

16 Frisian

Jarich Hoekstra and Peter Meijes Tiersma

16.1 Introduction

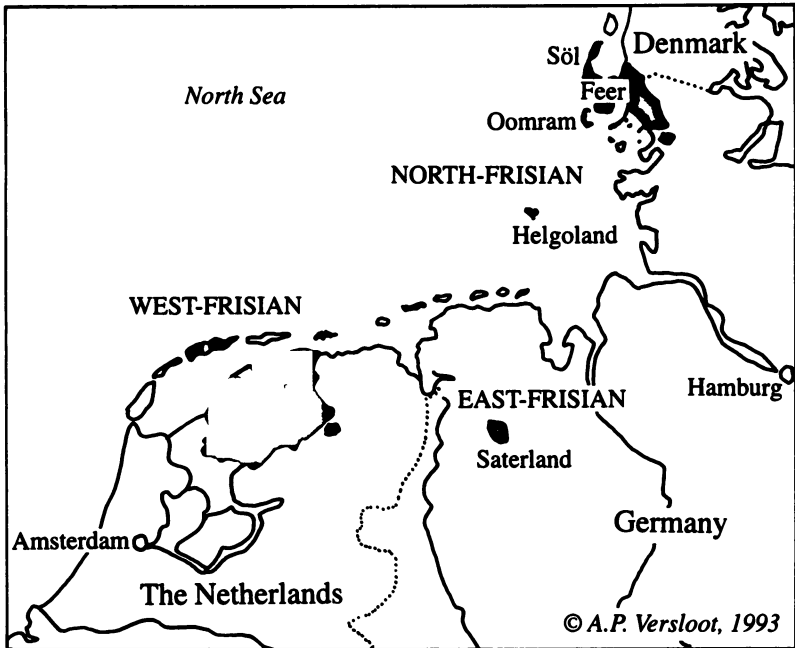
Modern-day Frisian is commonly divided into three main dialectal areas: North, East, and West Frisian (see Figure 16.1). North Frisian is spoken by perhaps 10,000 people on the North Frisian islands and along the shores of the North Sea in Schleswig-Holstein, just below the Danish border. Remarkably, this small speech community is split into two major dialect groups: island and mainland North Frisian. Island North Frisian can be further subdivided into separate dialects for the islands of Söl (German *Sylt*), Feer (*Föhr*), Oomram (*Amrum*) and Helgoland. Mainland varieties also differ substantially from one another. No general variety of North Frisian has developed and the dialects are not always mutually intelligible.

The great linguistic variety in North Friesland is enhanced by the fact that this region is at the historic meeting point of the languages and territorial ambitions of Germany and Denmark. A number of people in North Friesland speak Danish, and that language (particularly the Jutish dialect) has influenced the Frisian spoken there. In addition, Low German, and more recently Standard German, have long served as lingua francas. Consequently, there are quadrilingual villages in which North Frisian, Jutish, Low and High German are all spoken, depending on the speaker and situation.

East Frisian is now spoken only in a small area of Germany known as Saterland, located between the city of Oldenburg and the Dutch frontier. Not to be confused with a type of Low German called *Ostfriesisch*, the real East Frisian was once extensively spoken throughout the countryside of what is known as *Ostfriesland*. Its use receded until the last speakers of the East Frisian island dialect of Wangeroog died at the beginning of this century, leaving Saterland as the remaining bastion of East Frisian. In the villages of Schäddele (German *Scharrel*), Strukelje (*Strücklingen*), and Roomelse (*Ramsloh*), there are presently some 1,000 speakers of East Frisian.

West Frisian is the language of the Dutch province of Friesland, although the provincial borders do not exactly mirror the Frisian-speaking region. Frisian has traditionally not been spoken in It Bilt (Dutch *Het Bildt*), an area reclaimed from the sea in the sixteenth century and settled by Dutch farmers.

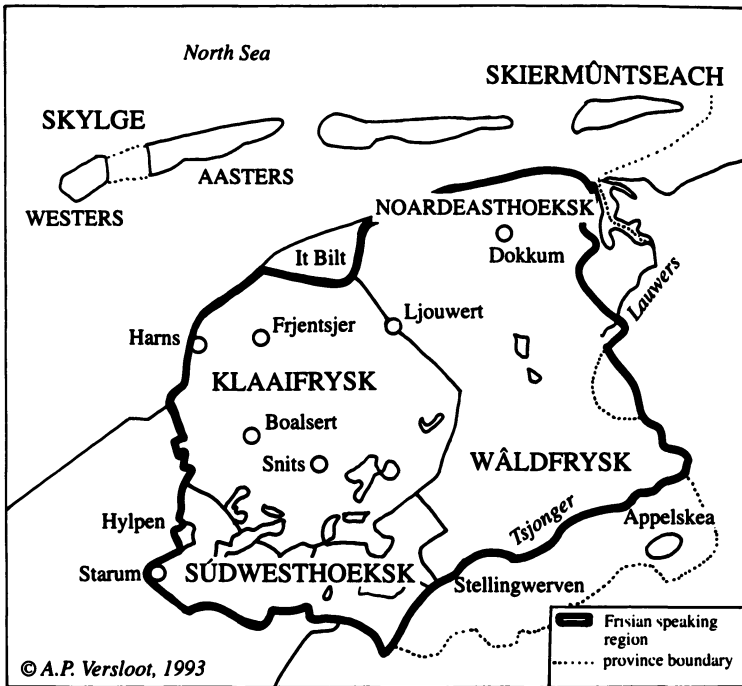
Figure 16.1 The Frisian-speaking regions



Furthermore, in the Stellingwerven, a strip of land between the river Tsjonger (*Kuinder*) and the province of Drenthe, and around Kollum in the northeast corner of the province, Saxon dialects are spoken, albeit with some Frisian influence. And residents of the larger West Frisian towns have for centuries spoken 'mixed' dialects that might be described as Frisian very heavily influenced by Dutch, or vice versa. These dialects, called *Stedfrysk* or 'Town Frisian', are found in Ljouwert (Dutch *Leeuwarden*), Snits (*Sneek*), Dokkum, Frjentsjer (*Franeker*), Boalsert (*Bolsward*), Harns (*Harlingen*) and Starum (*Staveren*). Both Town Frisian and, to a somewhat lesser extent, true West Frisian are under continual pressure from Dutch, the predominant language in the schools, churches, media and government. None the less, much progress has recently been made in promoting Frisian in the schools and elsewhere.

West Frisian has less dialectal diversity than North Frisian, which along with the greater number of speakers (some 400,000) does much to explain why it has developed a literary standard. Dialectal variation is mostly confined to the lexical and phonological level. Figure 16.2 shows the different dialects. The standard language is mainly based on *Klaaifrysk* (Clay Frisian). None the less, standard Frisian is rather tolerant as to the use of variants from the other main dialect, *Wâldfrysk* (Forest Frisian). The standard language does, however, avoid Dutch influence and is therefore more conservative than spoken Frisian.

Figure 16.2 The West-Frisian dialects



The dialects that differ most from the standard language are at the fringes of the Frisian-speaking area, in the city of Hylpen and on the islands Skiermûntseach and Skylge, (where two Frisian dialects are spoken: *Aasters* and *Westers*). The most striking feature of these dialects is that they lack Modern West Frisian breaking (see section 16.2); where the central dialects underwent breaking, the peripheral dialects often exhibit shortening. Compare the alternation *peal* /pɪəl/ 'pole' – *peallen* /pɛjələn/ 'poles' in central dialects with Hylpen *pael* – *paelen*, Skiermûntseach *pail* – *pellen*, Aasters/Westers *peal* – *pellen*.

The dialect of the Súdwesthoeke (Southwest Corner) stands midway between the main dialects and the four dialects discussed above. It shows no breaking of *oa* and *oe* (cf. *doar* /doər/ 'door' – *dörren* /dœrən/, *foet* /fuət/ 'foot' – *futten* /fʊtən/), but it has imported breaking of *ie* and *ea* from the main dialects.

The Schiermûntseach dialect is the only West Frisian dialect that has retained the old three gender system: *dy baim* 'that tree' (m.); *jo tjark* 'that church' (f.); *dat búek* 'that book' (n.). Compare standard West Frisian: *dy beam*; *dy tsjerke*; *dat boek*.

The main dialects, *Klaaifrysk* (KF) and *Wâldfrysk* (WF), exhibit minimal differences:

- 1 The pronouns *my*, *dy*, *wy*, *sy* and the preposition *by* are pronounced with [ɛi] in *Klaaifrysk* and with [i] in *Wâldfrysk*.
- 2 The diphthong *ei* is pronounced [ai] or [ɔi] in *Klaaifrysk*, [ɛi] or sometimes [e:] in *Wâldfrysk*: *trein* 'train' [train], [trɔin] (KF), [trɛin], [tre:n] (WF).
- 3 The diphthong *ea* before velar consonants is pronounced [iə] in *Klaaifrysk*, [ɛ:] in *Wâldfrysk*: *each* 'eye' [iəx] (KF), [ɛ:x] (WF).
- 4 *Klaaifrysk* [u] before *n* corresponds with *Wâldfrysk* [ɔ(:)]: *ûn-* 'un-' (prefix) (KF), *on-* (WF); *tûne* 'cask' (KF), *tonne* (WF); *hûn* 'dog' [hun] (KF), [ho:n] (WF).
- 5 *Klaaifrysk* [o] before *m* corresponds to *Wâldfrysk* [u]: *tomme* 'thumb' (WF), *tûme* (KF).

A subdialect of *Klaaifrysk*, the dialect of the *Noardeasthoeke* (Northeast Corner), basically follows *Wâldfrysk* with respect to properties (2–5).

Because it is, unfortunately, impossible to do justice to the diverse varieties of Frisian in one short article, standard West Frisian will form the basis for this description. East and North Frisian will receive special attention in an appendix.

16.2 Phonology

Vowels

Frisian has an extensive vowel inventory, containing nine short vowels, nine long vowels and a number of diphthongs. The vowels are shown on Table 16.1. In addition to the full vowels, Frisian has a schwa, which is phonetically quite similar to /ə/, but occurs only in unstressed syllables. There are furthermore a number of what are called falling diphthongs: full vowels followed by schwa, like /iə/. Other diphthongs consist of two full vowels, such as /ei/.

Several phonological processes affect the Frisian vowels. A vowel plus /n/ combination becomes a nasalized vowel when it precedes one of the continuant consonants /s, z, f, v, j, r, l, w/. For example, *ûns* 'ounce' is pronounced [ũ:s]. This example shows that a nasalized vowel before /s/ or /z/ is also lengthened.

Shortening is a morphophonemic process that affects mainly long vowels in monosyllabic stems. Most commonly, this occurs when a plural or diminutive suffix is appended to a noun, as when the long vowel in *faam* /fa:m/ 'girl, maid' alternates with the corresponding short vowel in *fammen* /famən/ 'girls' and *famke* /famkə/ 'young girl'. Less frequently, shortening occurs before other suffixes. Compare *heech* /he:χ/ 'high' with *hichte* /hɪχtə/ 'height' and *baarch* /ba:rx/ 'pig' with *bargje* /baryjə/ 'make a mess'.

Another process, called 'breaking', refers to the alternation in which falling

Table 16.1 The Frisian vowels and diphthongs

Vowel	Spelling
[i]	<i>i</i> in orthographically open and <i>y</i> in closed syllables (<i>Piter/Pyt</i>)
[i:]	<i>i</i> in orthographically open and <i>ii</i> in closed syllables (<i>wider/wiid</i>)
[ɪ]	<i>i</i> *
[e:]	<i>e</i> in orthographically open and <i>ee</i> in closed syllables
[ɛ]	<i>e</i> *
[ɛ:]	<i>ê</i>
[a]	<i>a</i> *
[a:]	<i>a</i> in orthographically open and <i>aa</i> in closed syllables
[ɔ]	<i>o</i> (or <i>a</i> before dentals)*
[ɔ:]	<i>â, ô</i>
[o]	<i>o</i> *
[o:]	<i>o</i> in orthographically open and <i>oo</i> in closed syllables
[u]	<i>û, oe</i>
[u:]	<i>û, oe</i>
[y]	<i>u</i> in orthographically open and <i>û</i> in closed syllables
[y:]	<i>u</i> in orthographically open and <i>û</i> in closed syllables
[ø]	<i>u</i> *
[ø:]	<i>eu</i>
[ə]	mostly <i>e</i> (in unstressed syllables)

Diphthongs	Spelling
[iə]	<i>ie</i>
[ɪə]	<i>ea</i>
[uə]	<i>oe</i>
[oə]	<i>oa</i>
[yə]	<i>ue</i>
[øə]	<i>eo, eau</i>
[ɛi]	<i>y, ij</i>
[øy]	<i>ui</i>
[ui]	<i>oei</i>
[oəi]	<i>oai</i>
[a:ɪ]	<i>aai</i>
[ai]	<i>ei, ai</i>
[au]	<i>ou, au</i>

Note: *Generally only occurs in orthographically closed syllables.

diphthongs in monosyllabic stems alternate with rising (broken) diphthongs when a suffix is added to the stem. Unfortunately, breaking is usually not reflected in the orthography. There are four main sets of alternating pairs of diphthongs (with the falling and rising diphthongs presented in that order): /iə/ – /jɪ/ (*stien* /stiən/ ‘stone’, *stiennen* /stjɪnən/ ‘stones’); /ɪə/ – /jɛ/ (*beam* /bɛəm/ ‘tree’, *beammen* /bjɛmən/ ‘trees’); /uə/ – /wɔ/ (*foet* /fuət/ ‘foot’, *fuotten* /fwɔtən/ ‘feet’); and /oə/ – /wɔ/ (*doar* /doər/ ‘door’, *doarke* /dwarkə/

'small door'). As with shortening, breaking is probably most common in noun diminutives and plurals, although it also occurs in derivation and compounding. For instance, broken diphthongs are found in words like *beammich* /bjɛmɛx/ 'wooded', *jierdei* /jidi/ 'birthday', *siedzje* /sjɪdzjɛ/ 'sow', and *Iester* /jɪstɛr/ 'resident of (the village of) Ie'.

Shortening and breaking occur in roughly the same morphological environments. A generalization that holds for many cases is that if the plural of a noun undergoes either shortening or breaking, the diminutive does also. None the less, it is impossible to state that certain stems invariably undergo the process. For example, *tiid* 'time' is not shortened in the plural, but *is* as the first member of the compound *tydskrift* 'periodical'. *Hân* 'hand', by contrast, undergoes the process in the plural (*hannen*), but not as first member of the compound *hânskriift* 'manuscript'.

Consonants

A list of the Frisian consonants is presented in Table 16.2. For the most part, the phonetic symbols for the consonants overlap with the orthography. Observe, however, that [x] is spelled as <ch>, while [ɣ] is generally written <g>. [ŋ] is <ng>, and [v] is <w> when in initial position.

Various types of assimilation and sandhi occur in Frisian. For example, /n/ assimilates to the place of articulation of the following stop, as when *yn* /in/ 'in' and *bine* /binə/ 'bind' are combined to form *ynbine* [imbinə] 'bind into'. When a voiceless stop at the end of one word encounters a voiced stop at the beginning of the next, both are generally voiced. For example, *ik bin* 'I am' is phonetically [ig bin]. But when what follows is a function word such as *dit* 'this', *dat* 'that', *dizze* 'this', *dyn* 'your', the adjoining consonants tend to become voiceless: *op dyn* is pronounced [op tin]. Similarly, a voiceless fricative in final position followed by a vowel or voiced consonant becomes voiced: *hûs is* 'house is' is pronounced [hu:z ɪs].

Also common to spoken Frisian is syllabification. A syllable consisting of schwa plus a liquid or nasal usually becomes syllabified. For example, *bûter* 'butter' is phonetically [butr]. The process is quite common with the plural

Table 16.2 The Frisian consonants

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Labiovelar	Glottal
Stops	p b		t d		k g		
Fricatives		f v	s z		x ɣ		
Trill			r				
Lateral			l				
Glides				j		w	h
Nasals	m		n		ŋ		

suffix *-en*, which not only becomes a syllabified *n*, but also generally assimilates to the place of articulation of the preceding consonant: *skippen* 'ships' becomes [skɪp̩m̩] and *ljurken* 'larks' becomes [ljør̩k̩ŋ]

As in German and Dutch, word-final obstruents are always unvoiced, although the process appears to be of recent origin in Frisian. Compare *reed* /re:t/ 'road, lane' with its plural *reden* /re:dən/ and *slab* /slap/ 'bib' with *slabben* /slabən/. Before a suffix, the situation is more complex. Devoicing always takes place before a diminutive suffix: *reedsje* /re:tsjə/; *slabke* /slapkə/. It is less regular with other suffixes. Compare *soarchlik* /swarxlək/ 'sorrowful' with *deeglik* /de:ylək/ 'proper'.

There are various types of consonant cluster simplification in Frisian. For example, degemination applies to identical obstruents that become contiguous. Also, the stem-final cluster /st/ is often reduced to /s/ before the diminutive suffix or the verbal suffixes *-ke* or *-je*: the diminutive of *kwast* 'paint brush' is *kwastke* /kwaskə/, while *hoastje* 'cough' is pronounced /wasjə/. *Hoastje* shows that before a glide, *h* is deleted in most dialects, as reflected also in *hierren* /jirən/ 'hairs'. Additionally, a stem-final /t/ is generally deleted before the suffix *-st*: *bytst* '(you) bite' is phonetically /bist/.

One might also refer to the deletion of /r/ before the dental consonants /t, d, n, l, s, z/ as a type of consonant cluster simplification. In most cases, the *r* is present orthographically, so to a large extent this is a rule of pronouncing written Frisian. The word *bern* 'child, children' is phonetically [bɛ:n] or [ben] and *gers* 'grass' is [gɛ:s]. The *r* also disappears when it comes to stand before a dental consonant through inflection, as can be seen by comparing *far* [far] '(I) sail' with *farst* '(you) sail' and *fier* [fiər] 'far' with its superlative form *fierst* [fjist] (this form, incidentally, also undergoes breaking).

Affrication of stem-final /t/ and /d/ to /ts/ and /dz/, respectively, occurs before the *-je* suffix. Hence, past tense forms *skodde* 'shook' and *rotte* 'rotted' have the infinitives *skodzje* and *rotsje*.

In standard West Frisian, a final *d* has been dropped historically from a few words like *sie* 'seed', *trie* 'wire', and *dea* 'death', although it often remains in inflected forms such as *siedzje* 'sow', *triedden* 'wires', and *deade* 'dead'. Likewise, the *d* has disappeared from verbs like *soe* 'should', *woe* 'would' and *die* 'did', but remains when the clitic *er* 'he' follows one of these verbs: *woed er* 'would he'. Many speakers have reanalysed this phenomenon into a rule that the clitic *er* has the variant *der* when directly preceded by a vowel or sonorant: *woe der* 'would he'; *foel der* 'fell he'. Insertion of /d/ occurs mandatorily between a stem ending in /t/ and the suffix *-er*, but is optional with stems ending in /l/ and /n/: *djoer* 'expensive, dear' – *djurder* 'more expensive'; *hiere* 'rent' – *hierder* 'renter'; *rinne* 'walk' – *rinder* or *rinner* 'walker'.

The consonants written as <g> or <ch> also deserve brief mention. What is written as <g> is generally the voiced velar stop [g] at the beginning of a word, as in *gean* 'go', but usually represents a voiced velar fricative [ɣ] elsewhere,

as in *bargje* 'make a mess'. This fricative undergoes devoicing and assimilation as do other voiced fricatives, producing words like *baarch* [ba:rx] 'pig'. In addition, if /x/ comes to stand before an /s/, it usually dissimilates to [k]: *heechst* 'highest' [he:kst].

Syllable Structure

Frisian syllable structure is in many respects similar to German and Dutch, differing most dramatically in the large variety of complex consonant clusters allowed in initial position. Most of these clusters are the same as those permitted in German or Dutch, but allow the addition of a /j/ or /w/ as final element of the cluster. Not surprisingly, clusters that end in /j/ or /w/ are often the result of breaking.

For example, /j/ and /w/ can follow most initial consonants: *poarte* /pwatə/ 'gate', *peallen* /pɛlən/ 'poles', *doarren* /dwarən/ 'doors', *djoer* /djuər/ 'expensive', *wjirm* /vjɪrm/ 'worm' and *woarst* /vwast/ 'sausage'. Where German and Dutch allow two initial consonants (generally an obstruent plus liquid), Frisian permits clusters of three (an obstruent, liquid and glide): *priuwe* /prjowəl/ 'taste', *triuwe* /trjowəl/ 'push', *knoarre* /knwarəl/ 'a lot', *bruorren* /brworən/ 'brothers' and *snoarkje* /snwarkjəl/ 'snore'. Clusters of four consonants are also possible: *strjitte* /strjitəl/ 'street', *skriuwe* /skrjowəl/ 'write' and *skroarje* /skrwarjəl/ '(to) tailor'.

Prosodic Phenomena

Generally, native monomorphemic words of more than one syllable are stressed on the first element: *suster* 'sister', *hynder* 'horse', *biezem* 'broom'. Exogenous (especially French) words often receive stress on the final syllable, unless that syllable contains a schwa or syllabic consonant: *pa'pier* 'paper', *restau'rant* 'restaurant', *ge'raazje* 'garage'.

As a very rough principle, compounds with an adjective as first element are stressed on the second part, as with *jong'faam* 'young woman'. Those with nouns as first element are generally stressed on the first part: *heitelân* 'fatherland'. Most suffixes are unstressed: *skriuwster* '(woman) writer'; *boadskip* 'message'; *smoargens* 'dirt'. Exceptions to this rule are *-esse* and *-inne* (both creating a female agent) and *-erij*: *freon'dinne* 'girlfriend'; *prin'sesse* 'princess'; *bakke'rij* 'bakery'. Prefixes operate much like those in Dutch and German. Some are never stressed (such as *be-*, *fer-* and *te-*), others (like *oar-* in *oarsaak* 'cause' and *ant-* in *antwurd* 'answer') always are. In addition, Frisian parallels German and Dutch in having separable and inseparable prefixes, with similar stress patterns.

16.3 Morphology

The Nominal Group

The indefinite article *in* [ən] 'a, an' occurs only with singular count nouns. *De* [də] and *it* [ət] are the definite articles, *it* preceding singular neuter nouns and *de* singular common nouns and all plurals. The classification into neuter and common nouns is largely arbitrary from a synchronic standpoint, at least with respect to natural gender. Neuter nouns in German are usually neuter in Frisian, and masculine and feminine nouns in German are usually common in Frisian.

It is often reduced to 't both in speech and writing: *fan't jier* 'this year'; 't *wie hjerst* 'it was autumn'. Furthermore, *de* is often rendered 'e in prepositional phrases like *op 'e mar* 'on the lake'. This occurs primarily following *op* 'on', *yn* 'in', *nêst* 'next to', *om* 'around', *út* 'out of', *tsjin* 'against', *fan* 'from', *ûnder* 'under', *efter* 'behind' and *tusken* 'between'. Some temporal expressions with the preposition *fan* or *by* may use the neuter article even if the following noun is common. Compare *de maitiid* 'spring' and *de simmer* 'summer' with *fan 't maitiid* 'this spring' and *fan 't simmer* 'this summer' or *by 't simmer* 'in the summer'.

The determiner *gjin* 'no, none' is never inflected. On the other hand, *sok* 'such', which occurs before mass neuter nouns (*sok gers* 'such grass'), becomes *sa'n* before singular count nouns (*sa'n hynder* 'such a horse'), and *sokke* before plural nouns (*sokke tosken* 'such teeth') and mass common nouns (*sokke sûpengroattenbrij* 'such buttermilk porridge'). This determiner can also be used substantively: *soks* 'something like that'; *sa'nen ien* 'one like that'; *sokken* 'those kind of things/people'.

The demonstrative pronouns are *dat* 'that' and *dit* 'this' for singular neuter nouns: *dat famke* 'that girl'; *dit hea* 'this hay'. *Dy* 'that, those' and *dizze* 'this, these' precede common nouns (*dy frou* 'that woman'; *dizze wjerljocht* 'this lightning') and all plural nouns (*dy froulju* 'those women'; *dizze famkes* 'these girls').

Predicative adjectives are uninflected: *de loft is skier* 'the sky is grey'. Attributive adjectives are inflected with *-e* before common singular nouns and all plurals: *de skiere loft* 'the grey sky'; *in griene beam* 'a green tree'; *goede buorlju* 'good neighbours'. Before a neuter singular noun, the *-e* ending is added only when the adjective follows *it*, *dit*, or *dat*. Compare *droech waar* 'dry weather' and *sok droech waar* 'such dry weather' with *dit droege waar* 'this dry weather'.

The adjective may optionally be uninflected in the following types of phrases: (a) before *man* and words referring to occupations (*in ryk boer* 'a rich farmer'); and (b) when the adjective, particularly *âld*, *nij*, *jong*, *lyts* and *grut*, and the following noun enter into a fixed collocation, becoming virtually a compound: *de jongfaam* 'the young woman'; *dy âld skuorre* 'that old shed'.

When an adjective is preceded by *in*, *gjin*, or *sa'n* and followed by *ien* 'one'

or no nominal element at all, it takes the suffix *-en*, as in the phrase *in minnen (ien)* 'a bad one'. After certain words, most commonly *wat* 'something', *neat* 'nothing' and *wat foar* 'what kind of', adjectives take the ending *-s*: *neat nijs* 'nothing new'.

The comparative is formed by affixing *-er* to the stem. This form is inflected like the positive: *in grienere beam* 'a greener tree'; *droeger waar* 'drier weather'; *dit droegere waar* 'this drier weather'.

Superlatives are created by the suffix *-ste* when used attributively, regardless of gender: *de grienste beam* 'the greenest tree'; *it wietste sân* 'the wettest sand'. In predicate position the suffix may be either *-ste* or *-st*: compare *dy beam is it grienst* with its equivalent *dy beam is it grienste* 'that tree is greenest' and *dat sân is it wietst* with *dat sân is it wietste* 'that sand is wettest'.

There are no real case markings in contemporary West Frisian, with the possible exception of the genitive *-s*. Possession is most commonly indicated by phrasal constructions, discussed in the section on syntax. Consequently, the main morphological phenomenon in nouns is plural and diminutive formation. These suffixes are determined primarily by phonological criteria, not gender. The plural marker for native words ending in *em*, *en*, *el*, *er*, *ert* is generally *-s*: *wurkers* 'workers'; *woartels* 'carrots'. The same *-s* plural is also used with all diminutives: *kealtsjes* 'small calves'. Most other native words take *-en*: *seinen* 'scythes'; *tsjerken* 'churches'. Many borrowings take the *-s* plural despite their phonetic structure, as in *auto*'s. And, of course, several nouns have irregular plural formation, which may include invariable plurals (*bern* 'child/children'; *skiep* 'sheep'), double plural marking (*reed/redens* 'skate/skates') and synchronically less transparent phenomena (*ko/kij* 'cow/cows'; *skoech/skuon* 'shoe/shoes').

Diminutives are quite commonly used to indicate that something is small or to express affection. When a stem ends in a vowel, a labial consonant /m, p, b, f/, or /s/ or /t/, the regular suffix is *-ke*: *kaike* 'small key'; *wyfke* 'small woman'. With words ending in the dentals /l, n, t, d/, the suffix is *-tsje*, as in *kealtsje* 'small calf' and *pûdsje* 'small bag'. Finally, when a stem ends in the velars /k/ or /x/, the ending is *-je*: *barchje* 'small pig'. After the velar nasal /ŋ/, the suffix is *-kje*: *ring* 'ring', *rinkje* 'small ring'.

As noted above, many nouns undergo shortening or breaking of the stem vowel in both the plural and the diminutive. Furthermore, there is a very small number of nouns that resist diminutive formation, particularly words for periods of time (*dei* 'day'; *wike* 'week'; *moanne* 'month'), and certain monetary units (*gûne* 'guilder'; *sint* 'cent').

The Frisian pronouns are listed on Table 16.3. The second-person singular is divided into familiar and polite forms. It is common to use terms of address in place of the second-person pronoun, especially (but not exclusively) among family members. These might be referred to as *pronoun substitutes*. While it is not improper to address an older family member with the polite form *jo*,

Table 16.3 Frisian pronouns

Person/number	Subject	Object	Possessive
1 sg.	ik 'I'	my 'me'	myn 'my'
2 sg. fam.	do 'you'	dy 'you'	dyn 'your'
2 sg. pol.	jo 'you'	jo 'you'	jo/jins 'your'
3 sg. m.	hy 'he'	him 'him'	syn 'his'
f.	hja/sy 'she'	har 'her'	har 'her'
n.	it 'it'	it 'it'	syn 'its'
indefinite	men 'one'	jinn 'him/her'	jins 'one's'
1 pl.	wy 'we'	ús 'us'	ús 'our'
2 pl.	jimme 'you'	jimme 'you'	jimme 'you'
3 pl.	hja/sy 'they'	har(ren) 'them'	har(ren) 'their'

it is more usual to use a term of address (like *heit* 'father', *muoike* 'aunt' or *dokter* 'doctor') and the third-person verb: *wol mem in bakje kofje?* 'does mother (do you) want a cup of coffee?'; *hoe giet it mei pake?* 'how is grandfather?' (or 'how are you, grandfather?'). This usage avoids the distance created by the formal *jo* pronoun. Furthermore, a person's name may also be used as a pronoun substitute: *Durk moat ris by ús útfanhûs* 'Durk (you) should come stay with us some time'. The third-person pronoun *hy* or *hja/sy* may be used in speaking to children: *hy moat stil wêze* 'you must be quiet'.

The pronoun *do* is optionally deleted: *bist let* 'you are late'. *Jo* takes a plural verb. The pronoun for 'she' or 'they' is in spoken Frisian almost always *sy* or *se*. In literary and formal contexts *hja* is preferred, largely because *sy* is felt to reflect Dutch influence. The means of distinguishing these two uses of *hja* (or *sy*) is, of course, the number of the associated verb. The indefinite pronoun *men* [mən], used with a singular verb, generally includes the speaker. Sometimes *jo* or *do* is used in an indefinite sense also, as is the third person plural.

There are reduced or cliticized versions of many of the pronouns. For example, *ik* and *it* may be reduced in casual speech to [k] and [t] when phonotactic constraints allow, producing sentences such as '*k wie thús* 'I was at home' and '*k hie 't sjoen* 'I had seen it'. *Jimme* is often pronounced *jim*. *Hy* has the clitic form *er*, which occurs directly following a finite verb or subordinating conjunction: *docht er alles?* 'is he doing everything?' *Do* has the clitic form *-de* or *-te* in the same environment, or may be dropped entirely: *giesto/gieste/giest fuort?* 'are you going away?'; *ik wit datsto/datste/datst hjir bist* 'I know that you are here'.

The possessive pronouns, when modifying a noun, are not inflected: *ús nije wein* 'our new wagon'. Predicatively, however, they receive the suffix *-es*: *dat aai is dines* 'that egg is yours'; *dy aaien binne uzes* 'those eggs are ours'.

There are no separate reflexive pronouns in Frisian. Rather, the object

forms of the personal pronouns perform this function: *omke skeart him* 'Uncle is shaving (himself)'. In order to add emphasis, or to make it clear that the pronoun is being used reflexively, *-sels* can be added: *it bern sjocht harsels yn 'e spegel* 'the child sees herself in the mirror'. Reciprocal pronouns are *inoar* or *elkoar* 'each other': *hja seagen inoar yn 'e eagen* 'they looked each other in the eyes'. These pronouns are often appended to a preposition: *meinoar* 'with one another'; *opelkoar* 'on top of each other'.

The relative pronouns are *dy't* (common) and *dat* (neuter): *de kij dy't oer it fjild rinne* 'the cattle which are walking over the field'. *Dêr't* is used to designate places: *it doarp dêr't er wennet* 'the village where he lives'.

Question words include *wat* 'what'; *wat foar* 'what kind of'; *wa* 'who'; *waans* or *wa's* 'whose'; *hoe* 'how'; *hoefolle* 'how much'; *wannear* 'when'; and *wêr* 'where'. *Hoe'n*, *hok*, *hokke*, and *hokker* all mean 'what kind of' or 'which'. *Hok* occurs before mass neuter nouns (*hok sân?* 'what kind of sand?'); *hokke* before plurals and mass common nouns (*hokke sjippe?* 'what kind of soap?'); *hoe'n* is used with singular count nouns (*hoe'n hûn?* 'what kind of dog?'); and *hokker* before all types of nouns (*hokker sân?*; *hokker sjippe?*; *hokker hûn?*).

The Verbal Group

Although Germanic verbs are often divided into weak and strong, a more sensible division in modern West Frisian is between Class I (ending in *-e*) and Class II (ending in *-je*). Class membership determines which endings a verb takes. The present-tense forms for the two classes are illustrated on Table 16.4. Recall that *jo* takes plural endings.

Strong verbs mainly end in *-e* and are therefore conjugated according to Class I. Verbs with stem changes ending in *-je*, of course, take the endings of Class II verbs. A number of verbs have irregular present-tense formation, often showing vowel changes in the second- and third-person singular forms: *ik gean* 'I go'; *do giest* 'you go'; *hy giet* 'he goes'; *wy geane* 'we go'. Other verbs reflect historical alternation between *k* and *ts(j)*: *ik meitsje* 'I make'; *do makkest* 'you make'; *hja makket* 'she makes'; *wy meitsje* 'we make'.

It is possible to analyse all verbs as having the same personal endings in

Table 16.4 Present-tense verb endings

Person/Number	Class I	Class II
Infinitive	meane 'to mow'	harkje 'to listen'
1 sg.	ik mean 'I mow'	ik harkje 'I listen'
2 sg.	do meanst 'you mow'	do harkest 'you listen'
3 sg.	hja meant 'she mows'	hja harket 'she listens'
pl.	wy meane 'we mow'	wy harkje 'we listen'

the simple past: no marker in the first- and third-person singular; *-st* in the second-person singular; and *-en* for all plurals and the *jo* form.

The simple past-tense stem for regular Class I verbs is formed by adding *-de* to the stem, or *-te* if the stem ends in a voiceless obstruent. Thus, the past tense of *meane* is *meande*, while that of *rûke* 'smell' is *rûkte*. The personal endings are added to these forms. When a suffix with a schwa is added to a stem ending in schwa, only one schwa remains: *meande* plus *-en* produces *meanden*. Class II verbs regularly produce the preterite by the addition of *-e* to the stem. Thus, the past tense of *harkje* 'listen' is *harke*. Strong verbs form the past tense by changes in the stem vowel and, less commonly, also by consonant changes. Compare *fergeat* 'forgot' and *hong* 'hung' with the infinitive *ferjitte* and *hingje*. The same personal endings are used: *do fergeatst* 'you forgot'.

The formation of the past tense is illustrated on Table 16.5. The table also shows that the present participle is formed by adding *-nd* to the infinitive. The past participle is irregular for many historically strong verbs. For Class II verbs, it is identical to the past-tense stem. And for regular Class I verbs it is formed by the addition of *-d* or *-t*, the *-t* being suffixed to stems that take *-te* as the past-tense marker.

The present perfect consists of the inflected verb *hawwe* 'have' and the past participle, while the past perfect uses the preterite of *hawwe* as the auxiliary: *ik ha songen* 'I have sung', *hja hiene songen* 'they had sung'. The future consists of the inflected verb *sille* 'shall' and the infinitive (*do silst sjonge* 'you will sing'), and the future perfect consists of *sille* and the past participle of the verb, followed by *hawwe* in infinitive form (*wy sille songen hawwe* 'we will have sung'). Finally, the conditional is formed with the auxiliary *soe* (the past tense of *sille*) and the infinitive; the perfect conditional is also formed with *soe*, followed by the past participle and *hawwe*: *jo soene harkje* 'you would listen', *do soest harke hawwe* 'you would have listened'. Conditionals may also be created with past tense morphology. As in other Germanic

Table 16.5 Non-present verb forms

Person/Number	Class I	Class II	Strong verb
Infinitive	<i>meane</i> 'mow'	<i>harkje</i> 'listen'	<i>sjonge</i> 'sing'
Past 1 sg.	<i>meande</i>	<i>harke</i>	<i>song</i>
2 sg.	<i>meandest</i>	<i>harkest</i>	<i>songst</i>
3 sg.	<i>meande</i>	<i>harke</i>	<i>song</i>
pl.	<i>meanden</i>	<i>harken</i>	<i>songen</i>
Present participle	<i>meanend</i>	<i>harkjend</i>	<i>sjongend</i>
Past participle	<i>meand</i>	<i>harke</i>	<i>songen</i>
Imperative	<i>mean</i>	<i>harkje</i>	<i>sjong</i>

languages, certain verbs, particularly those referring to changes in state and motion, take *wêze* 'be' in place of *hawwe*.

Present-tense passives are created with the conjugated form of the verb *wurde* 'become' and the past participle: *do wurdst sjoen* 'you are seen'. The preterite passive is similar but uses the past tense of *wurde*: *ik waard sjoen* 'I was seen'. The present and past perfect passives are formed by the present and preterite inflected forms of *wêze*, then the past participle, and followed optionally in some dialects by *wurden* (the past participle of *wurde*): *ik bin sjoen (wurden)* 'I have been seen', *ik wie sjoen (wurden)* 'I had been seen'. The future passive consists of the auxiliary *sille*, the past participle, and *wurde* in infinitive form (*ik sil sjoen wurde* 'I will be seen'), while the conditional passive is the same but uses *soe* (*ik soe sjoen wurde* 'I would be seen'). Finally, the future perfect passive consists of *sille*, the past participle, optionally includes *wurden*, and then the infinitive form *wêze*: *ik sil sjoen (wurden) wêze* 'I will have been seen'. The perfect conditional passive is the same, but uses *soe* in place of *sille*: *ik soe sjoen (wurden) wêze* 'I would have been seen'.

Adverbs

As in Dutch and German, many adjectives can function as adverbs with no particular morphological marker. *Goed* can be either the adjective 'good' or the adverb 'well'. Some distinct adverbs consist of a noun or adjective with suffixes such as *-ling* (*hoasfuotling* 'on stockinged feet') or the diminutive + *s* (*sûntsjes* 'softly'). Certain adverbs that derive from adjectives and serve an intensifying function take an *-e* suffix when preceding the adjective they modify: *it wie ferskriklike kâld* 'it was terribly cold' (cf. *ferskriklik* 'terrible'). Finally, nouns referring to time become adverbs with the addition of *-s*, as in *middeis* 'in the afternoons'; *sneons* 'on Saturdays'. When referring to a specific time instead of a period of time generally, the article is added: *de sneins* 'that Sunday'; *de moarns* 'that morning'.

Word Formation

Frisian follows the general patterns of Germanic word formation. As in other Germanic languages, the most frequent type of compound combines two nouns: *bûsdoek* 'handkerchief' (lit. 'pocket cloth'), *appelsop* 'apple juice', *sinneljocht* 'sunlight'. Also very common is the verb-noun type: *sliepkeamer* 'bedroom' (lit. 'sleeping room'), *waskmasine* 'washing machine', *printflater* 'printer's error'. Like German and Dutch, Frisian makes extensive use of 'link morphemes': *koken-s-doar* 'kitchen door', *bern-e-boek* 'children's book', *riz-en-brij* 'rice pudding', *rol-tsje-redens* 'roller-skates', *hing-el-brêge* 'suspension-bridge', *boart-ers-guod* 'playthings'.

Rather specific to Frisian is the relatively large number of noun-verb and adjective-noun compounds. The noun-verb type consists of lexicalized noun-incorporation verbs: *koffjedrinke* (lit.) 'coffee-drink', *lokwinskje* (lit.) 'luck-

wish', *sykhelje* (lit.) 'breath-take'. Whereas noun-incorporation is limited to adjacent nouns and verbs (see section 16.4), these lexicalized verbs may appear in any verb position, for example, in the verb-second position: *hja noassnute lûd* (lit.) 'she nose-blew loudly'.

Adjective-noun compounds originate from syntactic phrases which have been reanalysed as one word, generally with loss of the adjective's inflection. Some examples are *jongkat* 'kitten' (lit. 'young-cat'), *kweageast* 'evil spirit', *swierwaar* 'thunderstorm' (lit. 'heavy weather'), *Goedfreed* 'Good Friday'.

Prefixes include verbal prefixes like *be-* (*beprate* 'talk over'), *fer-* (*ferslite* 'wear out'), *te-* (*teskuorre* 'tear to pieces') and *ûnt-* (*ûntkrije* 'take away'), which all have a transitivity and/or perfectivizing effect. Most other prefixes combine with adjectives and serve a negative or intensifying function: *ûn-* (*ûnwier* 'untrue'); *poer-* (*poermin* 'very bad'); *witte-* (*witte-heech* 'very high'); *troch-* (*trochwiet* 'very wet'); *yn-* (*ynwyt* 'very pale') and the negative polarity item *oer-* ((*net*) *oersnoad* '(not) very clever').

Among the suffixes deriving nouns from nouns are the diminutive, the collective suffixes *-t* and *-guod* (*fûgelt*, *fûgelguod* 'birds'), feminine suffixes *-inne*, *-esse* and *-ske* (*boerinne* 'farmer's wife', *profetesse* 'prophetess', *foarsitterske* 'chairwoman') and the quantifying suffix *-mannich* (*in rigelmannich* 'some lines').

The suffix *-er* derives agentive nouns and, more marginally, object, instrument and action nouns from verbs: *bodder* 'toiler', *omparter* 'hand-out', *hierdroeger* 'hair dryer', *snjitter* 'brief rain shower'. Descriptive nouns are derived from adjectives by suffixes like *-ert* (*leffert* 'coward'), *-eling* (*healwizeling* 'fool') and, interestingly, by *-sma* (*ferfelendsma* 'bore'), which originates from the ending *-sma* in Frisian surnames like *Tiersma*. The ending *-stra* in surnames like *Hoekstra* has also become marginally productive in the formation of descriptive nouns, as in *typstra* 'freak'.

The most important suffixes deriving nouns from verbs and adjectives are perhaps the nominalizing suffixes. The suffixes *-en*, *-ing* and *-erij* (as well as the prefix *ge-*) are added to verbs to form action nouns. Whereas *-en* is normally used for transparent nominalizations (*praten* 'talking'), *ing-*derivations are more open to semantic drift (*blieding* 'bleeding', *útstalling* 'exhibition'). The affixes *-erij* and *ge-* form collective (often somewhat pejorative) nominalizations: *skriuwerij* 'writing', *geëamel* 'chatter, drivel'.

This pattern is repeated with de-adjectival nominalizations. The suffix *-ens* forms transparent abstract nouns (*goedens* 'goodness', *blauwens* 'blueness'), while derivations with *-heid* often show meaning specification: *iensumheid* 'loneliness, lonely place', *aardichheid* 'something nice'. The suffix *-ichheid* produces collective (often slightly pejorative) abstract nouns: *grutskichheid* 'haughtiness'.

Verbs can be derived from verbs by the iterative/diminutive suffix *-k*: *drave* – *drafkje* 'trot', *aaië* – *aikje* 'caress', *gnize* – *gnyskje* 'sneer'. The derivation of verbs from other (non-verbal) categories proceeds by means of conversion,

which involves simply the addition of verbal morphology: *healwiizje* 'act foolish' (*healwiis* 'foolish'), *fjouwerje* 'gallop' (*fjouwer* 'four'), *útfanhúzje* 'stay, lodge' (*út fan hûs* 'out of (the) house'). The stem of a converted verb may be augmented by a semantically empty *k-/t-*element: *fûstkje* 'shake hands', *brieffkje* 'write letters', *sintsje* 'sunbathe'. Note that verbs derived by suffixation or conversion invariably belong to what is probably the unmarked conjugation class in Frisian, Class II.

16.4 Syntax

Noun Phrase

The minimal noun phrase in Frisian consists of a pronoun or a proper name (*do* 'you', *Jan* 'John'). Otherwise noun phrases at least contain a determiner and a nominal head: *de hûn* 'the dog'; *in boek* 'a book'. The determiner may be a zero article in the case of plural and mass nouns: \emptyset *wolkens* 'clouds', \emptyset *rein* 'rain'.

Attributive adjectives precede the nominal head: *de kreaze faam* 'the pretty girl'. Modifiers and complements, which take the shape of clauses or prepositional phrases, follow the nominal head. Compare *it hûs by de feart* 'the house near the canal', *de man dy't fermoarde wie* 'the man who was killed', *in boek oer de oarloch* 'a book about the war', *syn besykjen om ús te helpen* 'his attempt to help us'.

Numerals and quantifiers are prenominal and normally precede the adjective if there is one: *fjouwer reade auto's* 'four red cars', *guon moaie gebouwen* 'some beautiful buildings'. Numerals precede indefinite determiners like *sa'n*, *sok(ke)* 'such a, such', while they follow definite determiners like *dy* 'that, those, these': *tsien sokke stuollen* 'ten such chairs', *dy tsien stuollen* 'those ten chairs'. Most indefinite quantifiers occur before an indefinite determiner: *in soad sok ark* 'a lot of such tools', *ferskate sokke minsken* 'various such people', *gâns in stêd* 'quite a city'. Some may also follow a definite determiner: *de ferskate minsken* 'the various people'. Definite quantifiers like *alle* 'all' and *elk* 'each' are probably determiners themselves and cannot co-occur with other determiners.

A few quantifiers may appear on either side of the nominal head: *genôch jild/jild genôch*, 'enough money', *by 't soad ideeën/ideeën by 't soad* 'plenty of ideas', *tefolle skroeven* 'too many screws', *tsien skroeven tefolle* 'ten screws too many'.

Possession can be expressed by a prepositional phrase, containing the preposition *fan* 'of' and the possessor noun phrase, following the possessed noun: *it tsjil fan 'e fyts* 'the wheel of the bicycle', *de broer fan Piter* 'the brother of Piter'. If the possessor is a pronoun, the predicative form of the possessive pronoun is used in the *fan*-phrase, just as in English: *in omke fan mines* 'an uncle of mine'. If the possessor is animate, a possessive pronoun,

which can be preceded by a possessor noun phrase, may appear in the determiner position: *syn broer* 'his brother', *Piter syn broer* 'Piter's brother', *de boer syn hinnen* 'the farmer's chickens'. This construction of the form 'possessor + possessive pronoun + possessum' is the normal one with a noun phrase possessor. The use of the genitive *-s* has become almost obsolete in Frisian, although it can still be employed with proper names: *Piter's broer*.

Finally, at the leftmost periphery of the nominal phrase (before any noun phrase possessors) we find the universal quantifier *al* and the partitive quantifier *fan* (historically related to the preposition *fan* 'of'). In contrast to the determiner *alle*, the quantifier *al* must co-occur with a determiner: *al sokke dingen* 'all such things', *al dy bern* 'all those children', *al jimme kij* 'all your (pl.) cows'. Partitive *fan* is used in sentences like *der rûnen fan buorman syn hinnen yn ús tún* 'some of the neighbour's chickens walked in our garden' (lit. 'there walked of neighbour's chickens in our garden'), *dit binne mei fan 'e moaiste fersen dy't er skreaun hat* 'these are among the most beautiful poems he has written' (lit. 'these are along of the most beautiful poems that he has written').

The nominal head may remain empty, if preceded by a determiner (but not an article on its own), an adjective or a quantifier: *ik keapje dy/reade/trijelin pear* 'I will buy those/red (ones)/three/a few'. The dummy noun *ien* 'one' may be inserted after adjectives and indefinite determiners ending in *-en*: *ik ha in readen/sa'nen (ien) kocht* 'I have bought a red/such a (one)'. In all these cases the content of the head should, of course, be recoverable from the context.

A noun phrase consisting of an indefinite article, a comparative adjective and a nominal head may be rather drastically reduced in negative (or perhaps existential) contexts. Thus, in the phrase *in kreazere frou* 'a prettier woman' in the sentence *in kreazere frou wie der net* 'there was no prettier woman' (lit. 'a prettier woman was there not'), one can successively drop the adjective ending (*in kreazer frou wie der net*), the article (*kreazer frou wie der net*) and – if contextually recoverable – the nominal head (*kreazer wie der net*). Compare also *is der (in) aakliker(e) (dea) te betinken?* 'is there (a) more horrible (death) to imagine?'

Adjective Phrase

An adjective phrase minimally consists of a bare adjective: (*ik bin*) *siik* '(I am) ill'. The adjective can be preceded by degree adverbs (*sa/hoel/tellike/tigel/ôfgryslie siik* 'so/how/too/as/very/terribly ill') and descriptive adverbs (*ûnferwinlik siik* 'incurably ill'). The degree adverb *genôch* 'enough; too' is suffixed to the adjective as *-ernôch*: *grutternôch* 'big enough, too big'; *follernôch* 'full enough, too full'.

Adjectives in the comparative form and those preceded by the degree adverbs *sa* and *te* may have a measure phrase in front of them: *tsien meter heger* 'ten meters higher', *fjouwer kear sa lang* 'four times as long', *in stap te fier* 'a step too far'.

Complements and modifiers in the shape of prepositional phrases or clauses normally follow the adjective: *sljucht op iis* 'crazy about ice cream', *ree om ús te helpen* 'willing to help us'. As most other Germanic languages, Frisian possesses a small, closed class of transitive adjectives. These adjectives take a direct object to their left: *it libben sêd* 'weary of life', *de problemen treast* 'able to cope with the problems', *har freonen trou* 'faithful to her friends'.

Adpositional Phrase

Frisian has both prepositions and postpositions. Prepositions take a full noun phrase complement or (sometimes) a clausal complement: *njonken it postkantoar* 'next to the post office'; *sûnder dat er in wurd sei* 'without saying a word'. Postpositions, on the other hand, only take pronouns as their complement, more specifically adverbial *r*-pronouns like *der/dêr* 'there', *hji* 'here' and *wêr* 'where': *deryn* 'in it', *hji/njonken* 'next to this'. Traditionally, combinations of *r*-pronouns and postpositions are called 'pronominal adverbs'.

In addition to simple adpositions, the language has a relatively large number of circumpositions: *ta it rût út* 'out of the window', *foar de tsjerke oer* 'across from the church', *oer de sleat hinne* 'over the ditch'. Circumpositions also show up as postpositions: *deroerhinne* 'over it'.

In some exceptional cases, prepositions or circumpositions and their postpositional congeners do not have the same form: *nei Ljouwert ta* 'to Ljouwert' – *derhinne* 'to it' (not: *der neita*), *út Ljouwert wei* 'from Ljouwert' – *derwei* 'from it' (**derútwei*), *fan 'e dûkplanke ôf* 'off of the divingboard' – *derôf* 'off it' (**derfanôf*). Furthermore, some prepositions lack a postpositional counterpart: *fanwegen de pine* 'because of the pain' – **derfanwegen* 'because of it'.

Adpositions can be preceded by a measure phrase (*in telmannich nei it skot* 'some seconds after the shot', *hji in eintsje ôf* 'a short distance from here') or a specifying adverb (*lyk yn 't gesicht* 'right in the face', *der roerdelings lâns* 'narrowly past it').

Verb Phrase

The basic word order in the Frisian verb phrase is O(bject) V(erb), normally found in embedded clauses: (*dat er*) *it stek ferve* '(that he) painted the fence', (*om*) *in nije auto te keapjen* '(to) buy a new car'. In main clauses OV-order is obscured by the effects of verb-second, discussed below.

Frisian has a good deal of 'noun incorporation'. A direct object may be incorporated into the verb in certain contexts: (*dat er*) *sneons altyd autowasket* (lit.) '(that he) always car-washes on Saturdays'; (*dat se*) *oan it boekjelêzen is* '(that she) is book-reading', (*dat wy*) *ophoden te toarnbeisykjen* '(that we) stopped blackberry-picking'.

The order of elements in the 'middle field' – the part of the sentence between the complementizer and the verb(s) – is relatively 'free'. For

example, in the sentence (*dat er*) *juster mei in stôk de hûn sloech*, which is literally '(that he) yesterday with a stick the dog hit', the object and the two adjuncts may appear in any order: (*dat er*) *juster de hûn mei in stôk sloech*, (*dat er*) *mei in stôk juster de hûn sloech*, (*dat er*) *mei in stôk de hûn juster sloech*, (*dat er*) *de hûn mei in stôk juster sloech*, (*dat er*) *de hûn juster mei in stôk sloech*. There is, however, no freedom in a strict sense, as the actual order is governed by factors having to do with the information (given/new) structure of the sentence.

Within the verbal complex there is a rigid right-to-left order: A governed verb invariably appears to the left of its governor: (*dat er*) *swimme kin* '(that he) can swim', (*dat ik*) *har rinnen seach* '(that I) saw her walking', (*datst*) *wachtsje moatten hiest* '(that you) should have waited'. An exception is infinitives preceded by the infinitival marker *te*: *te*-infinitives, or at least verbal *te*-infinitives (see below), occupy the rightmost position in a verbal group: (*dat se*) *it boek besocht hat te lêzen* '(that she) has tried to read the book', (*dat jimme*) *sliepe skine te wollen* '(that you) seem to want to sleep'.

Finite sentential complements as well as non-finite sentential complements introduced by the conjunction *om* occur in postverbal position: (*dat er*) *hope, dat it moai waar wurde soe* '(that he) hoped, that the weather would be fine', (*dat se*) *fan doel wie, om de blikke te meanen* '(lit.) (that she) of intention was, for the lawn to mow'.

Finally, prepositional phrases may appear on either side of the verb: (*dat de bern*) *op it hiem boarten/boarten op it hiem* '(that the children) played in the yard'. Prepositional complements of verbs denoting a position or motion, however, are strictly preverbal: (*dat ik*) *yn 'e hûs bin/*bin yn 'e hûs* '(that I) am in the house', (*dat jimme*) *nei Snits ta geane/*geane nei Snits ta* '(that you) go to Snits'. The same holds for prepositional phrases forming part of an idiom: (*datst*) *noch wolris fan 'e bok dreame silst/*dreame silst fan 'e bok* 'that you will have had experiences sometime' (lit. 'that you will dream of the buck sometime').

The Sentence

Verb-second

Like all Germanic languages except English, Frisian displays the so-called 'verb-second' phenomenon: in declarative main clauses the finite verb occupies the second position in the clause. The first position can be filled by all sorts of constituents. Compare: *Germen hat juster it ankel ferkloft* 'Germen sprained his ankle yesterday', *juster hat Germen it ankel ferkloft*, *it ankel hat Germen juster ferkloft*, *ferkloft hat Germen juster it ankel*. In yes/no questions and in imperatives, the finite verb opens the clause: *wolst my it jiskepantse efkes oerjaan?* 'would you pass me the ashtray?', *kom my net oan!* (lit.) 'come me not on!' (i.e. 'don't touch me!').

In embedded clauses the verb normally remains in its clause-final position:

hy fertelde, dat Germen koarts hie 'he said that Germen has a fever', *it is net noftlik, om koarts te hawwen* 'it's no fun to have a fever'. Conditional clauses, however, may have either verb-initial or, if the complementizer is expressed, verb-final order. Compare *jout er my hûndert gûne, dan doch ik it* 'if he gives me one hundred guilders, I'll do it' with *at er my hûndert gûne jout, dan doch ik it*.

Verb-second may also show up in an embedded clause which is the complement of verbs of belief and assertion. Next to *hy sei, dat er skille hie* 'he said that he had called', it is possible to say *hy sei, hy hie skille* and *hy sei, dat hy hie skille*. The same three possibilities can be found in result clauses: *wy wiene sa benaud, dat de knibbels ús oan staten* 'we were so afraid, that our knees shook', *wy wiene sa benaud, de knibbels staten ús oan*, *wy wiene sa benaud, dat de knibbels staten ús oan*.

Furthermore, verb-second optionally occurs in embedded clauses introduced by the adverbial conjunctions *omt* 'because', *mits* 'provided that', *hoewol* 'although': Compare *hja kin net sjonge, omt se heas is* 'she can not sing, because she is hoarse', where the verb is in final position, with *hja kin net sjonge, omt se is heas*.

Finally, verb-second is found in the so-called 'en + imperative' construction. In this construction an embedded clause is introduced by the conjunction *en* (which has lost its original coordinating function), followed by a verb in the imperative form (but without the imperative function). The *en* + imperative construction comes in two types. In the first type the *en*-clause is an adjunct: *hy woe syn wurk derhinne smite en wurd skriuwer* 'he wanted to give up his job and become a writer', *jimme moatte efkes nei de bakker ta gean en nim in bôle mei* 'you should go to the baker's and get a loaf of bread'. Compare this to a normal coordinated sentence, *jimme moatte efkes nei de bakker ta gean en in bôle meinimme*, in which the verb is in clause-final position.

In the second type of *en* + imperative construction, the *en*-clause is a complement of the main clause verb: *ik bin fan doel en skriuw in boek* 'I plan to write a book' (lit. 'I am of intention and write a book'), *hy ferpoft it en doch altyd de smoarge putsjes* 'he refuses to always do the dirty jobs' (lit. 'he refuses it and do always the dirty jobs').

Historically the formal imperative in the *en* + imperative construction derives from an infinitive. Until this century the *en* + infinitive and the *en* + imperative construction occurred side by side. Presently, the infinitive has been completely replaced by the imperative.

Complementizers

Frisian possesses a relatively complex complementizer system. There are two finite complementizers, i.e. *dat* 'that' and *oft* 'whether': *hy hope, dat se komme soe* 'he hoped, that she would come', *hy wist net, oft se komme soe* 'he didn't know, whether she would come'.

Both these complementizers sometimes appear in the cliticized form 't. The cliticized form is optional if the complementizer is selected by the main-clause verb. Thus, for example, in *wh*-complements the complementizer may appear as *oft* or cliticized to the *wh*-word as 't: *ik wist net, wa oft/wa't komme soe* 'I didn't know who (whether) would come'.

If the complementizer is not selected, cliticization is obligatory. This is the case in relative clauses (*de jonge dy't* (**dy oft*) *nêst ús wennet* 'the boy who (whether) lives nextdoor'). Note, however, that cliticization does not apply if there is no simple relative pronoun available to host the clitical complementizer: *de jonge dy syn fyts oft* (*'t) *stellen wie* 'The boy whose bike (whether) had been stolen'.

With adjunct clauses we must distinguish between those introduced by a preposition and those that are not. In the former case the preposition can be said to select the complementizer. Accordingly, the complementizer may appear in full or cliticized form, attached to the preposition: *neidat/nei't er toskboarstele hie, gie er op bêd* 'after (that) he had brushed his teeth, he went to bed'. In the latter case, complementizer cliticization applies obligatorily: *doe't* (**doe dat*) *se de kat fretten jûn hie, begûn se te krantlêzen* 'when (that) she had fed the cat, she began reading the newspaper'.

Infinitival clauses containing a *te*-infinitive are headed by the complementizer *om*. The complementizer is optional (although normally present in common usage) when the embedded clause is a complement: *it is in griis, (om) dy skuon wei te smiten* 'it is a pity to throw away those shoes', *ik ried dy oan, (om) op te hâlden fan smoken* 'I advise you to stop smoking'. *Om* is obligatory when the clause is an adjunct: *hy joech it bern in bal om mei te boartsjen* 'he gave the child a ball to play with', *hja wie te wurch om de keamer op te rêden* 'she was too tired to tidy up the room'.

Infinitives

Infinitives come in three types in Frisian: (a) *e*-infinitives (*rinne* 'walk'); (b) *en*-infinitives (*rinnen*); and (c) *te*-infinitives (*te rinnen*). The distribution of these infinitives is a rather complicated matter.

Modal verbs like *kinne* 'can', *wolle* 'want', *moatte* 'must', *meie* 'may', *sille* 'shall', and the causative verb *litte* 'let' select an *e*-infinitive: *Antsje wol sliepe* 'Antsje wants to sleep'; *hy liet ús in beam tekenje* 'he made us draw a tree'.

An *en*-infinitive is selected by perception verbs like *sjen* 'see', *hearre* 'hear', *fiele* 'feel' and *fernimme* 'notice': *ik seach har it hier kjimmen* 'I saw her comb her hair'; *hja fernaam har bloed sieden* 'she felt her blood boil'.

The verbs *gean* 'go' and *bliuwe* 'stay' may function as aspectual (inchoative and durative, respectively) verbs in Frisian, when combined with the *en*-infinitive of the posture verbs *stean* 'stand', *sitte* 'sit', *lizze* 'lie' and *hingje* 'hang'. Consider *Jitske gie op 'e stoel sitten* 'Jitske sat down on the chair' and *Fedde bliuwt de hiele dei op bêd lizzen* 'Fedde stays in bed the whole day'.

Both *e*-infinitives and *en*-infinitives may show up in nominal infinitives:

sjonge/sjongen is syn wille en tier 'singing is his love and passion'. Nominal *e*-infinitives may be accompanied by objects and modifiers: *under 'e brûs aria's sjonge is syn wille en tier* 'singing aria's in the shower is his love and passion'. With *en*-infinitives this is only possible if the nominalization is headed by a determiner: *it ûnder 'e brûs aria's sjongen is syn wille en tier* 'the singing of aria's in the shower is his love and passion'. Nominal *e*-infinitives are never introduced by a determiner.

We may distinguish four types of *te*-infinitives: (a) verbal *te*-infinitives; (b) adjectival *te*-infinitives; (c) prepositional *te*-infinitives; and (d) sentential *te*-infinitives.

Verbal *te*-infinitives appear in extraposed clauses introduced by the complementizer *om*: ... *om de fisk ta te meitsjen* 'to clean the fish'. Furthermore, as noted in the section on the verb phrase, they are obligatorily raised from an intrasentential clausal complement to a postverbal position: ... *dat er de fisk ûnthiet te bakken* 'that he promised to fry the fish'.

Adjectival and prepositional *te*-infinitives are always located to the left of the verb (barring the effects of verb-second). Adjectival *te*-infinitives may be preceded by an adverb: ... *dat it boek (slim) te lêzen is* 'that the book is (hardly) readable'. Furthermore, they may occur attributively and, in that case, may be optionally inflected: *dy net te ferjitten(e) dei* 'that unforgettable day'. Prepositional *te*-infinitives appear in the complement of the verbs *wêze* 'be' and *gean* 'go'. They may exhibit noun incorporation, which is impossible with verbal and adjectival *te*-infinitives. Compare ... *dat er te fiskjen is* 'that he is out fishing' and ... *dat se te skiepmelken giet* (lit. 'that she goes to sheep-milk').

Sentential *te*-infinitives differ from adjectival and prepositional *te*-infinitives by the fact that they are always in postverbal position. This puts them on par with verbal *te*-infinitives. They are distinguished from the latter, however, by the fact that they may show noun incorporation. Consider the following examples: *Boate begjint te tafelklearmeitsjen* 'Boate is beginning to set the table' (lit. 'to table-ready-make'); *wy sille jimme helpe te itensieden* 'we will help you cook dinner' (lit. 'to dinner-cook'); *Hiltsje stiet te hierkjimmen* 'Hiltsje is combing her hair' (lit. 'stands to hair-comb').

Pro-drop

In Frisian, the second-person singular pronoun *do* may remain unexpressed when not used emphatically. In other words, Frisian displays partial pro-drop. *Do*-drop occurs after a preposed finite verb (*komst (do) jûn?* 'are you coming tonight?') or after an inflected complementizer (*oftst (do) jûn komst* 'whether you are coming tonight'). Note that the complementizer is inflected, whether the second-person singular pronoun is present or not.

When the second-person singular pronoun *do* is relativized, the relative clause contains an unexpressed *do*: *do, dy'tst de âldste bist* 'you, who are the eldest' (cf. Ger. *du, der du der älteste bist*). Although *do* is not

phonetically realized, it is recoverable from the inflection marker *-st* on the complementizer (*'t*).

Split Phrases

Adpositional phrases may be split: the adpositional object may appear in clause-initial position, stranding the adposition. Like Dutch (and some dialects of German), Frisian shows postposition stranding with *r*-pronouns: *dêr harke net ien nei* (lit. 'there listened no one at'); *wêr hat er om frege?* 'what did he ask for?' The *r*-pronoun may also show up in a clause-internal position, separated from the postposition: *net ien woe dêr jild foar jaan* (lit. 'no one would there money for give'). Unlike Dutch, Frisian allows stranding with 'normal' noun phrases as well: *dy sifers haw ik my slim oer fernuvere* (lit.) 'those figures have I myself much about puzzled', *wa hast juster mei praat?* 'who did you talk with yesterday?', *hy fûn foelmesyk neat oan* (lit.) 'he found violin music nothing on' ('he didn't like violin music').

In contrast to Dutch, but like German, Frisian allows split noun phrases, i.e. nouns separated from their determiner or quantifier: *strikken haw ik wol hûndert* (lit. 'neck-ties have I as many as hundred'), *aaien lizze der noch guon yn 'e kuolkast* (lit. 'eggs lie there still some in the refrigerator'), *drege boeken hoech ik gjin* (lit. 'difficult books need I none').

Interrogatives, Relatives

Apart from 'simple' interrogatives and relatives (*wa komt jûn?* 'who is coming tonight?', ... *de man, dy't jûn komt* '... the man, who is coming tonight'), Frisian allows questioning and relativization of elements in embedded clauses: *wa tinkst dat jûn komt?* 'who do you think will come tonight?'; ... *de man, dy'tst tinkst dat jûn komt* ... 'the man who you think will come tonight'. It is even possible to question or relativize elements in embedded questions: *wa fregest dy ôf hoe let oft jûn komt?* (lit.) 'who do you wonder at what time will come tonight?'; ... *it famke, dat ik net wit, wêr't wennet* (lit.) '... the girl who I don't know where lives'.

In addition to *wa tinkst dat jûn komt?*, Frisian has two other strategies for questioning an element in an embedded clause. First, a copy of the *wh*-word may appear in the first position of the embedded clause: *wa tinkst wa't jûn komt?* And second, the neuter *wh*-word *wat* 'what' may head the main clause, functioning as a scope marker for the *wh*-word in the embedded clause: *wat tinkst wa't jûn komt?*

Negation

To negate a phrase or a sentence Frisian makes use of the negative adverb *net*: *hy hat it net dien* 'he did not do it'. *Net* may also appear in its cliticized form *n't*: *ik wit n't* 'I don't know'; *moai waar, n't wier?* 'Nice weather, isn't it?' When *net* is followed by an indefinite article (*in* or \emptyset), it may fuse with this article into the negative article *gjin*: *wy ha gjin* (< *net in*) *auto*

'we don't own a car', *gjin* (< *net* \emptyset) *moal* 'no flour'.

Frisian exhibits occasional double negation. Negative elements like *nea* 'never', *nearne* 'nowhere', *nimmen* 'no one' may be followed by an optional *net*: *hja binne nea net op 'e tiid* 'they are never on time'; *der wie nimmen net op 'e strjitte* 'there was no one in the street'. Some speakers use a clause-final *net* in addition to another negative element: *hja binne nea op 'e tiid net* 'they are never on time'.

16.5 Lexis

Historically Frisian is closely related to English. Some features of its lexicon still bespeak these old bonds. Consider palatalization of *k* to *ts(j)* (*tsiis* 'cheese', *tsjêf* 'chaff') and *g* to *j* (*dei* 'day', *rein* 'rain', *jern* 'yarn'), loss of *n* before voiceless fricatives (*ús* 'us', *goes* 'goose') and strong fronting of back vowels (*swiet* 'sweet', *bliede* 'bleed'). Furthermore, there are lexical parallels like *kaai* 'key', *jit* 'yet' (but only in the sense of Dutch/German *nog/noch*) and *boai* 'boy'.

None the less, present-day Frisian shows much more resemblance, both lexically and structurally, to its direct neighbours than it does to English. For example, like Dutch and German, Frisian possesses a large inventory of modal particles. Frisian modal particles include *no* (*dat wie no net sa moai fan him* 'that was <now> not very nice of him'), *dan* (*it is dan wûnder* 'it is <then> strange'), *oars* (*hja hearde oars net sa fleurich* 'she did not <otherwise> sound very happy'), *ek* (*do bist ek in raren* 'you are <also> a funny sort of person'), *mar* (*hy wie mar bluisterich* 'he was <but> boisterous') and *ris* (*kom hjir ris* 'come here <once>'). These particles may co-occur in numerous combinations; *dat wie no dan oars ek mar ris tige bêst oanbean* 'that was <now then otherwise also but once> a very nice offer' is an extreme example.

Somewhat surprising is the considerable number of French loanwords in Frisian, some not or no longer used in Dutch: *avensearje* 'hurry' (< French *avancer*); *jinn oppenearje* 'express one's feelings; present oneself, occur' (< *opiner*); *argewaasje* 'annoyance' (< *arguer*); *maleur* 'bad luck; breakdown' (< *malheur*) and *krupsje* 'disease' (< *corruption*). Presumably, this is 'gesunkenes Kulturgut' from the time when French was used in higher circles in the Netherlands.

Frisian is heavily influenced by Dutch, especially in the spoken language. Even in standard Frisian, Dutch influence is clearly visible, from accepted Dutch-isms like *gesellich* 'cosy' (Dutch *gezellig*) and *toaniel* 'stage' (*toneel*) to a large number of loan translations: *belesting* 'tax' (*belasting*); *fleanfjild* 'airport' (*vliegveld*); *pjutteboartersplak* 'playgroup' (*peuterspeelplaats*).

There have long been efforts to prevent the language from Dutchifying too much. This has sometimes been done by borrowing from languages other than Dutch; some grammatical terminology, for example, consists of loan translations from German and Scandinavian: *tiidwurd* 'verb' (Ger. *Zeitwort*); *doetiid*

'past' (Dan. *datid*). In addition, a word like *yndie* 'indeed' is modelled on the English example. But Frisian also coins new words using its own linguistic resources: *brûs* 'shower' (from *brûs* 'nozzle of a watering can'); *reau* 'vehicle' (from the more concrete *reau* 'carriage') and *reinerij* 'field sprinkler' (*reine* 'rain + -erij').

Appendix: East and North Frisian

Within the scope of this article it is simply impossible to do justice to the various quite distinct North Frisian dialects and the East Frisian dialect of Saterland. Therefore, this section can only highlight some of their more noteworthy attributes.

Phonology

The vowel and consonant inventory of Saterlandic East Frisian is quite similar to that of West Frisian. Some special developments in the Saterlandic consonants are reflected in words like *gjucht* 'right' (WFr. *rjucht*), *ffund* 'friend' (WFr. *freon*, older *frjuen*), *kolich* 'calf' (WFr. *keal*) and *bâiden* 'child' (WFr. *bern*).

Many North Frisian dialects have various palatalized consonants, including in word-final position: Mooring *schölj* 'school', *üülj* 'old'; Fering *aatj* 'father'; *lidj* 'people'; Sölring *litj* 'small', *winj* 'wind'.

The dialect of the island Söl retained the voiced alveolar fricative ([ð]) up to this century. In word-final position [ð] has changed to [r] (cf. *biir* 'both'); intervocally [ð] has become [l] or [r], although it is still written *ð*: *faaðer* 'father', *bröðer* 'brother'.

An interesting historical development is that Old Frisian long *i* was shortened in North Frisian, producing words like *is* 'ice'. Short *i* was generally lowered to *e* or *a*: mooring *frasch*; Fering *fresk* 'Frisian'. Furthermore, some North Frisian dialects, like Mooring on the mainland, have no final devoicing.

The dialect of Helgoland has a considerable number of compounds with primary stress on the second part, a phenomenon it shares with West Frisian: *baad'kant* 'bed board' (WFr. *bêds'planke*); *helli'doagen* 'holy days' (WFr. *hjel'dagen*); *keeken'deer* 'kitchen door' (WFr. *kokens'doar*).

Morphology

The most common plural suffix on the North Frisian mainland is *-e*: Mooring *hüne* 'dogs'. The island plural marker is generally *-en* or *-er*: Fering *düüwen* 'doves', *diker* 'dikes'; Sölring *gleesen* 'glasses', *wainer* 'wagons'; Helgolandic *booamen* 'trees', *baader* 'beds'. East Frisian generally uses *-e*: Saterlandic *bouke* 'books'.

Mainland dialects like Mooring have three genders, as reflected by the strong forms of the definite article: *di moon* 'the man' (m.); *jü wüset* 'the

woman' (f.); *dât bjarn* 'the child' (n.); *da hüne* 'the dogs' (pl.). Incidentally, Mooring and Fering have a double article paradigm. In addition to the strong forms mentioned above, Mooring has the corresponding weak forms: *e, e, et, e*. The choice between the strong and weak paradigm is determined by the referentiality of the definite noun phrase. The dialects of the islands Söl, Feer, Oomram and Helgoland and that of Saterland have two genders.

What stands out in the North Frisian pronoun system is the presence of dual forms: Mooring *wat* 'the two of us'; *jat* 'the two of you'. Use of the name or third-person pronoun to address older persons is attested in North Frisian, as it is in West Frisian.

As for verbal inflection, all Frisian dialects distinguish two infinitives, the former ending in *-e/-i* or *-Ø* and the latter in *-(e)n*. Furthermore, most of them distinguish two classes of weak verbs, deriving from the verbs ending in *-a* and *-ia* in Old Frisian.

Syntax

North Frisian has an interesting construction with the coordinate conjunction 'and' introducing an embedded infinitival clause: Mooring *dât as ai gödj än heew douen ma ham* (lit.) 'it is not easy and have doings with him'; Sörling *hat es beeter en maaki di düür tö* (lit.) 'it is better and close the door'. This construction is reminiscent of the *en* + imperative in West Frisian. It is, however, at least partly due to the influence of similar constructions in Jutish, where *at* 'to' and *og* 'and' have fused together into *å*.

In Saterlandic the verb *dwoo* 'do' can be used as an auxiliary expressing durative aspect, a phenomenon also well known from Low German: *Joo dieden Eed greeue* (lit.) 'they did peat dig'.

Lexis

North Frisian vocabulary has been influenced a good deal by Danish (Jutish). Consider the word for 'not' (Mooring *ai*, Fering *ei*, Sörling *ek*) and Mooring *jül* 'Christmas', Fering *skaas* 'spoon' and Sörling *köör* 'drive'. Both East and North Frisian contain many lexical borrowings from Low German; Low German was used by Frisians to communicate with speakers of other Frisian dialects and Low German. Low German loanwords include Helgolandic *kark* 'church', Mooring *fröoge* 'be happy', Fering *boowen* 'above', Sörling *leewent* 'life'. More recently, the growing influence of High German has left its marks on the East and North Frisian lexicon (and on the overall structure of these languages).

Further Reading

General

- Århammar, N. (1975) 'Friesische Dialektologie', *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung*, Beiheft, New Series 5: 264–317.
- Markey, T. L. (1981) *Frisian*, Trends in Linguistics, State of the Art Reports 13, The Hague: Mouton.
- Ramat, P. (1967) *Il Frisone, Introduzione allo studio della Filologia Frisone*, Firenze: Sansoni; Revised and translated into German as *Das Friesische, Eine sprachliche und kulturgeschichtliche Einführung*, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 14, Innsbruck, 1976.
- Sjölin, B. (1969) *Einführung in das Friesische*, Stuttgart: Metzger.

West Frisian

- Anglade, J. (1966) *Petit manuel de Frison Moderne de l'Ouest*, Groningen: Wolters.
- Feitsma, A. (1989) 'The history of the Frisian linguistic norm', in I. Fodor and C. Hagège (eds), *Language Reform, History and Future*, vol. IV, Hamburg: Buske, pp. 247–72.
- Gorter, D., Jelsma, Gj., van der Plank, P. and de Vos, K. (1984) *Taal yn Fryslân*. Fryske Akademy, Leeuwarden; English summary: *Language in Friesland*, Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy, 1988.
- Kodama, H. (1992) *Furijiagobunpoo-oranda no moohitotsu no gengo-*, Tokyo: Daigakusyoin.
- Sipma, P. (1913) *Phonology and Grammar of Modern West Frisian*, Oxford: Clarendon; Photo-reprint: Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy, 1966.
- Tiersma, P. M. (1979) *Aspects of the Phonology of Frisian, Based on the Language of Grou*, Meidielingen 4, Frisian Program of the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam.
- (1985) *Frisian Reference Grammar*, Dordrecht: Foris.
- Zhluktenko, Yu. A. and Dvuchzilov, A. V. (1984) *Frizski Yazyk*, Kiev: Naukova Dumka.

East and North Frisian

- Århammar, N. (1967) *Die Syltringer Sprache. Die Syltringer Literatur*, Itzehoe: Voßkate.
- (1976) *Die Amringer Sprache. Die Amringer Literatur*, Itzehoe: Voßkate.
- Bauer, E. (1925) *Die Moringer Mundart*, Heidelberg: Winter.
- Borchert, M. and Århammar, R. and N. (1987) *Wi lear Halunder*, Helgoland: Verein zum Wiederaufbau des früheren Helgoländer Nordseemuseums e.V.
- Hofmann, D. (1956) 'Probleme der nordfriesischen Dialektforschung', *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung* 24: 78–112.
- Kramer, P. (1982) *Kute Seelter Sproakleere: Kurze Grammatik des Saterfriesischen*, Rhaderfehn: Ostendorp Verlag.
- Löfstedt, E. (1968/1971) *Beiträge zu einer nordfriesischen Grammatik*, Pts I, II, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Germanistica Upsaliensia 6, Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells.
- Schmidt-Petersen, J. and Cragie, J. (1928) *The North Frisian Dialect of Föhr and Amrum*, Edinburgh: Hutchen.
- Walker, A. (1989) 'Frisian', in C. Russ (ed.) *The Dialects of Modern German*, London: Routledge, pp. 1–30.