative concomitance construction with a *too*-infinitive is found in the corpus, cf. (168):

(168) *dee deer uur loo$_e$p kuun aan too fállen, dan sul siin faun too 'n wüüf hab.*
       'Whoever could walk across that [a glass mountain] without falling, he would get his [the king's] daughter in marriage.'

On finite negative concomitance clauses, see Section 6.4.6 above.

6.7.3   Infinitival attributes

Too-infinitives may function as modifiers of nouns (169–170) and pronouns like *nicks* 'nothing' (171) and *wit* 'something' (172):

(169) *bet et tiid weer too kóckiin*
       '... until it was time to cook'

(170) *nuu reíket yaa hírii daa breíver too lízzen.*
       'Now they give her the letters to read'

(171) *hii hää nicks too árbeiden*
       'He has no work [lit. nothing to work]'

(172) *gung man weg un hállii diin fä'ttel brii herdiin, dáttuu wit too ítten krichst.*
       'Just go and get your bowl of buttermilk soup, so that you get something to eat.'

An example of a *tough*-construction with *sweer* 'hard, difficult' is also attested, cf. (173). Here the subject of the adjectival complement is understood as the object of the *too*-infinitive:

(173) *hii is sweer too kánnen*
       'He is difficult to recognize' (i.e. it is difficult to recognize him)

Chapter 7

Glossed text excerpts

7.1 From "King Hans and his children"

(1) *Aínmool is   dër 'n gro_ev   wizzin, dan hä   'n gro_et slos*
once COP.3SG there INDF count(M) COP.PTCP DEM.M have.3SG INDF large castle(N)
haivt.
have.PTCP
'Once there was a count, he had a big castle.'

(2) *dan hä   ain faun un ään fent haivt.*
DEM.M have.3SG one.F girl(F) and one.M boy(M) have.PTCP
'He had one daughter and one son.'

(3) *nu is   dan bro_er   is   up diu dette   gans falsk.*
now COP.3SG DEF.M brother(M) COP.3SG on DEF.F sister(F) entirely mean
'Now the brother is very mean to the sister.'

(4) *hi un sin dette   häb't oor'n gans   ni' fargung   kun.*
he and his sister(F) have.PL RECP entirely NEG pass_by.INF1 can.PTCP
'He and his sister could not stand each other at all.'

(5) *un hi hä   'n ring haivt, dan hä   fel túugënt biisíttiin, hi*
and he have.3SG INDF ring(M) have.PTCP DEM.M have.3SG much virtue possess.PTCP he
hä   't aber   nich wust.
have.3SG it though NEG know.PTCP
'And he had a ring, and this had many powers [lit. much virtue], but he did not know this.'

(6) *un dan ring   drëcht   hi all digge ur   sin finger.*
and DEF.M ring(M) carry.3SG he all day.PL over his finger(M)
'And this ring he wears all day on his finger.'

(7) *nu gungt hi uum 't slos   herdum un yar litk huun lapt   him tääft*
now go.3SG he around DEF.N castle(N) around and their little dog(M) run.3SG him behind
an.
at
'Now [at one point] he is walking around the castle, and their little dog runs up behind him.'

(8) *nu gungt hi saa in 't   gedanken, un dreit   mittan   ring   an sin finger*
now go.3SG he so   in DEF.N thinking(N) and turn.3SG with:DEF.M ring(M) at his finger(M)
'erdum un thanket, weer   diin   swester doch saa 'n   litken huun as dan,
around and think.3SG COP.3SG.PST 2SG.POSS sister(F) DOCH so   INDF little.M dog(M) as DEM.M
den kuun   yu di   doch nich farkláf   bii diin   állers.
then can.3SG.PST she 2SG.OBL DOCH NEG babble.INF1 by 2SG.POSS parents
'Now he is walking in his own thoughts, turning the ring on his finger and thinking, if only your sister were a little dog like this one, then she would not be able to tell on you to your parents.'

(9) *as hii nu iin   kumt   in 't   slos,   da   is   sin swester weg, un nein*
as he now inside come.3SG in DEF.N castle(N) then COP.3SG his sister(F) away and no
minsk   wet,   wer yu blivin   is.
person(M) know.3SG where she become.PTCP COP.3SG
'As he then comes inside the castle, his sister is gone, and no one ones what has become of her.'

(10) *un hi hä   dait nich wust,   dat dan ring   deer schiil an wer.*
and he have.3SG DEM.N NEG know.PTCP COMP DEF.M ring(M) there blame at COP.3SG.PST
'And he did not know that the ring was to blame for this.'

7.2 "Pastimes"

(11) *kóortspiiliin dait   da'iden   yaa noch wail.*
card_playing DEM.N do.PL.PST they still WAIL
'Play cards, that they did do.'

(12) *man yaa spílleten   nich hooch, spil 'n   ø'ørken.*
but they play.PL.PST NEG high, play INDF quarter(M)
'But they did not play with high stakes, only for a quarter.'

(13) *man yaa da'iden   't uk oors nich, as bii winterdíi,   won yaa nicks   too doo_en*
but they do.PL.PST it also else NEG as by winter_day when they nothing to do.INF2
ha'iden.
have.PL.PST
'But they also did not do it except in the winter when they had nothing to do.'

(14) *deer se'iten   yaa den far tíitfardriif bii mit yar piip   toobák, un won 't tiid*
there sit.PL.PST they then for pastime   by with their pipe(F) tobacco and when it time(F)
weer   a'iventiids   too drínken, den sche'itнerten yaa uut.
COP.3SG.PST in_the_evening to drink.INF2 then part.PL.PST   they out
'Then they would sit there to pass the time with their pipes and tobacco, and when it was time to drink in the evening, then they would part ways.'

(15) *un den, won yaa drúnken   ha'iden   a'iventiids,   den ha'iden   daa   oo_el*
and then when they drink.PTCP have.PL.PST in_the_evening then have.PL.PST DEF.PL old
'n   huus,   deer ka'umen   yaa all bíiooren naa 't   drínken, un den
INDF house(N) there come.PL.PST they all by:RECP after DEF.N drink.INF2 and then

fartä'älden yaa óoren wit   fon yar fáriin.
tell.PL.PST they RECP something of their sail.INF2

'And then, when they had drunk in the evening, the older men had a house where they would all meet after drinking, and then they would tell each other something from their seafaring.'

(16) *dan ään haid   sáafel lóo_ediing kábuuk   kríigiin, un dan oor*
DEF.M one.M have.3SG.PST so:much load(F)   seashell(F) get.PTCP and DEF.M other

haid   sófel   kríigiin, un deer bróo_eten   yaa de a'ivens   saa mit weg.
have.3SG.PST so:much get.PTCP and there bring.PL.PST they DEF evening.PL so   with away

'One had got such and such a load of seashells, and the other had got such, and with this they would pass the evenings.'

(17) *klok acht giing   än   jéeder'niin naa bääd.*
clock eight go.3SG.PST one.M every inside after bed(N)

'At eight o'clock everyone went home to go to bed.'

(18) *un da   fénter ha'iden   den 'n huus,   deer fénter un fa'uner wéeren.*
and DEF.PL boy.PL have.PL.PST then INDF house(N) where boy.PL and girl.PL COP.PL.PST

'And the boys (young men) also had a house where the boys and girls were.'

(19) *daa   snácketen den fon fáriin   un fríien,   deer bróo_eten   daa   de a'iven*
DEM.PL talk.PL.PST then of   sail.INF2 and marry.INF2 there bring.PL.PST DEM.PL DEF evening

mit weg, un prunt uum acht gíingen yaa 'niin.
with away and exactly at   eight go.PL.PST they inside

'They would talk about seafaring and about marriage, with this they would spend the evening, and at exactly eight o'clock they would go home.'

7.3   From "How we hunt seals" (Littmann)

(20) *Hu wi då   síiliichs jaghet.*
how we DEF.PL seal.PL hunt.PL

'How we hunt seals.'

(21) *Då   síiliichs, då   miiet ghööin up 'n   saun liz.*
DEF.PL seal.PL   DEM.PL like.PL gladly on INDF sand lie.INF1

'The seals, they like to lie on a sandbank.'

(22) *Won so 'n bank úpkume   wul, un 't   water falt,   den swomet*
when such INDF bank appear.INF1 will.3SG and DEF.N water(N) fall.3SG then swim.PL

då   deer imer bi dait saun   heduum; un is   dait saun   druugh, den
DEM.PL there always by DEF.N sand(N) around   and COP.3SG DEF.N sand(N) dry   then

huxelt jå dernúp.
crawl.PL they there:up

'When such a bank is about to appear and the water is on its way down, then they always swim around there by the sand; and if the sand is dry, they crawl up there.'

(23) *Den taiw wi eerst noch 'n   liten set, bit dat 'et   water fon 't   saun*
then wait we first still INDF little while until COMP DEF.N water(N) from DEF.N sand(N)

áufsaket   is;   den ghung wi fon booud auf, un won då   síiliichs dait
subside.PTCP COP.3SG then go   we from board off and when DEF.PL seal.PL DEM.N

sjoot, den loopet jå auf un naait uut, un den ghung wi up 'et saun lizen.
see.PL then run.PL they off and scratch.PL out and then go we on DEF.N sand(N) lie.INF2

'Then we first wait a little while until the water has subsided from the sand; then we get off the ship, and when the seals see that, they rush off and scuttle out [in the water], and then we go to lie down on the sandbank.'

(24) *Den huxel wi uk heduum as då síiliichs; den kumt een ooder oor wiider un*
then crawl we also around as DEF.PL seal.PL then come.3SG one or other again and

lauket toou.
look.3SG to

'Then we also crawl around like the seals; then one or other will come back and watch.'

(25) *Un won hi so nåå is, dat iik main, iik kan 'im biiwáad, den*
and when he so close COP.3SG COMP I mean.1SG I can.1SG him wade:APPL.INF1 then

schoout iik him in 'e siid fon 't hååud.
shoot.1SG I him in DEF side of DEF.N head(N)

'And when it is so close that I think I can wade to it, then I shoot it in the side of the head.'

(26) *Bi de siid mut hi schítiin wize; schut 'm him fon farn, den is hi*
by DEF side must.3SG he shoot.PTCP COP.INF1 shoot.3SG one him fon ahead then COP.3SG he

far de schöet uner.
before DEF shot(M) under

'It has to be shot from the side; if one shoots it from the front, then it is under [water] before the shot.'

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